

A LANDSCAPE OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY: THE CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL STATE
HISTORIC SITE, HIGGINSVILLE, MO

by

Stacy D. Hisle-Chaudri

An Abstract

of a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in the Department of History and Anthropology
University of Central Missouri

July, 2013

ABSTRACT

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Americans have been forming a collective memory since the United States was founded. It was not until after the American Civil War, however, that memorialization and commemoration occurred on a large scale. In the period following the war, America went through a transition in which the way of life was completely changed. It was in this period of change that Americans began to actively participate in memorializing activities in order to cope with the considerable loss of life from the war. The goal of this work is to examine the various viewpoints that comprise the public memory of the Civil War and to explain how the formation of the Confederate Veterans Home in Higginsville, Missouri, fits into the larger process of the memorialization of the war.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the staff at the Confederate Memorial State Historic Site in Higginsville, Missouri, for their assistance in researching this work. Also, I would like to thank my thesis committee for their assistance and guidance. Lastly, I offer my thanks to my husband, Ali Chaudri, for his support and encouragement during this process.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Americans have formed a collective memory since the United States was founded. It was not until after the American Civil War, however, that memorialization and commemoration occurred on a large scale. In the period following the war, America went through a transition in which the way of life was completely changed for many residents. It was in this period of change that Americans began to actively participate in memorializing activities. The goal of this work is to examine the various viewpoints that comprise the public memory of the Civil War and to explain how the formation of the Confederate Veterans Home in Higginsville, Missouri fits into the larger process of the memorialization of the war.

This work is significant to the larger body of research on American public memory and particularly to the period following the Civil War. Through an examination of American collective memory and the memorialization movement, this study seeks to highlight the contributing factors that led to the recovery of American society following the war. It also highlights the role that women played in the memorialization movement that swept across America after the war. During the period of memorialization, the position of women in society began to change. Following the war, women overcame losses and hardships to take on broader roles that would help lay the foundation for gender equality.

In one area of the memorialization movement, the foundation of veteran's homes, women were particularly active. Women played a large role in the establishment and fundraising for veteran's homes and formed women's organizations like the Ladies' Memorial Associations, United Daughters of the Confederacy, and the Grand Army of the Republic specifically to support Civil War veterans. In many cases, including that of the Ex-Confederate Veterans'

Home in Higginsville, Missouri, women's groups were instrumental in the establishment and support of veterans' homes.

Missouri's role in the Civil War was different than other states, which in some respects, complicated the support that was available to former Confederates. Missouri did not really belong to either the north or the south, and Missourians were divided and engaged in guerilla warfare. The state did not secede from the union, but was instead occupied by the Union army and under martial law for much of the war. Missouri was a divided state, with neighbors and family members on opposite sides, and guerilla warfare was rampant. When the war was over, there were many Confederate veterans who came home to Missouri and found themselves in difficult financial situations. Many of the veterans were in poor health and were not allowed to practice their professions due to their status as Confederate veterans. Fellow Missourians recognized the plight of their comrades and set about establishing a veterans' home specifically for ex-Confederates.

The Confederate Veterans' Home in Higginsville, Missouri (the Home) serves as an example of how the memorialization process shaped the American landscape in the years after the war. During the years it was in operation, more than a thousand former Confederate veterans resided at the Home and contributed their memories to the collective history of both the war and the Home. This work brings to light the stories of nine men who lived at the Home: Alexander G. Ball, Julius Bamberg, Percy Boulware, James R. Cummins, Frederick Emory, John T. Graves, John W. Koger, James F. Nichols, and Thomas F. Stratton. The stories of each of these men provide a unique perspective to the collective memory of the Home and the war, through their different experiences in battle and in the lives they led in post-Civil War society. These nine

men represent the essence of the memorialization movement and serve as living monuments of the war.

In order to fully understand the memorialization of the war, an awareness of how Americans formed their memories is needed. Michael Kammen, a leading scholar on 20th century American culture, has identified a relationship between, “collective memory and national identity.”¹ This connection between an individual’s sense of belonging to country and shared memories has led to worldwide involvement in various national heritage festivals, which include reenactments, veterans’ celebrations, and other Civil War commemorative activities. Furthermore, the shared memories between a country’s citizens play an important role in the recorded accounts of a nation’s history.

Collective memories of the Civil War are comprised of many individual accounts that include both the loss of life and the renewal of hope. The collective memories formed, by individuals on both sides of the conflict, were definitive of what each individual believed to be right and wrong in the war and in society, and would define the new America that was emerging.² Due to the subjective nature of collective memories, they reveal personal accounts of the war and enable scholars to observe the many fragments that comprise the kaleidoscope of the public memory of the war.

Both collective memories and public memories contribute to the recorded history of the war. Public memory is comprised of the stories of individuals as well as the accompanying cultural, political, and social contexts that relate to the memories. Collective memories, on the other hand, include all of the personal accounts of the war. However, the nature of both

¹ Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 1991), 3.

² David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001), 19.

collective memories and public memories makes them subject to fractionalization, subsequently; there are a variety of factors that influenced the recorded history of the war. As a result of the relationship between collective memory and national identity, Kammen suggests, “that societies in fact reconstruct their pasts rather than faithfully record them, and that they do so with the needs of contemporary culture clearly in mind—manipulating the past in order to mold the present.”³ Interestingly, this statement indicates that the past is not recorded accurately, but is instead altered to reflect the social, cultural, and political views of the time in which it was written. If Kammen’s evaluation is correct, and the past has not been accurately recorded, how can we identify the influencing factors on recorded history in order to extract a more accurate picture of the past?

The first step in this process involves recognizing how public memories are formed. Kammen illustrates the importance of the roles of tradition and memory in how Americans construct their public memories:

Public memory, which contains a slowly shifting configuration of traditions, is ideologically important because it shapes a nation’s ethos and sense of identity. That explains, at least in part, why memory is always selective and is so often contested.⁴

Public memory is comprised of a variety of elements that include customs, beliefs, traditions, literature, political and social framework, and other cultural aspects that may exist at any given time. Due to the combination of factors that can influence public memory, an analysis of any recorded history needs to include the cultural traditions and the social and political context from the timeframe in which it was recorded.

An illustration of how a variety of cultural contexts and traditions can impact the public memory of the Civil War can be seen in David Blight’s work, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War*

³ Kammen, *Mystic Chords*, 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 13.

in America. Blight, a leading historian in the area of American memory, identifies three distinct versions of the memory of the Civil War. The first version Blight refers to as the reconciliationist “which took root in the process of dealing with the dead from so many battlefields, prisons, and hospitals and developed in many ways earlier than the history of the Reconstruction has allowed us to believe....”⁵ The memories of the Civil War that are included in this version are those that Blight has identified as involving the reconciliation of the North and the South and coping with the death and destruction that occurred during the war. It was this account of the war that Blight believes was more universally adopted by Americans.

The two other versions of the public memory of the war, white supremacist and emancipationist, were not as widely accepted as that of the reconciliationist. The second version is the white supremacist, according to Blight, “which took many forms early, including terror and violence, locked arms with reconciliationists of many kinds, and by the turn of the century delivered the country a segregated memory of its Civil War on southern terms....”⁶ The memories that followed this portrayal encompassed race, class, religion, and the white supremacist belief systems and activities. The final account is that of the emancipationist, which “embodied in African Americans’ complex remembrance of their own freedom, in the politics of radical Reconstruction, and in conceptions of the war as the reinvention of the republic and the liberation of blacks to citizenship and Constitutional equality.”⁷ The memories included in this account center around the fight for racial equality. All three interpretations-reconciliationist, white supremacist, and emancipationist-were preserved in history and American public memory by individuals who remembered the war. It is the connection of these different perspectives that form the public memory of the Civil War.

⁵ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 2.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

The Civil War became a turning point in the way Americans perceive their history. According to Kammen, there were several opposing factors that influenced the public memories that were formed after the war, “The imperative of remembering versus the comforting convenience of amnesia; reconciliation versus intransigence; the virtues of a New South versus the romance of a Lost Cause; and conflicting perceptions of patriotism versus treason.”⁸ For many Americans memories of the war were a combination of forgetfulness and remembering, compromise and inflexibility, a new way of life and the former way of life, nationalism and betrayal. All of these concepts influenced how American memory was formed.

One distinct aspect of the American memory of the war was the establishment of homes for the veterans of the war. Subsequently, these homes were created out of the desire to preserve the memory of the war, and provided a facet that no other form of memorialization was able to provide. This aspect was the creation of living monuments. By caring for the men who had served in the conflict, many Americans felt that they were completing the ultimate task for preserving the memory of the war. The Home for Ex-Confederate Veterans in Higginsville, Missouri, illustrates this process of memorializing the war through the creation and operation of the Home, and the subsequent transition into a state historic site.

⁸ Kammen, 101.

CHAPTER 2 THE MEMORIALIZATION OF AMERICA FOLLOWING THE CIVIL WAR

As soon as the Civil War was over, Americans began memorializing the war throughout the country. Almost immediately, residents on both sides began creating elaborate rituals and memories for those who had died in the war and also to commemorate the war itself. For many, the acts of memorialization were a mechanism that enabled them to cope with the loss of loved ones. This process of memorialization was often controversial with individuals and local and national associations representing opposing viewpoints of how the war should be remembered in the form and text of memorials that were erected. Controlling the public memory of the war quickly became important to organizations that were established in both the north and the south to serve as custodians of the memory of the war. Americans understood that the memorials that were created to celebrate the war were incorporated into the public memory and would be remembered for many years to come; subsequently many individuals and groups wanted to ensure that their accounts of the war were represented.

The Civil War resulted in more casualties than any other war up to that point in history, and as a result, people in both the north and the south needed to memorialize their heroes in order to cope with all of the death and destruction. Thomas Brown, a leading historian on Civil War commemoration, discussed the impact of the large loss of life on the public memory of the war:

The deaths of approximately 620,000 soldiers claimed the thoughts of families throughout the North and South. Millions of Americans regarded the war as the most momentous period of their lives.⁹

⁹ Thomas J. Brown, *The Public Art of Civil War Commemoration: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St Martin's, 2004), 2.

The connection that was made by Americans in both the north and the south between the deaths of their loved ones and the memory of the war is what makes the memorialization process so significant. The subsequent commemorative acts and monuments that were created displayed the multi-faceted relationship between the living and the dead. After the war Americans needed to create monuments in order to move forward. In his work, Kirk Savage, a prominent scholar on nineteenth century American memorialization discusses how Americans used memorialization as a coping strategy “to commemorate is to seek historical closure, to draw together the various strands of meaning in a historical event or personage and condense its significance for the present in a speech or a monument.”¹⁰ Americans engaged in acts of memorialization to help them cope with their lost loved ones and to bring a sense of closure to the war, the deaths of those on the battlefield, the wartime hardships, and for some the end of their way of life. This process of commemoration was important in the healing process “because in defining the past we define our present.”¹¹ Monuments then symbolize a much larger idea, and by creating them, people were in fact trying to find their place in the changing post-Civil War society.

One of the immediate ways in which Americans sought to memorialize the dead was by associating the dead with the cause for which they had fought. This association between the fallen soldiers and the ideology that led them to become involved in the conflict is examined by John Neff, a Civil War scholar, “Confronted with death on a previously unimaginable scale, those who had survived the conflict sought to understand loss by attributing to it a greater

¹⁰ Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth Century America*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press), 1997, 3.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

purpose.”¹² For many this meant making the connection between their fallen friends and family members and the views that led them to become involved in the war. Additionally, those individuals who were involved in the creation of monuments to honor the fallen soldiers are in essence making a public statement that they are connected to the dead whom they are honoring. Neff concludes that, “The impulse to commemorate often arose out of this sense of obligation to those who had died for a shared cause or for one’s sake.”¹³ One of the reasons that people were driven to create monuments was because they felt that it was their duty to do so to honor their fellow soldiers or family members who had died.

Those who survived the war quickly began the challenging process of creating public memories about the Civil War. Blight confirms that the survivors of the war were motivated by their losses to engage in acts of commemoration:

It took root in the dead and the living. The living were compelled to find meaning in the dead, and, as in most wars, the dead would have a hold on the living.¹⁴

It was this relationship between the many who died and their surviving relatives and friends that motivated Americans to engage in the acts of commemoration. As Blight mentions, it became the job of the living to remember the dead “and from the stuff of memory, create a new nation from the wreckage of the old.”¹⁵ The memories of the war were used by Americans to change the course of the country. Consequently, the acts of commemoration and memorialization began the long process through which all of America would undergo great changes.

Additionally, the participation in commemorative activities linked the individuals who are participating with the social and cultural views of the day. Neff maintains that

¹² J. R. Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation*, (Lawrence, KS: The University Press of Kansas), 2005, 2.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 6.

¹⁵ Ibid.

commemorative activities are a method by which Americans are able to preserve their accounts of the war, “Monuments and other forms of commemoration seek explicitly to preserve ideals and values in order to communicate them undiminished to the future.”¹⁶ By erecting a monument to commemorate a particular aspect of the Civil War, Americans were taking steps to preserve the historical interpretations that they believed in, for posterity.

The Civil War quickly became the theme for public monuments, which had already become popular before the Civil War, and remained so until WWII. According to Savage, “The war provoked the greatest era of monument building ever seen in this country....”¹⁷ Americans began building monuments with great speed to commemorate their lost loved ones and to record their memories in stone. The purpose of public monuments was to try and bring unity, but the underlying reasons for the creation of the monuments often caused conflict.

Many Civil War monuments were involved in conflicts over control of the public memory of the war. Brown contends that these monuments were often used to express the division of power in America, “monuments often purport to stand for the shared views of a community that in fact is divided, and in that sense they offer only a limited record of American memory of the Civil War.”¹⁸ While monuments are supposed to represent the collective memory, they instead usually represent one viewpoint when several perspectives may exist in a community. Despite the one-sidedness of some public monuments, they are still useful as a mode of identifying accounts of the war. The stories from these monuments should not be discounted, but instead examined for the context that surrounded their creation in order to provide additional knowledge regarding the memory of the war. Savage wrote that monuments are important structures in the historical landscape, primarily due to the memories that they

¹⁶ Neff, 2.

¹⁷ Savage, 3.

¹⁸ Brown, 6.

represent “monuments attempt to mold a landscape of collective memory, to conserve what is worth remembering and discard the rest.”¹⁹ It is this illustration of memories carved in stone that makes monuments valuable to historians and to interpretations of the past.

Memory is a basic and important element for all humans. Memories are used by everyone, regardless of their background or culture, to make decisions about the future and evaluate past experiences. James Horton and Lois Horton, American Civil War scholars, discuss the role of memory in society, “memory is one of the most powerful elements in our human constitution.”²⁰ On the one hand, memories are something that we cannot survive without, however, in some cases we also have a hard time living with memories. The study of memory has become increasingly important to the understanding of America’s history. One of the reasons for the investigation of memory, as stated by Horton and Horton, is that it has been a significant tool of power in the modern world “what historians have come to understand is simply that the process by which societies or nations remember collectively itself has a history. We’re writing histories of memory.”²¹ It is this concept that has brought public memory to the forefront of the discussion of the Civil War.

History and memory are two distinct subjects, and have separate meanings, but they do coincide. Horton and Horton also examine the definition of history its relationship with memory, “Historians are custodians of the past; we are preservers and discovers of the facts and stories out of which people imagine their civic lives.”²² Historians are tasked with identifying and maintaining the accounts of societies and nations however, discovering what the facts are is very difficult. The past is compiled of the memories of individuals and groups of individuals that

¹⁹ Savage, 4.

²⁰ James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, eds., *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*, (New York: The New Press, 2006), 20.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 25.

²² *Ibid.*, 23-24.

have been preserved. It is the relationship between memories and history that makes recording history particularly challenging.

Public memory, on the other hand, consists of much more information than the documented past. Public memory includes the stories and memories of many individuals and groups as well as the social, cultural, and political contexts that relate to the memories. Horton and Horton have identified the differences and commonalities that can be seen in a comparison of memory and history:

Memory is owned; history is interpreted. History asserts the authority of academic training and canons of evidence; memory carries the often more immediate authority of community membership and experience.²³

Public memory seeks to unite both history and memory to provide a thorough account of the past.

Before a complete account of the past can be constructed from Civil War monuments, the components of collective memory need to be examined. In the nineteenth century, monuments were constructed by individual citizens and groups to preserve the collective memory of the war in communities. Savage argues that a complex relationship was at work in society in regards to the creation of monuments. He states that one reason that monuments were popular was that they were supposed to represent the collective memories of the citizens of the community in which they were established, “What gave monuments their peculiar appeal in an era of rising nationalism was their claim to speak for ‘the people’.”²⁴ Americans wanted to believe that local monuments were representative of the collective memory of the war.

The idea that monuments actually represented the views of the community was an illusion. Savage describes the role of sponsors, “sponsors usually worked hard to sustain the

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Savage, 6.

fiction that they were merely agents of a more universal collective whose shared memory the project embodied.”²⁵ Monument sponsors, who were usually prominent citizens or local organizations, created monuments based on their own beliefs of what comprised the collective memory. Collective memory of the Civil War is a mixture of many smaller categories of memories that are held by communities and groups. These subsets of memories were often portrayed in monuments and represented to the public as the view of the broader collective memory.²⁶ It is actually these sub-collective memories that are often represented in monuments of the war.

The monuments that were created during the process of memorialization were shaped by many individuals and groups and influenced by both public and collective memories of the war. As a result, the themes and sculptures that were used to memorialize the war changed over time. Initially, sculptors were faced with the difficult task of representing the new order of an emancipated nation in stone. Savage argues that sculptors were expected to produce monuments that served contradictory views, “they were charged with conserving the memory of something that had not yet taken form.”²⁷ Since the freedom of slaves was still a work in progress, it was difficult to determine what images should be used to represent emancipation.

In the south, former Confederates were engaged in a different struggle regarding how to represent the war. Savage believes that southerners were also struggling to represent their account of the war in the form of monuments, “they were trying to commemorate their slaveholding secession without commemorating slavery, as if their whole war had had nothing to do with it.”²⁸ Southerners wanted to celebrate the heroes of the war and the causes for which

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid, 18.

²⁸ Ibid.

they fought without acknowledging that slavery was involved. Ultimately, it was out of the absence of an appropriate image with which to represent freedom from slavery that we see the growing popularity of sculptures that commemorate white men.

Many monument sponsors wanted their sculptures to represent images that they were comfortable with. Nineteenth century Americans were not comfortable representing African Americans in strong and heroic circumstances. Instead Americans redefined the memorialization of the war and honored white men. The depictions of the monuments represented the courage, valor, and bravery of the white soldiers of the Civil War. Savage explains that the memorials were focused on the common man, “the generic citizen-soldier who had fought in the war on both sides.”²⁹ This movement towards the common soldier monument then became a defining feature of war memorials.

A large variety of monuments were created to commemorate the common soldier, and many shared similar design features. According to Brown, the designs consisted of several elements “the statue of a uniformed standing soldier holding the barrel of a rifle that rests upright on the ground in front of him.”³⁰ The sculpture was comprised of an on duty enlisted man, who appeared to be standing guard. This image, of the common soldier, becomes one of the most frequently used in Civil War monuments by the end of the nineteenth century.

The memorialization of the common soldier was quickly begun in battlefields and cemeteries in both the north and the south. Brown mentions that one of the primary themes of commemoration was “the experiences and sacrifices of soldiers.”³¹ This was partially due to the large number of casualties. This theme attached additional

²⁹ Ibid., 19.

³⁰ Brown, 24.

³¹ Ibid., 7.

significance to the battlefields and cemeteries.³² A strong link between American's public memory of the Civil War and the Civil War battlefields led to the establishment of battlefield parks as a part of the commemoration activities. Brown mentions that the government began to establish these parks on the battlefield sites after legislation was passed in 1890 "the battlefield park provided a key forum for remembrance of the war as a series of military movements, rather than a political conflict, and for celebration of the valor of troops on both sides."³³ Memorials that were created out of battlefields brought a new dimension to the memorialization movement by focusing on preserving the military aspect of the war. Battlefield parks were one of several ways in which the collective memories of deceased Civil War soldiers were preserved.

Nineteenth century monuments were generally privately funded. Savage maintains that many people believed that the citizens should and did create monuments, "monuments were supposed to arise spontaneously by popular demand, only then to be donated to the state for safe keeping."³⁴ The majority believed that monuments were created based on the desires of the community, and not on the government. Savage points out that the outcome of this belief was that individual citizens and organizations founded monuments privately, without government direction, "most monuments therefore originated not as official projects of the state but as volunteer enterprises sponsored by associations of 'public spirited' citizens and funded by individual donations."³⁵ These monuments were essentially representing the commemoration of the memories of the narrower sub-collective of individuals and associations who created them, and usually not the broader collective memories of the entire community and nation.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid., 17-18.

³⁴ Savage, 6.

³⁵ Ibid.

One of the methods used by monument supporters to record their memories of the war were inscriptions. These inscriptions were incorporated into many monuments to further inspire the public and display particular sentiments. As a result of their ability to generate public interest, monument creators devoted a great deal of their attention to inscriptions. One of the goals of the inscription was to name the sponsors, as discussed by Savage, “an explicit statement of local sponsorship was crucial to the idea of most town and county monuments.”³⁶ Often it was the sponsors who had control over the various aspects of the monument and therefore had control of the public memory, which prompted individuals to donate monuments. This led to some disagreements, since these monuments had the names of their sponsors inscribed on them.³⁷ In addition to naming the benefactors of monuments, inscriptions also expressed sentiment or tributes to those who fought in the Civil War, such as the Gettysburg Address, or poetry.³⁸ Monument inscriptions were an important tool for monument builders to record their version of the collective memory of the Civil War.

There were underlying motivations for the Americans who became involved in the creation of monuments in the nineteenth century. Many of the individuals understood that information that was commemorated would become a part of the public sentiment, and was therefore important to the local communities.³⁹ Monument builders wanted to be involved in the commemoration of their memories of the war. Savage maintains that, “They fought over the sponsorship and design of the public monuments precisely because they knew what power the monuments had to define the will of the

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Brown, 36

³⁸ Ibid., 37-38.

³⁹ Savage, 7.

people.”⁴⁰ The individuals who were in a position to create a monument were quick to do so, thereby ensuring that their memories and views of the war would be incorporated into the documented history of the war. Savage concludes that once a monument was commemorated, it was incorporated into the public memory “it became a kind of natural fact, as if it had always been meant to be.”⁴¹ By founding a monument, individuals and groups could incorporate their particular sentiments into the public memory of the war. Therefore, the public memory of the war was shaped by these monuments, regardless of the fact that they were the opinions and memories of only a few Americans, and not necessarily representative of the broad collective memory.

This fight over who would control public monuments and therefore public memory was not just between individuals at the local level, it was also occurring on a national level. On the national level, politics was a frequent factor in memorialization. Brown identifies the role of politics in monument creation, “The links between sponsorship and content in commemoration were particularly evident in the efforts of political parties to tap Civil War memory during the generation after Appomattox.”⁴² Political factions realized that the public memory of the war could be used as a tool to control their power. Brown argues that these political groups then contributed to the forming of various veterans’ organizations, “Veterans’ groups initially formed to combine partisanship with remembrance of the ordeal of warfare.”⁴³ While these organizations were founded to bring together Americans who had similar political viewpoints and who had survived the war, they were able to exert considerable influence on the recorded public memories of the war.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Brown, 3.

⁴³ Ibid., 4.

There were two competing veterans groups that emerged, one in the north and one in the south. The veterans' group that was the most well-known in the north was the Grand Army of the Republic. Brown describes this groups founding, "The Grand Army of the Republic, (GAR), a society for Union veterans founded in Decanter, Illinois, in April 1866...recalled the traumatic experiences of front-line troops and dedicated its self to political action..."⁴⁴ The GAR's mission as a political organization was not as popular as the founders had hoped, and about twenty years after its founding the group's mission changed, and it became more of a fraternal association. Within ten years of the broadening of the GAR mission, the membership soared.⁴⁵ The GAR became a successful fraternal organization, but it also continued to influence the public memory of the war through its involvement in the memorialization process.

Southerners lagged behind northerners in the creation of both veteran's organizations and monuments in the early years. Due to the economic hardships endured in the south following the war, southerners were not in a position to erect many monuments until the beginning of the 1900s.⁴⁶ The first Confederate veterans' organization was the United Confederate Veterans (UVC). As mentioned by Brown, the UVC's membership was not as large as that of the GAR, it still encompassed a substantial percentage of the total living veterans, "between one-third and one-fourth of surviving Confederate veterans."⁴⁷ The mission of the UVC was similar to that of the GAR, and the group's influence rivaled that of its northern counterpart. It was out of the United Confederate Veterans group that a more well-known Confederate society was formed, the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV).⁴⁸ The SCV is more well-known today and was able to use

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Kammen, 117.

⁴⁷ Brown, 4.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

its resources to create a variety of monuments that would ensure that its views were included in the public memory of the war.

The early years following the war were a traumatic period through which Americans were able to reshape their lives. Once the war was over, the period known as Reconstruction began. Blight contends that the Reconstruction era had a significant impact on the national public memory, “Reconstruction itself, 1865-77, was only a time of political and constitutional strife, but also an era of unprecedented clashes between raw memories of war, extreme suffering, grand political ambitions, and revolutionary turns in race relations and human rights.”⁴⁹ This was a period of hardship and challenge for both the north and the south, which resulted in the rebirth of the south. The main challenge at this time was the reconciling of the two sides of the war. Blight believes that before the country could move forward, Americans from both the north and the south had to come together, “The survivors on both sides, winners and losers in the fullest sense, would still inhabit the same land and eventually the same government.”⁵⁰ Individuals who remained in both the north and the south still had to live and work in America and had to come to terms with the results of the war.

Some historians believe that reconciliation is not fully possible for the north and the south in their memorialization of the fallen soldiers. Neff believes that no matter which side they were on, Americans associated their cause with their dead. As a result of this association, they also remembered that the fallen soldiers were killed by the opposing side, “To commemorate the dead was to recall and honor the men themselves, the cause they championed, and especially the relationships between the dead, their cause, and the living.”⁵¹ Even though many Americans did wish to reunite in later years, the acts of war commemoration would always evoke memories that

⁴⁹ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 32.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁵¹ Neff, 6-7.

would emphasize the opposition of the other side. As a result, Neff asserts that, “The loyal and rebel dead would always remain so, locked within a specific historical moment.”⁵² While many Americans did seek reconciliation after the war, their memories of the dead would be part of a complex public memory of the war.

The process of reconciliation would require coming to terms with and finding a place for the freed slaves, and many southerners’ beliefs in the lost cause and white supremacy. Slavery existed in the United States from its inception, which was ironic considering the founding principles of the United States government were based on freedom and liberty. This contradiction in society is pointed out by Horton and Horton, who explain that some eighteenth and nineteenth century theorists looked for alternate ways to evaluate race “different races constituted separate species.”⁵³ It was this argument that led to a system of slavery and racial classification. Horton and Horton explain that for many whites, slavery served a useful function in society:

[it] provided a racial floor below which no white person could fall. All whites, regardless of social and economic standing, were encouraged to feel a common racial bond.⁵⁴

This brought members of the white race together, and made them feel connected to each other, regardless of their socioeconomic status. For whites, maintaining the consistency of their culture and slavery was very important, and it was these beliefs that laid the foundation for the adherence to white supremacist paradigms. These theories provided a defense of slavery and were then used to support the black codes that were enacted after Reconstruction.⁵⁵ The white

⁵² Ibid., 7.

⁵³ Horton, x.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

supremacist views were incorporated into the public memory of the war by individuals who adhered to them.

Another interpretation of the war is that of the Lost Cause. The Lost Cause version of the Civil War was seen favorably not just by southerners, but other Americans as well, and was often used as a theme for public monuments of the war. Horton and Horton describe the Lost Cause doctrine, “slavery was a benign institution, that secession had been a last resort occasioned by fanatical abolitionist attacks on southern constitutional rights, and that Confederates had struggled bravely...but finally had been beaten by a materially superior foe.”⁵⁶ This version of events was more palatable to former Confederates, since it allowed them to justify their role in the war and provided an excuse for losing the war.

Americans faced a challenging situation after the war, with difficult financial times and the loss of loved ones, so when they had a chance to heal the division between the north and the south they did not stop to consider the freed slaves. During the period of Reconstruction and reconciliation, in order for the new south to evolve, many people used public memory as a way to cope with the death, destruction, and life style changes that came as a result of the war.⁵⁷ For some individuals, the war changed their way of life and they had to find a way to overcome new hardships that were placed upon them.

Following the Reconstruction era, changes developed in the commemoration of the war in the north. Northerners began to express admiration for the Confederacy and in particular the soldiers. Brown contends that, “African Americans and their allies resisted the advance in northern deference to Confederate soldiers that accompanied a retreat from northern protection

⁵⁶ Ibid., 170.

⁵⁷ Neff, 7.

of black rights codified in Reconstruction.”⁵⁸ One of the contributing factors to the adjustment of views was the acknowledgement of the soldier. Nationally, the soldier was recognized in public memory, and as a result there was a gradual acknowledgement of all soldiers, including Confederate ones.⁵⁹ During this period soldiers, on both sides, were the focus of memorialization efforts.

Some scholars believe that the recognition of the soldier in public memory helped to bring about the reconciliation of the north and the south. Brown argues that it was this change in the attitudes of northerners towards the Confederates that brought about a reuniting of the country’s collective memory of the war, “As the idea of nationhood increasingly came to be defined in terms of citizens’ emotions, rather than laws or institutions, many northerners wished to alleviate the frustration of defeated southerners.”⁶⁰ As individual memories and sentiments were incorporated into the public memory, northerners wanted to reunite with southerners and become one nation again. This reunion theme also filled another need for the northerners. Brown concludes that northerners wanted to reconcile with southerners to reinforce their own national identity “it celebrated the integrity of the United States at a time when many northerners worried that the influx of immigrants imperiled American identity.”⁶¹ For northerners, reconciling with southerners was a way to enforce their ideas of nationalism. This reunion between the north and the south led greater participation in the memorialization process.

During the years after the war, new issues emerged related to the creation of public monuments. Since with the end of the war came the freedom of slaves, these former slaves and their owners were both now considered citizens of this nation and therefore creators and

⁵⁸ Brown, 8.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 15-16.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 10.

⁶¹ Ibid.

participants in public commemoration. These two groups, former slave and slaveholder both had conflicting histories and views of what the commemorated history should be for this country. This resulted in choices being made about who should be represented in the commemoration of public monuments.⁶² While there may have been dissatisfaction with the way that many monuments were represented, white Americans still retained control of monument building and therefore public memory.

How the Civil War is interpreted in the United States is still debated, and different regions had their own contributions to make to the collective memory of the war. When it came to the memorialization of the war in Missouri, Missourians had a unique perspective. While Missouri was not a part of the Confederacy, it was not really a part of the Union during the war either. Missouri was a slave state and had in fact voted for Constitutional protection for slavery. Christopher Phillips, a prominent historian on the Civil War in Missouri, explains that many Missourians felt that owning slaves was democratic, “[they] considered slavery as more than simply consistent with democratic principles; the institution was as essential to democracy as liberty itself.”⁶³ Missourians spent most of the war under military rule and the state was occupied by Federal troops. As a result of the occupation, guerrilla warfare was rampant throughout the war. Missouri did form a Confederate militia in the spring of 1861, under pro-Confederate Governor Claiborne Jackson, and battles were fought throughout Missouri. Additionally, the state was effectively split between the Union and the Confederacy. Missouri was represented with a star on both the Union and Confederate flags, was administered by two governments (one pro-Confederate and one pro-Union), and employed two armies. Missourians believed that they were stuck between two opposing sides “northern abolitionism and southern

⁶² Savage, 5.

⁶³ Christopher Phillips, *Missouri's Confederate: Claiborne Fox Jackson and the Creation of Southern Identity in the Border West* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 46.

secessionism and thus they would serve naturally as moderators of the gathering storm.”⁶⁴ The residents of Missouri did not feel as if they belonged with either the north or the south during the war. As a result of the unique events that took place during the war in Missouri, the wartime experience was unlike that encountered in any other state.

After the war, many Missourians blamed the federal government, not the local guerrillas for their hardships. Phillips writes about Missourians feelings following the war “the bitterness and lingering hatred associated with the experience of war derived not from the violent activities of pro-Confederate guerrillas, but from the repressive measures that state and federal officials initiated to contain wide spread terrorism.”⁶⁵ Some Missourians felt that the laws that were enacted during Union occupation were often harsh and unfair. This caused many to focus their anger over the hardships on the Union army and federal government.

After the war only those individuals who had been loyal federal supporters were given preferential treatment. These pro-union supporters were given the seats of power in Missouri which they used to make their neighbors or anyone whom they believed had given aid to Confederates take a test oath.⁶⁶ It is these circumstances that make Missourians’ memories of the war different from those in other states. Phillips states that the views of Missourians began to shift towards the south, “out of the anger and betrayal of the wartime experience, a Confederate memory was emerging, signaled initially by the welcome, even celebration, of former Confederates returning to Missouri.”⁶⁷ Feeling betrayed by the federal government, Missourians began to have strong pro-Confederate sympathies. Beginning shortly after the war ended,

⁶⁴ Ibid., 240.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 278.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 288.

Missourians began to memorialize the former Confederates and the Lost Cause doctrine in locations across the state.

For Missourians, the process of memorializing the war not only helped heal the wounds created by the loss of life, but also reinforced their connection with the south. Phillips believes it was through memorialization of the war that Missourians drew closer to their fellow Confederates, “The act of memorialization bound Missourians with the other Confederate states, not only in the replication of such activities, as was occurring throughout the South, but also by entwining their shared experience of war.”⁶⁸ Through commemorative acts, the citizens of Missouri solidified their relationship to the south and the former Confederacy. However, Phillips asserts that Missouri was not really like any other state, in the Union or Confederacy, and as a result the public memories were slightly different “Missourians celebrated the states’ singular paramilitary past, one that conjured, in one historian’s words, ‘the legend of the noble guerrilla’.”⁶⁹ It was the icon of the honorable and virtuous guerrilla that perpetuates the public memory of the war in Missouri.

Missourians revealed a unique post-war identity that is visible in the memorialization of the war. Consequently, Phillips suggests that Missouri was unusual in the icon its residents selected to represent their memories of the war, “Missouri’s version of the conflict was different than that of most of the Confederate states, thus the prism of its residents’ memory tilted slightly.”⁷⁰ Missourians, however, did relate to the southern memorials since they were the best medium with which to demonstrate their frustration with the political atmosphere following the war.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 291.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

For nearly seventy years the Civil War was memorialized consistently. Eventually, however, monument building began to fall out of favor during the 1920s. Some of the contributing factors to the decline were automobiles and highways, which were demanding public space, and the invention of movies.⁷¹ As progress came to America, Civil War commemoration evolved from monuments to movies and television, which lead to the performance of reenactments of Civil War battles.⁷² While the memorialization of the Civil War has never stopped, modernization brought about new ways of commemorating the people, places, and events that were associated with the war.

Today, historians face a difficult task: they must get the monuments that were constructed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to tell their story again. In order to accomplish this task, historians must look deep within the surrounding context, to answer questions like those posed by Savage, “who were the people represented in and by monumental space, and how they competed to construct a history in the language of sculpture and in the spotlight of the public sphere.”⁷³ It is this challenging task that historians are still trying to achieve.

Almost immediately following the war, Americans in both the north and the south began creating elaborate rituals and memorials for those who had died in the war and also memorials for the war itself. This process of memorialization was what helped Americans to heal their wounds from the war and led to a reuniting of northerners and southerners as one nation. It was also in this period of memorialization that veteran’s organizations were formed. Out of the recognition and commemoration of the soldiers who fought in the war, both northerners and southerners distinguished Civil War veterans as a one of the most significant aspects of the

⁷¹ Brown, 6.

⁷² Ibid., 5-6.

⁷³ Savage, 8.

memorialization of the war. However, it would be the women who had been left at home during the war, who would carry the memorialization movement forward with their involvement in monument sponsorship and the care of Civil War veterans. Society would ultimately come to rely on women to be the caretakers of the memories of the war.

CHAPTER 3

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN AMERICA, MISSOURI, AND THE FOUNDING OF THE CONFEDERATE VETERANS' HOME

During the war women were left to face difficult situations, often without any men present to support them. While at home, women were forced to struggle for their families and their lives. After enduring and overcoming great hardships during the war and the period of Reconstruction that followed in the south, women began to take on broader roles that would enable them to lay the foundation for gender equality. One of the routes by which women were able to broaden their role outside the home, was through their participation in philanthropic activities, including forming women's organizations, engaging in commemorative activities, and establishing and raising funds for veterans' homes.

Before the Civil War began, the role of women in society was very tightly constrained. Women were homemakers and fulfilled the roles of mother, wife, sister, and daughter. According to Barbara Welter, a prominent scholar on women's history, in "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," there were four main characteristics that women were expected to exhibit "piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity."⁷⁴ It was according to these characteristics that women were evaluated by society. Women were generally confined to domestic and religious activities, since these pursuits allowed women to maintain their place in society.

In the nineteenth century a woman did not venture outside of her role or she would be cut off from acceptable society. Women, who did not conform to the attributes of a "true woman," were portrayed as mentally deficient and morally deprived. If a woman became too intellectual,

⁷⁴ Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1966), 152.

she was considered to be non-religious and godless.⁷⁵ Women who did not remain virgins until they were married were not worthy to be called women “to contemplate the loss of purity brought tears; to be guilty of such a crime...brought madness or death.”⁷⁶ If a woman engaged in activities that were outside of the four primary characteristics that defined true womanhood, she would not be accepted by society or even her family. These characteristics of a true woman were frequently at odds with the tasks and hardships that women encountered during the war.

Women often experienced hardships at home, during and after the war. With all of the able bodied men off fighting, the women were left to fend for themselves and their families. The difficulties that women experienced on the home front, particularly in areas where fighting occurred were often as trying and dangerous as those faced by men on the battlefields. The story of one woman in rural Missouri, S. E. Ustick, helps bring to life the danger that many women had to live through during the war, “My house, occupied by myself and four daughters (my husband having died before the war), was searched seven times by drunken Jayhawkers⁷⁷, six times being at night...”⁷⁸ Many Missourians endured their property being confiscated by both Union and Confederate troops as well as guerrillas during the war years. In her oral history account of one encounter with Jayhawkers, Ustick attempts to describe her feelings at the time, “With pistols cocked they asked questions, blowing their drunken breath in my face, cursing the most bitter oaths until I was so frightened I could not tell my name.”⁷⁹ Women not only had their property confiscated by one army or another, but also experienced verbal and physical harassment by soldiers and

⁷⁵ Ibid., 154.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Jayhawkers were guerrilla fighters that crossed the state boarder from Kansas into Missouri and terrorized Missouri citizens. Phillips, 279.

⁷⁸ United Daughters of the Confederacy, Missouri Division, comp., *Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri During the Sixties*, (Ohio: Morningside House Inc., 1988), 35-36.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

guerrillas. Ustick was not alone in her survival of raids and searches of her property; women all over the country found themselves in similar situations.

Experiences similar to the one described spurred women to take on more professional roles. Women needed to enter the workforce after the war; with so many men dead or wounded it often fell to women to become the primary wage earner. According to David Williams, a social historian, women struggled against societal norms to take on new roles following the war, “Though their services were needed... they still faced resentment from men and sometimes other women, constrained as they were by a ‘cult of domesticity’ that placed strict boundaries on what women should and should not do.”⁸⁰ It was out of this domestic role that women strived to expand their place in society.

Women in America were still expected to follow traditional gender roles; these expectations were sometimes at odds with tasks that women needed to accomplish to support their families. In her doctoral dissertation, Megan Boccardi wrote that in the South women were expected to stay at home and manage the home, while men worked and served as the head of the household “although the antebellum slaveholding household no longer existed, the hierarchies of race, class, and gender that existed in the household continued to shape the avenues through which... women could work.”⁸¹ In the years following the war, women struggled to transform their roles in the home and in society.

How far women were able to expand their role really depended on a woman’s status. Williams concludes that wealthier women were in a better position to shape their roles “social position mattered, and women’s routes of empowerment were usually limited

⁸⁰ David Williams, *A Peoples History of the Civil War: Struggles for the Meaning of Freedom* (New York: The New Press 2005), 5.

⁸¹ Megan Boccardi, “Remembering in Black and White: Missouri Women’s Memorial Work 1860-1910” (PhD diss., University of Missouri, 2011), 4, accessed July 2, 2013, <http://hdl.handle.net/10355/14392>.

more by class than by gender.”⁸² Wealthy women were able to engage in more activities than lower class women, they had more resources available to them and tended not to engage in socially unacceptable behaviors. As mentioned by Williams, one of the most influential accomplishments that women took part in was philanthropic activities, “philanthropic activity was an area in which upper-class women traditionally took a role, and it was in that role that they had their greatest impact.”⁸³ It was in the role of philanthropist that a woman was best able to expand her role in society and have a hand in the formation of the public memory of the war.

The opportunities to expand women’s roles outside of the home were primarily available to upper class white women, and were not available to lower class or black women. Since the ability to move out of the cult of domesticity was based on a woman’s class status, it can be inferred that the women who were active in the UDC in Missouri were members of the upper class. Boccardi discusses the status of several women who were involved in the UDC in Missouri, “At the outbreak of the war, these women and their families were privileged people and undoubtedly expected to live out their lives in security and prosperity.”⁸⁴ These women were primarily from prosperous slaveholding families who were able to hold their place in society despite their losses during the war.

Women’s efforts in the memorialization process played a pivotal role in the preservation of the history of the Civil War. Boccardi discusses the work of women in memorializing the war, “By memorializing their men and asserting their heroics and sacrifice as defenders of the family...women helped ease the transition from the antebellum household to the post war

⁸² Williams, 132.

⁸³ Ibid., 132-133.

⁸⁴ Boccardi, 21-22.

family.”⁸⁵ Through their memorializing activities, women were able to assist their families as they found their place in the newly constructed society. Additionally, the memorialization process was healing, for the women who took part and for society.

Ladies became involved in the memorialization of the war, in part because it was a way to express their views in a socially acceptable manner. Brown mentions that women’s involvement in the memorialization process was accepted in nineteenth century American society, “One of the interesting aspects of the memorialization of the Civil War was the fact that not only were women more involved, but it was also seen as acceptable by society that women held leadership roles in this movement.”⁸⁶ Women were able to successfully participate in activities related to memorialization of the war, with the approval of society.

Since women were often relegated to roles that centered on the home, it was only as society began to change that it became acceptable for women to engage in memorial activities. According to Julie Des Jardins, a leading historian on gender in American history, there was a shift in society following the Civil War that enabled women to become the caretakers of American history, “The scarcity of male elementary and secondary educators after the Civil War prompted women to take their knowledge of history outside the home in unprecedented numbers to make it their vocation in local schoolhouses and libraries.”⁸⁷ Women were given the opportunity to use their knowledge of history to educate children outside their own homes, for the first time after the war. Des Jardins concludes that women began to receive acknowledgement from society for their historical knowledge and this encouraged them to become more active in local and national history, “They found that their designated

⁸⁵ Ibid., 5.

⁸⁶ Brown, 22.

⁸⁷ Julie Des Jardins, *Women & the Historical Enterprise in America: Gender, Race, and the Politics of Memory, 1880-1945* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 2.

responsibility as custodians of the local past allowed them to perform the work of historical preservation, paid and unpaid, with authority, influence, and social acceptance.”⁸⁸ Women of the nineteenth century discovered that they were liberated from some of the constraints of society through their engagement in historical endeavors.

As a result of the involvement of women in memorialization of the Civil War in both the north and south, there were many ladies organizations that were formed to celebrate the memory of the war. The first women’s organizations were known as ladies memorial associations. As discussed by Brown, these women’s groups first developed in the south “Ladies Memorial Associations formed in communities throughout the South shortly after the war to attend to the final disposition of soldiers’ remains and sponsor mourning ceremonies and monuments.”⁸⁹ These organizations were formed with missions to care for and memorialize those who died in the war. The women’s groups played a pivotal role in the advancement of post-Civil War society in the south. According to Caroline Janney, a scholar on women’s history, it was these women’s organizations that helped the south cope after the war “white southerners frequently hailed the critical role Ladies’ Memorial Associations (LAMAS) had played in crafting the traditions that honored the Confederate cause and keeping alive a sense of white southern solidarity.”⁹⁰ Many southerners were grateful for the services provided by the LAMAS, for without an organized effort celebrations like Decoration Day might not have been carried forward.

The development of Decoration Day had its roots in early informal commemorative acts that were performed by women at home. Blight mentions that women participated in

⁸⁸ Ibid.,3.

⁸⁹ Brown, 4.

⁹⁰ Caroline E. Janney, *Burying the Dead but not the Past: Ladies Memorial Associations & the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 2.

commemorative activities while the war was still being fought, “Women had begun rituals of burial and remembrance in informal ways well before the war ended, both in towns on the home front and at the battlefield.”⁹¹ It was women who took on the task of burying the fallen and celebrating the war. Then, out of this experience Decoration Day⁹² was created as people began to take flowers to cemeteries and memorials.⁹³ The origins of Decoration Day, now known as Memorial Day, lay in the commemorative events that took place following the war.

There were several individuals and communities involved in establishing the first American holiday devoted to memorialization. The first Memorial Day was celebrated on May 30, 1868. According to Blight, “the Grand Army of the Republic, the Union veterans’ organization, called on communities to conduct grave-decorating ceremonies.”⁹⁴ Many northerners participated in the grave decorating events, and the activities began to quickly become popular across the country.

In the south, a similar ritual was begun in the spring to celebrate the dead. Blight mentions the various dates on which southerners decorated graves, “In 1866 the Ladies’ Memorial Association of Columbus, Ga., chose April 26, the anniversary of Gen. Joseph Johnston’s final surrender to Gen. William T. Sherman, to commemorate fallen Confederate soldiers.”⁹⁵ This date, April 26, was the first date chosen for Decoration Day in the south,

⁹¹ David W. Blight, “Decoration Days: The Origins of Memorial Day in North and South” in *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture*, eds. Alice Fahs and Joan Waugh, 94-129 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 94.

⁹² Juneteenth was another holiday that originated after the Civil War. Juneteenth is an African American holiday that celebrates the emancipation of all slaves. The celebration began in Galveston, Texas on June 19, 1865, when union troops arrived to announce that the war was over and that all slaves were free. In 1980, Juneteenth became an official Texas holiday. “JUNETEENTH,” *Africa and the Americas: Culture, Politics and History*, Credo Reference, (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2008), accessed 11 October, 2012.

⁹³ Blight, “Decoration Days, 94.

⁹⁴ David Blight, “Forgetting Why We Remember,” *The New York Times* (May 29, 2011), <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/30/opinion/30blight.html? r=0> (accessed July 16, 2013).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

however, May 10 and June 3 were also used in particular regions.⁹⁶ Also, there are other communities throughout the country that were involved in grave decorating.⁹⁷ Since there are multiple locations that lay claim to the inception of Decoration Day, it is quite possible that grave decorations were, in fact, first used in many locations at similar times and that all should be given credit for the founding of this day.

One of the first Decoration Days was notable for its unique participants. In Charleston, South Carolina, just after the war ended, a memorial ceremony took place to honor the fallen Union soldiers who were held in the makeshift prison at the former race track. According to Blight, in order to honor the dead Union soldiers the local blacks reburied them and held a ceremony “[they] built an archway over an entrance on which they inscribed the words, ‘Martyrs of the Race Course’.”⁹⁸ For the local black community the memorial ceremony was a way to demonstrate their views of the war.

There were also several individuals who were involved in the creation of Decoration Day as a holiday. One woman, credited by the UDC with beginning Decoration Day was Sue Langdon Vaughn. According to an account by Mrs. J. J. Holt, who was a friend of Vaughn’s, the first Decoration Day was in 1865, very shortly after the surrender at Appomattox and the end of the Civil War. Vaughn, who happened to be living in Jackson, Mississippi at the time that she

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ The small town of Boalsburg, Pennsylvania claims to have decorated the first graves while the war was still taking place, in 1863, and thereby alleged to have begun Decoration Day. Another town, Waterloo, New York, also lays claim to establishing Decoration Day, by placing decorations on the graves of Civil War soldiers on May 5, 1866. This site was recognized by Congress in 1966 as the site of the inception of Memorial Day. Conrad Cherry, “Two American Sacred Ceremonies: Their Implications for the Study of Religion in America,” *American Quarterly* 21 (Winter 1969), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2711606> (accessed April 11, 2013). A third rural community that asserts its claim as the location of the first to decorate graves is Columbus, Missouri. The New York Tribune reported an account of Missouri women decorating Union graves in April 1863 in Columbus. Following the printing of the news, it was believed that Columbus was the site of the first Decoration Day activities. “Memorial Day has Roots in a Missouri Cemetery” *Pantagraph*, May 27, 1991, <https://login.cyrano.ucmo.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/251871659?accountid=6143> (accessed on April 13, 2013).

⁹⁸ Blight, “Forgetting,” 3.

received word of Lee's surrender had been "reading the accounts of Marathon and Plato, of how the Greeks garlanded their heroes with olive and ribbon wreaths..."⁹⁹ It was her choice of reading on this day that inspired her to decorate the graves of the fallen soldiers. Vaughn was then so caught up in the moment and the plight of the South and its soldiers, that she ripped out a page from Plutarch and wrote a missive to all Southerners "an appeal to the daughters of Southland to meet at the cemetery in Jackson, Miss., April 26, 1865, at 2 p.m. to garland the graves of our fallen braves, our heroes in gray, who defended with heart and hand our bannered cross, our sacred Southland."¹⁰⁰ This message was printed in the local paper and was seen by many in the south who heeded the message and began decorating the graves of soldiers on the appointed day. Thus, according to Holt's account, Vaughn helped to found the day that Southerners could use to commemorate and memorialize their fallen heroes.

A second individual who was credited with founding Decoration Day was Union General John Logan. Logan was the commander of the federal army in 1868 and designated May thirtieth as a day to celebrate the fallen soldiers of the war. General Logan's order officially created Decoration Day in the north.¹⁰¹ Without General Logan's mandate, Decoration Day might not have been given a place as an official holiday.

Over time, the popularity of Decoration Day began to diminish. Decoration Day and other rituals like it were eventually overshadowed by the creation and dedication of monuments.¹⁰² Brown mentions that monuments quickly became popular and a new market was created for items associated with commemoration of the war. He concludes that many businesses became involved in the marketing of commemorative items, "Railroads and

⁹⁹ Blight, "Decoration Days", 94.

¹⁰⁰ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Reminiscences*, 15-16.

¹⁰¹ "Memorial Day has Roots in a Missouri Cemetery."

¹⁰² Blight, *Decoration Days*, 107.

merchants encouraged veterans' reunions, the developers of battlefield parks shared in the growth of the tourism industry, and printmakers sought to stimulate consumer demand for images associated with the war."¹⁰³ Many businessmen quickly realized that there was a profit to be made out of the memorialization movement.

However, there were differences on the types of commemorative projects that were given priority in the north and the south. According to Brown, in the north, there were several activities and rituals that were incorporated into the memorialization of the war "observance of Memorial Day and campaigns to promote recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance, secure adoption of a national anthem, and fly the American flag over every school house."¹⁰⁴ For northerners there was a focus on nationalism in the commemorative activities that were practiced. Also, Brown discusses the commemorative activities of the south. He maintains that in the south, there was one primary project that occupied everyone's attention "memorials are the chief business of the United Daughters of the Confederacy."¹⁰⁵ In the years following the war, the United Daughters of the Confederacy emerged as the caretaker of the memory of the war and the organization's primary method of preserving the memory of the south during the war was to create memorials.

It was not until thirty years after the war that one of the most well-known women's organizations, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, was officially founded as a national organization. Brown discusses the founding of this organization:

The establishment of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) in 1894 created an organizational structure beyond the local level and sustained commemoration as an everyday social activity rather than a series of isolated projects like reinterments or annual Memorial Day observances.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Brown, 5.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 23.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Brown, 4.

The UDC would grow to become a large organization that would become increasingly involved in memorializing the war. One of the ways that members of the UDC and other women's organizations engaged in philanthropic activities was through providing various types of assistance to veterans' homes. Veterans' homes, particularly Confederate ones, always needed funds, and women's philanthropic activities provided just the answer that they needed. The United Daughters of the Confederacy along with other women's groups began to volunteer their time and money to assist the soldiers' homes.

The main contribution that these women's organizations made to the veterans' homes was in the form of fundraising. According to R. B. Rosenberg, a prominent scholar on Confederate veterans' homes, when ladies organizations assisted with fundraising they usually had a clear objective established "there goals were often quite specific: purchasing needed medical supplies, rocking chairs, spittoons, fly swatters, or croquet sets or outfitting an entire reading room and amusement hall."¹⁰⁷ The contributions from these women's organizations enabled many soldiers' homes to continue to provide the care needed for their residents. Not only did the UDC contribute money to the soldiers' homes, but they also began to be concerned with the general welfare of the veterans. Rosenberg mentions the women's involvement with the support of veterans "various UDC chapters appointed home committees to ensure that the old soldiers were properly cared for in their remaining years."¹⁰⁸ The welfare of the veterans was of great concern to the ladies who volunteered. Women would take turns visiting the veterans in the homes and this ritual became ingrained as a part of the everyday life in the home.¹⁰⁹ For the

¹⁰⁷ R.B. Rosenberg, *Living Monuments: Confederate Soldiers' Homes in the New South*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press), 1993, 139.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

women who were members of the ladies associations these activities were enjoyable and enabled them to engage in a different aspect of memorialization.

While the help from the women's groups was appreciated by the administrators of the veterans' homes, it was limited to raising money and providing furnishings. The involvement of women in the homes was restricted to "home making" activities. If women tried to involve themselves in the policy making of an institution, the male employees and directors opposed them. This illustrates the tensions between society's expectations for women and the post-war realities. According to Welter, "Woman was to work in silence... She was to work only for pure affection, without thought of money or ambition."¹¹⁰ These ideals did not take into account the realities that women faced following the war, which included losing their male heads of household and needing to support themselves and their families. Rosenberg provides an example of the opposition that women faced, "Women had certainly planned and supported the homes, but their worthy contributions did not necessarily mean they were regarded as capable of managing the institutions."¹¹¹ The activities that women engaged in during their work with the veterans' homes fell within the boundaries of the roles that were defined in the cult of domesticity. Women struggled to break out of these roles and be given the opportunity to take on managerial responsibilities.

Women encountered this same situation in the larger Confederate celebration movement, where the only roles they were allowed to occupy with were those that were an extension of the home, such as cooking and sewing for fundraising. A clear example of this sentiment can be seen in Missouri. The Daughters of the Confederacy women's organization in Missouri did a great deal of work and fundraising to create the Confederate Veterans' Home that was

¹¹⁰ Welter, 160.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 140.

established in Higginsville, Missouri; however, Rosenberg explains that women were not invited to be part of the Home's administration, "[they] raised nearly \$75,000 and planned, built, and equipped their state's home. But when the time came to decide who would compose the board of managers for the Missouri home, only veterans were invited to serve."¹¹² While men may have had the initial idea to create the veterans' home, it was the women who made it a reality with their ability to secure funds and make it a true home for the veterans. Then, once the home was established, the women who had played such an instrumental role in its creation were pushed aside due to the perception that women were not qualified to occupy managerial positions at the Home.

The Daughters of the Confederacy (D.O.C.) was a women's organization that was formed in response to the needs of the ex-Confederate association of Missouri.¹¹³ The Saint Louis organization of the Daughters of the Confederacy was the prequel to the national UDC organization, and was created in January 1891. These two groups, the D.O.C. and the UDC, remained separate until 1902. The women of Missouri first became involved with the Home Association when they helped raise money to finish the initial building project at the Higginsville site of the Home for ex-Confederate veterans. The ex-Confederates did not have the funds that they needed to finish the project, so under the leadership of Antoinette Cassidy, the women of St. Louis banded together and formed a supplementary association called the Daughters of the Confederacy. At first, there was only a small group of women who were involved in the activities of the Daughters of the Confederacy. As their first president the members elected

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ In 1889 the Confederate Home Association was established to create a soldiers' home for ex-Confederate veterans in Higginsville, Missouri. The organization was founded by former Confederates to care for their less fortunate brethren who needed assistance after the war. The Home Association purchased property in Higginsville, MO to construct their Home; however, they did not have enough funds to complete the project. The D.O.C. was then formed by women of Missouri in response to the funding needs of the Home. Bernard C. Hunt, comp., *History of the Confederate Home*, Confederate Memorial State Historic Site Collection, Confederate Memorial State Historic Site, Higginsville, MO, 1936, 2.

Margaret McClure, and for vice president Antoinette Cassidy.¹¹⁴ It was under the leadership of these two women that the Missouri D.O.C. would grow into a successful organization that strove to preserve the memory of the war.

Under the guidance of McClure and Cassidy, the ladies of Missouri devoted their time and money to assisting with the establishment of a home for ex-Confederate veterans. Blight mentions that the women worked tirelessly to assist in the construction of the Home, “the members of the Daughters of the Confederacy proved steadfast in their desire to construct a Confederate Home, canvassing the state for funds and new members to help their cause.”¹¹⁵ This group of women was very active in their philanthropic activities for the Home Association. According to Francis Vaughn, historian for the Missouri division of the UDC, the women quickly began to raise money for the Home, “Within a few weeks, the small band of women had raised \$2,000.00.”¹¹⁶ The large amount of funds raised encouraged the women to plan more activities to raise more money. Vaughn also discusses some of the other fundraising activities of the women of the D.O.C. “with balls, picnics, strawberry and ice cream festivals, they were able to raise \$30,000.00 to erect the Main Building, a two-story home with spacious verandas and broad sweeping porches.”¹¹⁷ The women of the D.O.C. were very creative in the ideas and activities they employed to obtain funding for the home. All of the funds raised by the D.O.C. went toward the construction of the Home for Ex-Confederate Veterans in Higginsville, MO.

Since the women of the D.O.C. raised the funds for the main building at the Home in Higginsville, they were given the building by the Home Association. The main building was built in the Colonial style, with two floors, and large verandas which spanned half way around

¹¹⁴ Mary Poppenheim, et al, *The History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy*, (Raleigh, North Carolina: Edwards & Broughton Co., 1956), 2-3.

¹¹⁵ Blight, “Remembering in Black and White,” 171.

¹¹⁶ Francis Eloise Vaughn, “Confederate Veterans Home, Chapel and UDC Cemetery.” *UDC Magazine*, 1994, 10.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

the Home. According to Bernard Hunt, a local UDC member who wrote about the Home, the women of the D.O.C. also helped furnish the inside of the Home, “Beyond the large entrance hall and to the right is a beautiful room dedicated to the memory of Gen. John S. Marmaduke and Capt. William Robinson McClure, son of Mrs. M.A.E. McClure of St. Louis.”¹¹⁸ The women of the D.O.C. were able to not only raise the money to construct the buildings, but were also able to help decorate much of the Home.

The D.O.C. continued to assist the Home with its mission and to provide necessary funds after the opening of the Home in 1891. The following year the women of the D.O.C. raised the funds needed to construct a chapel for the residents of the Home.¹¹⁹ Contributions from the members of the D.O.C. also helped construct and furnish a hospital and several cottages for veterans and their families at the Home.¹²⁰ The women of the D.O.C. were able to play an important role in the founding and operation of the Home; without their fundraising assistance, the Home Association would not have been able to sustain the operation of the Home.

The leaders of the D.O.C., Cassidy and McClure, were the driving force behind the success of the D.O.C. and the fundraising for the Home. Even though Cassidy was the one who began the D.O.C. and led the fundraising activities, McClure was a perfect choice for president; she was one of the most respected southern women and a passionate supporter of the Confederacy. According to an historical account published by the United Daughters of the Confederacy, McClure had engaged in many activities to support the Confederacy during the war, “She was a constant visitor in the hospitals and prisons...”¹²¹ McClure was an avid supporter of the Confederacy and did what she could to support other Confederates.

¹¹⁸ Hunt, 2.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Vaughn, 10.

¹²¹ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Reminiscences*, 78.

McClure was able to use her position in St. Louis society to assist the Confederacy. She participated in clandestine missions, provided Confederate soldiers a place to stay, and helped get mail through enemy lines and back to the Confederacy. Then, in 1863 she was arrested and imprisoned in her house, which was converted into a prison for female supporters of the Confederacy.¹²² McClure spent several months imprisoned in her own home for her acts to help support the Confederacy in Missouri, before being sent across the battle lines and back into the Confederacy by Federal authorities.¹²³ It was not uncommon for either side to send women and children behind their respective battle lines who were sympathetic to the opposition. Only after the war was McClure able to return to Missouri. McClure continued to devote her time and energy into the support of the Cause up until her death in 1906, and was voted in as president of the D.O.C. for life.¹²⁴ McClure was admired by pro-Confederates and fellow members of the D.O.C., and without her involvement the organization may not have been able to accomplish all of its goals.

The D.O.C.'s vice president, Antoinette Cassidy, had a different background from McClure and brought her own unique skills to the organization. Cassidy was born in Louisville, Kentucky, but later traveled to St. Louis, Missouri, where she met her husband, Abner Cassidy.¹²⁵ After her marriage, Cassidy continued to reside in St. Louis with her husband and their children, Geneva and Abner.¹²⁶ She lived in Missouri for many years after the war and following the foundation of the D.O.C. Cassidy's involvement in the formation of the UDC was

¹²² Ibid., 78-79.

¹²³ Katharine T. Corbett, *In Her Place: A Guide to St. Louis Women's History* (St. Louis, Missouri: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1999), 97.

¹²⁴ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Reminiscences*, 83.

¹²⁵ Geneva C. Smith, to Mrs. Henry F. Chadeayne, 24 January 1968, Smith Letters, Civil War Manuscripts Collection, Kodner Archives, Missouri History Museum, St. Louis, Missouri.

¹²⁶ Geneva C. Smith, to Mrs. Henry F. Chadeayne, 28 December 1967, Smith Letters.

just as crucial to the success of the organization as the contributions of McClure.¹²⁷ While McClure was the president, it was Cassidy who actually carried out many of the leadership tasks of the organization.

Cassidy was very active in the early years of the D.O.C. and devoted a great deal of her time to making the organization a success. Cassidy's daughter, Geneva Smith, wrote that she was involved in all of the fundraisers put on by the D.O.C., "I can recall as a small child how diligently Mother worked for this organization and well recall the many Balls, garden parties, teas etc. she personally suggested and took charge of...."¹²⁸ Smith realized, even as a young girl, how involved her mother was in the activities of the D.O.C. Cassidy's husband was a strong supporter of the Confederacy and gave whatever help he could to assist Confederate soldiers as they eluded capture. Some believed that Cassidy's father had served in the Civil War, and that is in part why Cassidy was so devoted to the South.¹²⁹ In Smith's letters, written in her later years, she discusses the idea that her grandfather may have served in the Civil War, but she is unable to provide any documentation to confirm his service.

Cassidy was a unique woman, who devoted herself to helping Confederate veterans. It is her service to the memory of the Confederacy that leads her to devote considerable time and effort into the activities of the D.O.C. and to the ex-Confederate veterans at the Home in Higginsville. One of Cassidy's final activities was to join the Missouri D.O.C. with the larger national organization of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. As stated by the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the Missouri Division of the UDC was born in 1898, "The Missouri Division was formed in Fayette, Missouri, January 12, 1898, at the Court House in the

¹²⁷ Geneva C. Smith, to Mrs. Henry F. Chadeayne, 9 February 1968, Smith Letters.

¹²⁸ Geneva C. Smith, to Mrs. Henry F. Chadeayne, 13 December 1967, Smith Letters.

¹²⁹ Geneva C. Smith, to Mrs. Henry F. Chadeayne, 20 April 1968, Smith Letters.

Circuit court room.”¹³⁰ Missouri’s UDC was first created in 1898, out of the existing D.O.C., which had been led by Cassidy. The first chapter that was formed in Missouri was named the Margaret A. E. McClure chapter, in honor of McClure’s service to the organization and to the former Confederacy.

Cassidy was also honored by the UDC for her role in the creation of the organization. In the official history of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, she was given credit for founding the first chapter and with naming the organization.¹³¹ Without Cassidy’s work, the UDC may not have turned out to be a success. Unfortunately, after incorporating the D.O.C. into the UDC, Cassidy disappeared from the records of the organization. However, it is clear from her daughter’s letters that Cassidy lived for many years after she ceased to be involved with the UDC, and spent her later years living with Smith in New York.¹³² Cassidy played an instrumental role in the foundation of Missouri’s D.O.C. organization, and subsequently in the story of the creation of the veterans’ home in Higginsville, and as a result she has a place in the collective memory of the memorialization movement and the Home.

One and one half years after the Missouri D.O.C. officially became a part of the UDC, the group held its first convention. Hunt maintains that the Home in Higginsville was still a primary concern for the UDC and one of the goals at the first convention meeting in 1899 in Higginsville was to “acquire possession of the Confederate Home Cemetery...”¹³³ Several years would pass before the ladies of the UDC would see this goal obtained. The UDC would finally be granted the ownership of the cemetery in 1904.¹³⁴ Since the UDC ultimately retained

¹³⁰ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Missouri Division History United Daughters of the Confederacy*, <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~moudc/index.html> (accessed 29 October 2012).

¹³¹ Geneva C. Smith, to Mrs. Henry F. Chadeayne, 13 December 1967, Smith Letters.

¹³² *U.S. Census of 1940*, roll T627, New York, Kings, New York, p. 47, family 8500, household of Antoinette Cassidy.

¹³³ Hunt, 2.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

possession of the cemetery, the organization was able to continue to carry out its mission of memorializing the former Confederate veterans at the Home.

For more than twenty years, the members of the UDC continued their efforts to preserve the memory of the former Confederate soldiers primarily through activities at the cemetery in Higginsville. Then, Hunt explains that at their convention in 1927 the members made plans for a new memorial park on the grounds of the Home, “At the last State Convention held in October 1927, the Division voted to put the Park on a strong financial basis by voting a 50 percent capital tax for 5 years. By this plan the Division has about \$1,100.00 to spend each year for 5 years on the project.”¹³⁵ The women of the UDC were able once again to provide the funds needed to beautify the Home and ensure that it would be an enjoyable place for the remaining veterans. According to Vaughn, following the completion of the memorial park the UDC helped place a boulder monument on the grounds, “On June 3, 1934, a beautiful boulder of natural stone was placed in the park and dedicated to the Valor of the Confederate Veterans.”¹³⁶ This monument provided a physical illustration of the devotion of the UDC to the preservation of the memory of the war and the veterans who had served.

Over the years the UDC continued to provide support to the Home. In 1992 the UDC was able to preserve the memory of one of Missouri’s most notorious guerrillas of the war. Hunt mentions the re-internment of Quantrill, “Some of the remains of William Clarke Quantrill, donated by the Kansas Historical Society, were re-interred in the Cemetery.”¹³⁷ Quantrill had been a well-known Confederate guerrilla who had fought in Missouri and Kansas and bringing his remains to the cemetery in Higginsville was one of many ways that the ladies of the UDC were able to continue to celebrate and preserve memories of the war. Vaughn wrote about the

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Vaughn, 11.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

sentiments of the members of the UDC, “It seemed only fitting that this man who fought and held the rank of Captain in the Confederate Army should be there.”¹³⁸ The UDC members felt that due to his service to the Confederacy, Quantrill should rest in the Higginsville Confederate veterans’ cemetery. The following year there was a rededication service, at which time the UDC presented the original site of the chapel to the state park board.¹³⁹ This act of generosity was performed by the women of the UDC as a way to continue to preserve the memory of the war and the Confederate veterans who served. Due to Missouri’s unique position during the war, the “legend of the noble guerilla” was the icon that developed and was incorporated into the monuments, literature and history of the war and the Home in Higginsville, Missouri. Subsequently, reinterring the remains of one of the most famous guerillas, Quantrill, was seen by the UDC members as an accomplishment.

One of the activities in which members of the local UDC chapter participated in to honor the veterans of the Home was through performing a reenactment of the original 1893 dedication of the Home, on site in Higginsville. The dedication script helps illustrate some of the key motivations that led to the creation of the Home, “The Confederate soldier, wearied and haggard returned to an impoverished home, a bankrupt, and as a loyal citizen applied himself to the task of making a living for himself and those dependent upon him.”¹⁴⁰ The plight of the returning Confederate soldiers was one with which many Missourians could identify. Many of the former Confederates found themselves in difficult financial situations when they returned home:

But a few of them leaving the war in impaired health, and owing to various other misfortunes, are helpless and dependent, and providing for these a home the

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ “The 1893 Dedication of the confederate Home of Missouri – A Reenactment,” Confederate Memorial State Historic Site Collection, Confederate Memorial State Historic Site, Higginsville, MO, 1.

people of Missouri have a pleasant duty to perform, they have a noble charity, and a magnificent work.¹⁴¹

Notably, the sentiment expressed in this speech was one that resounded with many local citizens and with the ladies of the UDC. By caring for the unfortunate veterans they were able to honor the cause for which they had fought in the war.

The performance of the reenactment of the 1893 dedication of the Home, which was upheld as a tradition by the members of the Missouri UDC, helps to illustrate the way that Confederate veterans and others who aligned themselves with many of the political views and belief systems of the Confederacy, felt after the war. It also provides an explanation for why so many Missourians were sympathetic to the plight of the veterans and the subsequent devotion of the UDC to the preservation and memorialization of the veterans and their homes. If the UDC members did not understand the suffering that these men went through, mostly as a result of their experiences following the war, they would not have devoted so much of their efforts to caring for the veterans.

This devotion to the memorialization of the war and administering to the needs of the Confederate veterans, were some of the building blocks upon which the foundation for the national organization of the UDC was built. According to the history of the UDC, the national organization of the UDC was a compilation of various local groups that were created after the Civil War:

It is the oldest patriotic organization in our country because of its connection with two statewide organizations that came into existence as early as 1890 -- the Daughters of the Confederacy in Missouri and the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Confederate Soldiers Home in Tennessee.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹Ibid., 2.

¹⁴²United Daughters of the Confederacy, "About the UDC," <http://www.hqudc.org/> (accessed April 16, 2007).

The Ladies' Auxiliary in Tennessee was a women's organization that was shared a similar purpose with the Missouri D.O.C. Poppenheim, a UDC historian, writes that the group's activities were to be focused towards funding for the home and its residents "the raising of moneys, goods, chattels, provisions, livestock and all other needed or necessary articles to assist and help in maintaining and supporting the Confederate Soldiers Home in Davidson County, Tennessee...."¹⁴³ These activities were very similar to those engaged in by the members of the Missouri organization. In 1895 the Tennessee group officially became a part of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.¹⁴⁴ It was these two women's organizations, the Tennessee Ladies' Auxiliary and the Missouri D.O.C. that were instrumental in linking ladies groups across the country to form a national organization that would strive to preserve the memory of the war.

The national UDC organization was created in September 1894, with credit given to Caroline Meriwether Goodlett and Anna Davenport Raines for establishing the group. Since the UDC was formed out of local organizations, the mission of the national UDC was very similar to the goals of the associations from which it was created. A. A. Campbell, a Missouri UDC scholar, states that the group's primary purpose was "to honor the memory of those who served and those who fell in the service of the Confederate States; to protect, preserve, and mark places made historic by Confederate valor; to collect and preserve the material for a truthful history of the War between the States...."¹⁴⁵ UDC members worked hard over the years to uphold and fulfill these objectives and to help preserve the past. Success was obtained quickly by the UDC. By the early 1900s the group had approximately 100,000 members.¹⁴⁶ The structure of the new

¹⁴³ Poppenheim, 4

¹⁴⁴ A. A. Campbell, *The United Daughters of the Confederacy—Some of Their Aims and Accomplishments*, United Daughters of the Confederacy, John S. Marmaduke Chapter Scrapbook 1927-1929, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Ellis Library, University of Missouri, Columbia, MO.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Brown, 5.

organization was based on that of the Confederate Veterans.¹⁴⁷ Women who formed the UDC used the large men's organization as a model for their own group. Kammen maintains that veterans' organizations existed in most communities after the Civil War:

Their functions and activities were, in fact, very broad: social, militaristic, political, historical, and above all patriotic. The historical dimension mainly took the form of re-enactments and of occasional activities on behalf of civics education in the schools—usually seen as a means of inculcating patriotism.¹⁴⁸

The overall goals and activities of both the veterans' organizations and the women's groups were very similar. However, it would be the newly formed women's organization, the UDC, which would lead the country's efforts in memorializing the war.

After the first organizational meeting of the UDC, a misunderstanding began that resulted in controversy over the founding of the group. Goodlett, the president of the Nashville group and Raines, president of the Savannah group were at odds over how the concept of the national organization was developed.¹⁴⁹ Each woman claimed that she was the one responsible for initiating the first move to form a national organization. There were several committees formed within the UDC to decide the matter, the last of which met in November 1901. This committee was considered to have provided the official verdict which stated that there was not sufficient time or evidence to support either woman's claim. Many members believed that the credit should rightfully have went to Raines, who had provided letters she wrote to Goodlett that were dated before the first conventional meeting at which the group nationalized and where she mentions her idea to form a national organization. Officially however, the ruling by the committee is what the official UDC minutes reflect.¹⁵⁰ While there is still be some debate as to

¹⁴⁷ Poppenheim, 9.

¹⁴⁸ Kammen, 103.

¹⁴⁹ Poppenheim, 14.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 16-17.

whose idea it was to form the national UDC, the nationalization of the women's groups would not have taken place without the participation and leadership of both Raines and Goodlett.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy¹⁵¹ was one of many groups that were organized after the Civil War for the purpose of preserving the history, ideas, myths, and memories relating to the war. Out of all of the veterans and women's organizations that were dedicated to memorializing the Civil War, it was the women of the UDC who ultimately emerged as the guardians of the memories of the war. Kammen concludes that women who had good social standing were community leaders in historic preservation and other associated activities, "During the late nineteenth century women were the primary custodians of the American heritage in its tangible manifestations...."¹⁵² The members of the UDC took their role seriously and were able to lend their time and money to preserving the past as a way to facilitate opportunities for broader roles in society for women.

The work of the national UDC was essential to the memorialization of the Civil War. Once the organization was fully established, the members engaged in many activities to memorialize the war. Poppenheim writes that members worked to create monuments and memorials, assisted in the commemoration of the south and its leaders, provided a detailed written historical record of the Civil War and the work of the UDC, funded the education of sons and daughters of the Confederacy, and published a magazine which operated as "an organ of communication between Confederate soldiers and those who are interested in them and their affairs, and its purpose is to furnish a volume of information which will be acceptable to the

¹⁵¹ The UDC's northern counterpart was named the Women's Relief Corps. This organization was founded in 1883 as an offshoot from the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR). They also grew quickly and had reached 100,000 members by the early 1900s. Brown, 5.

¹⁵² Kammen, 266.

public, even to those who fought on the other side.”¹⁵³ All of these activities were instrumental in the involvement of women in the memorialization of the South following the Civil War; furthermore the UDC played a valuable role in preserving the history of the south.

Women played a valuable role in the preservation of the memory of the Civil War. The hardships that many ladies experienced during and after the war led them to seek out roles of leadership in the memorialization movement that emerged. It was through their involvement in women’s organizations like the UDC that they were able to gradually broaden the role of women not only in memorialization and preservation activities, but also in society. A particular focus of women’s preservation efforts were veterans’ homes. It was through the caring for and supporting of the Civil War veterans that women were able to engage in roles and activities that were acceptable to society by their association with home making and that propelled them to take the lead in the preservation of the collective memory of the war. The care and support of Civil War veterans comprised a large segment of the memorializing activities and would become increasingly important to organizations like the UDC.

¹⁵³ Poppenheim, 173.

CHAPTER 4 THE EARLY YEARS OF MISSOURI'S HOME FOR CONFEDERATE VETERANS

Following the Civil War, veterans' homes sprang up all over the country. The founding of soldiers' homes immediately preceding the Civil War was a part of the larger memorialization movement. As a result of the scale of the efforts to establish veterans' homes, this aspect of memorialization has been discussed as a movement in and of itself. In the north, the federal government established homes for the Union veterans and in the south, many veterans' organizations and women's groups founded homes for the Confederate veterans. The homes for Confederate veterans were different from their northern counterparts in their close association between the veterans and the preservation of the collective memory of the war. Confederate veterans homes were created out of a sense of obligation to the veterans who had fought and as a method by which the south could be preserved. The Confederate Veterans Home in Higginsville, Missouri, illustrates how the process of memorialization effected the overall path of America following the Civil War.

The role of the Confederate soldiers' homes in particular is a part of the larger movement to preserve the collective memory of the south. According to Rosenberg, a leading historian on veterans' homes, "the Confederate soldiers' home served as simultaneously a place of refuge, a museum, a military camp, an artificial city, and a shrine."¹⁵⁴ The Confederate veterans' homes were not only establishments that cared for the needs of veterans, but they also served the needs of other community members by helping to preserve the collective memory of the war. Veterans' homes did not originate with the Civil War: they had, in fact, existed for centuries. The first soldiers' home was founded in 1670 in France, and the earliest home to be established

¹⁵⁴ Rosenberg, 3.

in the United States was built in 1811 for naval veterans.¹⁵⁵ Homes for veterans existed in America before the Civil War began, however, they did not become popular until several years after the war was over. Rosenberg mentions that in 1851 Jefferson Davis, a senator at the time, helped to pass a bill that established the U. S. Soldiers' Home:

During the Civil War, the U. S. Sanitary Commission created temporary soldiers' homes or lodges, and in the south private residences were converted into makeshift convalescent homes to meet the needs of wounded men.¹⁵⁶

The importance of veterans' homes was seen even before the war began, however, it was not until after the war that their establishment became popular.

After the war, soldiers' homes were constructed all over the United States. Several homes for Confederate veterans were established across the United States, with the first homes founded in the 1880s and 1890s. In the north, there were homes founded and supported by the Grand Army of the Republic and the Woman's Relief Corps. In the South, soldiers' homes were supported by the United Confederate Veterans and the United Daughters of the Confederacy.¹⁵⁷ The involvement of these organizations in the establishment of the veterans' homes reflects the popularity of supporting veterans as a part of the memorialization movement.

On most accounts soldiers' homes that were established both in the north and the south were very similar. For both, there were large celebrations held for the homes' unveiling, and these homes acted in the same capacity for the most part. Rosenberg writes that the homes were "part workhouse, part asylum, and part final refuge."¹⁵⁸ These homes were more than just a place for veterans to spend their last days, they also housed those who were in need of medical treatment and provided occupations of a sort for able bodied veterans. Additionally, the home

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 4.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

administrators of both northern and southern homes had similar attitudes towards the veterans. Rosenberg discusses the mindsets of home administrators “[they] fought ceaseless battles against inmates’ intemperance, filth, and unchasteness; earnestly sought to combat the debilitating effects of wounds and disease heightened by old age....”¹⁵⁹ Many administrators acted as if they were the parents of the veterans and sought to make their behavior fulfill the upright and honorable ideals that they held in high regard.

There were, however, two distinct differences between northern and southern veteran homes. The foremost way in which the homes differed was that the southern homes were never given funds from the federal government, whereas the northern homes received a yearly contribution from the government. In return for the federal aid, northern homes were held accountable by the government. The southern homes, in contrast, were generally low on funds and were only accountable to their local governments.¹⁶⁰ This distinction in funding affected the way in which the northern and southern veterans’ homes were incorporated into the collective memory of the war.

Another area of contrast for the homes was that the southern homes only housed veterans of the Civil War, while the northern homes were for the veterans of all U.S. wars. As a result of this focus on the Confederate veterans in the south, Rosenberg argues that southern homes were much more focused on the preservation of the collective memory of the war “the Confederate homes remained forever Confederate, even if their military character was altered when most of the veterans had died and widows and other female relatives were admitted as a matter of policy.”¹⁶¹ This resulted in retention of the symbolic meaning of the homes for southerners.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 5.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

In both the north and the south, the individuals who participated in the establishment and support of veterans' homes shared a similar socioeconomic status. Rosenberg, believes that there was a specific social class that was involved in the founding of the soldiers' homes, "predominantly middle-class members of society eagerly responded to the needs of indigent but 'worthy' veterans by founding institutions and administering them..."¹⁶² It was primarily members of the middle class who were involved in the support of veterans' homes, and who devoted their time to caring for the needs of the veterans. These middle-class Americans had the means and the opportunity to become involved in the care and support of the less fortunate veterans.

One of the first homes for Confederate soldiers was created by other ex-Confederates who came together and established a Confederate veterans' home. Rosenberg describes the formation of the first veterans' home, Robert E. Lee Camp No. 1:

Formed in 1883, the group was primarily dedicated to 'minister[ing]...to the wants of' disabled comrades languishing in poor houses throughout the South. Its roughly forty charter members consisted largely of skilled craftsmen and clerical workers....¹⁶³

This first veteran's home was created to address the needs of the underprivileged Confederate veterans. After about ten years, this group followed the national trend and was comprised primarily of the middle-class. According to Rosenberg this group would serve as the model for future home organizations "this group would function as the parent society for more than 3,000 veterans residing throughout the South."¹⁶⁴ In the years after the war, many other veterans' homes would be established across the country.

¹⁶² Ibid., 7.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 9.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

Directly following the war, many southerners faced hardships, including financial problems. As the losers of the war, much of the Southerners way of life and former wealth was lost. The socioeconomic status of the members of the veterans groups grew in the south in later years and, these same individuals became the leading citizens of the local communities.¹⁶⁵ Members of local and national veterans' organizations were able to overcome their financial difficulties and move into leadership roles in their communities, in later years. The motivations of the members of veterans' organizations are defined by Rosenberg, "They were motivated not only by a sense of comradeship and humanitarianism but also by what they themselves defined as their sacred duty."¹⁶⁶ These individuals believed that caring for veterans was the way in which they could preserve the memory of the war and the causes for which the veterans fought.

Ex-Confederate veterans who lived in the soldiers' homes had many shared characteristics. Among those obvious shared traits was that of their service to the Confederacy. Rosenberg mentions the veteran's shared military service, "They were men who during the prime of their lives had bravely shouldered a musket and marched off to drive the Yankee invaders from their lands."¹⁶⁷ More than any other trait, the act of fighting for the South bonded these men together. Most of veterans were soldiers in the war when they were in the prime of their lives, and found themselves to be impoverished by the time they reached middle age. For many Confederate veterans, not only did they give the best years of their life to the cause, but, as discussed by Rosenberg, also their health "an estimated one of every five Confederate soldiers was wounded during the war."¹⁶⁸ Those veterans who were wounded in the war were often unable to work to support themselves and their families when the war was over. Once a man

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 11.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 12.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 13.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 14.

was wounded, it then became harder for him to earn a living, which often resulted in the soldier living in a soldiers' home.¹⁶⁹ Even though there was an immediate need for many veterans after the war, it would take several years before the Confederate veterans' homes were established in a variety of communities.

Over the course of the Confederate soldiers' home movement, there were developments in the way that the homes were organized and the technologies utilized in the homes. Veterans' homes underwent many changes in the administration, funding, use of indoor plumbing, electricity, and other modern technologies. The homes themselves were expanded with new out buildings, more staff members, and infirmaries. Another improvement was the referral of the ill inmates to a nearby hospital for more in-depth care.¹⁷⁰ Many of these innovations were only adopted after state governments took over the management of the homes. Rosenberg asserts that frequently, the funding for these homes came from a variety of sources, "Administrators pieced together annual budgets with an eclectic mix of contributions from local government, the proceeds of community fund-raising, and other private sources."¹⁷¹ Confederate veterans' homes were often short on funds and relied heavily on local contributions from wealthy citizens and the organizations of veteran's and women's groups. Even after the state governments began to fund the soldiers' homes, balancing the budget was difficult. For most homes, the idea was that they should be nearly self-sufficient, although this did not occur.¹⁷² As the veterans aged, they required more care and subsequently the cost of caring for the soldiers only increased over time.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 132-135.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 135.

¹⁷² Ibid., 135-136.

Eventually, the memorialization of the Civil War began to decline. Two historians, Foster and Rosenberg provide different views on exactly when the decline of both the memorialization movement and the Confederate veterans' homes occurred. Foster's argument is that the memorialization movement began to slowly shift and a combination of factors led to the decline of the significance of preserving the memory of the Confederacy. Conversely, Rosenberg believes that the decline in veterans' homes did not occur until several years after the supposed decline of memorialization.

Foster argues that there were social and political issues that effected how Americans felt about the memorialization of the war and the support of veterans' homes. He states that the factors included the Spanish-American War, and "the nature of the Confederate celebration itself changed."¹⁷³ As the movement became popular, businessmen were able to profit from it, and all types of artifacts and publications were created to promote the movement. Also, Foster concludes that as the war became more distant the groups of wealthier southerners were not as concerned with the plight of the more impoverished, "The upper and middle classes, who had always dominated the celebration, seemed decidedly less interested in mobilizing the lower classes."¹⁷⁴ The lack of interest on the part of the more prosperous southerners may have been due in part to the decrease in Confederate veterans who were still living. He believes that the movement, including veterans' homes, began to decline before World War I.

Rosenburg's view is that the decline of Confederate soldier's homes did not occur until the 1920s. During the 1920s, several changes took place that led to dissolution of veterans' homes. One of the most significant changes to take place was the in administration of the

¹⁷³ Ibid., 163.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

homes. By the 1920s, most veterans' homes had been taken over by their state governments.¹⁷⁵ Once the states took control, they instituted changes in the homes organizational structure, which led to a decrease in the general population of veterans. According to Rosenberg, the majority Civil War veterans were either already living in a veterans' home or had died by the 1920s, "By 1920, more than three-fourths of all the veterans who would ever be enrolled in the homes had already been admitted."¹⁷⁶ As a result, Rosenberg concludes that the decline in Confederate veterans' homes occurred after the decline in the Confederate celebration.

In the years following the Civil War, there were two veterans' homes that were established in Missouri. The first veterans' home to be established was founded by the Southern Historical and Benevolent Association for Confederate veterans in Higginsville, Missouri, and the second veterans' home, which was for federal soldiers, was established in 1897, in St. James, Missouri. The Federal Soldiers' Home in St. James was founded to provide a home for the federal veterans who needed assistance in the later years of their life. The primary goal of the home was to take care of federal soldiers and their families, as mentioned by the State Historical Society of Missouri:

Union veterans of the Civil War, their wives, widows and army nurses, where these worthy people should be supplied with the necessities of life, receive the benefit of medical attention, and thus be enabled to spend their last days free from want and care."¹⁷⁷

While the federal veteran's home was initially established to care for Civil War veterans, the admission requirements were changed, in later years, to allow veterans from all wars.

The home in St. James was successful, from the beginning. In the first year of operation, the Federal Soldiers' Home cared for 90 veterans and their wives, with the average age of those

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 147.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ State Historical Society of Missouri, *Index of Residents State Federal Soldiers' Home of Missouri St. James, Missouri 1899-1946*, (Columbia, MO: The State Historical Society of Missouri), 1998, 1.

living at the home being 66.¹⁷⁸ While the veterans living at the home were still relatively young, ninety veterans was a large number to care for. It was reported by the home's Board of directors that the home did not have appropriate staffing and supplies to assist all of the men and women who needed medical care during their time at the home. The State Historical Society of Missouri recorded the situation at the federal home during the early years, "The large number of those seeking to the Home are old and feeble, each succeeding year adds to their infirmities, and those requiring hospital care and treatment will increase in rapid proportion to the number in the Home."¹⁷⁹ Caring for the elderly and disabled required a great deal of resources and even though the home received federal funds, putting the staff and medical expertise in place took time.

By the 1920s the number of residents at the home had reached its peak. The enrollment of members at the home was nearly 300 in the 1920s, and by the 1946 biennial report enrollment was back down to 235 members.¹⁸⁰ Enrollment at the home decreased in the 1930s following the pattern of decline of veterans' homes. During the 1950s The Federal Soldiers' Home joined the National Association of State Veterans Homes.¹⁸¹ By joining together with other federally funded veterans' homes, the home in St. James hoped to be able to better perform. According to the National Association of State Veterans Homes, this organization was created to assist the various state veterans' homes and to "promote legislation at the national level and share common problems and experiences."¹⁸² The home in St. James is still in operation today. The Federal Soldiers' Home at St. James is now a state facility that is governed by the Missouri Veterans

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 7.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 4.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 97-101,164.

¹⁸¹ National Association of State Veterans Homes, "About Us/Who We Are," http://www.nasvh.org/about/about_purpose.cfm (accessed 9 December 2012).

¹⁸² Ibid.

Commission and accommodates 150 members.¹⁸³ The Home at St. James quickly lost its symbolic association with the Civil War, since veterans of all wars were accepted at the Home, and subsequently the history and memory of this home traveled down a different path than the Confederate Home founded in Higginsville, MO.

In the years after the Civil War, many states and private groups began to establish veterans' homes in response to the overwhelming needs of disabled and indigent veterans, from both the north and the south. As previously mentioned, the primary difference between the homes established to care for Union and Confederate veterans was that the federal homes received funding from the federal government, whereas the Confederate veteran's homes were left to private organizations, and in the case of Missouri's Home, eventually to the state to provide funding.

The establishment of the Confederate Veterans Home in Higginsville, Missouri, begins with the inception of two distinct organizations: the Southern Historical and Benevolent Association, and the Confederate Soldiers of St. Louis, Inc. The Southern Historical and Benevolent Association was the first to be created in the year following the Civil War.¹⁸⁴ For several years after its inception, the group could not meet on a regular basis due to the passage of several laws limiting the activities of former Confederates. Since Missouri was under martial law during the war, and the government was controlled by the Radical Republican party following the war, many laws were passed that kept former Confederates from pursuing certain activities, including voting. Ex-Confederates were required to sign an oath of allegiance before they could regain their rights. Additionally, Lloyd Hunter, a Missouri historian, mentions that anyone who had served the Confederacy was kept from pursuing several occupations:

¹⁸³ National Association of State Veterans Homes, "Missouri Veterans Home," http://www.nasvh.org/dir_statehomes/stateHome.cfm?ID=64 (accessed 9 December 2012).

¹⁸⁴ Hunt, 1.

the constitution prohibited Missourians who had sympathized with the South from practicing certain professions... Even corporation trustees and church officers had to adhere to the so-called Ironclad Oath before they could assume their positions.¹⁸⁵

These laws inhibited the ability of members of the Southern Historical and Benevolent Association from operating their organization the way they wished, but drew them together in their shared persecution.

The idea for a soldiers' home was born in the 1880's when several ex-Confederate veterans met near Higginsville, Missouri. Members of the Southern Historical and Benevolent Association met to discuss the plight of their underprivileged comrades, according to documentation by the Confederate Memorial State Historic Site:

the Missouri State Encampment of Confederate Veterans, met in Higginsville in 1889 where it was decided that something ought to be done to help take care of those less fortunate fellow veterans and their families who could not care for themselves.¹⁸⁶

This sentiment was shared by many who survived the war, and inspired some of the members to put their words into action and discover a way to care for the underprivileged veterans.

As the idea took shape, the ex-Confederate veterans formed an organization to create the soldiers' home they had envisioned. Hunt wrote that the establishment of the Confederate Home Association, in August 1889, made the soldier's home a reality.¹⁸⁷ The views of the association were expressed by Rosenberg, "No Confederate soldier in Missouri need... go to the poor-house or beg on the streets..."¹⁸⁸ This sentiment was aptly supported by all the members as they proceeded with the plans for the creation of the Home.

¹⁸⁵Lloyd A. Hunter, "Missouri's Confederate Leaders after the War," *Missouri Historical Review*, 67, 379 (1973), <http://statehistoricalsocietyofmissouri.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/mhr/id/34965/rec/101> (accessed on 9 December 2012).

¹⁸⁶ *Confederate Memorial State Historic Site*, Confederate Memorial State Historic Site Collection, Confederate Memorial State Historic Site, Higginsville, MO.

¹⁸⁷ Hunt, 1.

¹⁸⁸ Rosenberg, 44.

Over the next five months the Confederate Home Association formed a committee and began the search for a location at which to build the veterans home. By January 1890, the Home Association purchased a farm near Higginsville, Missouri, which provided them with over three hundred acres of property. “The committee paid \$18,000 for the farm,” wrote Hunt, “the necessary amount being raised by the citizens of Lafayette County.”¹⁸⁹ The property was purchased from local landowner Grove Young, a Union supporter during the Civil War.¹⁹⁰ Now that they had the property, the Confederate Home Association and the citizens of Lafayette County prepared to build their soldiers’ home.

Before the building of the home could begin, however, funds had to be raised. The United Daughters of the Confederacy, or D.O.C., played a significant role in the creation of the Home, and led the fundraising to construct and furnish the Home.¹⁹¹ Fundraising for the veterans’ home took a year, and on April 17, 1891, the first building was completed. Following the completion of the main building, Julius Bamberg was admitted as the first resident of the Home.¹⁹² Without the assistance of the D.O.C., the dreams of a home for Confederate veterans in Missouri might not have been realized. The women of Missouri fulfilled an important role in administering the veterans’ home. The ladies of the D.O.C. preformed the majority of the fundraising: raising several thousand dollars for the initial construction, subsequent additions to the Home’s buildings, and provided a great deal of their time and devotion to the care of the veterans and the memorialization of the war. Without the efforts of the D.O.C., there would not have been a Confederate veterans’ home in Missouri.

¹⁸⁹ Hunt, 1.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ When the Home was first established, the women of Missouri joined together to form an organization to provide fundraising and support to the Home Association. This women’s organization was first known as the Daughters of the Confederacy (D.O.C.), and later as a part of the national United Daughters of the Confederacy organization that was formed in 1898. Hunt, 1-2.

¹⁹² Ibid.

Once the initial construction was completed, the women of the D.O.C. turned their attention to constructing a chapel for the home. The chapel was completed before the dedication of the Home took place in 1893, and was funded primarily by the D.O.C. The final cost of the chapel's construction was twelve hundred dollars, which was a large amount for the time period.¹⁹³ Additionally, the D.O.C. funded the furnishings for the cottages and main building. For this project they donated a total of over six hundred and fifty dollars, which all came from the proceeds of a single Strawberry Festival. The D.O.C. members were also given the honor of choosing names for a couple of the cottages, and the women chose to name them after local Confederate heroes.¹⁹⁴ Each of these cottages sat on a small parcel of a couple hundred feet and was comprised of three rooms.¹⁹⁵ While the cottages were small, they would provide a comfortable home to many veterans.



Figure 1. Chapel on the grounds of the Ex-Confederate Veterans' Home, from UDC Marmaduke Scrapbook, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Ellis Library, University of Missouri, Columbia, MO.

¹⁹³ Hunt, 2.

¹⁹⁴ Vaughn, 10.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

Veterans who wanted to live at the newly constructed veterans' home had to meet certain application requirements. According to the documentation at the Confederate Memorial State Historic Site, in order to be eligible to live at the Home, veterans needed to have lived in Missouri, served the Confederacy, and be physically incapable of caring for themselves and their families.¹⁹⁶ Over the next sixty years, many veterans would apply and be granted residency at the Home.

After the creation of the Home, the leadership of the Home Association changed. Hunt mentions that other members of the Home Association sat on the board as the Home really began to get underway “with James Bannerman of St. Louis, President; Harvey W. Salmon of Clinton, vice-president and T.W. Cassell, Superintendent.”¹⁹⁷ The members of the board were each from a different congressional district of the state. The main responsibilities of the board were to obtain funds for the running of the Home and to find inmates to reside at the home. The board was successful in their undertakings, and by the time the Home was opened in 1891, the Association had raised over \$65,000.¹⁹⁸ The members of the board had proven to be successful at raising funds for the Home. In addition, Hunt mentioned the tireless efforts of other members including “Major Henry A. Ewman, Huntsville, MO., and Capt. W.P. Barlow, St. Louis, who gave liberally of time and money.”¹⁹⁹ These men were credited with assisting in the creation of the Home and helping to make it a success.

While the Home was founded to provide a place for ex-Confederate veterans to reside in their later years, the Home was not possible without the assistance of several union veterans. These former unionists included the Association's secretary William Barlow and many others

¹⁹⁶ *History of the Confederate Home*, Confederate Memorial State Historic Site Collection, Confederate Memorial State Historic Site, Higginsville, MO, 3.

¹⁹⁷ Hunt, 1.

¹⁹⁸ The Confederate Home Association of Missouri, *Annual Report*, 1893, 1.

¹⁹⁹ Hunt, 1.

who helped to provide funding over the years. According to the board's first annual report many Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) members attended meetings and helped raise money for the Home. One board member remarked on the greatness of the reuniting of the former Confederates and Unionists over the creation of the Home, "But perhaps greater than the material benefit has been the moral revolution effected by the chivalrous sympathy and generous aid of the ex-Union soldiers."²⁰⁰ This generosity would continue throughout the lifetime of the Home. In 1894, the Home's superintendent, T. W. Cassell, wrote in appreciation for the support provided to the Home by members of the GAR:

We find among our visitors and well-wishers a large number of members of the Grand Army of the Republic, who have not only favored us with many expressions of kindness, but are assisting us in a more substantial and material way."²⁰¹

For many Americans the time had come to heal the scars left by the war, and a uniting of purpose in caring for the destitute and ill former soldiers, from both sides was a way to accomplish that healing.

Shortly before the dedication, near the end of 1892, the Home consisted of a main building, eleven cottages for veterans with families, a church, a hospital, and several other small buildings including a bathhouse and a kitchen. The Home also ran its own farm on the 362 acres and had a barn, livestock, crops, and a fully stocked fish pond.²⁰² All of the necessities that the founders thought would be needed for the care of the veterans were at the Home. The dedication of the Home finally took place on June 9, 1893. Within six months of the dedication, there were over one hundred ex-Confederate veterans enrolled at the Home. Jim Hiesler, a former director of the Confederate Memorial State Historic site, states that the D.O.C. also helped the Home

²⁰⁰ The Confederate Home Association of Missouri, 1893, 2.

²⁰¹ The Confederate Home Association of Missouri, *Annual Report*, 1894, 8.

²⁰² The Confederate Home Association of Missouri, 1893, 3-4.

Association construct additional structures on the site.²⁰³ The Home Association relied heavily on the D.O.C. for the funding it needed to be able to continue to expand and care for the needy veterans. The 1892 annual report of the Home Association provides an idea of what life was like for the residents:

All are comfortably clothed, housed and well-fed. The total cash outlay per adult inmate is 27 cents per day, and 13 ½ cents for children. This includes everything—salaries, drugs, insurance, school books, freight, etc.”²⁰⁴

The veterans and their families who lived at the Home were well cared for and the administrators took efforts to make sure that their needs were met.

The founders of the Home made plans for it to be partially self-sufficient. One of the initial requirements of residents was that all who were able-bodied had to work on the farm. The residents, with the addition of hired laborers, were able to provide much of the food required to feed all of the residents and have extra crops and livestock to sell for additional revenue.²⁰⁵ With the proceeds from the farm, the Home was able to end the first year in good financial standing and the residents were in good health.

For the first few years, the Home was able support itself and was provided with enough funds to operate. The 1894 annual report showed that the Home now had well over one hundred residents, but was still performing well. The Home’s expenditures for the upcoming year included repairs and improvements, primarily to develop the infrastructure. Over the course of the year the grounds were cultivated, the water and sewage system was improved, and the Home received its own railroad station. Also, the Home’s farm managed to draw an income of over \$12,000.00. The year ended with the Home’s account being overdrawn by just under \$200.00.

²⁰³ Jim Hiesler, *Confederate Memorial State Historic Site*, Confederate Memorial State Historic Site Collection, Confederate Memorial State Historic Site Higginsville, MO 1.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

At this time, the Home was surviving off of the income from the farm and donations.²⁰⁶ The end of 1894 saw the Home beginning to falter under the financial pressure of caring for so many aging veterans. The Home could not sustain many years without some additional revenue.

In 1895, the board began to make plans to generate more funds to operate the Home. Hiesler stated that the board decided to find new ways to raise money, “Plans were then made by the Board to have the Executive Committee solicit and collect funds at the School District elections. Through this method, \$15,247.86 was raised.”²⁰⁷ This money saved the Home for a time, but did not meet all of the needs of the residents. Additionally, the Home was in need of a hospital for the veterans. Hiesler wrote that the women of the UDC were able to provide additional support to construct a hospital, with the total cost of the building amounting to just over four thousand dollars.²⁰⁸ One of the contributing factors for the difficult financial situation may have been a result of the large number of veterans and their families residing at the Home in 1895. According to the annual report, the number of residents at the Home was the largest since its creation, and there were many more applicants waiting to get into the Home than there was room. By the end of 1895, there were 132 veterans and their families residing at the Home.²⁰⁹ By 1895 the Home’s administrators began to realize that the needs of the veterans were greater than what the Association could sustain.

During a financial panic in 1896, the Home faced yet another shortage of funds. For a short time the UDC members were able to provide the money needed to assist with the general upkeep of the Home. The Board, however, still faced the difficult decision of how to raise the needed funds to keep the Home open. One of the ideas they considered was to take out a

²⁰⁶ The Confederate Home Association of Missouri, *Annual Report*, 1894, 4-6.

²⁰⁷ Hiesler, 1.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ The Confederate Home Association of Missouri, *Annual Report*, 1895, 5 & 9.

mortgage on the Home. This option was not selected since it was decided that a mortgage would not provide enough money. After seeking the advice of Association members, they decided to petition the State for assistance.²¹⁰ Going to the state was not seen as a popular option, but the board members knew that it was the only path that would allow the Home to remain open. The State informed the Home's managers that it would not supply financial support unless it was given operational control over the Home. Subsequently, in 1897 the state of Missouri officially took over management of the Home.²¹¹ While the Home would continue to flourish for many years, it would do so as an entity of the state and not as a privately administered institution.

Confederate veterans' homes were a part of the broader memorialization movement that followed the Civil War. Homes for the veterans of the war were created in both the north and the south, with several veterans groups and women's organizations participating in the founding of the homes. In Missouri, the Confederate veterans' home was established by a group of former Confederate soldiers and the D.O.C. Without the work of the members of the D.O.C., the Home at Higginsville, Missouri, would not have been constructed. The women of the D.O.C, worked tirelessly to raise money to establish the Home and provide for the veterans. The founders of the Home felt that by caring for the veterans of the war they were able to preserve the memory of the war and the causes for which the veterans had fought. The State of Missouri offered a refuge for the veterans living at the Home in Higginsville, Missouri, and would provide the necessary funds to enable the Home to remain in operation under the oversight of the state.

²¹⁰ Hiesler, 1.

²¹¹ Ibid.

CHAPTER 5 STATE CONTROL OF MISSOURI'S CONFEDERATE VETERANS' HOME

For the Home, the transition from private to government administration was relatively smooth. Under the management of the state, the Home continued to be a success for many years. It was not until the 1930s that enrollment began to decline. Once the number of veterans living at the Home began to decrease, state officials began looking for new ways to utilize the resources at the Home. Due to the sentiments felt by those who were involved in caring for the veterans, including organizations like the UDC, using any part of the Home for other purposes was a sacrilege. Many Missourians still believed that by caring for the veterans of the war they were able to preserve the collective memory of the war.

The Higginsville ex-Confederate Veterans' Home was only under the control of the Home Association for seven years. In 1897, the board of the Home Association deeded the Home and much of the surrounding property to the State of Missouri. Hiesler recounted the transition from private to state administration at the Home, "In 1897 the state of Missouri accepted the home and all the other buildings and farmland into the state hospital system, with a board of trustees to oversee the home."²¹² When the state took over the administration of the Home, it became a part of Missouri's hospital system. According to a Confederate State Historic Site document, the contents of the property, at the time of the state's take over, included "the main building (Old Main), dormitories, a hospital, two farm houses, fourteen family cottages, a chapel, farm buildings, and several hundred acres of prime Missouri farmland."²¹³ However, not quite all of the property was deeded over to the State. The plot that comprised the cemetery was not included, and was later deeded to the UDC.

²¹² Hiesler, 1.

²¹³ *Confederate Memorial State Historic Site*, Confederate Memorial State Historic Site Collection, Confederate Memorial State Historic Site, Higginsville, MO, 1.

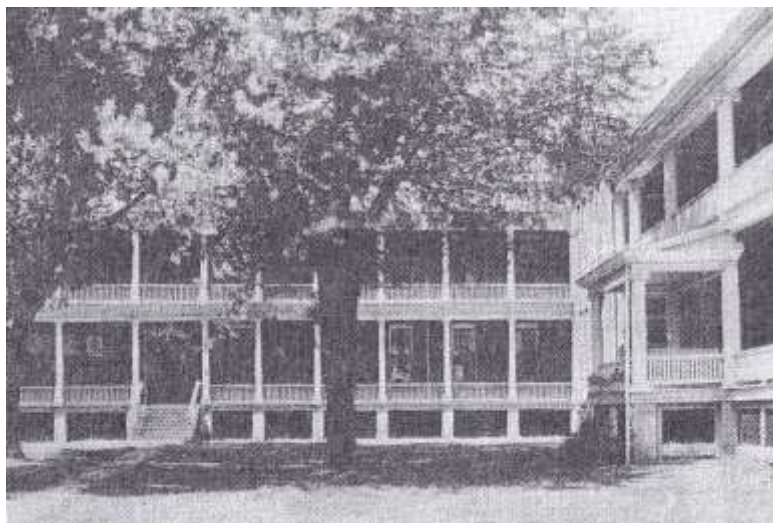


Figure 2. Dorm buildings on the grounds of the ex-Confederate Veterans' Home, from UDC Marmaduke Scrapbook, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Ellis Library, University of Missouri, Columbia, MO.

When the Home Association deeded the Home to the state, they drew up a contract to ensure that the Home would remain open and continue to care for the ex-Confederate veterans. Within this contract, it was specifically stated that the Home should remain open as long as there were veterans or widows who wanted to live there “for the term of twenty years or so long as it shall be needed for the maintenance and care of infirm and dependent ex-confederate soldiers and sailors their wives, widows and orphans....”²¹⁴ The contract was signed by the members of the Home Association board and by Missouri’s Secretary of State, with both sides consenting on the terms laid out in the agreement.

During the transition from the Home Association to the state of Missouri’s governance, there were many procedures to be developed. When the state provided funding for the first year, the amount was based on an outdated enrollment count and as a result there were not enough funds to provide for all of the veterans and employees. According to the first report by the newly

²¹⁴ State Contract, Hyde Papers Collection, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Ellis Library, University of Missouri, Columbia, MO.

appointed board, “The amount of money appropriated was based upon a population of 118 inmates, whereas, we have cared for 150 inmates and boarded 12 officers and employe[e]s.”²¹⁵

As a result, the funding provided was then not enough to sustain the full operations of the Home for the additional residents. The board’s report stated that the Home administrators attempted to stretch the funds as much as possible to ensure that all of the residents’ basic needs were met:

The appropriation stretched out to fit our increase in numbers, has given us 20 5/6 cents per day for each inmate, to pay all salaries and board of officers and employe[e]s, buy food, clothing, fuel, lights, medicines, postage, stationery, incidentals, and provide burial expenses.²¹⁶

As a result of the funding shortage, the new board for the Home had to act quickly to come up with a solution to reduce the Home’s annual expenditures.

The new board members of the Home, who took office when the state took over the Home’s management, met together to try and work out a solution for the Home’s finances. One of the remedies discussed was to reduce the number of residents living at the Home. The board decided that they would audit the service records of the current residents, and any who could not provide proof of either their service in the Confederate armed forces during the war or the other criteria for residency would be expelled from the Home. In all, a total of fourteen residents were discharged from the Home for not having sufficient proof of their service to the Confederacy.²¹⁷

While the reduction in residents was not large, it did enable the board to redirect the funds that would have been used to care for the disqualified veterans. Additionally, the board requested that the State fund \$30,000 dollars for maintenance of the residents of the home including food, clothing, fuel, medicine, and burials; \$15,500 for improvements on the main building, hospital, laundry, water tower, barn, fencing, and park; and \$19,104 to fund salaries for the officers and

²¹⁵ *First Biennial Report of the Board of Managers of the Confederate Home of Missouri at Higginsville*, Liberty, MO: Advance Office, 1899, 2.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

²¹⁷ *First Biennial Report*, 1899, 37-38.

employees.²¹⁸ Only with additional funding appropriations from the state would the Home be able to pay its bills.

By the following year, the situation at the Home had improved. Under the governance of the state, funding was made available to keep the Home in better repair and to care for the needs of the veterans. According to the members of the board of managers, “The condition of the Confederate Home for the time covered by this report has been much improved. The inmates have had better care, better food and better clothing than during any other like period of time in the Home’s history.”²¹⁹ With the availability of additional resources with which to operate the Home, the board was able to provide a better quality of care to the veterans. This did not mean, however, that all of the improvements that were requested by the board were funded by the state. In particular, the new hospital that was badly needed to care for the sick residents was not funded.²²⁰ While the hospital was a prime concern for the board members, in other respects the Home was in good standing.

The next several years saw continued growth of the Home. In 1902, the state legislature finally provided funding to build a new hospital for the residents.²²¹ This expenditure was met with great approval by board members, Home employees, and residents. Enrollment at the Home continued to be near two hundred and the Home’s farm continued to provide an income and supplement the dietary needs of the residents.

When the Home was deeded to the state, the couple of acres that comprised the cemetery were not part of the contract and did not fall under the jurisdiction of the State. In 1904, the

²¹⁸ Ibid., 6-15.

²¹⁹ *Second Biennial Report of the Board of Managers of the Confederate Home of Missouri at Higginsville*, Liberty, MO: Advance Office, 1901, 2.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ *Third Biennial Report of the Board of Managers of the Confederate Home of Missouri at Higginsville*, Jefferson City: Tribune Printing Company, 1903, 5.

cemetery was officially given to the UDC.²²² To celebrate the acquisition of the cemetery, the UDC made plans to create a monument on the site. According to Vaughn, two years later the ladies of the UDC erected their monument: “It is a replica of the Lion of Lucerne near Lucerne, Switzerland, which commemorates the Swiss guards who fell while defending the Tuileries in 1792.”²²³ The women of the UDC felt that this sculpture would be appropriate to memorialize the fallen Confederate soldiers. In a newspaper article from the local paper, the funding and sponsorship of the monument was explained: “It cost \$5,000 and was furnished by M. H. Rice of Kansas City. It is of New England granite and the design for which Mr. Rice is responsible....”²²⁴ The sponsor of the UDC’s monument was a Missourian who lived in the local area. A detailed description of the monument was also published in the local paper, before the dedication took place:

The design is in the shape of a temple, with four polished columns supporting the cap in bold relief. Under the lion are bronze facsimiles of the Confederate flags, and under these is cut, in raised letters, ‘In Memory of our Confederate Dead.’²²⁵

The design and inscription of the sculpture were developed by the individual sponsor, which was consistent with other memorials created to commemorate the Civil War.

²²² Vaughn, 11.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ “June 2 At the Home: Monument Unveiled in Presence of Thousands--Speeches by Gnat and Hawes.” *The Leader*, June 9, 1906.

²²⁵ “Monument Unveiling.” *Lafayette Leader*. May 19, 1906.

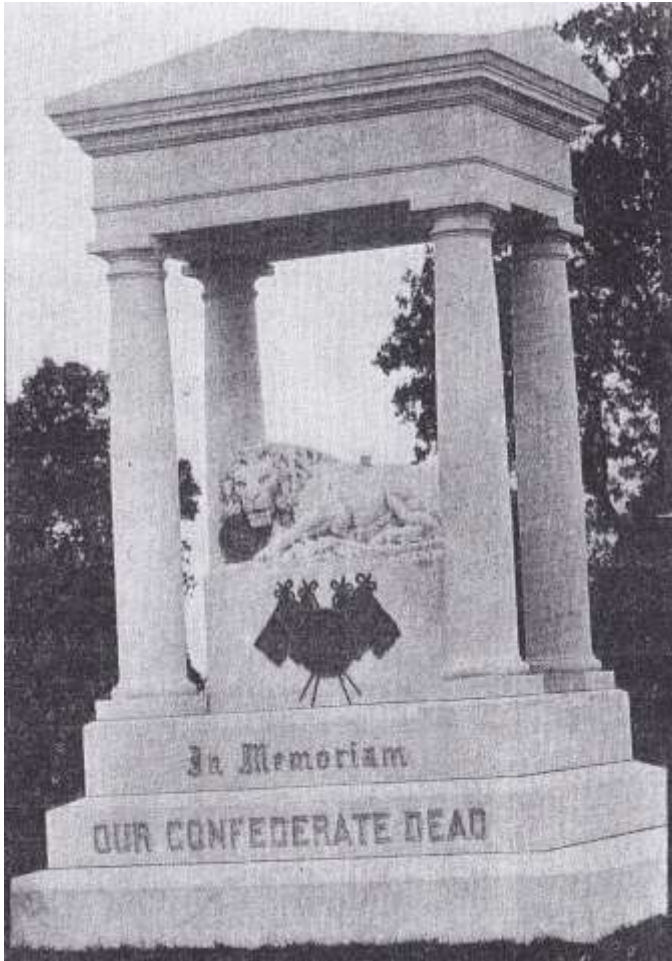


Figure 3. Monument on the grounds of the ex-Confederate Veterans' Home, erected by the United Daughters of the Confederacy as a tribute to the Confederate soldiers in 1906, from Memorial Day Program, June 6, 1926.

At the unveiling of the monument a former Confederate officer, Major R. W. Nicholds, gave the dedication speech. He opened his speech with a few words quoted by Major John Edwards, who was a Confederate soldier and author:

To all things there must come a past. To those who sin and love and suffer and repent and who go on through life and make no prayer, no moan it is well in the infinite wisdom of God there is a past. The heart buries its treasures there.²²⁶

²²⁶ R. W. Nicholds "Speech at the Unveiling of the Monument at Confederate Home", June 2, 1906, Confederate Memorial State Historic Site, 1.

Nicholds felt that these words applied to the memory of the veterans who had lived and died for the Confederacy. Nicholds went on to discuss the condition of the south before the war, the birth and glory of the Confederacy, and its eventual end as it was overrun by the Union. Nicholds then closed his speech with a farewell to all the soldiers who gave their lives for the Confederacy: “And now my old comrades, good-bye, may god shield you from the aches and pains of age as much as may be and permit you to pass the last station...a consciousness of duty well preformed.”²²⁷ This ceremony was another way in which Missourians could preserve the memory of the war and celebrate the lives of the soldiers of the war, both living and dead. Many local residents, including members of the UDC, participated each year in a similar ceremony: the reenactment of the dedication.²²⁸ Missourians were able to preserve the memory of the war by taking the time to memorialize the veterans through their support of the Home and participation in associated commemorative activities.

Shortly after the turn of the century, the Home reached its peak enrollment of veterans and their families. By the end of 1904, there were nearly two hundred and fifty residents living at the Home.²²⁹ Caring for such a large number of elderly veterans was becoming increasingly expensive. Two years later, the number of residents at the Home had risen to nearly three hundred.²³⁰ Due to the increases in enrollment and the costs of caring for aging veterans, the cost of operating the Home continued to grow. In the request for funding for 1907 and 1908, the board estimated the cost of operating the Home to be nearly \$100,000.²³¹ This meant that the cost of operating the Home was increasing very quickly, which would prove to be problematic

²²⁷ Ibid., 5.

²²⁸ Vaughn, 11.

²²⁹ *Fourth Biennial Report of the Board of Managers of the Confederate Home of Missouri at Higginsville*, Jefferson City: Tribune Printing Company, 1905, 13.

²³⁰ *Fifth Biennial Report of the Board of Managers of the Confederate Home of Missouri at Higginsville*, Mexico MO: Missouri Printing and Publishing Company, 1907, 13.

²³¹ Ibid., 15.

for the Home's administrators. By the following year, the board found that the funds provided by the state were not adequate to meet the needs of the Home and its residents. In 1909, the Home was now caring for well over three hundred residents, with still more on the waiting list to get in.²³² The Home's farm, however, was still profitable. With the help of hired farm hands and several able bodied residents the farm raised livestock, harvested hay, corn, apples, peaches, cherries, blackberries, grapes, potatoes, and several other varieties of vegetables.²³³ The first decade of the twentieth century proved to be very active for the Home with increasing enrollment and a productive farm.

By 1910, the Home was in much better financial shape. A new building was constructed that would provide enough rooms for several more residents. As soon as the new structure was finished, the new rooms were immediately filled with applicants from the Home's waiting list. The Home now had a total of nearly four hundred residents to care for and based on the ever increasing enrollment of residents, had to again ask the state to appropriate additional funds for building improvements and medication for the residents.²³⁴ With the state responsible for the funding of the Home, it was possible for the administrators to receive additional funds to pay the Home's debts.

Administrators at the Home did their best to care for the veterans and make them comfortable. One of the Home's superintendents, Walton, discussed his views on the quality of life of the aging veteran's living at the Home:

Considering the average age of the inmates is 72 years...they enjoy as good health as could be expected....they are as contented and happy as could be

²³² *Sixth Biennial Report of the Board of Managers of the Confederate Home of Missouri at Higginville, Mexico* MO: Missouri Printing and Publishing Company, 1909, 13.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 17.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 5 & 9.

expected from those who have but little to do buy watch the shadows lengthen and patiently await the inevitable.²³⁵

As superintendent, Walton did his best to ensure that the needs of the veterans living at the Home were met. For two years, under Walton's careful management, the Home was in excellent financial shape. This may be partially attributed to the fact that the Home's residents had decreased in number back down to three hundred and twenty-two.²³⁶ Unfortunately, these good fortunes would not last, and within two years the Home would again be facing financial difficulties. By 1912, the Home was again experiencing a shortage of space in the hospital and needed to expand its facilities to care for the ailing residents.²³⁷ While the Home's administrators did their best to manage the Home and care for the veterans, the operating costs of the Home continued to rise.

The next four years went by smoothly for the Home; however, 1916 brought a new financial problem for the Home. Out of the Home's yearly funds, that were appropriated by the state, the Missouri legislature held back several thousand dollars and did not allow these funds to reach the Home. As a result, the Home was forced to borrow money from the bank in order to pay all of the bills.²³⁸ Two years later, the State re-appropriated enough funds for the Home to once again be in good financial standing. The Home's appropriations were not enough to keep up with the rising costs of labor and goods, and the board had to conserve funds in every area.²³⁹

²³⁵ *Seventh Biennial Report of the Board of Managers of the Confederate Home of Missouri at Higginville*, Fayette, MO: Democrat-Leader Print, 1911, 17.

²³⁵ *Sixth Biennial Report*, 8.

²³⁶ *Eighth Biennial Report of the Board of Managers of the Confederate Home of Missouri at Higginville*, Fayette MO: Howard County Advertiser Print, 1912, 16.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

²³⁸ *Tenth Biennial Report of the Board of Managers of the Confederate Home of Missouri at Higginville*, Higginville, MO: The Jeffersonian, 1916, 13-14.

²³⁹ *Eleventh Biennial Report of the Board of Managers of the Confederate Home of Missouri at Higginville*, St. Louis, MO: Wall Bank Note Co., 1918, 18-19.

The Home's administrators had to be very frugal with the funds that were allotted by the state to care for the veterans and the facilities.

The arrival of the 1920s brought increasing costs in labor and goods, and not enough funds appropriated by the state for the maintenance required for the Home. Fortunately, the Home also began to see a slight decrease in the number of residents living at the Home. While life at the Home went on as usual for the veterans, the structure of the administration began to change, with the beginning of the new decade ushered in by politics and discord among the board members of the Home.

Since the Home had transitioned to the state, members of the board were appointed by the governor of Missouri. The president of the board in 1921 was B. F. Murdock. Murdock had served on the Board in various capacities since the state had taken control of the Home in 1897.²⁴⁰ After the Missouri governor's election in 1921, some members of the Home's board were accused of removing Murdock from his position, for their own political gain, with the assistance of the newly elected Governor Arthur Hyde.

Several board members resigned their positions and the governor appointed new members to the board. The new board members were: Samuel B. Shirky-President, William A. Popkins-Vice President, T. H. Cloud-Secretary and Judge Advocate, G. A. Campbell-Treasurer, and Joseph F. Duvall-Member.²⁴¹ Difficulties arose because the former president Murdock was not one of the board members who resigned. Murdock attempted for several months to get this situation rectified, and be allowed to serve out his term as president of the board, until his term was to expire in 1923. Governor Hyde, however, claimed that the secretary of state had Murdock's resignation on file and the governor's act of replacing him on the board was done

²⁴⁰ *First Biennial Report*, 1.

²⁴¹ *Thirteenth Biennial Report of the Board of Managers of the Confederate Home of Missouri at Higginsville*, Higginsville, MO: Geo. Scott Ptg. Co., 1922, 1.

with ignorance about the details of who resigned.²⁴² Furthermore, Hyde did not want to remedy the situation by allowing Murdock to reclaim his seat on the board for the duration of his term, as was suggested by Murdock and his friend Howard Gray in correspondence with Hyde.²⁴³ The end result was that new the board members appointed by Governor Hyde would remain, despite the fact that one of the previous board members did not actually resign.

Much of the controversy surrounding the newly appointed members of the board stemmed from the fact that not only had the governor simply claimed Murdock resigned, when he had not, but that many of the new board members were not members of the Confederate Home Association, and appeared to have been appointed for political reasons. As a result, many residents of the Home and other influential citizens were concerned about the operation of the Home.²⁴⁴ This matter was not resolved to Murdock's satisfaction, and Hyde allowed his appointees to the Home's board remain. The new board was not without its merits, however, and was able to complete necessary repairs to the Home.²⁴⁵ These changes to the structure of the board meant that the Home would no longer be administered by former Confederate veterans. This was an inevitable turn of events for the Home, since by the mid-1920s most individuals who had served in the Civil War were in their seventies and eighties and were becoming too elderly to maintain the duties required.

One the task of the new board members was to appoint the Home's superintendent. For this position, the board selected Fred Chambers. After taking his new office, Chambers immediately began to look for ways to make the residents lives more enjoyable. In particular,

²⁴² A. M. Hyde to B. F. Murdock, May 23, 1921, Hyde Papers, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Ellis Library, University of Missouri, Columbia, MO.

²⁴³ Howard Gray to Arthur M. Hyde, June 2, 1921, Hyde Papers, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Ellis Library, University of Missouri, Columbia, MO.

²⁴⁴ Howard Gray to Arthur M. Hyde, June 11, 1921, Hyde Papers.

²⁴⁵ *Thirteenth Biennial Report*, 1922, 7-8.

1922 was an eventful year for the entertainment of the residents. The *Kansas City Journal-Post* reported on the situation at the Home:

life at the home has become a series of glad surprises, and what was, according to one of the inmates formerly a wait from day to day has become a time of eagerly looking forward to some nice thing that will happen before the day is done.²⁴⁶

Part of the reason for the change in the atmosphere of the Home was the activities that Chambers thought to provide for the residents. According to the *Kansas City Journal-Post*, there were several activities planned each week that included “moving pictures, radio concerts, musical programs, ice cream socials entertainments that bring the townfolk out by the score.”²⁴⁷ For many of the Home’s activities, a notice would be placed in the local newspapers inviting all who were interested to participate. Members of the community and residents of the Home were able to enjoy the entertainments that were available under Chambers management of the Home.

Under the administration of the new board, the financial situation of the Home began to improve. By 1923, the funding for the Home was increased and the grounds and restored to their former glory. The general atmosphere of the home was discussed in the *History of the Confederate Home*:

Fields and pastures have been brought to a higher state of cultivation and care. The farm is even showing a profit. But the great changes has been brought about in sanitation and care of both inmates and property.²⁴⁸

There was also an improvement in the quality of life in general for the veterans. Entertainment for the veterans was provided on a regular basis through the combined efforts of the local citizens, the State, and the UDC. The *History of the Confederate Home* documented the many other improvements were made to the amenities at the Home:

²⁴⁶ “Establishing a Real Home for Missouri Confederate Veterans,” *Kansas City Journal-Post*, November 12, 1922.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁸ *History of Confederate Home*, Confederate Memorial State Historic Site Collection, Confederate Memorial State Historic Site, Higginsville, MO, 1923, 2.

there is a large power plant furnishing energy for electric lights, a steam laundry, a water works system...and steam heat. There is a commissary where the inmates...select their own supplies, just as they would in the ordinary store....²⁴⁹

The board members were able to accomplish much of the needed repairs and maintenance on the buildings and grounds, with the additional funds provided by the state legislature. By this time the cost of running the Home had risen to over \$200,000.²⁵⁰ As the buildings and residents continued to age, the cost of maintaining the Home also increased.

The same board, led by Shirky, decided that a park should be erected on the grounds of the Home. In 1923, the Board proposed the creation of a memorial park: “About ninety acres of waste land at the southern end of the property were landscaped and thousands of trees and shrubs planted. Seven lakes were built and stocked with fish for the veterans.”²⁵¹ The board had to seek approval for their proposal from the state legislature, before the park could be officially created. Many people associated with the Home, thought that the park was an excellent idea and way to honor the veterans. According to a local newspaper: “this idea which will convert a former wilderness...into an everlastingly beautiful park, which in its truest sense will be a memorial to real soldiers....”²⁵² This sentiment was shared by many, and the creation of the park was remembered as one of the highlights of the years that the Home was under the control of the State.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ *Fourteenth Biennial Report of the Board of Managers of the Confederate Home of Missouri at Higginville*, Higginville, MO: Geo. Scott Ptg. Co., 1924, 19.

²⁵¹ *History of Confederate Home*, 2.

²⁵² “Board of Trustees of Confederate Home,” *Higginville Advance*, November 21, 1924.

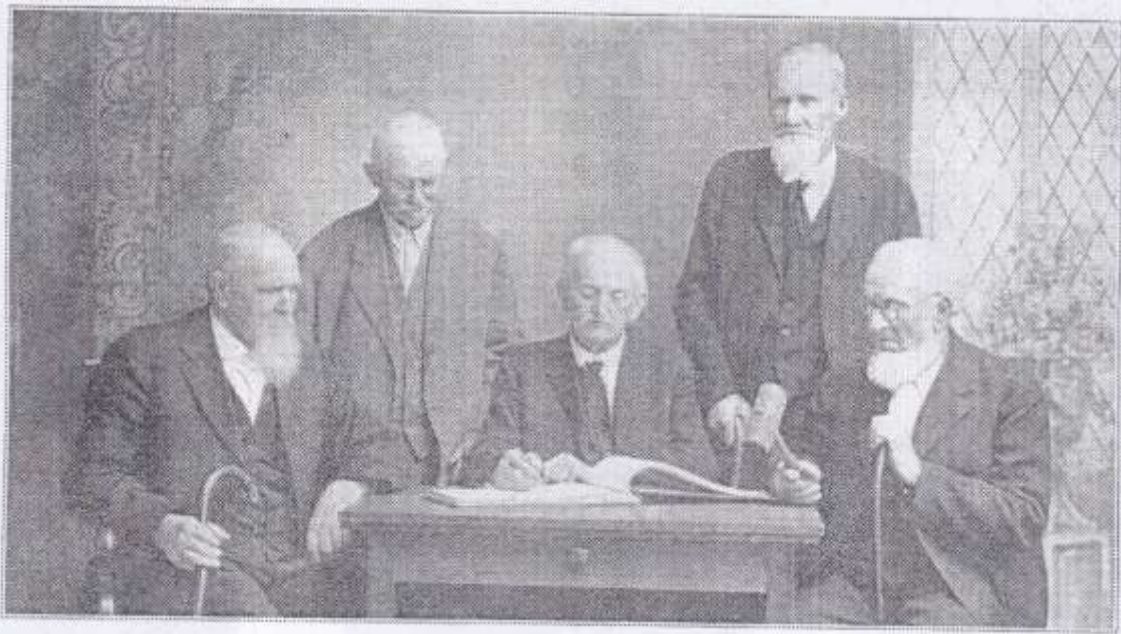


Figure 4. Trustee members of the ex-Confederate Veterans' Home. Pictured trustees: President Samuel Shirky, Vice-President William Popkins, Secretary T. H. McCloud, Treasurer G. A. Campbell, and Member Joe Duvall, from "Board of Trustees of Confederate Home." *Higginsville Advance*, November 21, 1924.

Creating the park was one of the last tasks accomplished by the members of this Board at the Home. In conjunction with the park an endowment fund of \$19,000.00 was created by C. T. Jaquith to provide funding for the park.²⁵³ This fund grew over the years and provided enough money to beautify the grounds. Hunt wrote that many people, including the women of the UDC, quickly began to assist with the landscaping of the park: "During the first year of the park hundreds of native trees were planted and 7 artificial lakes were made, which have since been taken over by the State Fish Department and stocked with fish."²⁵⁴ Many plans for the grounds were executed over the first, year and many local citizens participated. The Home board members, who also administered the park fund, invited anyone who wanted to contribute to send plants and trees to be planted. The members felt that this would make the community feel a

²⁵³ *Fourteenth Biennial Report*, 19.

²⁵⁴ Hunt, 3.

stronger connection to the Home and the park, and these sentiments were expressed in an article in the local newspaper “the persons interested in the park will have a more intimate part in it.”²⁵⁵ Over the years, it was primarily the members of the UDC who would continue to maintain and care for the grounds of the park.

The Home’s board of trustees for the 1925-1926 years included the first woman member, Virginia Garrett Duggins. Virginia Duggins was a member of the upper-middle class and as a result, was able to devote her time to philanthropic activities. Duggins and her husband, who was a doctor, lived in Fulton, Missouri. Duggins was in her forties when she began to serve on the board of the Home.²⁵⁶ She helped administer the Home for many years, serving the veterans and caring for their needs.

The members of the board, selected in 1925, were able to witness the official establishment of the Memorial Park at the Home. The park was completed with the assistance of the members of the UDC, who stepped in to help plant over three thousand trees by 1926. In that same year, the Board was able to report a much lower death rate among the residents than in the past several years. This was attributed in part to the increased funding from the state which allowed the Home to provide better care and medications for the residents and to the good management of the Home’s officers.²⁵⁷ Overall the Home enjoyed a several years of ample funding and an increase in the quality and quantity of life for the veterans.

Unfortunately, the later part of the 1920s was not as successful for the Home as the previous years had been. Beginning in 1927, the state legislature was not as generous with the

²⁵⁵ “90-Acre Park is Planned at Higginsville,” UDC Marmaduke Scrapbook, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Ellis Library, University of Missouri, Columbia, MO.

²⁵⁶ Death Certificate for Virginia Garrett Duggins in Missouri Birth and Death Records Database, http://www.sos.mo.gov/images/archives/deathcerts/1956/1956_00037215.PDF (accessed on July 21, 2013).

²⁵⁷ *Fifteenth Biennial Report of the Board of Managers of the Confederate Home of Missouri at Higginsville*, Higginsville, MO, 1926, 12-13.

funds for the Home, and in order to balance the books, the Home's officers were forced to cut back in many areas and delay repairs. No one was more upset about the lack of funds than the Home's superintendent Chambers. In his last report, Chambers admonished the state legislature for their lack of care in appropriations to the Home, "Due to inadequate State Revenues this Institution is only one of the many evidences of the mistake of playing politics instead of providing revenues to operate the State."²⁵⁸ Chambers enjoyed his role in caring for the veterans and often spent funds without reservations on the care and entertainment of the residents. He had served as superintendent for more than seven years, and during his term Chambers was able to perform many improvements for the Home.²⁵⁹ Chambers was an excellent manager and caretaker for the Home's residents while he was superintendent.

In the following years, the management and overall atmosphere of the Home changed. By 1930 the number of veterans and their families enrolled at the Home had decreased, and the total population was down to one hundred and forty-five residents. The majority of these residents required a great deal of care, and the board requested that the state provide additional funding for the medical treatment needed to care for the residents.²⁶⁰ Understandably more funds were needed to keep up with an aging veterans' population.

It is only natural that as time advanced so did the age of the veterans, and the Home found itself caring for fewer veterans each year. By 1932, enrollment was down to one hundred and twenty, most of whom could no longer be responsible for their own care. The funding from the State for the previous year had been enough to sustain several improvements and repairs on

²⁵⁸ *Sixteenth Biennial Report of the Board of Managers of the Confederate Home of Missouri at Higginsville*, Higginsville, MO, 1928, 12.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

the infrastructure of the Home.²⁶¹ Since the Home was also aging, there were always new improvements and repairs that needed to be completed.

By 1935, the Home was again experiencing financial difficulties. Due to the economic hardships of the time, the state legislature had withheld some of the Home's annual funds. It was only through strict conservation of funds, neglect of improvements, and by letting some of the employees go, that the Home was able to operate with the funds it was provided. Murrell and Faris, the board president and secretary stated the position of the board in their biannual report:

Our aim has been,—to maintain the Home in a way whereby its physical property has been improved...commensurate with the amount available for such purposes...and...to provide for the comfort, health, and happiness of...the membership of the Home.²⁶²

While the State was able to continue to provide funding for the Home, it was not possible for the appropriations to be as generous as they once were, since the country was in the midst of the great depression.

Over the next two years, the Home did receive much needed funds from the state which allowed the administrators to maintain the Home's operation and to make some improvements. However, the Home was in desperate need of additional improvements to the farm and to the electrical infrastructure of the buildings. While the operating budget for the Home was several thousand dollars less than what it had been ten years ago, the officers and board members were by no means neglecting the residents. The veterans were adequately clothed, feed, and received medical care.²⁶³ The Home's administrators still felt a strong sense of duty to care for the needs of the veterans. One superintendent reported his views on maintaining the Home: "The many

²⁶¹ *Eighteenth Biennial Report of the Board of Managers of the Confederate Home of Missouri at Higginville, Higginville, MO, 1932, 8.*

²⁶² *Nineteenth Biennial Report of the Board of Managers of the Confederate Home of Missouri at Higginville, Higginville, MO, 1935, 5.*

²⁶³ *Twentieth Biennial Report of the Board of Managers of the Confederate Home of Missouri at Higginville, Higginville, MO, 1937, 7-13.*

improvements made in the two years just passed are testimony of our interest and zeal in perpetuating the memory and valor of the Confederate Soldiers, both living and dead.”²⁶⁴ Even though the members of the Board and officers were not veterans themselves, they still shared the sentiment that made them want to preserve the memory of the war.

The subsequent years brought yet another change to the Home’s overall situation. The state allocated a reduced appropriation of funds to the Home, and the board was trying to operate on a budget of \$114,000.00.²⁶⁵ This was a significantly smaller sum than what had been provided in previous years to the Home. Correspondingly, the decrease in funds meant that the administrators had to reduce the number of employees and continue to postpone necessary improvements and repairs to the Home. In addition to the other hardships endured at the Home, in 1940 there was a fire that damaged the hospital. The Home did not have the necessary funds to repair the hospital and it was considered to be unusable.²⁶⁶ The fire in 1940 left the Home without adequate medical facilities to care for the veterans, and resulted in a great deal of damage to the physical structure of the Home.

Following the fire, the state made some changes to the mission of the Home. The state of Missouri decided that the Home would be the ideal place to house a Convalescent Home for Crippled Children. By this time, the population of the Home had decreased enough that all of the residents were then living on one floor of the former women’s building. The upper floor housed the children, with plenty of space devoted to their medical care. The children were supervised by the University of Missouri, at whose hospital they had formerly resided, and not by the administrators of the Home. The local newspaper reported that the goal of the service for

²⁶⁴ Ibid., 12.

²⁶⁵ *Twenty-Second Biennial Report of the Board of Managers of the Confederate Home of Missouri at Higginsville, Higginsville, MO, 1941*, 24.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 16.

children at the Home was to allow them a place to recuperate after major surgeries. According to the official report of 1941: “Youngsters are sent here after operations to recover strength and health before being returned to their homes, in order that more serious cases and cases needing emergency treatment may be accommodate in the hospitals at Columbia, Kansas City, and St. Louis.”²⁶⁷ The incorporation of the children’s hospital into the Home was the beginning of the end for the Home.

The Home’s final years were relatively quiet. By 1943, there were only two veterans remaining at the Home and twelve women. All of the residents were of advanced years. The total expenditures for the operation of the Home were now below \$100,000.00.²⁶⁸ The biennial report of 1943 was the last report of record for the Home although the Home remained open until the last veteran died in 1950.

Problems at the Home were first recognized twenty years before the closing. Confederate Memorial State Historic Site documents disclose that the trouble began for the Home in the 1930s “the Confederate Home of Missouri endured several attempts to close it down or to replace Confederate veterans and their wives or widows with mental patients.”²⁶⁹ After the state took over the management of the Home, they agreed to run it only until the last veteran ceased to reside at the Home. Early on, many citizens of Missouri felt that it was a waste of valuable resources to keep the Home open for a few veterans and widows. Other citizens believed that the Home could be better used by allowing the veterans of all U.S. wars to enroll, however, the state did not agree. As a result of the disagreements, and until the last veteran

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 28.

²⁶⁸ *Twenty-Third Biennial Report of the Board of Managers of the Confederate Home of Missouri at Higginsville, Higginsville, MO, 1943*, 9.

²⁶⁹ *Confederate Memorial State Historic Site*, 1.

passed away, the Home had continued to support its mission of caring for the veterans and their families.

When Graves, the last veteran, passed on there were still several widows living at the home. However, the fact that residents were still living at the Home did not deter the state from finally closing the Home in 1951, even though the closure was in violation of the agreement made with the Home Association in 1897. When the State of Missouri first took on the administration of the Home, the contract that was signed with Home Association clearly stated that the Home would remain open until all of the veterans and widows had passed, but documentation from the Confederate Memorial State Historic Site argues that is not what happened “the seven remaining widows were transferred to a Columbia, Missouri nursing home and the Confederate Home of Missouri closed its doors forever.”²⁷⁰ In 1954, much of what was left of the Home was destroyed by the state, regardless of the objections of the local citizens.

When the state first announced the closing of the Home, many residents voiced their opinions to their legislators and local government leaders. According to the *Higginsville Advance*, at the local Chamber of Commerce meeting the future of the veterans Home was discussed:

It looks as though the folly of maintaining the Confederate Home at Higginsville for two old soldiers and 10 women has at last become apparent to sufficient legislators, politicians, UDC members and other leaders over the state that something will be done about it.²⁷¹

Some community members disagreed about the use of the Home as a local resource. The state legislature received letters from its residents who were concerned about the use of the Home. The local newspaper mentions that several community leaders wrote to their representatives in

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

²⁷¹ “Want Home for Veterans: Chamber of Commerce Backs Legion in Effort to Put Confederate Home to Practical Use.” *The Higginsville Advance*. February 12, 1943.

the legislature regarding the Home, they received “letters from Civic leaders asking that the Home be put to some practical use.... The letters were to be addressed to the state representative and senator asking their support in getting the Home opened to veterans.”²⁷² Many Missouri residents felt that the Home should be put to good use in another capacity.

Consequently, there was much debate over what would be done with the property. According to the *Higginsville Advance* the American Legion was trying to get permission to open the home to all veterans, “Their object was defeated at the last session of the state legislature, and instead it was partially turned over to the use of the crippled children of the state.”²⁷³ While many residents presented ideas for what should be done with the Home, the idea that was favored by many state legislators was that of a state home for children. In an article from the *Higginsville Advance* these opposing viewpoints were brought to the attention of local residents, “The present intention of the Senators is to use it for a home for borderline cases of insanity.”²⁷⁴ While this statement was not entirely true, there were those in the state capital who wanted to create a hospital for children.

The other idea under discussion was backed by the American Legion, and involved opening the Home to all United States war veterans. The local newspaper discusses the outcome of a vote of the legislature on the plan to open the Home to other veterans, “The committee of the state Senate has finally come out in the open and admitted that the majority of the 13 members opposed to turning the Confederate Home at Higginsville into a home for war veterans for all wars.”²⁷⁵ Despite the resident’s opposition to the idea of a state hospital, this was the plan favored by state legislatures, and as a result it was the plan that was implemented on a portion of

²⁷² Ibid.

²⁷³ “Discuss Future Use of Confederate Home.” *The Higginsville Advance*, Friday July 3, 1942.

²⁷⁴ “Confederate Home Denied to War Veterans.” *The Higginsville Advance*. Friday June 25, 1943.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

the Higginsville Confederate Veterans' Home property. The *Higginsville Advance* reported that the final decision was made by the state to repurpose part of the property, "The northern half of the Home grounds, including what was left of the building complex; was converted into the Higginsville State School and Hospital for retarded children in 1956."²⁷⁶ This move by the state was particularly upsetting since not only did it destroy a local landmark, but by repurposing the property and buildings it was almost as if the state was wiping away the history of the Home. While conversion of the Home to a state home for children was the official end of Missouri's Home for Confederate Veterans, the memory of the Home and celebration of the Confederate veterans who served will live on.

The members of the UDC were opposed to the idea of converting the Home into a hospital for children, and as a result they fought to preserve part of the Home and surrounding grounds. It was through the intervention of the UDC that the cemetery, chapel, and memorial park were saved from being repurposed by the state. The UDC then presented the cemetery and memorial park to the State of Missouri's park board to operate²⁷⁷ As a result of the actions of the UDC, the Missouri State Park Board now controlled much of the former Home's property; which it used to create a new state park on the site.

The new state park consisted of the Memorial Park that was created by the Home's Board in 1925 and the cemetery. Under the direction of the Missouri Department of Natural Resources, the Home was renamed the Confederate Memorial State Historical Site, and the primary mission of the site was to preserve and promote the history of the Home.²⁷⁸ The new state site flourished over the years, residing next to the state home for children.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

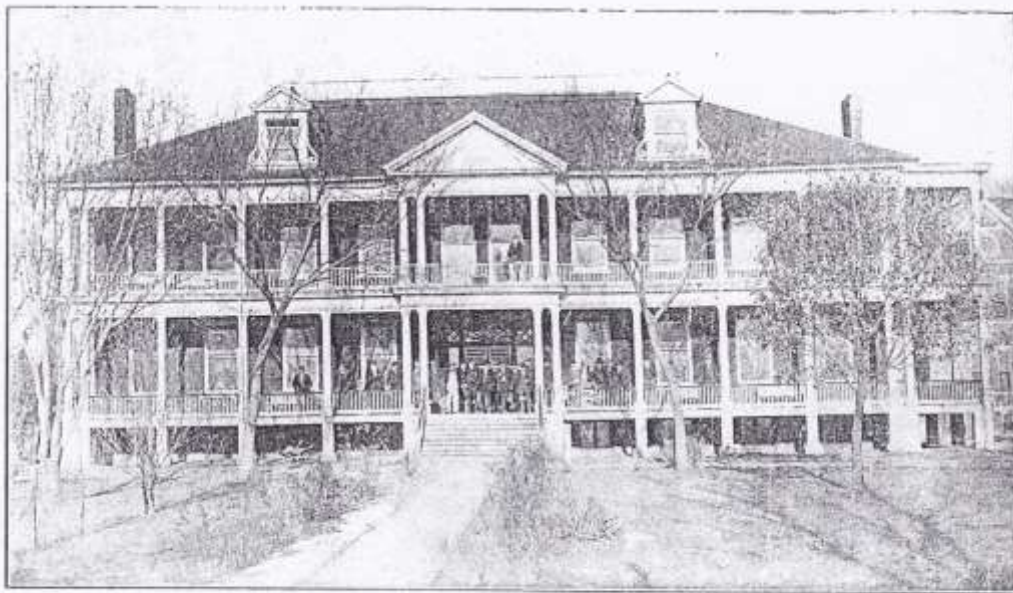
²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ *Confederate Memorial State Historic Site.*

Under the administration of the State of Missouri, the Home was able to provide care to the Confederate Veterans' of Missouri for many years. The board members, who oversaw the management of the Home were diligent in their duties and were able to meet the needs of the veterans. However, the appropriations for the Home were often underfunded and were dependent on the state legislature. Veterans living at the Home did enjoy many amenities including entertainments, well maintained grounds, and onsite medical care. During the 1930s the number of veterans living at the Home began to decrease, which led the addition of the Convalescent Home for Crippled Children into the existing Home's facilities. Many local residents and the members of the UDC felt that it was inappropriate to use the Home for purposes other than to care for the veterans. Many supporters of the Home felt that by taking care of the veterans of the war they were able to preserve the memory of the war and the causes for which the veterans had fought. Over the years, there were many veterans who resided at the Home, and they would prove to be the cornerstone around which the Home and the individuals involved in supporting and administering the Home would unite in their quest to preserve the collective memory of the war.

CHAPTER 6
THE VETERANS WHO LIVED AT MISSOURI'S CONFEDERATE VETERANS' HOME

Missouri's Confederate veterans' home, in Higginsville, was a unique establishment whose mission was to care for the impoverished Confederate veterans and their families. The Home illustrates how the memorialization of the war affected the path that America followed in the post-Civil War era. Throughout the years of operation, over one thousand veterans lived in the Home and their stories were a valuable part of the collective memories of the war. In this chapter, the author examines the accounts of nine veterans who lived at the Home: Alexander G. Ball, Julius Bamberg, Percy Boulware, James R. Cummins, Frederick Emory, John T. Graves, John W. Koger, James F. Nichols, and Thomas F. Stratton. These men along with others, who resided at the Home were the heart of the local memorialization movement.



MAIN BUILDING

Figure 5. Main Building of the Ex-Confederate Veterans' Home in Higginsville, Missouri, from UDC Marmaduke Scrapbook, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Ellis Library, University of Missouri, Columbia, MO.

The Home's residents were themselves a part of the preservation of the collective memory of the Civil War. Rosenberg refers to the veterans themselves as living monuments of the war. While stone monuments are lifeless and deteriorate over time, caring for the aging veterans and their families was a way for Americans to preserve those that they idolized the most, the soldiers who fought in the conflict.²⁷⁹ By supporting these former soldiers of the south in their later years, Americans who were inspired to preserve the memory of the war felt that they were able to accomplish their purpose by caring for the veterans. Members of the Home's board shared in these motivations for caring for the veterans "think of these old heroes, now in 'sear and yellow leaf' of age ... and help this grand commonwealth to do justice to its old soldiers."²⁸⁰ The sentiment expressed by the board members was what drove many Americans to lend a hand in caring for the veterans of the Civil War, in Missouri and in other locations across the country. Throughout the years, many Missourians donated their time and money to caring for the veterans with the belief that by taking care of the veterans they were preserving the memory of the Civil War and the causes for which the veterans had fought.

Veterans who lived in Confederate soldiers homes shared common traits. While their primary shared characteristic was their service to the Confederacy, the residents also had other traits in common, including the fact that most were single or widowed; they lacked wealth, and the skills to support themselves and their families.²⁸¹ Each of the men experienced not being able to support themselves in their later years. Some of the veterans found themselves in poor health, without means, and unable to provide for their own support as early as middle age. These men were in the prime of life when they joined the fighting and found themselves poor and unable to work by the time they were in their forties, in some cases as a direct result of their

²⁷⁹ Rosenberg, xiii.

²⁸⁰ *Second Biennial Report*, 7.

²⁸¹ Rosenberg, 4.

service to the Confederacy.²⁸² For the veterans, service to the Confederacy often cost them their livelihood; it left them with health problems and frequently resulted in a loss of financial resources, as well.

The men also shared additional common traits that included their service to the Confederacy. All of the men lived in Missouri for at least a few years of their lives, either before or after the war; they were all underprivileged in their later years, and all of them contributed their stories to the collective memory of the Home. Some of the men, like Alexander Green Ball would participate in the veterans' organizations that helped establish the Home. Others brought a uniquely Missouri wartime experience through their participation in the guerrilla warfare that took place, like John William Koger and Percy Boulware, A few men were involved in more notorious escapades during and after the war like, James Robert Cummins and Fredrick Emory. The stories of other men provided examples of the difficult trials that Confederate veterans faced in their later years, resembling the accounts of James F. Nichols and Thomas F. Stratton. Additionally, some men lent their accounts to tell the story of the Home, like Julius Bamberg and John Thomas Graves, who were the first and last veterans to reside at the Home. The accounts of these men serve as examples of the many stories that comprise the collective memory of the Home.

²⁸² Ibid., 13-14.

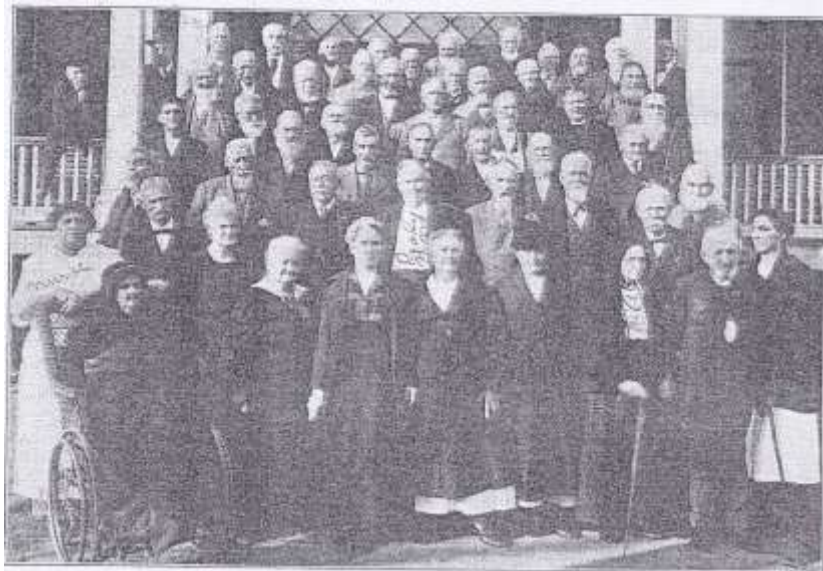


Figure 6. Group of ex-Confederate veterans and widows who lived at the Home, from UDC Marmaduke Scrapbook, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Ellis Library, University of Missouri, Columbia, MO.

Alexander Green Ball was not only a resident at the Home, but also played a role in helping to create it. Ball was born and raised in St. Louis, Missouri, and enlisted in the Missouri State Guard in 1861. As stated in his service record, while serving under Landis in the First Missouri Brigade Ball took part in several battles including: “Oak Hills, Carthage, Drywood, Lexington, Champion Hills, Port Gibson, Vicksburg, Lake Springs, Corinth, Farmington.”²⁸³ These battles encompassed most of Ball’s battlefield experiences. At Vicksburg, Ball was captured and spent time the last couple of years of the war in a Federal prison. He was released in January of 1865 after taking an oath of allegiance, in order to secure his release as a prisoner of war.²⁸⁴ Following the war, Ball returned to St. Louis and began a career as a salesman.²⁸⁵

Ball was also an active member of Confederate veterans’ organizations following the war. He

²⁸³ Service Record for Alexander Green Ball, in Soldiers’ Records Database, http://www.sos.mo.gov/Images/Archives/Military/s00726/s00726_1990.pdf (accessed on 11 December 2012).

²⁸⁴ Confederate Service Record for A. G. Ball, in *Fold3*, <http://www.fold3.com/image/#97972454> (accessed on 2 February 2013).

²⁸⁵ *U.S. Census of 1880*, roll T9-0729, St. Louis County, St. Louis, Missouri, p. 265, family 131, household of A. G. Ball.

was one of the original members of the Southern Historical and Benevolent Association.²⁸⁶

Through his participation in the activities of the Southern Historical and Benevolent Association, Ball was able to assist in the creation of the framework and fundraising that enabled the creation of the Ex-Confederate Veterans Home. Like many others after the war, Ball engaged in a form of memorialization, which was his participation in the establishment of the Home. As a result of these activities, he was able to help found a home for ex-Confederate veterans that in his later years would become his home as well.

Ball and his family came to live at the home shortly after it was built. Ball's sons and wife lived with him for some time at the home. One of Ball's sons only lived with him for that first year; however, the other son remained until 1894.²⁸⁷ Ball spent his remaining years living quietly at the Home. He passed away in 1905, after having spent fourteen years residing at the home.²⁸⁸ While Ball lived out his remaining years quietly, the role he played in founding the Home, in his younger years, means that his legacy is able to live on in the public memory of the Home.

The stories of two more veterans at the Home, John William Koger and Percy Boulware illustrate the unique Missouri wartime experience through their participation in the guerrilla warfare that took place during the war. Guerilla warfare was rampant throughout Missouri during the war, with many unofficial battles taking place that pitted neighbor against neighbor. Sutherland mentions that a guerilla attack would involve "violence in the streets, bushwhackers laying in wait, [and] attacks on noncombatants...."²⁸⁹ Many of the attacks began quickly and

²⁸⁶ Ex-Confederate Historical and Benevolent Association of St. Louis, *Roster of the Ex-Confederate Historical and Benevolent Association of St. Louis, MO* (St. Louis, MO: Slawson Ptg. Co., 1894).

²⁸⁷ Missouri Department of Natural Resources Division of State Parks, "Applicants to the Confederate Home of Missouri," <http://mostateparks.com/park/confederate-memorial-state-historic-site> (accessed 28 January 2013).

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ Sutherland, 6.

were unorganized and difficult to contain. As the war continued, Sutherland states that the attacks and violence expanded to include, “sabotage, assassination, fear and suspicion of one’s neighbors, lynching of unarmed civilians, the use of terror to maintain law and order... and an apparent sanctioning of terror by governments became commonplace.”²⁹⁰ This was the atmosphere that many Missourians lived in during the war, and the one in which Koger and Boulware took part.

Koger was a native Missourian, who joined the fighting early in the war. He enlisted with Quantrill’s company in 1861.²⁹¹ As a member of Quantrill’s guerilla forces, Koger was present at many significant battles throughout Missouri and Kansas. He first saw action in 1862, during a battle in Independence, Missouri. Later that year, Koger was involved in a raid where he was wounded by Union troops. Due to the severity of his wounds, Koger was captured and ordered to be shot for his participation in guerilla fighting.²⁹² This punishment was in line with the law in Missouri during the war. Under General John Fremont, who was in command of Missouri in the summer of 1861, martial law was declared. Fremont found the guerrilla warfare on both sides, North and South, to be unacceptable, and as mentioned by Sutherland, he passed strict punishment on those who were involved in guerrilla activities, “Anyone taking up arms against the United States would be court-martialed, he announced; people found guilty would be shot.”²⁹³ Shortly before Koger was captured, another Union commander set forth a stricter policy. General Halleck who was in command of Missouri in 1862 added the rule that allowed anyone suspected of engaging in guerrilla warfare to be killed. Sutherland discusses Halleck’s strict punishment for guerrillas “rebel guerrillas would henceforth be liable to capital

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Service Record for John William Koger, in Soldiers’ Records Database, http://www.sos.mo.gov/Images/Archives/Military/s00734/s00734_0958.pdf (accessed 9 December 2012).

²⁹² William Connelley, *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (New York: Pageant Book Company, 1956), 203.

²⁹³ Sutherland, 24.

punishment.”²⁹⁴ Luckily for Koger, he was able to escape from federal confinement and the possibility of execution and rejoined Quantrill’s forces.

After his escape from prison, Koger continued to participate in the fighting with Quantrill’s band. Based on accounts of Quantrill’s raids, it is believed that Koger was with Quantrill’s men when they committed their most infamous raid of all, in Lawrence, Kansas in 1863.²⁹⁵ However, since Koger was a private and not an officer, his name is not specifically listed in accounts of the raid. In August, Quantrill and his men attacked the town of Lawrence early in the morning. They pillaged and plundered the entire town and killed over one hundred men, young and old, and then they set fire to many of the remaining homes and businesses. According to Sutherland, the men who participated had varying motives for the raid: “Some guerrillas had used the raid to settle personal scores, but the general motive was retaliation for three years of theft, murder, and destruction by Kansans in Missouri.”²⁹⁶ During the conflict, Missourians and Kansans had a great deal of animosity towards each other for atrocities that were committed by individuals on both sides of the war. As a member of Quantrill’s guerrillas since 1861, Koger’s views of the war must have been similar to that of his fellow guerrillas. Sutherland concludes that many of the guerrillas felt that the atrocities of the Northerners drove them to action:

They believed that jayhawker raids, Union confiscation, assessments, and the departure of the Confederate army from Missouri made guerrilla warfare necessary to protect property, maintain order, and preserve their own social status.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁴ Ibid., 59.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 310-315.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 193.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., 65.

This view was one that was shared not just by those engaged in guerrilla warfare, but by many Missourians who were driven to defend themselves, their families, and their property during the conflict.

Later in the year, Koger was wounded again. During the 1863 raid at Baxter Springs, he was shot and broke his collar-bone, but still managed to return fire.²⁹⁸ While he was still suffering from his wounds, Koger managed to save the band from firing on their own troops just outside of Fort Gibson. While Quantrill's troops rested, after skirmishing and capturing several federal troops, a Confederate company approached and mistook the guerrillas for the federals. Quantrill's men quickly began to form a defense. As the Confederates, under Colonel McIntosh, were getting ready to fire, Koger must have realized what was about to occur and called out to the advancing men that this was Quantrill. The approaching troops heeded the call, and put up a white flag of surrender before coming to meet Quantrill's troops.²⁹⁹ Only through Koger's quick action was the trouble averted; and this was one example of Koger's skill as a soldier under Quantrill.

Before the Civil War was over, Koger left Missouri to follow Quantrill's troops further south. He ended up traveling to Texas with Jesse James and a few other men.³⁰⁰ Following the war, Koger returned to Missouri where he resumed a relatively normal life. He settled down in Jackson County with his wife and had several children.³⁰¹ Koger had married before he became involved in the conflict; his wife was Elizabeth Bowman, whom he wed in March 1857.³⁰² In 1909 Koger applied for residency at the Home, and lived out the remainder of his years there.

²⁹⁸ Connelley, 430.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 435.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 458.

³⁰¹ *U.S. Census of 1880*, roll 694, Jackson County, Sniabar, Missouri, p. 124C, household of John W. Koger.

³⁰² Marriage License Certificate for John W. Koger, in Jackson County, Missouri, Recorder of Deeds, <http://records.jacksongov.org/imgcache/marriage376419-1-1.pdf> (accessed on 28 January 2013).

Koger lived at the Home for about eight years before passing away in 1917, from old age.³⁰³

While Koger had been a very lucky man during the war, in escaping from death on multiple occasions, he was unable to escape from the hands of time.

Percy Boulware also participated in the Civil War as a rebel guerrilla. He served under Bloody Bill Anderson in 1864 including battles at Fayette, Rocheport, and Centralia.³⁰⁴ During his service under Anderson, Boulware participated in several controversial raids. In July of 1864, Anderson and his men raided Rocheport and attacked a steamboat on the Missouri River. They then proceeded on to attack the railroad and set fire to the depot at Renick. Anderson and his men moved throughout central Missouri skirmishing with Federal troops and raiding towns, leaving a trail of blood behind them.³⁰⁵ Following his guerrilla service, Boulware decided to join the regular Confederate army. He enlisted as a private in C Company of Gordon's Regiment under General Shelby and participated in battles for General Price's retreat to the south.³⁰⁶ Throughout his years of service during the war, Boulware fought bravely for the South.

After the war, Boulware returned to his home in Lafayette County, Missouri and settled down. He spent a couple of years living in Elmwood, Missouri, after his wife passed away, before becoming a resident at the Home.³⁰⁷ It is likely that Boulware was experiencing financial difficulties, as were many veterans who lived at the Home, and that is why he was boarding with another family before moving to the Home. In 1912, Boulware was admitted to the Home, where he would live out his remaining years.³⁰⁸

³⁰³ Death Certificate for John Koger in Missouri Birth and Death Records Database, http://www.sos.mo.gov/images/archives/deathcerts/1917/1917_00026916.PDF (accessed on 9 December 2012).

³⁰⁴ Service Record for Percy Boulware, in Soldiers' Records Database, http://www.sos.mo.gov/Images/Archives/Military/s00727/s00727_1206.pdf (accessed on 12 December 2012).

³⁰⁵ Richard S. Brownlee, *Gray Ghosts of the Confederacy: Guerrilla Warfare in the West, 1861-1865*, (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1986), 204-205.

³⁰⁶ Service Record for Percy Boulware.

³⁰⁷ *U.S. Census of 1910*, roll T624, Saline County, Elmwood, Missouri, p. 5A, household of Percy Boulware.

³⁰⁸ "Applicants to the Confederate Home of Missouri."

Boulware lived a good life at the Home, for nearly thirty years. Near the end of his life, Boulware had been ill and was residing in the Home's hospital. During Boulware's hospital stay, in the summer of 1940, there was a fire and he was unable to safely evacuate.³⁰⁹ Unfortunately, Boulware was in the wrong place at the wrong time, and it was his stay in the Home's hospital that led to his death. Boulware suffered from smoke inhalation and died shortly after the fire.³¹⁰ The experiences that Boulware endured during and after the Civil War were ones that connected him to other former Confederate veterans, those that lived at the Home, and others who memorialized the war in a variety of ways.

Two of the Home's residents, James Robert Cummins and Fredrick Emory, were individuals whose involvement in events during and after the war brought them notoriety. Cummins grew up in the same neighborhood as the James brothers in Clay County, Missouri. Over the course of early years of the war, Cummins family and property were often targeted by raiding guerrillas. According to A. B. MacDonald, a local reporter who interviewed Cummins, it was one such instance that caused Cummins to leave home as a teenager and later join the Confederate army, "One evening...there were five of Bigelow's men in militia uniform, curing and abusing my mother because she had nothing left for them to steal, because she had two sons in the Confederate army and for being an old rebel herself."³¹¹ Cummins was not going to let the Kansas militia men abuse his mother, so he snuck up and shot the man who was being abusive to his mother.

³⁰⁹ *Twenty-Second Biennial Report*, 16.

³¹⁰ Death Certificate for Percy Boulware, in Missouri Birth and Death Records Database, http://www.sos.mo.gov/images/archives/deathcerts/1940/1940_00025455.PDF (accessed on 13 December 2012).

³¹¹ A. B. MacDonald, "Confed. Veteran – James Boys associate Hatred of James Boys," *Kansas City Star*, 22 September, 1929, 3.

When Cummins discussed this experience he felt it was a turning point for his life, “That was one of the good acts of my life. When he fell to the ground the others with him reached for their revolvers. I killed three of them altogether, and broke the arm of a fourth.”³¹² Cummins mother, Ellen, then assisted her son in the cover up and burial of the militia men that he had killed, and insisted that he leave home before more militia men came to retaliate.³¹³ For Cummins this was the beginning of a journey that would lead him to become a member in one of the most well-known outlaw gangs.

Near the end of the war, Cummins enlisted in Overston’s Company in the Confederate cavalry.³¹⁴ Cummins participated in several battles during his time in service to the Confederacy, however, he and the James brothers ended up fighting with Anderson and his guerrilla forces. Cummins claimed to have participated in Quantrill’s raid on Lawrence in his memoirs, but there is no record of his name in that battle. Cummins was discharged in 1865, after the war was over, and returned to Missouri where he joined the James brothers and their gang.³¹⁵ Cummins served the Confederacy during the war and continued his childhood friendship with Frank and Jesse James, which led to his participation in the gang that was led by the James brothers.

While Cummins was never charged or convicted of any crimes, many reports implicate Cummins in criminal activities that were credited to the James Younger gang. Cummins may have been involved in some of the gang’s activities including several robberies. In his memoirs, Cummins admits to being present at the bank robbery in Northfield, Minnesota, although he says that he did not take any of the money that was stolen in the robbery. This is, however, a disputed

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Service Record for James R. Cummins, in Soldiers’ Records Database, http://www.sos.mo.gov/Images/Archives/Military/s00729/s00729_1733.pdf (accessed on 13 December 2012).

³¹⁵ MacDonald, 4.

statement, since all records indicate that he was not present at this particular robbery.³¹⁶ So, it is still a matter of debate as to whether Cummins participated in any of the robberies that were credited to the James-Younger gang. Cummins then spent several years traveling in the west.³¹⁷ By this time, Cummins was feeling his age and applied to live at the Home.

Cummins was able to lead a quiet life while he was residing at the Home. He became a resident at the Home in 1902.³¹⁸ However, his stay at the Home was not long. Cummins traveled to Arkansas and married Florence Sherwood in October 1909.³¹⁹ Florence did not live long after the marriage and two years later, Cummins returned to the Home after her death. Cummins was able to enjoy many more years of his life at the Home. Then, he finally died of heart disease in the summer of 1929.³²⁰ Cummins had led an eventful life and had many experiences that led him down a path of notable activities. Cummins was eighty-two years old when he died and had been the longest living member of the James Younger gang.³²¹ The death of Cummins brought about the end of an era.

Frederick Emory was another former Confederate veteran whose activities during the war linked him to possible criminal activity. Emory traveled to Missouri, from Maryland, when he was in his twenties, to make his living. By the time the Civil War began, Emory was living in Weston, Missouri. During the first years of the war, Emory was a non-combatant. This changed in 1863 when he went to work for the quartermaster's office for the Confederacy.³²² While

³¹⁶ Ibid., 4 & 7.

³¹⁷ Ibid., 6.

³¹⁸ "Applicants to the Confederate Home of Missouri."

³¹⁹ Marriage License Certificate for James R. Cummins, in Jackson County, Missouri, Recorder of Deeds <http://records.jacksongov.org/imgcache/marriage631772-1-2.pdf> (accessed on 28 January 2013).

³²⁰ Death Certificate for James R. Cummins, in Missouri Birth and Death Records Database, http://www.sos.mo.gov/images/archives/deathcerts/1929/1929_00025707.PDF (accessed on 13 December 2012).

³²¹ MacDonald, 1.

³²² U.S. Civil War Draft Registrations Records, s.v. "Fredrick Emory," in *Ancestry.com*, <http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?h=1925030&db=ConsolidatedListsofCivilWarReg&indiv=try> (accessed on 2 February 2013).

Emory did not initially enlist in the Confederate service, he did share the views of most southerners and ultimately decided to fight for the South.

During the end of his service, Emory was assigned to help Jefferson Davis and the remnants of the Confederacy escape following the surrender at Appomattox. Emory was delegated to help transport Jefferson Davis and Confederate other officials along with the Confederate archives, various personal items, and the remains of the Confederacy's treasury further south to safety.³²³ Once the group reached Georgia, the Confederacy was disbanded and a few days later Jefferson Davis was apprehended. Emory was leading the wagons carrying all of the effects of the Confederacy, which happened to have been separated from Davis so that they were not detained when Davis was taken into custody.³²⁴ It was the separation of the wagons from Davis that enabled Emory and the other members of the party to escape further south.

Emory, the wagons, and several other soldiers who were either related to or friends of Davis, continued to travel south into Florida. Before the trip south, a back-up plan had been agreed upon by Captain Clark, the chief clerk of the President's office and Emory's commanding officer for this mission, regarding alternate plans for if they were unable to reunite with Davis. The plan was to take the baggage train to Cuba or Mexico for safe keeping. However, once the baggage train reached Florida, the plan changed. After the men guarding the baggage discovered that Davis had been captured, upon their arrival near Gainesville, a disagreement broke out over what to do with the Treasury funds. In the end, the remaining treasury funds of about \$25,000.00 were divided between the men who had guarded the baggage with one quarter of the funds being set aside for Davis' wife and children. Emory was given his share of \$1,940.00, and

³²³ A. J. Hanna, *Flight into Oblivion*, (Richmond: Johnson Publishing Company, 1938), 108-109.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, 110-111.

left to gain his parole.³²⁵ Emory was paroled at Baldwin and traveled to Hilton Head to take the oath of allegiance to the United States and was allowed to go free.³²⁶ However, there were a variety of accounts describing what occurred to the baggage train, and not all historians agree that it traveled all the way to Florida. While living at the Home, Emory never made any mention of what may have occurred during that final trip south.

After the war, Emory returned to Missouri and lived out most of his life. Then in 1898 he applied to live at the Home, where he resided until his death in 1901.³²⁷ Emory, like most of the single male residents of the Home, resided in the men's dormitory building, where he enjoyed a restful time in the company of the other veterans. While Emory led a quiet life before and after the war, he played an important role in one of the mysteries surrounding the destruction of the Confederacy. It was his role in Jefferson Davis' flight south that lent Emory the notoriety that he was associated with following the war.

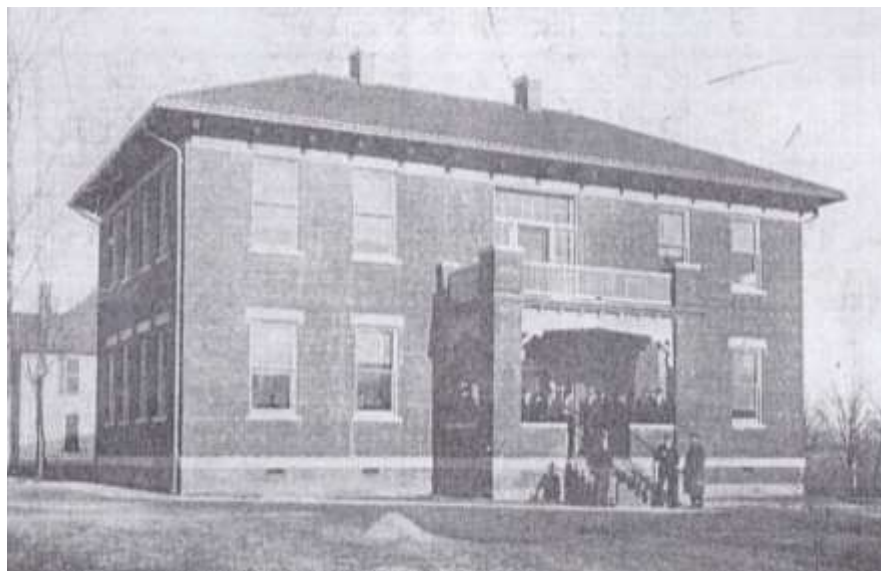


Figure 7. Men's dormitory building on the grounds of the ex-Confederate Veterans' Home, from UDC Marmaduke Scrapbook, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Ellis Library, University of Missouri, Columbia, MO.

³²⁵ Ibid., 112-116.

³²⁶ Ibid., 123-124..

³²⁷ "Applicants to the Confederate Home of Missouri."

The stories of two additional men, James F. Nichols and Thomas F. Stratton, provided examples of the hardships and losses that Confederate veterans faced in their later years. Nichols was also born in Missouri and grew up with his parents and brother on a farm in Pettis County.³²⁸ After the war began, he went with his older brother to fight for the Confederacy in 1862. Nichols served in the 2nd Regiment Infantry Volunteers under Captain Finney. According to his service record, while serving in the Confederate army, Nichols participated in several battles including, “Iuka, Corinth, Farmington, Grand Gulf, Baker’s Creek, Big Black, Vicksburg....”³²⁹ Nichols served in the army until he was released at the end of the war, at which time he returned to Missouri.

Following the war, Nichols returned to his home in rural Missouri. He later married his wife Nancy in 1899, and worked as a carpenter. The family lived happily on a farm in Moberly, Missouri, for many years.³³⁰ These years, living a simple life, were enjoyable for Nichols and his family. It was only upon his wife’s death in 1912 that Nichols gave up the family farm.³³¹ After the death of his wife, Nichols applied to live at the Home. His admission to the Home is listed as May 4, 1915, but apparently his application was never officially filed with the Home.³³² Nichols did, however, live at the Home for many years.

By the 1930s, Nichols was beginning to age and suffered from cancer. His cancer was treated, but he continued to have additional health problems. After a time, Nichols health began

³²⁸ *U.S. Census for 1850*, roll 1009, Pettis County, District 68, Missouri, family 530, household of James F. Nichols.

³²⁹ Service Record for James Nichols, in *Soldiers’ Records Database*, <http://www.sos.mo.gov/archives/soldiers/details.asp?id=S236049&conflict=Civil%20War&txtName=Nichols,%20James&selConflict=Civil%20War&txtUnit=&rbBranch=#> (accessed 13 December 2012).

³³⁰ *U.S. Census for 1900*, roll 884, Randolph County, Moberly, Missouri, p. 224, family, 332, household of James F. Nichols.

³³¹ Death Certificate for Nannie J. Nichols, in Missouri Birth and Death Records Database, http://www.sos.mo.gov/images/archives/deathcerts/1912/1912_00030693.PDF (accessed 13 December 2012).

³³² *Tenth Biennial Report*, 34.

to deteriorate, and he died in April 1938 due to heart failure.³³³ When Nichols died he was one of the few Confederate veterans left living at the Home. While Nichols did not lead an as eventful life as some of the other veterans, his story is one of a normal life that was met by the loss of loved ones and financial difficulties that led him to the Home.

The life that Stratton led shared many similarities with Nichols. Stratton was also a native Missourian, who enlisted to serve the Confederacy early in the war, and later came to live at the Home after the death of his wife. Stratton was born in Lexington, Missouri, and he enlisted in the Confederate Army in Bates County in 1861.³³⁴ Stratton served as a private in Parson's Brigade and participated in several engagements during the war including Pleasant Hill.³³⁵ Stratton remained in the service of the Confederacy until the war was over.

Following the war, Stratton came home to Missouri. After the war, he took up the occupation of a painter and initially lived in Crawford, Missouri with his wife Susan and their young son Lee.³³⁶ Stratton and his family did not remain in Crawford, however. The family later settled on a farm in Saline County, where Stratton continued to live until the death of his wife.³³⁷ It was upon the death of his wife that Stratton applied to live at the Home. Stratton moved into the Home in 1935, but he unfortunately, did not live there long; he died in 1937.³³⁸ While Stratton spent only a few short years living at the Home, he was still able to contribute his story to the account of the war and to the collective memory of the Home.

³³³ Death Certificate for James F. Nichols, in Missouri Birth and Death Records Database, http://www.sos.mo.gov/images/archives/deathcerts/1938/1938_00022255.PDF (accessed 13 December 2012).

³³⁴ Service Record for Thomas F. Stratton, in Soldiers' Records Database, http://www.sos.mo.gov/Images/Archives/Military/s00739/s00739_1800.pdf (accessed on 11 December 2012).

³³⁵ Service Record for Thomas F. Stratton, in Fold, <http://www.fold3.com/image/#120993776> (accessed on 2 February 2013).

³³⁶ *U.S. Census of 1870*, roll M593, Osage County, Crawford, Missouri, p. 87B, family 130, household of Thomas F. Stratton.

³³⁷ *U.S. Census of 1930*, roll 962, Saline County, Liberty, Missouri, p. 5A, family 90, household of Thomas F. Stratton.

³³⁸ Death Certificate for Thomas Stratton, in Missouri Birth and Death Records Database, http://www.sos.mo.gov/images/archives/deathcerts/1937/1937_00006967.PDF (accessed on 11 December 2012).

The final two veterans, Julius Bamberg and John Graves, played a particularly important role in the history of the Home, as the first and last veterans who resided within its walls. Julius Bamberg moved into the Home shortly after it was officially opened in the spring of 1891. He had emigrated from Poland to America before 1850.³³⁹ While Bamberg lived in the United States for several years before the war began, he did not immediately settle in Missouri. He moved with his family to Missouri sometime within the ten years before the war began. By 1860, Bamberg had moved to St. Louis, and he and his wife had a total of six children.³⁴⁰ Bamberg and his family continued to live in Missouri during and after the war.

Despite the fact that Bamberg was a family man, he enlisted to fight for the Confederacy as soon as the war began. In 1861, Bamberg enlisted in the Missouri State Guard, fighting for the South in Henry Guibor's artillery unit.³⁴¹ When the Home first began accepting applications for admittance, Bamberg now in his late seventies, submitted his application. Bamberg began residing at the Home in 1891.³⁴² Later that first year, Bamberg was given a gold watch. The watch was presented to Bamberg, the oldest resident of the home, by the Grand Army of the Republic since he was the first resident of the Home.³⁴³ The honor was given to Bamberg by the Union veterans' organization as a part of the reconciliation that began to sweep across the country in the years following the war.

Bamberg continued to reside at the Home for about six years, until his death in 1897. He was in his eighties when he died, and had carried with him the gold watch presented to him in 1891, right up to his death.³⁴⁴ Bamberg never forgot the honor that had been bestowed upon him

³³⁹ *U.S. Census of 1860*, roll M653_649, St. Louis County, St. Louis, Missouri, p. 120, family 864, household of Julius Bamberg.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁴¹ "Applicants to the Confederate Home of Missouri."

³⁴² *Ibid.*

³⁴³ *Higginsville Advance*, July 3, 1891.

³⁴⁴ Bamberg, Julius, Obituary. *Higginsville Advance*, April 23, 1897.

with the gift of the watch from the GAR. Bamberg's account is one that hints at the reconciliation between the Confederate veterans of the Home and their northern counterparts.

The final veteran to reside at the Home was John Graves. Graves was also a native Missourian and was from a middle-class family before the war. His father helped manage a local plantation in Pike County, Missouri.³⁴⁵ When the war began, Graves enlisted in the Missouri State Guard serving as a Private in Company A under Colonel Burbridge.³⁴⁶ Following his service to the Confederacy, Graves returned home. He did not stay in home long, and in 1867 he moved to Howard County where he married his wife Addie and owned a farm. Graves and his wife had two sons, James T. and Fisher.³⁴⁷ It was only after the death of his wife, that Graves submitted an application to live at the Home. However, he was not accepted into the Home until 1933.³⁴⁸ Graves was one of the later veterans to take up residence at the Home.

When Graves entered the Home, he was already in his nineties, but still in relative good health. He lived a quiet life for many years at the Home and survived the fire in 1940, which took the life of fellow resident Percy Boulware. Following the fire, the remaining veterans were living in the women's building. At the end of 1949, Graves became the last Confederate veteran in Missouri, after the death of another former Confederate.³⁴⁹ A few months later Graves' health began to fail and he died on May 9, 1950 due to heart disease.³⁵⁰ Graves's death, as the last veteran living at the Home, would mean the end of the Home itself.

³⁴⁵ U.S. Census of 1850, roll M432, Pike County, Clarksville, Missouri, family 530, household of John Graves.

³⁴⁶ Service Record for John T. Graves, in Soldiers' Records Database, <http://www.sos.mo.gov/archives/soldiers/details.asp?id=S386721&conflict=Civil%20War&txtName=Graves,%20John%20T&selConflict=Civil%20War&txtUnit=&rbBranch=#> (accessed 13 December 2012).

³⁴⁷ *U.S. Census of 1880*, roll 690, Howard County, Fayette, Missouri, p. 266, family 373, household of John T. Graves.

³⁴⁸ "Applicants to the Confederate Home of Missouri."

³⁴⁹ "Obituaries," *Missouri Historical Review*, 45 (October 1950): 101.

³⁵⁰ Death Certificate for John T. Graves, in Missouri Birth and Death Records Database, http://www.sos.mo.gov/images/archives/deathcerts/1950/1950_00017302.PDF (accessed 13 December 2012).



Figure 8. Women's dormitory building on the grounds of the ex-Confederate Veterans' Home, from UDC Marmaduke Scrapbook, Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Ellis Library, University of Missouri, Columbia, MO.

Each of these Ex-Confederate veterans participated in a war that changed the path of America, endured hardships for the roles they played, and will ultimately be remembered not only for their service, but also as a part of the collective memory of the Ex-Confederate Veterans Home. The Home proved to be a place where the former Confederates could spend their last remaining years in comfort. The fact that each of these men and many others all resided at the Home earned them a place in the collective memory of the War.

CONCLUSION

While the Confederate Memorial Home was in operation, more than one thousand ex-Confederate veterans and their families resided within its boundaries. The Home had been a place of peace and happiness for many former Confederate veterans in their later years. This work has highlighted the stories of nine veterans who lived at the Home: Alexander G. Ball, Julius Bamberg, Percy Boulware, James R. Cummins, Frederick Emory, John T. Graves, John W. Koger, James F. Nichols, and Thomas F. Stratton. The stories of each of these men provided a distinctive viewpoint for the collective memory of the Home and the war.

However, as time marched on, there were fewer Confederate veterans left, and they no longer needed a large home and extensive grounds for their care. In 1950, the last veteran living at the home died, resulting in the closing of the Home. According to his obituary, Graves passed away in the spring of 1950, “On May 9th, 1950, a chapter of the state’s history came to a close when John Graves, the last Missouri Confederate veteran, who had fought with the legendary general Joseph O. Shelby, passed away at the home at the age of 107.”³⁵¹ Within a few short years of the death of the last veteran, the State of Missouri tore down most of the structures on the site. After the closing of the Home, the UDC still continued to honor the ex-Confederate veterans and on holidays.³⁵² Through the devotion of the UDC and friends and family members of the Veterans, remembrance of the Home and its residents has continued.

One of the most important aspects of the history of the Home are the veterans who lived within its walls. Many of these men shared common traits that drew them together. Most of the men were single or widowed, they were semiskilled, and they were without the financial means to care for themselves. These men were in the prime of life when they joined the fighting and

³⁵¹ “Obituaries,” 101.

³⁵² Vaughn, 11.

found themselves poor and unable to work by the time they were in middle age, in some cases as a direct result of their service to the Confederacy.³⁵³ For the veterans, service to the Confederacy often cost them their health and their ability to make a living.

The men who resided at the Home also shared additional traits that included their service to the Confederacy. All of the men were Missouri residents, either before or after the war; they were all without financial means and all of them contributed their stories to the collective memory of the Home. Some of the men like Alexander Green Ball participated in the establishment of the Home. Others brought a uniquely Missouri wartime experience through their participation in guerrilla warfare, like John William Koger and Percy Boulware. A few men were involved in more notable adventures during and after the war like, James Robert Cummins and Fredrick Emory. The stories of other men provided examples of the difficult trials that Confederate veterans faced in their later years, resembling the accounts of James F. Nichols and Thomas F. Stratton. Additionally, some men lent their accounts to tell the story of the Home, like Julius Bamberg and John Thomas Graves, who were the first and last veterans to reside at the Home. The collective memory of the Home is comprised of the accounts of these men and the many others who lived within its walls throughout the sixty years of operation.

The period following the Civil War was a time of transition for the United States, and it was in this period that the memorialization of the war took shape. Memorialization, the process of preserving the memory of events and individuals, not only helped to sustain memories through a formal ceremony or creation of a monument, but also assisted individuals who were impacted by the war in the grieving process. Following the Civil War, a majority of Americans had experienced the loss of loved ones who were wounded or killed in the conflict. As a result of the movement to memorialize the war, today we can still explore many of the memories that were

³⁵³ Ibid., 13-14.

preserved through the creation of monuments, historic sites, parks, veterans' homes, organizations, rituals, and written works.

Through an examination of the artifacts of memorialization, historians and members of the public are able to further understand the individual motivations and social context surrounding the Civil War. For the Home in Higginsville, Missouri, the history contains a complex mix of social and political factors. Due to Missouri's unique position during the war, of a border state that belonged with neither the north nor the south, the icon that emerged out of the public memory was that of the noble guerilla. Since Missourians had experienced rampant guerilla warfare before and during the war, the image of the guerilla fighter was romanticized and used as a symbol for the memorialization of the war. For Missourians, the war left them dissatisfied with their government and they displayed their dissatisfaction by supporting the ideals of the former Confederacy. Many of the memorials, throughout the state, reveal southern sympathies. These sentiments can be seen in the memorial created by the UDC on the grounds of the Home in Higginsville. This memorial was dedicated to the Confederates who lost their lives serving in the war. Furthermore, these southern sentiments are exemplified in the ex-Confederate Veterans' Home. The Home itself is a memorial to the ex-Confederate veterans of Missouri who lived at the Home.

While the importance of the veterans for whom the Home was constructed is obvious, the women of Missouri also played a prominent role in the founding of the Home and the preservation of the memory of the war. After enduring and overcoming great hardships during the war and the period of Reconstruction that followed in the south, women began to take on broader roles that would enable them to lay the foundation for gender equality. One of the paths by which women were able to enlarge their role outside the home, was through their participation

in philanthropic activities, including forming women's organizations, engaging in commemorative activities, and establishing and raising funds for veterans' homes.

Since these philanthropic activities were seen by society as an extension of women's traditional roles, it was acceptable to engage in these activities. Women were then able to use their wartime experiences as stepping stones to work towards enlarging their place in the changing American culture. The hardships that many ladies experienced during and after the war led them to seek out roles of leadership in the memorialization movement that emerged. For many, engaging in memorial activities was a part of the grieving process. Subsequently, women were able to play a valuable role in the preservation of the memory of the Civil War. Many of the women became involved in women's organizations like the UDC, which focused on memorializing the war.

A particular focus of women's preservation efforts were veterans' homes. It was through the caring for and supporting of the Civil War veterans that women were able to engage in roles and activities that were acceptable to society by their association with home making, and that propelled them to take the lead in the preservation of the collective memory of the war. Women, through their participation in organizations like the UDC, were able to care for and support Civil War veterans through their memorializing activities.

The UDC was instrumental in the establishment and continued support of the Home. The members of the UDC assisted the Home's founders in raising the money to construct the Home and over the years provided continued support to the Home's administrators and to the veterans. The women of the UDC were able to save the cemetery and chapel from destruction and assist the State of Missouri in the establishment of the Confederate Memorial State Historic Site that now preserves the history of the war and the Home.

The Ex-Confederate Veterans Home in Higginsville, Missouri was one of the memorials that were created during the memorialization movement that swept across the United States after the war. As a home for veterans, it served a unique role in the memorialization process, as a home for the living monuments of the Civil War. Providing care to veterans of the war was seen as an opportunity to preserve one of the most important participants in the War, the soldiers. By supporting the Ex-Confederate soldiers in their later years, individuals who desired to preserve the memory of the war felt that they were able to complete their mission by caring for the veterans.

Many differing viewpoints are represented in the artifacts that were created to preserve the memory of the Civil War. The Home and historic site in Higginsville, Missouri serve as an example of the individual memories that are interwoven to create the collective memory of the Home. The individual memories of the veterans and their family members, founders of the Home, employees, members of the board, and members of the UDC are all have a place in the collective memory of the Home.

The establishment of the Confederate Veterans Home in Higginsville, Missouri provides one example of the path of memorialization following the Civil War. For the Home in Higginsville, the memory of the war was what inspired its creation and what has sustained it through the years. The Home is now a historic site that preserves the State's memories of the Civil War and educates Missourians about their past. This site is unique in its representation of the spirit and memory of Missouri's Confederate past and its dedication to the living monuments of the Civil War.

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