12-2023

"A Consummation Devoutly to be Wished": Finding a Place for Jefferson Davis in Kentucky's Historical Memory

Lori Latham

“A CONSUMMATION DEVOUTLY TO BE WISHED”: FINDING A PLACE FOR JEFFERSON DAVIS IN KENTUCKY’S HISTORICAL MEMORY

A Thesis Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
Master of Arts in History

Department of History
Western Kentucky University
Bowling Green, Kentucky

By
Lori Latham

December, 2023

"A Consummation Devoutly To Be Wished": Finding a Place for Jefferson Davis in Kentucky's Historical Memory

Lori Latham

Date Recommended 11/10/2023

DocuSigned by:
Dorothea Browder
2C1DAB37AB554E5...
Chair

DocuSigned by:
Kathryn McClurkin
56460FA995D34B7...
Committee Member

DocuSigned by:
Alexander Olson
B85B26C3322F49E...
Committee Member

Committee Member

DocuSigned by:
Jennifer Hammonds
EBE3858E068F42D...
Interim Director of the Graduate School

ABSTRACT

"A CONSUMMATION DEVOUTLY TO BE WISHED": FINDING A PLACE FOR JEFFERSON DAVIS IN KENTUCKY'S HISTORICAL MEMORY

Situated near the original location of the birthplace and childhood home of Jefferson Davis, the Jefferson Davis State Historic Site in Fairview, Kentucky, houses a 351-foot tall obelisk, completed in 1924, along with a modest museum, gift shop, playground, and picnic area. At the site's museum, visitors receive an innocuous and seemingly uncontroversial lesson about Davis, the statesman, since most of the interpretive panels focus on Davis's role as a public servant before becoming the only president of the Confederate States of America. Thus, the museum misses a critical opportunity to engage visitors in a dialogue about the monument's meaning for the present.

Instead of providing a critical analysis of what Confederate Veterans and their kin, including members of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and Sons of Confederate Veterans, intended the monument to represent about Davis, the museum perpetuates their goal to utilize the obelisk as evidence of the "lost cause." Further, the site remains silent on Davis's personal experience with slavery, his explicit endorsement of human bondage, and the Black people who resided with the Davis family in Fairview. By perpetuating the invisibility of the enslaved individuals who labored for the Davis family and remaining silent about the racist ideologies that shaped Davis's and the monument creators' political ideologies, the Jefferson Davis State Historic Site perpetuates the white supremacist ideologies that Confederate veterans and their kin hoped that memorials like the Jefferson Davis Monument would perpetuate indefinitely.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction……1

Chapter 1: Reshaping a Divided Past…….....6

Chapter 2: Controlling the Narrative…….23

Chapter 3: “The Mount Vernon of Kentucky:” Redeeming Davis’s Legacy……..……..39

Chapter 4: Vindicating the Lost Cause through Davis.…….....61

Chapter 5: “Imperishable Monuments:” Lasting Evidence for Future Generations……..75

Chapter 6: “The Past is Dead:” Finding Meanings for the Present……88

Works Cited…….103

Introduction

Drive fifteen minutes east on US-68, or "Jefferson Davis Highway," from the center of Hopkinsville, the seat of Christian County, Kentucky, and shortly after taking the exit on Jefferson Davis Road, a beautiful scene of pastoral open spaces dotted with farms and Amish horse carriages is arrested by the emergence of a 351-foot tall cement obelisk rising above the trees. Further along, the structure beckons sightseers to the Jefferson Davis State Historic Site (JDSHS) on the border of Todd County in the census-designated town of Fairview, which houses the Jefferson Davis Monument, a small museum with a gift shop, and a park perfect for a scenic afternoon picnic. As the world's third tallest obelisk, standing about 200 ft. below the Washington Monument, the Jefferson Davis Monument's sheer magnitude, weighing in at 14,376 tons with a base width of thirty-six feet, contrasts sharply with its bucolic surroundings.[1]

Amid a recent series of Confederate memorial removals across the United States, it is strange to see such powerful Confederate iconography remain relatively untouched. Additionally, the on-site museum's narratives, which depict Jefferson Davis primarily as a patriot and statesman, appear to have escaped public scrutiny within a recent movement across the United States to recover Confederate memorials' connections to the Lost Cause Movement. Nevertheless, the Kentucky Government's 2020 decision to relocate a statue of Davis from the State Capitol Rotunda in Frankfort to the JDSHS in Fairview warrants an examination of how such a powerful symbol of reverence to the former leader of the southern rebellion found its home in a state that never seceded.

While transporting the statue 200 miles away from the capitol to a rural hamlet in the southwest corner of Kentucky affords the state government the convenience of physically

[1] Keith A. Erekson, "Lincoln and Davis: Three Visions of Public Commemoration in Kentucky," *Ohio Valley history* 8, no. 2 (2008): 50, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/568116; "Jefferson Davis Kentucky State Historic Site," Postcard from Jefferson Davis State Historic Site.

distancing itself from a relic of the Lost Cause, the JDSHS's museum does not adequately address the concerns that led to the Davis statue's removal. Therefore, this study addresses three topics that the museum does not adequately address: the plurality of Civil War memory in the state, the motivations of the Veterans and Daughters who built the monument, and the role Black people played in Davis's life and in the monument's construction. By focusing on these three themes, this paper shines a light on how, without additional historical interpretation, the JDSHS contributes to the Jefferson Davis Monument's prevailing Lost Cause symbolism by distorting the experiences and perspectives of local Blacks.

This paper draws from David W. Blight's *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American History* to explain how the postwar racial climate gave rise to the birth of the Lost Cause Movement. Blight takes an in-depth look at how, in the decades following the sectional conflict, a growing impetus among whites toward national reconciliation served to obstruct Blacks' collective memory of the war in favor of a popular history that celebrated whites' shared experience of military heroism and patriotic duty.[2] Narrowing this study's scope to Kentucky's postwar Confederate reputation, it utilizes Anne E. Marshall's *Creating a Confederate Kentucky: The Lost Cause and Civil War Memory in a Border State* which explores how various white Kentuckians' shifting wartime loyalties affected the state's postwar political climate. Marshall's work complicates generalizations about widespread emancipationist sentiment among Union states by demonstrating that in a former slave state that did not secede, whites' discontent over the prospects of racial egalitarianism led many to reject Unionist memory.[3]

This thesis also engages with Joy Giguere's "'Young and Littlefield's Folly': Fundraising, Confederate Memorialization, and the Construction of the Jefferson Davis

[2] David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001), 4.
[3] Anne E. Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky: The Lost Cause and Civil War Memory in a Border State* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2010), 4-5.

Monument in Fairview, Kentucky, 1907-1924," which primarily looks at Jefferson Davis Home Association (JDHA) President Bennett A. Young's difficulty obtaining donations from locals to argue that the Jefferson Davis Monument did not receive widespread endorsement from the surrounding community.[4] Additionally, anthropologist Jack Glazier's *Been Coming Through Some Hard Times: Race, History, and Memory* facilitates this paper's inclusion of the experiences of Black people in nearby Christian County, who celebrate their collective history through "rituals and narratives" rather than imposing memorials.[5]

Although a handful of scholars have written about the Jefferson Davis Monument in Fairview, Kentucky, none have intertwined a detailed history of the JDHA with the history of systemic racial inequality affecting the site of Davis's birth to the present day.[6] This study adds to their existing conversation by providing a comprehensive look at the monument's construction alongside the context of racial relations in the region to demonstrate that the meanings that national and Kentucky Confederate organization members intended the monument to convey about the region's history did not accurately reflect the lived experiences of most Kentuckians in the Pennyroyal Region. Further, this paper illuminates the Black individuals left out of the JDSHS's narrative, the enslaved individuals who lived with the Davis family in Fairview, and the Black laborers who delayed the monument's construction. By situating the symbolism of the Jefferson Davis Monument within the diverse memories of people from the immediate area around it, this work seeks to present a case study of how the histories of Confederate memorials provide valuable lessons about how relationships of power shape the historical process.

---

[4] Joy M. Giguere, "'Young and Littlefield's Folly': Fundraising, Confederate Memorialization, and the Construction of the Jefferson Davis Monument in Fairview, Kentucky, 1907-1924," *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 115, no. 1 (2017): 43, http://www.jstor.org/stable/44981113.
[5] Jack Glazier, *Been Coming Through Some Hard Times: Race, History, and Memory in Western Kentucky* Vol. 1st ed. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2012), 1, 7-8
[6] Marshall, 181-82; Glazier, 7, 170-78; Giguere, 39-73; Erekson, 49-56; Tony Horowitz, *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches from the Unfinished Civil War* (New York: Penguin Random House, 1998), 100-01, 112-13.

The study begins in Chapter 1, examining Kentucky's divided political climate before and during the Civil War. It reveals how Black Kentuckians changed the tide of the war and played a major part in shaping the state's Civil War history. Chapter 2 discusses how the Lost Cause Movement's growth in Kentucky provided the opportunity for Confederate veterans and their kin to wield greater public authority in war commemoration efforts, which served as an ideological justification for local racial discrimination and violence while obscuring Black historical commemoration efforts. Chapter 3 follows the JDHA's efforts to purchase land and garner financial support for a memorial to Davis in Fairview by inflating Davis's legacy as a U.S. patriot and statesman. It reveals that while JDHA President Bennett H. Young capitalized on a broad consensus among white Americans to acknowledge Southerners' interpretation of the conflict and its aftermath, Black people continued expressing their dissent of racial inequality.

Chapter 4 frames Young's fundraising for the monument within the context of the local and national United Daughters of the Confederacy's (UDC's) efforts to indoctrinate children about the Lost Cause. It reveals how their historical narratives nurtured the ideologies sustaining Jim Crow legal discrimination during the monument's construction. Their educational and memorial work helped conceal Black people's contributions, such as that of the men who built the Jefferson Davis Monument. Chapter 5 illustrates how UDC women carried the torch of their Confederate forefathers by presenting lasting monuments as powerful corroborations of their educational narratives. Amid the passing of time and those who lived through the Civil War and Reconstruction, they contributed to the longevity of support for racial inequality. Additionally it examines how local Blacks' protests and the recurring presence of white hate groups at the obelisk demonstrated the durability of the monument's Lost Cause symbolism throughout the twentieth century.

Finally, Chapter 6 looks at the JDSHS's current museum narratives and recent controversies surrounding Confederate memorials to conclude that the site needs to meet the academic standards necessary to address concerns that products of the Lost Cause Movement promote racism. Further, it examines Davis's personal ties to slavery and the enslaved individuals left out of the JDSHS's narratives. By illuminating the ways that the museum ignores Black perspectives, this study argues that the museum perpetuates the Black invisibility that Lost Cause proponents sought to preserve through systemic inequality.

A cohort of Kentuckians' effort to make the Fairview site one of the most illustrious symbols of veneration to Davis, who resided only briefly in a state that remained in the Union during the Civil War, supplies an instructive lesson about how fashioners of Confederate iconography embedded their memorials with meanings for the present rather than simply acknowledging past realities. This study contributes a case study of how the particularities of Confederate memorialization in a single region in a single state reveal how neo-Confederate ideology can be utilized as a tool to foster shared identities and goals with like-minded individuals across the nation. Finally, by comparing the Fairview monument's symbolism from its dedication to the present day, this paper will facilitate further conversations about whether it is ever possible to provide "appropriate historical context" for idols of the Lost Cause.

Chapter 1: Reshaping a Divided Past

In September 1907, Simon Bolivar Buckner, a former Confederate general and Kentucky state governor, initiated a project to build a shrine to Jefferson Davis at his birthplace in the Bluegrass State, which had remained part of the Union during the Civil War. At a veterans' reunion in Glasgow, Kentucky, for the Orphan Brigade, a group of about 3,400 volunteers from Kentucky who fought for the rebellion, Buckner argued that Davis's birthplace should be honored on the centennial of his birth, June 3, 1908. Referencing an undertaking by the Lincoln Farm Association, an out-of-state group, to memorialize Abraham Lincoln at the site of his first home at Sinking Spring Farm in Hodgenville, he asserted that Kentuckians needed to pay tribute to Davis, framing him as the Commonwealth's favorite of the two figures. At the reunion, southern veterans formed the Jefferson Davis Home Association (JDHA), with Bucker as president. They began formulating plans to present a physical reminder of Kentucky's Confederate past as a counterpoint to contemporaneous Lincoln memorialization.[7]

Buckner's advocacy for a Davis memorial in the Commonwealth and the JDHA's inflation of Kentuckians' devotion to the sole Confederate president betrayed the existence of divided sectional loyalties in the state during the Civil War. Therefore, a memorial to Davis in Fairview would provide faulty but compelling evidence for Confederate sympathizers' claims about Kentuckians' solidarity with a mythical unified front in the oft-romanticized Old South. The JDHA's arduous yet ultimately triumphant project to emphasize a Confederate heritage for Todd and Christian County residents depended on the success of the Lost Cause Movement in shaping public opinion in Kentucky about the virtues of the Southern cause and its implications for the present. JDHA leaders and other Confederate organization members, such as members of the United Confederate Veterans (UCV), Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV), and the United

[7] "Jefferson Davis Home Association," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XV, No. 10, Oct. 1907, 437, HathiTrust Digital Library, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=dul1.ark:/13960/t96698r75&view=1up&seq=473; Marshall, 175.

Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), played a crucial role in shaping the state's Confederate identity throughout the Lost Cause Movement in Kentucky. Thus, by laying the foundation for Kentuckians' postwar affiliation with a unified South, Commonwealth veterans and their kin helped the JDHA succeed in erecting a 351 ft. tall obelisk to the Confederate president in a Union state.

After four long years of bloody conflict, Kentuckians held diverse memories and perceptions of the Civil War. During the fighting, white Unionists and Confederates alike aspired to preserve slavery and the racial stratification underpinning it in the Commonwealth, either through defending or dismantling the Union. Therefore, their framings of the Civil War sharply differed from African Americans' perception of the war as a struggle to liberate themselves from the chains of racial oppression. Amid white Unionists' resentment over emancipation, Confederate apologists' postwar crusade to influence the shape of Kentucky's collective historical memory of the conflict successfully obscured the influence of Black Kentuckians' interpretations of the war's outcome and their role in shaping it.

Kentuckians' Civil War experience complicates the broader history of Confederate memorialization due to the state's uniquely divided sentiment and the legislature's decision to remain in the Union. Located in the southwestern part of the state near the border of Tennessee, Davis's birthplace and the Commonwealth it belongs to hold a unique place within U.S. Civil War history. The Kentucky General Assembly's ultimate decision to keep the state in the Union played a critical role in shaping the doomed fate of the Confederacy by depriving the South of access to northern states bordering the Ohio River, railroads, and potential resources.[8] Crucial still, Kentucky's official sanctioning of Unionism would eventually mobilize a significant proportion of the state's Black men into military service, with more enslaved individuals residing

[8] Lowell H. Harrison, *The Civil War in Kentucky* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1975), 2-3.

in Kentucky than the total sum of the enslaved populations of the other border states, Delaware, Maryland, and Missouri.[9]

Conflicting wartime loyalties within Kentucky illuminate the context through which Buckner urged Kentuckians to memorialize Davis in a Union state. Though the Commonwealth, preferring neutrality, reluctantly joined ranks with the federal government against the Confederacy, the state's legacy with slavery and Black disfranchisement, and its diversified economy, trading relationships, and shared cultural bonds with Southerners, including kin from its mother state Virginia, set the stage for divided loyalties within Kentucky from 1861 to 1865. Clearly, in a state that did not ratify the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, or Fifteenth Amendments until 1976, there existed an over-a-century-long reckoning with emancipation with lasting repercussions for present-day Kentuckians.[10]

During and after the conflict, whites' resentment over the end of slavery clashed with Blacks' unbroken drive to improve their lives in every possible way. While impressment and enlistment introduced Black Kentuckians to a new reality, their resistance to subjugation did not begin during the Civil War. Analyzing how slave revolts across the Atlantic transcended temporal and spatial boundaries, Harvard Professor Vincent Brown proposes that "slave war" is "the natural consequence of slavery itself."[11] Enslaved individuals in Kentucky rejected their commodification before and after emancipation, fighting for better lives with or without blue uniforms. Through the threat of violent insurgencies or quotidian assertions of their humanity, Black Kentuckians' actions exemplified the instability of a society founded on white patriarchal hegemony. For instance, in his analysis of the ever-changing state of slavery in the U.S. since the

[9] Kenneth H. Williams and James Russell Harris, "Kentucky in 1860: A Statistical Overview," *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 103, no. 4 (2005): 751, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23386626.
[10] "State Goes on Record Against Slavery," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), March 19, 1976, 39.
[11] Vincent Brown, *Tacky's Revolt: The Story of an Atlantic Slave War* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2020), 248.

Colonial Era, Ira Berlin reasons that enslaved people's ability to assert any level of control over their circumstances ensured that slavery would be "intrinsically unstable" and "continually remade" as both enslaved and enslaver defined the boundaries of the latter's authority.[12] Therefore, white Bluegrass residents' reactions to the precarious political landscape in 1860 reflect their recognition of slavery's dependence on white dominance and serve as a prelude to Kentuckians' divided interpretations of the war after 1865.

Kentucky's 1860 presidential election results reflected most state voters' antipathy for the abolition movement and what many southern contemporaries called "Black Republicanism." However, unlike slave states in the Deep South, the outcome exemplifies how Kentuckians believed loyalty to the Union to be a more promising course for preserving the institution of bondage in their state. That year, forty-five percent of voters in the state, along with the electoral college, favored Constitutional Union Party candidate John Bell.[13] As with other Upper South states, Bell was a popular choice for those wanting to preserve slavery but rejected the rhetoric of southern fire-eaters. Consisting of former Whigs and Know-Nothings, the Constitutional Union Party hoped to forestall sectional conflict by maintaining the status quo on slavery.

Kentucky's political climate at the time of the 1860 election signifies much about the significance of slavery to residents in various parts of the state. Although enslavers only owned up to five enslaved people throughout most of the state, enslaved individuals' labor was critical to the Bluegrass's diverse economy.[14] Kentucky also contained more enslavers, 38,645, than most slave states, save Virginia and Georgia.[15] For white male Kentuckians, slave ownership facilitated their access to the patriarchal ideal. For example, utilizing enslaved individuals in

[12] Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1998), 2-3.
[13] Williams and Harris, 759.
[14] Glazier, 10.
[15] Williams and Harris, 751.

domestic duties could liberate wives and daughters from engaging in household labor associated with women of lower classes.[16] By increasing the status of their wives and expanding the number of their dependents, white men in Kentucky bolstered their gendered and racial authority which was essential to the yeoman household ideal. Thus, in the Commonwealth, slavery theoretically expanded all white men's status through their privileged access to prosperity and higher social classes. While Kentuckians sought to preserve slavery by defending the Union, in the Deep South, antebellum fire-eaters capitalized on slavery's ability to buttress white men's exclusive gender and racial benefits to garner support from non-slaveowners for secession.[17]

Moreover, the malleability of slave labor in Kentucky benefited the state's varying geographical regions and diversified economy, which included cash crops such as hemp, wheat, rye, and oats.[18] However, the state's most profitable crop on the eve of war, tobacco, primarily grew in the southwestern Pennyroyal agricultural region. In 1860, Christian County was the most populated county in the Pennyroyal and the third most populous county in Kentucky.[19] In contrast to more heavily populated counties in the central part of the state, Christian County contained more enslaved people in its aggregate population. Known for its Black Patch tobacco, slavery in the southern portions of the Western Pennyroyal more closely resembled the chattel conditions within large cotton plantations in the Deep South.[20] In 1860, enslaved people comprised twenty-three percent of Christian County residents, while sixteen percent were enslavers. Slavery's profitability in the county is evident; in 1860, Christian County held the most real estate (twenty-three percent) and personal property (eighteen percent) in the Western

[16]Patrick A. Lewis, *For Slavery and Union: Benjamin Buckner and Kentucky Loyalties in the Civil War* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 23.
[17] Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South* (Cambridge: Harvard, 2010), 29-30.
[18] Lewis, *For Slavery and Union: Benjamin Buckner and Kentucky Loyalties in the Civil War*, 21.
[19] Williams and Harris, 745; Bureau of the Census, *Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), 175, 177, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/population/1860a-01.pdf.
[20] For more on plantation slavery in the Deep South, see Berlin, 93-215.

Pennyroyal Region. During that year's presidential election, fifty-three percent of residents in the area voted for Bell, including fifty-two percent of Christian County voters, reflecting his appeal to Kentucky Whigs hoping to preserve slavery.[21] In contrast, less than one percent of the Pennyroyal area put their faith in Lincoln.[22]

Although voting Kentuckians primarily favored Whig presidential candidates in the first half of the nineteenth century, the party fractured over the issue of slavery. While former Whigs in northern states tended to adopt the stances of the new Republican Party, a resounding lack of support for Lincoln in Kentucky reveals how integral the institution was to the state's diversified economy. Along with other Upper South states, the 1860 presidential election showed that most Kentuckians, even those most reliant on slavery, believed that a strong central government could best preserve the institution in their state.

Kentuckians' recent political memory legitimized their faith in the government to protect the institution. With such national leaders as Whigs Henry Clay and John Jordan Crittenden hailing from the Bluegrass State, Kentuckians could reasonably expect their state politicians to defend slavery as the lifeblood of their society's cultural, domestic, economic, and social conventions. For example, one of the designers of the Missouri Compromise of 1850, the "Great Compromiser," Senator Clay sought to calm southern fire-eaters' secession baiting with the Fugitive Slave Act. In the face of anti-slavery and free soil dissent in the North, the act gave the federal government the power to enforce the return of runaway enslaved people to their owners. Crittenden, then serving as U.S. Attorney General, supported the act and influenced President Millard Filmore to sign it into law.

In the context of the defunct Whig Party's political conservatism, Unionist Kentuckians rejected the apparent radicalism of States' Rights Democrats and Republicans. After all, just

[21] Williams and Harris, 745.
[22] Ibid.

three years earlier, the Supreme Court conveyed its commitment to preserving racial inequality in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857), when Chief Justice Roger Taney interpreted the Constitution as forbidding African Americans from access to the "rights and privileges" belonging to U.S. citizens.[23] Therefore, recent political developments demonstrated the federal government's interest in upholding slavery where it existed and the essentialness of racial inequality in legitimizing white men's exclusive access to civic authority.

Kentuckians also knew that their state constitution stood as a bulwark against abolitionism. In the state's first constitutional convention, a group of anti-slavery religious delegates made the legality of the institution in Kentucky a contentious issue. Yet, planters prevailed, encoding universal male suffrage into law to prevent uprisings among the state's significant proportion of unpropertied men, aware of their discontent with their state of dependency on elite land speculators.[24] However, the 1792 constitution appeared to some enslavers to threaten their interests by allowing non-slaveowning white and free black men to vote, permitting emancipation, and granting the legislature authority to restrict the domestic and foreign slave trade.[25]

In the state's second constitutional convention in 1799, the delegation was composed of elites despite the state's expanded body politic. They simultaneously addressed enslavers' fears over the institution's fate in Kentucky and poor white men's resentment over the devaluation of their labor in a working class composed of unpropertied white males, females, free Blacks, and enslaved individuals by restricting suffrage to white men. Along with slave codes passed the previous year that tightened the economic, physical, and social boundaries between whites and

[23] *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 60 U.S. 393 (1856), 59.
[24] Honor Sachs. *Home Rule: Households, Manhood, and National Expansion on the Eighteenth-Century Kentucky Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University, 2015), 133-35.
[25] Richard Priest Dietzman, "The Four Constitutions of Kentucky," *Kentucky Law Journal*: Vol. 15: Iss.2, Article 2 (1927), 118, https://uknowledge.uky.edu/klj/vol15/iss2/2.

Blacks, Kentucky's 1799 constitution fostered white men's exclusive access to achieving the patriarchal ideal inherent to their expectations of American citizenship.[26]

Changes to Kentucky's first three constitutions exemplify legislators' persistent effort to preserve a racial hierarchy founded on slavery. While all three kept the possibility of emancipation open to enslaved individuals, they also attempted to limit the presence of free Blacks in the state. While the first two constitutions contained measures preventing freed bondspeople from becoming public charges, the 1850 constitution made it illegal for free Blacks to remain in or return to the state after being emancipated.[27] And so, in 1860, Kentucky's voting white males recognized how their state laws buttressed their gender and racial authority. Their access to patriarchal independence depended on racial inequality.

Therefore, when many white male Kentuckians cast their vote in November 1860, they believed loyalty to the U.S., rather than disunion, provided their best chance to preserve a society led by white men. In his case study of Kentuckians' shifting views about Unionism from the start of the conflict to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, historian Patrick A. Lewis asserts that Kentuckians adopted a conservative stance at the beginning of the conflict amid northern and southern extremism. At the same time, the state's "loyal masters" conveyed "dedication to slavery through their adherence to the old flag and its constitutional guarantees, which had established, enabled, and protected slavery since the inception of the republic."[28] And so, while most Kentuckians sided with the Union during the war, they believed their best chance of maintaining the benefits of human bondage to their cultural, economic, political, and social institutions lay in legislative compromise.

---

[26] Sachs, 136-138, 142.
[27] Edward M. Post, "Kentucky Law Concerning Emancipation or Freedom of Slaves." *Filson Club History Quarterly* Vol. 59, No. 3, July, 1985, 345, https://filsonhistorical.org/wp-content/uploads/publicationpdfs/59-3-4_Kentucky-Law-Concerning-Emancipation-or-Freedom-of-Slaves_Post-Edward-M..pdf.
[28] Lewis, *For Slavery and Union: Benjamin Buckner and Kentucky Loyalties in the Civil War*, 54, 57.

In a slave state that did not want to abandon the Union, many Kentuckians advocated for sectional mediation. In May 1860, the Kentucky House of Representatives proclaimed the state's position of neutrality. Lincoln initially respected Kentucky's neutrality in part because of the logistical significance of the state. After Senator Crittenden's proposed "Crittenden Compromise," at the Peace Conference of February 1861 failed to forestall violence, Governor Beriah Magoffin signed a proclamation of neutrality the month following the first shots fired at Fort Sumter.[29]

Contrary to the governor's and lower house's plans, however, subsequent Unionist election victories in the state set the stage for the erosion of Kentucky's neutrality. Although for a time, Lincoln acquiesced to Magoffin's refusal to supply Kentucky volunteers to the federal army, U.S. Naval Lieutenant William Nelson organized a recruiting center in Garrard County. Afterward, Lincoln's refusal to remove federal troops from Kentucky galvanized various Confederate apologists in the state to join the southern ranks in secret recruiting camps across the border in Tennessee. Nevertheless, pro-southern Magoffin honored the will of his constituents and the democratic process. Meanwhile, the Union-supporting Home Guards and Buckner's pro-southern State Guards began readying themselves for a breach of Kentucky's neutrality.[30]

Simon Bolivar Buckner, a graduate of and then instructor at West Point and captain in the Mexican-American War, became Kentucky's Inspector General in 1860.[31] When the Civil War arrived in Kentucky, he rejected an appointment in the federal army. Then, he joined the Confederate military, becoming a brigadier general in the first year of the conflict. In September

[29] Harrison, *The Civil War in Kentucky*, 2-3,6; Beriah Magoffin, Kentucky Civil War Neutrality Proclamation, May 20, 1861, *Broadsides and Ephemera Collection*, Duke University Libraries, https://repository.duke.edu/dc/broadsides/bdsky20544.
[30] Harrison, *The Civil War in Kentucky*, 10-11.
[31] Lowell H. Harrison, *Kentucky's Governors*. Updated edition. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004), 121, https://search-ebscohost-com.libsrv.wku.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=938309&site=ehost-live.

1861, his forces under Albert Sidney Johnston's command took Bowling Green. In charge of the vast Confederate western theatre, Johnston hoped control of the city would facilitate Confederate recruiting efforts. However, strong Unionist sentiment in Bowling Green dashed hopes of obtaining much-needed Kentuckian recruits.[32] Many Kentuckians continued to favor neutrality and preferred armed forces of both sides to evacuate the state.

With railroads leading to northern states and the Mississippi River flowing South, Kentuckians were concerned about the negative impact of siding with either belligerent. Additionally, the prospect of another trans-Atlantic slave trade with the Confederate States of America threatened to depreciate the value of Kentuckians' financial assets embodied as human capital. To add to their dilemma, Kentuckians worried about drawing the conflict to their home front in an Upper South border state. While Kentuckians held divided sectional loyalties from 1861 to 1865, the failure of the state to supply either side with sizable white enlistments signaled white residents' apathetic disposition toward any radical action.[33]

For a time, rebel-occupied Bowling Green attracted Confederate-supporting Kentuckians, including a pro-southern press organ from Louisville, the most populous city in the state, which housed the state's most influential newspapers. In contrast to the city's major pro-Union paper, the *Louisville Daily Journal*, the *Louisville Daily Courier*, run by Walter Newman Haldeman, unabashedly supported the Confederacy during the war. Although initially favoring neutrality, after the predominantly pro-Union body formed in Frankfort, Haldeman and co-editor Robert McKee utilized their platform to vindicate the Southern cause and depict the administration in Washington as despotic.

[32] Harrison, *The Civil War in Kentucky*, 16-17.
[33] Ibid., 2, 8-9; Lewis, *For Slavery and Union*, 61.

However, the *Courier* did not remain long in Louisville. In September, federal forces suspended the *Courier*, and Haldeman relocated to Bowling Green the following month.[34] From there, the *Courier* reported that delegates from sixty-five counties met in nearby Russellville, adopting a Declaration of Independence and an Ordinance of Separation on November 20, 1861, which they used to form a provisional Confederate government.[35] In her analysis of how the CSA's foundational restriction of democratic consent contributed to its inevitable failure, historian Stephanie McCurry points out that although Kentucky's provisional government claimed to represent the state's constituents, it fundamentally sidelined the majority of Kentuckians by disregarding the state's legitimate election results.[36] Although Davis added a star representing Kentucky to the Confederate flag, the provisional government represented a fraction of the state's residents' wishes. Furthermore, it possessed no legal authority to reject Kentucky's election results.

Shortly after Kentucky's quasi-legal Confederate government formed, Haldeman's paper became more than a pro-Confederate platform. In early December 1861, the *Courier* announced McKee's appointment as Secretary of State and Haldeman's appointment as State Printer of the provisional government.[37] However, events in Kentucky proved too unstable for the paper, and in December, Haldeman informed his readers that his new office in Nashville would distribute future editions.[38] Likewise, the provisional government could not stay long in Bowling Green, residing there for only three months before seeking refuge within Confederate lines further south. Finally, in February 1862, Confederate troops spread too thin on the western front. General Buckner surrendered to his former West Point classmate and friend, General Ulysses S. Grant, at

[34] "A Word to Our Friends," *Louisville Daily Courier*, Oct. 14, 1861, 2.
[35] "The Convention at Russellville," *Louisville Daily Courier*, Nov. 21, 1861, 4.
[36] Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South* (Cambridge: Harvard, 2010), 76.
[37] "The New State Government," *Louisville Daily Courier*, Dec. 3, 1861, 3.
[38] "Special Notice to News Dealers," *Louisville Daily Courier*, Dec. 12, 1861, 2.

Fort Donelson. Along with Grant's victory at Fort Henry, the Union gained a stronghold along the Cumberland River flowing through Southern Kentucky and North-Central Tennessee.

However, when rumors about Lincoln's plan to impress and enlist bondsmen surfaced, many loyal Kentuckians experienced a dramatic change of heart. Already divided in their sympathies between their northern compatriots and Confederates with whom they shared a cultural bond, many Kentuckians who derived economic and social benefits from the state's multifarious forms of slavery resented the proclamation's perceivable threat to their industry. On her plantation just outside Hopkinsville, Ellen Kenton McGaughey Wallace, an enslaver's wife, wrote in her diary of her fears that emancipation would influence bondspeople to escape or incite slave rebellions. She envisioned streams of "the blood of women and children" and that the proclamation would spark "St. Domingo over again," referring to the triumphant slave resurrection beginning in 1791 in the French colony of Saint-Dominique.[39] Like Wallace, many loyal white Kentuckians felt betrayed by any threat to slavery in their state.

Residents of Hopkinsville also resented Confederates' presence in their city. When rebel forces occupied Hopkinsville during the winter of 1861 to 1862, the *Louisville Daily Journal* censured General Simon Bolivar Buckner's men for running citizens out of their homes. Moreover, the article lauded Hopkinsville, "the loyal county," for remaining true to the Union amid martial law.[40] For Hopkinsville residents, despite their proximity to Confederate Tennessee, General Buckner and his troops represented an unwanted intrusion into their daily lives. During Fall 1862, residents simultaneously criticized bands of Confederate guerillas for commandeering their possessions and the federal government for failing to defend the city.[41] Wallace commended the bravery of Hopkinsville's citizens for defying Confederates' demands for the

[39] Ellen Kenton McGaughey Wallace, Diary entries, Sept. 29, 1862, Dec. 22, 1862, *Manuscripts*, Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, Kentucky, https://www.kyhistory.com/digital/collection/MS/id/1831/rec/1.
[40] Editorial, *Louisville Daily Journal*, Dec. 30, 1861, 4.
[41] "Hopkinsville Last August," *Louisville Daily Journal*, Nov. 24, 1862, 4; Wallace, diary entry Oct. 3, 1862.

"unconditional surrender of the town."[42] However, for white Kentuckians like Wallace, steadfast loyalty to the Union seemed only to be met with the federal government's disregard for their property, which, in Christian County, included a substantial number of enslaved individuals.

In reality, the Confederacy also impressed Southerners' enslaved people into service, whether or not masters consented. Both sections impressed enslaved men to replenish their fighting power amid their desperate lack of volunteer recruits, eventually impelling the Confederate and the U.S. Congress to enact conscription laws. Each belligerent forced enslaved men away from their families to labor in various thankless tasks that fueled both armies' abilities to wage war in the Commonwealth, such as building most of the defensive works in Kentucky.[43] Each side relied on the forced labor of enslaved individuals without regard for their wartime loyalties.

Still, many Black Kentuckians seized the chance to obtain their freedom by fighting to preserve the Union, disrupting enslavers' interests. Even though the federal army took great pains to impress enslaved people across the state, whether or not their masters were loyal Unionists, numerous enslaved people jumped at the opportunity to escape their enslavers during the war. Often, entire families would seek work and refuge at Union army camps in Kentucky or across its borders. Because the state disastrously failed to fulfill enlistment quotas, Lincoln began looking at Kentucky's enslaved and free African Americans. When in 1863, federal military officials learned that Lincoln wanted to know the number of free Blacks available for enlistment in Kentucky, they expressed their fears about white retaliation. Although Lincoln only initially inquired about free Black men, Brigadier General Jeremiah T. Boyle feared that enlisting any

[42] Wallace, diary entry Aug. 8, 1862.
[43] Marion B. Lucas, *A History of Blacks in Kentucky: From Slavery to Segregation, 1760-1891* (Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 2003), 149-151.

Blacks would "revolutionize the State," and reduce white enlistment rates.[44] Their concerns were well-grounded. While white Kentuckians' rejection of the Emancipation Proclamation, which freed enslaved people in rebel territory, did not materialize into rumors of secession, the prospect of emancipation spreading into Kentucky did.

Kentucky responded to the Emancipation Act by restricting the number of free Blacks in the state. Two months after Lincoln issued the proclamation, Kentucky's General Assembly passed an act to keep freed bondspeople from other states from entering the Commonwealth.[45] In tune with its past legislators' motives, the General Assembly did not want free Blacks included in its population. White Kentuckians also did not want Black residents gaining access to the rewards of military service. In March of 1864, Governor Thomas E. Bramlette attempted in vain to prevent Black enlistments by promising Lincoln more white soldiers.[46] Yet, Kentucky depleted its source of white men, necessitating Black recruitment.

Regardless of white Kentuckians' opposition to Black enlistment, Black men arrived at recruiting centers in greater numbers than white men. The journey was dangerous for Blacks amid white Kentuckians' resentment over emancipation. In December 1864, Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas reported from Lexington that in the central portion of the state, the military needed "mounted troops" to prevent "Southern sympathizers" from hindering Black people from reaching army camps.[47] Blacks seeking enlistment risked violent reprisals by angry mobs on their journey to recruiting stations. Some masters even followed their bondspeople, demanding

---

[44] United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies Series III, Vol. III* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899), 416, *HathiTrust Digital Library*, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.b000858740&view=1up&seq=172.
[45] "An Act to prevent certain negroes and mulattoes from migrating to or remaining in this State," March 2, 1863, *Act of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky* (Frankfort: Major and Hughes, 1863), 366.
[46] Harrison, *The Civil War in Kentucky*, 91.
[47] United States War Department*, The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies Series III, Vol. IV* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), 1018, *HathiTrust Digital Library*, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hwsk39&view=1up&seq=174.

that the military return their property.[48] Thomas also reported that some masters of families at Camp Nelson in Nicholasville forced their bondspeople out of their homes, leaving the latter entirely destitute.[49] Thus, for many enslaved individuals, their decision to embark on dangerous journeys to army camps reflects their yearning for freedom and American citizenship.

Run-ins with angry enslavers were not the only danger African Americans faced when traveling to federal recruitment centers. In February 1964, the editor of the *Nashville Daily Union* responded to an anonymous letter from a resident from Elkton, the seat of Todd County, in which the author depicted the recruiting camps at nearby Forts Bruce and Donelson as "sinks of abolition," where any escaping enslaved person could find refuge. The *Daily Union* editor countered this claim, insisting that only Black men who found employment for the federal government received food or clothing at the camps. Rather, he claimed, Black people who loitered around army camps sometimes faced violence and even "being shot by the guard."[50] In other words, runaway enslaved people from Kentucky could not always expect to be greeted with open arms after arriving at recruitment centers, and they certainly didn't receive preferential treatment.

Additionally, families could be separated, forcing desperate individuals to forage for food and shelter while waiting to enter military lines. Fort Bruce in Clarksville, about twenty-six miles from Fairview, was a short trip across the state border from Todd and Christian Counties. Unfortunately, Blacks arriving at the camp and other Union camps during the winter faced cramped and cold conditions. Before the Sanitary Commission improved the hygiene of U.S. refugee camps, the federal military struggled to provide adequate shelter and sustenance to desperate runaway Blacks. For example, laborers at Fort Bruce dug a mass grave for the African

---

[48] Lucas, 156.
[49] *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies Series III, Vol. IV*, 1018.
[50] "Falsehoods of Correspondents of the Louisville Journal Exposed," *Nashville Daily Union*, Feb. 16, 1864, 1.

Americans who perished during the winter of 1863 to 1964. The *Daily Journal* reported on "numerous graves that are daily made."[51] Black men and their families died at camps due to racially discriminatory treatment. In November 1864, 102 people perished at Camp Nelson after General Speed S. Fry expelled 400 refugees, including women and children, the military could not support.[52] And so, while Black men who enlisted could win freedom for themselves and their families, making the journey to a recruitment camp across the border from Kentucky did not ensure their safety and could put their lives at risk, whether from retaliating enslavers, fort guards, or unsafe conditions at the camps.

However, their substantial enlistment rates reveal that for many Blacks, freedom and the preservation of a nation willing to grant it to them were worth risking their lives for. By the close of the war, Kentucky Blacks demonstrated their allegiance to the U.S. rather than their enslavers; Kentucky contributed thirteen percent of total Black enlistments and only two percent of total white enlistments for the U.S. Many Black Kentuckians from the Western Pennyroyal Region, containing Christian and Todd Counties, contributed to the Union war effort. Out of the state's twelve geographic areas, counties in the Western Pennyroyal ranked fourth for Black enlistments, totaling 1,427.[53]

With 23,703 raised in Kentucky, only Louisiana provided more Black troops, totaling 24,052.[54] Kentucky contributed about twenty-three regiments to the Union, serving in many vital campaigns within and outside the state. Black soldiers faced ridicule from their fellow white soldiers and were more likely to be killed than taken prisoners by the Confederate military. For example, at the Battle of Saltville, Virginia, in October 1864, Confederates massacred forty-six

[51] "Negro Troops at Clarksville, Tenn.," *Louisville Daily Journal*, March 5, 1864, 3.
[52] Lucas, 162.
[53] *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies Series III, Vol. IV*, 1270; Williams and Harris, 745.
[54] *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies Series III, Vol. IV*, 1270.

members of the 5th and 6th U.S. Colored Calvary from Camp Nelson.[55] Through their sacrifice, Kentucky's Black soldiers dramatically shaped the Bluegrass's contribution to Union victory.

Black Kentucky families also effectively weakened the fate of slavery in the state. According to Kentucky historian Marion B. Lucas, although Lincoln shielded Commonwealth masters from the Emancipation Proclamation, the value of slavery had declined to the point of being unsustainable by March 1865.[56] Whether through impressment or their own accord, Kentucky Blacks dismantled the institution in the Bluegrass state by removing masters' access to their bodies by enlisting and escaping to Union army camps, accelerating the conditions leading to the national prohibition of slavery and federal legislation extending citizenship rights to all Black Americans.

By comprising a substantial portion of the Black soldiers in the Union military, Black Kentuckians made a prominent mark on the state's and nation's Civil War experience. However, white residents resented the end of an institution considered indispensable to preserving their identity as Kentuckians and American citizens. The reluctance of white Kentuckians to associate with the Union cause of freedom set the stage for public acceptance of Confederate memorialization efforts in a Union state and retaliation against steps toward racial egalitarianism.

[55] Brian D. McKnight, *Contested Borderland: The Civil War in Appalachian Kentucky and Virginia* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2006), 214.
[56] Lucas, 160, 167, 175-76.

Chapter 2: Controlling the Narrative

After the Civil War, unlike affluent Confederates and their kin, most Black individuals, affected by systemic inequality and the legacy of bondage, did not possess the means to leave behind permanent markers of their role in influencing the war's outcome. Furthermore, white Kentuckians' transforming understandings of the conflict and its aftermath during the Jim Crow period kept Black memories out of mainstream discourse. This chapter examines the efforts of Kentucky men and women to shape interpretations of the Civil War and the Reconstruction period during the decades immediately following Appomattox to the turn of the twentieth century, situating the Jefferson Davis memorial in Fairview within a current of widespread national acceptance of a Lost Cause interpretation of the war's outcome, a period of frequent vigilante violence against Kentucky Blacks, and the latter's efforts to remember the war on their terms. Ultimately, this chapter reveals that despite the more prominent visibility of the Jefferson Davis State Historic Site, local Blacks persistently and publicly celebrated their role in shaping U.S. history. Furthermore, it indicates that although men played a critical role in developing the tenets of the Lost Cause, southern women in Kentucky and across the nation ensured that pro-southern historical narratives permeated their local communities.

From 1865 to the first quarter of the twentieth century, the Lost Cause Movement emerged and prospered, successfully penetrating popular discourse and powerfully influencing contemporary white Americans' understandings of the Civil War. One critical reason for its success is the proliferation of romantic southern literature and memorial activity. Testimonies from white Confederate veterans and their kin who lived through the conflict and the Reconstruction Period set forth a narrative of the immediate past that cleansed Southerners from the guilt of slavery, wrote off the institution of the cause of the "War Between the States," and glorified southern soldiers and antebellum race relations. Confederate veterans and their kin

contributed to the growth of literature that helped shape popular historical narratives and memorials that provided evidence for their arguments.[57] The fruits of their labors to vindicate the actions of Confederate leaders and violent whites during Reconstruction can be seen in the ways that innocuous depictions of antebellum slavery and the KKK infiltrated national academic scholarship and even gained official sanctioning with President Woodrow Wilson's 1915 screening of *Birth of a Nation* at the White House.

While Anne Marshall explores the way that whites' resentment over emancipation helped the Lost Cause gain ascendancy in Kentucky from 1865 to 1935, despite the state's Union bonds, this study's findings look more closely at the Pennyroyal Region, with its large Black demographic and divided white loyalties, to reveal how the Lost Cause took shape in the area surrounding the JDSHS.[58] In doing so, this chapter demonstrates how Lost Cause acceptance in the state during a particularly violent period of racial violence in the local area paved the way for Kentucky Confederate Veterans and their kin to build a prodigious memorial as faulty evidence of the Pennyroyal Region's loyalty to the South. Additionally, this chapter highlights the ways that local women played a particularly active role in altering the intellectual climate that set the stage for the Jefferson Davis Home Association's success.[59]

As in former Confederate states, the proliferation of Confederate Kentucky veterans' testimonials began shortly after the war and fueled a romanticism among postwar generations toward southern military valor and an idyllic Old South.[60] An integral component of southern veterans' interpretation of their "lost cause" was the persistent claim that slavery created an ideal relationship between antebellum whites and Blacks. Blight depicts the period following the war to around 1890 as the "diehard era" of the Lost Cause Movement, in which Confederate

[57] Blight, 272-274.
[58] Marshall, 2-3.
[59] Cox, 49-73.
[60] Marshall, 87-90; Blight, 78.

apologists consistently implied that the conflict was simultaneously "about and not about slavery."[61] During this period, southern men and women defined and disseminated their views of the conflict across Kentucky and the nation. By redeeming the southern soldier's reputation, they also sought to justify secession and a racial order uncorrupted by the threat of racial egalitarianism embodied in Blacks' access to civic power and citizenship rights through the Reconstruction Amendments. Essentially, Lost Cause proponents argued that Confederates' sociopolitical convictions would be vindicated despite military defeat.

The term "lost cause" in nineteenth century vernacular partially stems from Edward A. Pollard's *The Lost Cause* (1866), in which he predicted that various southern war objectives would actualize regardless of the war's outcome. For example, he argued that Radical Republicans' efforts to assimilate Blacks into the republic would eventually fail, vindicating Southerners' subjugation of Blacks through slavery and "the doctrine of the [superiority] of races." Like most whites in former slave slates, he envisioned the government as a "white man's government" and racial equality as an affront to a natural order. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Pollard and other southern writers promoted a reunion between white Northerners and Southerners predicated on a white supremacist worldview.[62]

After the war, future Jefferson Davis Home Association President Simon Bolivar Buckner contributed to the national Lost Cause Movement, utilizing his public notoriety to foster Confederate memory in Kentucky. Following the conflict, he resided in Louisiana and Illinois before returning to Kentucky in 1868, where he briefly edited the *Courier*.[63] Mirroring the

---

[61] Blight, 260.
[62] Edward A. Pollard, *The lost cause; a new southern history of the war of the Confederates. Comprising a full and authentic account of the rise and progress of the late southern Confederacy--the campaigns, battles, incidents, and adventures of the most gigantic struggle of the world's history. Drawn from official sources, and approved by the most distinguished Confederate leaders* (New York: E. B. Treat & Co., 1867), 759, *Book/Printed Material*, Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/02011254/; Blight, 260.
[63] Harrison, *Kentucky's Governors*, 120.

paper's existing racial rhetoric, he depicted President Andrew Johnson's amnesty oath as an acknowledgment of white females' equality with Black men.[64]

For Buckner and other white men, Black citizenship exemplified an attack on a patriarchal power contingent on white females' and minorities' dependency. In the decades following the war, the over-sexualization or de-sexualization of Black men and women, a relic of the antebellum South, served as a tool for whites to justify sexual exploitation and violence against Blacks or to argue that slavery sustained peace between the two races. Sexually neutral labels like faithful "Uncles" and motherly "Mammies" projected the image of content enslaved people and facilitated the idea that freedom incited Black men to rape white women and encouraged immorality among free Black women. The myth of "Uncles" and "Mammies" also supported whites' belief that Blacks belonged in occupations where they would remain subservient to white employers. As under slavery, the over-sexualization of Blacks in the latter half of the nineteenth century buttressed opposition to federal civil rights protection and supported Southerners' defense of slavery.[65]

Service to the Confederacy benefited veterans politically. As one of the few higher-ranking Confederate generals alive at the turn of the century, Buckner was one of many postbellum Kentuckians whose affiliation with the Southern cause opened avenues within the state toward an elevated social status. He successfully ran for governor, serving from 1887 to 1891 as the eighth Democratic governor following the war.[66] Amid the Republican Party's affiliation with emancipation and Congressional Reconstruction policies, like for other ex-Confederates, Buckner's military record bolstered his chances for victory at the polls. He was one of six Kentucky governors who had served or supported the CSA. Soon after the war's end,

---

[64] "Development of Radical Policy," *Louisville Daily Courier*, June 30, 1868, 2.
[65] Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I a Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999), 189; Blight, 224-231.
[66] Harrison, *Kentucky's Governors*, 120-21.

Commonwealth citizens returned to the political arena to contest Black people's newfound freedom. The former Confederate South's Democratic majority and conservative social values enlarged the party's appeal in the state's postwar political campaigns. In 1865, Kentucky Democrats in Frankfort, refusing to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment, started repatriating Confederate veterans.[67] By the time Buckner entered office in 1887, the state's solid and decades-long Democratic partisanship represented state residents' shared political views with whites living further south, where Democratic politicians dominated local and state governments.

Although earlier in the post-war period, various individuals voiced their opposition to "Black Republicanism," by the late 1880s, Buckner and "New South" Democrats omitted racial rhetoric and focused primarily on economic issues since Blacks' votes did not threaten to offset Democrats' political hegemony. Marshall suggests that a significant aspect of Kentucky's post-war politics is that former Unionists and southern sympathizers found common ground within the conservative platforms of the Democratic party. Thus, the flourishing of conservative politics within the state buttressed the shared ideological views between former white Unionists and Confederate Kentuckians.[68] Furthermore, the appearance of former Confederates in political office contributed to white Southerners' solidarity against racial equality. While Kentucky legislators could not forestall the end of slavery in their state, in the political arena, they weakened the influence of progressive whites and newly enfranchised Blacks who, by and large, voted for the Republican ticket.

Outside of his political career, Buckner took part in a broader movement to produce pro-southern histories. In 1869, after becoming a *Courier* editor, he became a founding member of the *Southern Historical Society*, an organization based in New Orleans that sought to collect,

---

[67] James C. Klotter and Craig Thompson Friend, *A New History of Kentucky*. Second edition. *Book Collections on Project MUSE*, (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2018), 229, https://search-ebscohost-com.libsrv.wku.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=1803976&site=ehost-live.
[68] Marshall, 5, 44.

print, and "vindicate the truth of Confederate history" through articles in contemporary magazines.[69] The society claimed as its mission the dissemination of unbiased southern history shaped by Southerners.[70] In 1876, the organization, which had by then moved to Richmond, Virginia, started its own journal called the *Southern Historical Society Papers*. Governor James B. McCreary allowed his state's division to set up an office in Kentucky's State Capitol building.[71] Succeeding John C. Breckinridge, Buckner served as Vice President of the Kentucky *Papers* division until he resigned in 1878.[72] *Papers* subscribers read narratives about Civil War battles told by some of the highest-ranking Confederate military figures. Furthermore, the journal provided southern veterans a platform to publicize their understanding of the South's cause.

Kentuckians played a critical role in shaping the national Lost Cause Movement. In 1882, Confederate veterans in Louisville began publishing the *Southern Bivouac*, eventually reaching 15,000 subscribers. The magazine contained veterans' testimonials and children's stories narrated by a faithful enslaved man while promoting sectional reunion.[73] In one editorial, Richard W. Knott argued that emancipation fractured relations between whites and Blacks since the latter's exposure to whites under slavery positively influenced them. However, he admitted that the "one good thing the war did" was to reunite the country.[74] In the pages of the *Bivouac*, fraternal sectional reconciliation depended on the preservation of the color line.

Through national publications, white supremacists spread their views to people coming of age after Appomattox. The *Bivouac* reified stereotypes that whites utilized to justify racial

---

[69] "The South in the War," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Nov. 8, 1878, 3.
[70] "The Southern Historical Society," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), July 13, 1878, 2.
[71] *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Nov. 8, 1878, 3.
[72] *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), July 13, 1878, 2; Rev. William J. Jones, ed., *Southern Historical Society Papers* Vol. xii, No. 3, Richmond, VA, March 1879, 159, Perseus Digital Library, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2001.05.0120%3Achapter%3D3.26%3Apage%3D159.
[73] Blight, 181-2 , 260.
[74] Editorial, *Southern Bivouac* Vol. III, No. 8, April 1885 (Wilmington: Broadfoot Publishing Company, 1992), 380-1, HathiTrust Digital Library, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433091002224&view=1up&seq=5.

discrimination through fictional tales addressed to children about "Uncle George," a faithful enslaved man who tells a little white boy stories about his master fighting the Yankees during the war.[75] These stories promoted the idea to children that enslaved men served their masters eagerly and faithfully during the Civil War. Furthermore, Blight argues that having an enslaved man narrate a conflict solely between white men promoted sectional reunion and diminished Blacks' civil rights struggles.[76] By targeting youths, magazines like the *Bivouac* sought to redeem the pre-war South in the minds of future generations of Americans, exemplifying how Lost Cause supporters strove to refashion war narratives to silence abolitionists' and African Americans' interpretations of the war in future historical scholarship.

Along with justifying secession and challenging abolitionists' depictions of the depravity of antebellum slavery, Lost Cause proponents consistently identified Congressional Reconstruction as a failure. While resentful over military occupation and expatriation, they reserved particular vituperation for the Reconstruction Acts' extension of citizenship and suffrage to Black persons as a contamination of traditional American values they believed to be inherently connected to Anglo-Saxon heritage. Additionally, Lost Cause defenders recognized and feared Black Americans' potential to shape views about the Confederacy and, thus, the evils of slavery.

In the face of the growing popularity of a pro-southern interpretation of the war in Kentucky that discredited enslaved peoples' resistance to bondage, Blacks publicly voiced their dissent. In Louisville, 300 Black leaders from twenty-six states attended the 1883 National Convention of Colored People. There, the convention's permanent honorary chairman, Frederick Douglass, gave a passionate speech, calling on the federal government to enforce civil rights

[75] "Uncle George," *Southern Bivouac*, Vol. III, No. 2, Oct. 1884 (Wilmington: Broadfoot Publishing Company, 1992), 82, *HathiTrust Digital Library*, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433091002224&view=1up&seq=5.
[76] Blight, 224.

legislation. While sardonically congratulating white Americans on getting rid of slavery, he reminded them that the institution's end brought new challenges for society to sort out. He emphasized that the nation's past sins presented an obstacle to the materialization of Black citizenship since white people had been "educated … for centuries" to see Blacks as inferior, just "above domestic animals." He acknowledged that unraveling the legacies of racism would inevitably take effort but was a pursuit within reach.[77]

Douglass made it clear that Black people's condition still resembled bondage because white people defined every aspect of their lives according to race. Pervasive racism conditioned white people to feel threatened by intelligent and mobile Blacks. Thus, whites punished Blacks for pursuing economic, educational, and political opportunities. He pointed out that due to the existing tendency to "impute crime to color," white men painted themselves Black and got away with lynching innocent Blacks, forcing them to confront the color line "in all the relations of life and death."[78] Douglass knew his audience; although Blacks across the Deep South experienced "Lynch Law," Louisville was a particularly fitting venue for his vituperation of white vigilante violence due to the alarming level of extralegal racial violence in Kentucky during the late nineteenth century.[79] Alarmed by evidence of Black assertiveness in his state, *Bivouac* editor William N. McDonald warned readers that if the convention's attendees wrote future history textbooks, "the name of Confederate will probably be a synonym for all that is infamous and despicable."[80] After all, Blacks asserting their rights flew in the face of depictions of content Uncle Georges.

---

[77] "The Colored People," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Sept. 26, 1883, 6; Marshall, 99.
[78] "The Colored People," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Sept. 26, 1883, 6.
[79] Marshall, 99-101.
[80] "Editorial," *Southern Bivouac*, Vol. II, No. 2, Oct. 1883 (Wilmington: Broadfoot Publishing Company, 1992), 92, *HathiTrust Digital Library*, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433091002265&view=1up&seq=106.

Despite Blacks' appeals, the federal government showed reluctance toward protecting their rights. Soon after the Louisville convention, the highest court in the nation demonstrated its indifference to Blacks' struggle for recognition of their civil rights. In 1883, the Supreme Court, in response to five civil rights cases, declared the 1876 Civil Rights Act unconstitutional. The court also upheld the federal government's restriction from interfering with private parties who discriminated against Blacks. The only dissenter, Justice John Marshall Harlan, a native Kentuckian, pointed out that the majority opinion completely ignored the meaning of the Reconstruction Acts. Moreover, Harlan recognized that the decision would only empower individuals to disregard civil rights legislation they already conspicuously held in contempt.[81]

Within the first two decades following the Civil War, Kentucky earned a national reputation for its extralegal violence, mostly directed toward Blacks.[82] Even in the formerly Confederate state of Tennessee, a Memphis newspaper chastised the Commonwealth, suggesting that "it is not of much use to argue in favor of local State government when the State cannot or does not enforce its laws."[83] Unlike most other slave states, during Congressional Reconstruction, the federal military did not occupy Kentucky to help facilitate order during freed people's transition from slavery. However, whites in Kentucky utilized lynchings to ensure that Black people falsely accused of crimes would never receive due process.

The staggering number of lynchings that occurred in Kentucky and elsewhere after whites accused Black men of rape or attempted rape speaks to the usefulness of longstanding views about Black men's sexual deviancy in upholding white men's patriarchal role as leaders and defenders of their white female kin's sexual purity and, therefore, their own masculine identity. Utilizing data from newspapers, the NAACP, and the Tuskegee Institute, scholar

[81] *Civil Rights Cases*, 109 U.S. 3 (1883), https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/109/3/#tab-opinion-1909567.
[82] Marshall, 56.
[83] "Kentucky Violence," *Public Ledger* (Memphis), Jan. 31, 1871, 2.

George C. Wright tabulates the number of extralegal executions in Kentucky from 1865 to 1940 at around 353. Within that figure, forty-four mob lynchings of whites and Blacks occurred within Christian and Todd Counties and five other counties bordering them. However, the majority of those lynched, eighty-two percent, were Black men. Among the Black men killed, locals accused eighteen of rape or attempted rape, while only one white man accused of rape became a victim of the so-called "Judge Lynch" during the seventy-five years studied by Wright.[84] However, Kentucky whites' did not concern themselves primarily with the threat of black-on-white rape; Wright finds most racial violence in Kentucky resulted from Blacks' political and economic activities. Accusations of rape and other crimes allowed whites to garner public support for the swift execution of Blacks before they could see their day in court.[85]

In Kentucky, as elsewhere, the fact that so many Black men died by lynching rather than being convicted by presumably hostile all-white juries reveals how white men used racial violence to punish the accused and pressure local Blacks to accept their place in a racially-segregated society. Although postbellum "Black codes," oppressive laws targeting Blacks, were less stringent in Kentucky than in other southern states, the prevalence of vigilante violence exemplifies whites' resentment against African Americans who threatened the racial order. Wright argues that in Kentucky's more prominent cities of Lexington and Louisville, a code of "polite racism" prevailed, leading African Americans and whites to believe that Blacks fared better if they adhered to conventional racial norms. However, he asserts that the rest of the state experienced a higher frequency of violence toward Blacks, dispelling the myth that acquiescing to a traditional racial order protected them from abuse.[86]

---

[84] George C. Wright, *Racial Violence in Kentucky, 1865-1940 : Lynchings, Mob Rule, and "Legal Lynchings"* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), 70, 308-23.
[85] Wright, 10-11.
[86] Wright, 1.

Press reports about two lynchings in Western Kentucky during the first decade of the twentieth century demonstrate public support for extralegal violence in response to breaches of the color line. In October 1905, a mob in Todd County lynched a Black man around thirty years old after accusing him of tapping on the window of a house occupied by two white women. Since one of the women saw that the man only had one leg, locals accused a man with a peg leg, Frank Leavell, and brought him to jail.[87] Subsequently, a mob took Leavell from the jail and hung him outside town.[88] In a similar case, four years afterward, a mob apprehended and lynched a seventeen-year-old Black man named Bennie Brame, accused of attempted rape of a white girl in Trigg County.[89]

Revealingly, news reports of Leavell's and Brame's deaths depicted both mobs as orderly. For example, an Owensboro paper described the mob as acting "quietly" without guns and the jailer as helpless to prevent the kidnapping. Similarly, in covering Brame's murder, a Nashville report illustrated only the victim as making a commotion, "screaming" and "praying" to "see his mother."[90] Meanwhile, after rejecting his final request, the supposedly peaceful mob murdered Brame with "no shots…fired" and "quietly" left the scene afterward. In covering each man's murder, the press accepted accusations as fact and described the mobs as orderly, conveying whites' acceptance of swift vigilante punishment for any threat of miscegenation.[91] Leavell's and Brame's hanging corpses, like the reports covering their murders, served as visible reminders to local Blacks to accept their place in society.

---

[87] "Hang Peg Leg Negro," *Twice-A-Week Messenger* (Owensboro), Oct. 13, 1905, 1; "For Insulting White Women," *Nashville Banner*, Oct. 12, 1905, 1.
[88] *Nashville Banner*, Oct. 12, 1905, 1.
[89] "Lynching of Negro Boy," *Nashville Banner*, April 10, 1909, 10.
[90] *Twice-A-Week Messenger* (Owensboro), Oct. 13, 1905, 1.
[91] *Twice-A-Week Messenger* (Owensboro), Oct. 13, 1905, 1; *Nashville Banner*, April 10, 1909, 10; *Nashville Banner*, Oct. 12, 1905, 1.

Along with Jim Crow violence, white resentment toward emancipation played out in the burial of fallen soldiers in Kentucky. Shortly after the Civil War, massive efforts commenced in both sections to locate the bodies of fallen soldiers, often buried hastily in shallow graves or piled in burial trenches within the hectic climate of hostilities, and reintern them in proper graves. However, while federal soldiers carried out orders to locate the Union dead, Southerners received no federal aid to rebury rebel soldiers. Early on, it became clear that sectional animosities threatened the integrity of Union corpses. Amid Reconstruction, Southerners, already resentful toward the federal occupation of the South, utilized Union graves as sites of defiance and destroyed them.[92] As a Union state, Kentucky did not endure extensive federal occupation during Reconstruction. Although the Freedmen's Bureau depended on the national military for protection amid hostile white Kentuckians, by 1869, the army stopped assisting the Bureau. Therefore, Union graves and those maintaining them faced a greater risk of desecration in the Commonwealth.[93]

In light of this threat and the increasing vulnerability of exposed cadavers to decomposition, organized efforts evolved toward reinterring the Union dead. On February 22, 1867, President Andrew Johnson signed an "Act to establish and protect National Cemeteries," allowing the Secretary of War to purchase land for burials.[94] Then, on July 1, 1870, Congress passed an act securing federal control over national cemeteries.[95] Thus, a massive, and at the

[92] Drew Gilpin Faust, "Battle over the Bodies: Burying and Reburying the Civil War Dead, 1865-1871," in Joan Waugh, and Gary W. Gallagher, *Wars Within a War: Controversy and Conflict Over the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 187-8, https://search-ebscohost-com.libsrv.wku.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=343592&site=ehost-live.
[93] Marion B. Lucas, *A History of Blacks in Kentucky: From Slavery to Segregation, 1760-1891* (Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 2003), 185, 187, 189.
[94] "An Act to establish and to protect National Cemeteries," Thirty-Ninth Congress. Sess. II. Ch. 61. 1867, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/legal/upload/Proclamations_and_Orders/Proclamations_and_Orders_Vol_II/15_Appendix_I_VI_National_Cemeteries.pdf.
[95] The Act of July 1, 1870, Forty-first Congress, Sess. II. Ch. 200. 1870, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/legal/upload/Proclamations_and_Orders/Proclamations_and_Orders_Vol_II/15_Appendix_I_VI_National_Cemeteries.pdf.

time, unprecedented, federal spending effort commenced to reintern federal soldiers in national cemeteries.

As with federal cemeteries, Confederate cemeteries served as sites of reverence for fallen men and the cause they represented. Illustrating the contrast between traditionally local, intimate, and distinctive gravesites with the newly emerging cemeteries striped with sweeping rows of matching gravestones, Drew Gilpin Faust asserts that this imagery produced the sense that the war's death toll "demanded attention and meaning."[96] Southern women played a critical role in defining the meaning of the war through their memorial work. Capitalizing on their elite class status and the success of the Lost Cause Movement, affluent southern women spearheaded efforts to commemorate fallen southern soldiers. According to Cox, women who joined local Ladies Memorial Associations (LMA's) built on their experience engaging in philanthropic work during the Civil War and utilized their "domestic role as caretakers" to facilitate public memorialization efforts that defended the righteousness of the Southern cause.[97] While elite men like Buckner joined the state's Confederate Burial Memorial Association, women in LMA's spread the Lost Cause's reach to smaller communities. Cox asserts that their efforts "were essential to sustaining the Lost Cause tradition from 1865 to 1890."[98]

As the leaders of local Confederate memorial activities, southern women in associations such as LMA's established Confederate holidays, such as "Confederate Memorial Day," when they organized public ceremonies to honor fallen southern soldiers. On "Confederate Decoration Day" on May 18, 1895, the Hopkinsville LMA organized a dinner for Confederate veterans, followed by music, speeches, and the decoration of Union and Confederate graves at the city's Hopewell Cemetery, later named Riverside Cemetery. These events attracted visitors across

[96] Faust, 198.
[97] Cox, 10.
[98]Marshall, 83.

Christian County, extending the reach of LMA women. Through their behind-the-scenes work organizing Confederate memorial activities, LMA members adhered to conservative gender roles to preserve and vindicate Confederate men's memory legacy for future generations.[99]

Before the dedication of the Jefferson Davis Monument, the most prominent scene of Confederate memorialization in Christian County occurred on May 19, 1887, at the dedication of the Latham Confederate Monument at Hopkinsville's Riverside Cemetery. There, attendees, along with Buckner, an honored guest, paid their respects to the 101 Confederate soldiers who perished in the city during a measles outbreak in the winter of 1861.[100] During Hopkinsville's brief Confederate occupation, the city served as a recruiting station where green enlistees stopped before moving further into Confederate territory. However, without participating in any battles, the men perished inside the Kentucky border from disease and exposure. For decades after the war, the men's unmarked graves sat in an unkept section of the cemetery juxtaposed with the elaborate headstones of the city's elite white residents, including wealthy enslavers. To properly commemorate and assign meaning to these young recruits' tragic and untimely deaths, John C. Latham, a wealthy Hopkinsville native and Confederate veteran, funded a monument to them at the Hopkinsville cemetery.

At the dedication ceremony for the Latham Confederate Monument, the scene's imagery and rhetoric exemplified the organizers' attempt to promote sectional reunion by honoring the fallen on both sides of the conflict while still elevating the Confederate cause. However, efforts to unite veterans of both blue and gray did not signify acceptance of defeat, even in a city and state where Confederate troops failed to secure local sympathy or military control during the

[99] Cox, 4, 10; "Confederate Decoration Day," *Hopkinsville Kentuckian*, May 17, 1895, 1; "The Ladies," *Kentucky New Era* (Hopkinsville), May 18, 1895, 4.
[100] S.C.M. *The Story of a Monument: Memorial of the Unveiling of the Monument to the Unknown Confederate Dead. May 19, 1887, at Hopkinsville, Ky.* (New York: Dennison & Brown, 1888), 13, Special Collections Research Center. University of Kentucky. https://exploreuk.uky.edu/catalog/xt7v9s1khr4z#page/1/mode/1up.

war. The ceremony's keynote speaker, Kentucky Congressman William Campbell Preston Breckinridge, utilized his speech to justify the cause these men, like himself, Buckner, and other Confederate veterans present that day, sought to advance during the war. In front of a packed crowd of around 20,000 people, Breckinridge depicted the Confederates as martyrs of a struggle to defend their states against a despotic federal government. Incorporating the pseudo-scientific racism of his day, he described fallen Confederates as the progeny of the "Teutonic Race," and the social contract between the states as an inevitable progression of white society.[101] Breckinridge's rhetoric aligns with many southern apologists' public statements during the heyday of Confederate memorialization efforts that justified secession as Southerners' attempt to preserve the Founding Fathers' interpretation of representative government and Anglo heritage.

Voicing tenets of Confederate apologetics, he justified slavery because of the institution's essentialness to the South's economy. In arguments familiar to Confederate defenders at the time, he did not shy away from praising the benefits of slavery, proclaiming, "it made race and color, not condition and wealth, the distinction" between white men.[102] Breckinridge's claim echoed a similar point Davis made to the Mississippi Senate in November 1858, asserting that white men's "equality" depended on the "presence of the lower cast…occupied by the servile race."[103] Like Davis and other post-war defenders of secession, Breckinridge elucidated the connection between states' rights and the preservation of racial purity. Jack Glazier asserts that a "segregation in death" can be witnessed by observing the contrast between the opulent tombstones of Hopkinsville's white elites in Riverside Cemetery and the city's modest graves in Cave Springs Cemetery, which houses the remains of local Blacks.[104] Persisting evidence of

[101] Ibid., 11, 39-40, 57.
[102] Ibid., 44-47.
[103] Jefferson Davis, "A speech by Jefferson Davis to the Mississippi senate about the possibility of secession, November 1858," *Speeches of the Hon. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, delivered during the summer of 1858* (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1859), 55.
[104] Glazier, 32.

Black invisibility presents poignant reminders of the racial stratification that Confederate defenders sought to preserve.

Confederate memorial efforts in the state served to obscure Blacks' collective memory. Confederate veterans and their kin's efforts to elevate their memories and perspectives of the Civil War flourished amid growing sentiment among Kentucky whites that favored a pro-southern interpretation of the conflict that minimized slavery's role as the cause of secession while reifying racial stereotypes. Pro-southern literature and dedication speeches demonstrate that white supremacist outlooks shaped Confederate Kentuckians' commemorative efforts, supporting an environment of racial stratification in the local area. Therefore, a climate of Jim Crow in the Pennyroyal Region surrounded and facilitated efforts to commemorate the Confederate president in an area with divided wartime loyalties.

Chapter 3: "The Mount Vernon of Kentucky:" Redeeming Davis's Legacy

This chapter examines how the Jefferson Davis Home Association built off the labors of the Lost Cause proponents discussed in the previous chapter to construct a monument to Jefferson Davis in Fairview, Kentucky. It describes how the JDHA, between 1907 and 1917, approached the task of securing land for the Jefferson Davis Memorial Park, defining the site's significance to garner attention and financial contributions, and choosing a memorial design. Additionally, it places the JDHA's efforts within the context of other Civil War memorialization activities in the local area, state, and nation. Critically, it reveals that Kentucky women played a large part in bolstering a sense of the state's solidarity with a southern Confederate past. While United Daughters of the Confederacy women played the most notorious role in supporting Confederate monument construction, they also sustained a tradition of working behind the scenes and capitalized on their gendered authority, extending their moral authority as elite white women from their households to their communities, engaging in the larger politics of memory occurring across the nation. Through an analysis of contemporary debates over how popular media depicted antebellum slavery and the Jim Crow South, this chapter illustrates how Kentucky's Jim Crow politics overshadowed the ways that Black people persistently articulated their historical memories.

Like other JDHA leaders who helped reorient Kentucky's Civil War history after Appomattox, Buckner's service to the Confederacy and his visibility in state politics and Confederate memorialization activities boosted his social capital among Confederate veterans and their kin in Kentucky. His reputation helped him garner support to jumpstart what would become a concerted effort among Veterans and Daughters for a seventeen-year-long project to

transform Fairview, consisting then of around 108 residents, into a mecca to Davis.[105] State and national Confederate organizations worked with the JDHA to utilize the Jefferson Davis Monument as an extension of their ongoing work to influence popular narratives to vindicate the Southern cause to future generations.

For Kentucky Veterans and Daughters, a Jefferson Davis memorial would help bolster Kentucky's loyalty to the southern cause before and after the war, despite the prevalence of Unionist sentiment across the state and around Jefferson Davis's birthplace in Todd County, formerly part of Christian County.[106] As Buckner and the JDHA began planning to transform the seventeen acres where Samuel Davis, Jefferson Davis's father, situated his family from 1800 to 1809, they faced the task of defining Jefferson Davis's legacy not only to the South but to the entire nation.[107] Furthermore, the JDHA needed to promote interest in Davis because, as one of the JDHA's future presidents admitted privately, Davis "was never popular in the South."[108] Instead, Southerners preferred the military prowess of Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and Kentucky's most revered Confederate, John Hunt Morgan. With the completion of the Lincoln National Historical Park in Hodgenville, JDHA members and their supporters intended the Jefferson Davis memorial to counter Unionist memory in the state.[109] In the midst of growing popular sentiment toward national reconciliation, the JDHA's efforts did not meet the level of public criticism one would expect in a Union state.

While white Northerners and Southerners fashioned nostalgic collective memories centered on military heroism and duty to home and hearth, they increasingly turned a blind eye

---

[105] Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910 Vol. II* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), 708, 715, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1910/volume-2/volume-2-p7.pdf.
[106] Horowitz, 101.
[107] Don Simmons, *Christian County, KY., Tax Records, 1800-01-02-03* (Melber: Simmons Historical Publications, 1978), 4; A. B. Willhite, *Christian CO., Kentucky: Tax List: 1804-1809* (Russellville: A. B. Willhite, n.d.), 5.
[108] BHY to GWL, March 13, 1916, 2, UT.
[109] Marshall, 171.

toward Black Americans' part in shaping the nation's trajectory and their persevering struggle to access their citizenship rights. As Blight contends, "race was so deeply at the root of the war's causes and consequences, and so powerful a source of division in American social psychology, that it served as the antithesis of a culture of reconciliation."[110] Therefore, as JDHA members set out to justify their work to recast Davis as a national icon, they joined an ongoing effort in Kentucky to trivialize Blacks' unceasing struggle for civil rights.

The nascent JDHA's first challenge entailed purchasing land near Davis's birthplace from residents in portions of both Christian and Todd Counties. Members initially hoped that Bethel Baptist Church, located on the site of Samuel Davis's property, would agree to surrender part of its land to them. However, this idea fell through, leaving the JDHA with no choice but to purchase land near Davis's birth site.[111] Inside the church still hangs a marble tablet Davis presented to the congregation on a chilly and wet November day in 1886, borrowing a line from Sir Walter Scott, declaring that "this is my own, my native land."[112] While Davis returned to his home state periodically throughout his life, he identified primarily as a Mississippian, having served as a colonel of the First Mississippi Regiment during the Mexican-American War and represented the Magnolia State in both houses of Congress and running unsuccessfully for governor. When Mississippi voted to secede in 1861, Davis reluctantly gave up his seat in Congress to follow his state out of the Union despite previously denouncing secession in many public addresses.[113]

Soon after Kentucky Confederate veterans formed the JDHA in 1907, members solidified their vision to foster a united effort among Confederate organizations to transform Davis's

---

[110] Blight, 4.
[111] "The Birthplace of Jefferson Davis," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XVI, No. 11, May 1908, 197-98, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=dul1.ark:/13960/t3902z797&view=1up&seq=15.
[112] "Jefferson Davis: His Visit to Fairview Sunday," *Semi-Weekly South Kentuckian* (Hopkinsville), Nov. 23, 1886, 3, *HathiTrust Digital Library*, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=dul1.ark:/13960/t7cr6nd83&view=1up&seq=19.
[113] William J. Cooper Jr., *Jefferson Davis, American* (New York: Random House, Inc., 2000), 122-36, 135, 138.

birthplace into a national shrine. At the United Confederate Veterans national reunion in Birmingham, Alabama, in June 1908, the Association obtained a commitment from veterans to assist with the Fairview project.[114] That September, the JDHA elected Nashville resident Sumner Archibald Cunningham, owner and editor of the *Confederate Veteran* magazine, an official news organ of the UCV, UDC, Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV), Confederated Southern Memorial Association (CSMA), and Children of the Confederacy (CofC), as Vice President, placing him in charge of soliciting subscriptions.[115] Cunningham provided monthly updates on the JDHA's progress in his magazine, along with lists of those who subscribed at least one dollar to the Association.[116] Along with receiving public recognition in the pages of the *Confederate Veteran*, the JDHA also sent subscribers a certificate with illustrations of Davis and Kentucky locations associated with him, including his first home, the home at Beechland near Louisville, where he married President Zachary Taylor's daughter, Sarah Knox Taylor, and Transylvania University.[117] Cunningham also accentuated Davis's Kentucky heritage, writing articles about the Davis family's time in Fairview and Jefferson's two visits to his childhood home after the war, in 1876 and 1886.[118]

With assistance from a group of men from Clarksville, Fairview, and Hopkinsville, the JDHA secured a real estate offer for land near the Davis home set to expire in April 1909.[119] Throughout 1908 and early 1909, Cunningham vigorously solicited JDHA subscriptions before the deadline, reminding readers of current efforts to commemorate the centennial of Lincoln's

---

[114] "The Jefferson Davis Home Association," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XVII, No. 1, January 1909, 6, *HathiTrust Digital Library*, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=dul1.ark:/13960/t3902z797&view=1up&seq=15.
[115] "Jefferson Davis Home Association," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XVI, No. 10, October 1908, 492.
[116] "Jefferson Davis Home Association," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XVII, No. 12, December 1909, 617.
[117] Jefferson Davis Home Association Membership Certificate (Prattsburg, E.P. St. John, n.d.), *KenCat Online Collections*, Kentucky Museum Special Collections, Western Kentucky University, https://westernkentuckyuniversity.pastperfectonline.com/archive/B22BC20D-4ED0-407B-8A3B-891619054544; Cooper, 75.
[118] *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XVI, No. 11, May 1908, 197-98.
[119] "Jefferson Davis Home Association." *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XV, No. 10, Oct. 1907, 438; "The South's Patriotic Mecca," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XVI, No. 11, November 1908, 552.

birth, seven months and eight days after Davis's, around 125 miles away in Larue County.[120] Despite his efforts, however, the Association failed to raise sufficient funds to meet the deadline, leading one of its executive committee members, Bennett H. Young, an affluent Louisville attorney and Confederate veteran, to secure the purchase by loaning the remaining $5,050.[121]

Twenty years younger than Buckner, Young, serving as commander-in-chief of the UCV Kentucky Division, took over as president of the JDHA. Young was well-known inside and outside of Kentucky for his frequent and well-received addresses at various Confederate events nationwide. During the Civil War, he served as a lieutenant in the 8th Kentucky Calvary, participating in Confederate General John Hunt Morgan's Raid. After his capture, he fled to Canada, from where he and a small company of young men brought the Civil War to the U.S./Canadian border with a raid on St. Albans, Vermont, or the "Vairmont Yankee Scare Party," which resulted in one civilian casualty, moderate fire damage to the town, and a loot amounting to the modern-day equivalent of twenty million dollars.[122] Although Canadian authorities refused to expedite Young, sparing him from the threat of execution, his exploits excluded him from President Johnson's amnesty proclamations. And so, at twenty-one years old, "Baby Exile," as Confederate Major General John C. Breckinridge called him, studied law in Scotland and Ireland before returning stateside in 1868.[123]

---

[120] "Jefferson Davis Home Association." *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XVII, No. 4, April 1909, 149.
[121] *Minutes of the Twentieth Annual Meeting and Reunion of the United Confederate Veterans held at Mobile, Ala. On Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, April 26th, 27th and 28th, 1910* (New Orleans: Press of Schumert & Warfield, Ltd., 1910), 119, *HathiTrust Digital Library*, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89077211415&view=1up&seq=388.
[122] Adam Mayers, *Dixie & the Dominion : Canada, the Confederacy, and the War for the Union* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2003), 105-113, https://search-ebscohost-com.libsrv.wku.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=121073&site=ehost-live.
[123] Bennett H. Young to George Washington Littlefield, April 3, 1916, *George Washington Littlefield Papers*, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin; "The Passing of the Gray," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XXVII, No.3, March 1919, 76, *HathiTrust Digital Library*, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044035882489&view=1up&seq=5.

Decades after the war, Young's success as an attorney, philanthropist, and speaker at veterans' events made him a staple in Louisville's newspapers. For example, he gained public acclaim for rescuing the city's Free Public Library, where he served as president, in addition to the city's Colored Orphan's Home, the Kentucky Institute for the Blind, and the Pewee Valley Confederate Veterans Home.[124] He joined the Filson Club, attended Kentucky's 1890 Constitutional Convention, and represented the Bluegrass State at the 1878 Paris Exposition.[125] However, despite being a well-connected and successful businessman, Young valued his role in Confederate organizations over all his other achievements. For example, after being elected to the position in 1902, he exclaimed that he "would rather be Commander of the Kentucky division of United Confederate Veterans than Governor of Kentucky or President of the United States."[126] While Young's many business and organizational engagements kept him endlessly preoccupied in his sixties and seventies, he approached his new role as JDHA President with unflagging zeal.

Finally, on June 3, 1909, the JDHA held the official dedication ceremony for their newly christened Jefferson Davis Memorial Park. Although Young's legal business kept him detained, a fellow southern veteran read Young's written address to the crowd. He began his address by referencing the Lincoln memorial near Hodgenville, emphasizing that Kentuckians held both their sons, Lincoln and Davis, in high esteem. However, he stressed that "while the North honors Lincoln's birthplace," Southerners were obligated to "do as much for Davis." In his address, Young matched Buckner and Cunningham's rhetoric, promoting the future park as an opportunity to bring equal recognition to both of Kentucky's Civil War presidents. Nevertheless,

---

[124] "Gen. Young, Lawyer and Soldier, Dies," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Feb. 24, 1919, 1; Bennett Henderson Young, *Kentucky Eloquence, Past and Present; Library of Orations, after-Dinner Speeches, Popular and Classic Lectures, Addresses and Poetry. Editor-in-Chief, Col. Bennett H. Young. Associate Editors, Hon. Henry Watterson [and Others]* (Louisville: Ben La Bree Jr., 1907), 411.
[125] Young, *Kentucky Eloquence,* 411.
[126] "Col. Young Elected Commander of Kentucky Confederates," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Oct. 24, 1902, 4.

he depicted the JDHA's work as a step toward sectional reconciliation rather than framing the Association's project as a competition with Northerners over Civil War commemoration.[127] For many ex-Confederates, however, national reunion depended on Northerners' acknowledgment that Southerners would never renege on their worldviews.

The Kentucky press mirrored the broader trend among whites to favor reconciliation between the North and South built on shared racial identities and sympathy for the Lost Cause. Local news reports described the Jefferson Davis Memorial Park dedication ceremony as a harbinger of the end of sectional animosities. Hopkinsville's *New Era* commented on the spectacle of both U.S. and Confederate flags flying that day, indicating that Kentuckians finally recognized the need to honor both of their native sons. Nevertheless, the occasion was unmistakably a celebration of the Confederacy, replete with a float of young women representing "the fourteen Confederate states" and the Pembroke Military Band's rendition of "Dixie."[128]

With assistance from locals and Confederate organizations, the JDHA hoped to transform their park on the border of Christian and Todd Counties into a counterpoint to Unionist memory. At the June 1909 UCV annual reunion in Memphis, held a week after Davis's birthday, Young asked his audience whether they would let memorials to Lincoln outshine Southerners' devotion to Davis.[129] Indeed, Young's framing of his plans for the Association from his initial involvement until his death reveals how he sought to elevate Davis to at least an equal footing with the most revered U.S. figures, such as Lincoln and Washington. Announcing the purchase and dedication of Davis Memorial Park to *Confederate Veteran* readers, Cunningham claimed it

[127] "Dedication of Davis Memorial Home," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XVII, No. 7, July 1909, 321-23.
[128] "Tribute of Love Paid by Thousands," *Kentucky New Era* (Hopkinsville, KY), June 3, 1909, 1; "Davis Park Dedicated at Fairview Thursday," *Hopkinsville Kentuckian*, June 5, 1909, 1.
[129] *Minutes of the Nineteenth Annual Meeting and Reunion of the United Confederate Veterans held at Memphis, Tenn. On Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, June 8th, 9th and 10th, 1909* (New Orleans: Schumert & Warfield, Ltd., n.d.), 57-8, Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/proceedingsseria05unit.

would be a "Mecca, the Mount Vernon of Kentucky."[130] By fashioning the Davis homestead in the likeness of other national shrines, Young and other JDHA supporters hoped to redeem Davis's national reputation and, in turn, former Confederates' patriotism.

After the JDHA secured ownership of the nineteen acres comprising Jefferson Davis Park, white locals waxed enthusiastic about the site's success. For instance, *Confederate Veteran* readers learned that "the committee never asks of" Hopkinsville residents "in vain" and "the people of Elkton and Pembroke…show patriotic interest." One enthusiastic resident, Dr. E. S. Stuart, whose Aunt claimed to have resided with the Davis family, even donated his plot to the Association.[131] However, the *Confederate Veteran* and local press reports did not mention Black Pennyroyal residents' opinions, exemplifying how a broader acceptance of reconciliation among whites masked Blacks' competing views.

Although white leaders across the state and nation promoted reconciliation, celebrations among the Pennyroyal's substantial Black population challenged efforts to prop up Confederate memory in local communities. Before the Civil War, free and enslaved African Americans comprised about half, forty-five percent, of the surrounding area's population.[132] In the first decade of the twentieth century, Black people continued to make up a significant portion of Christian County's population, at forty-one percent. Additionally, thirty-two percent of Todd County residents were Black.[133] These individuals' perceptions of the war and its aftermath contrasted starkly with whites' interpretations.

Amid Confederate events held at the Jefferson Davis Memorial Park, local Blacks expressed their interpretation of the meanings of the war. During the next few years, the park served as a venue for local events like Davis's birthday, June 3, which neo-Confederates called

[130] "The Mount Vernon of Kentucky," *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. XVII, No. 7, July 1909, 326.
[131] *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. XVII, No. 7, July 1909, 326-7.
[132] Ibid.
[133] *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910 Vol. II,* 732, 748.

"Memorial Day." For example, at a Davis birthday celebration in 1910, the Fairview Commercial Club hosted a parade, musical performance, and banquet at the park.[134] While various white individuals, particularly those in local UDC and UCV chapters, publicly commemorated "Confederate Memorial Day," large gatherings of Blacks joined together in joyous "Emancipation Day" celebrations on August 8, when in 1863, Tennessee's military governor, Andrew Johnson, emancipated enslaved people in the state despite Lincoln's Proclamation leaving slavery in Union territory untouched.

Whether through intimate gatherings or public displays, Blacks proudly celebrated their freedom and citizenship. In Western Kentucky, Emancipation Day observers traveled to nearby cities with discounted rail tickets. One Hopkinsville celebration featured a parade and musical performances, while locals in Paducah threw a baseball game and barbeque.[135] Additionally, while Davis celebrations at Jefferson Davis Memorial Park featured "Miss Confederacy" pageants, on August 8, Black revelers crowned a "Queen of Emancipation.[136] In 1936, sixty-five-year-old Annie Morgan from Hopkinsville, the daughter of enslaved parents, remembered "Proclamation Day" fondly. As a child, she and her family visited her grandmother's home in Trigg County, where she played with other children, feasted on watermelon, and danced to banjo tunes.[137]

White newspapers trivialized these celebrations by utilizing the lens of existing racial stereotypes in their reports about Black festivities. Through derogatory language, they focused on the potential for crime among such large gatherings of Blacks. For example, the *Hopkinsville*

---

[134] "All Now in Readiness," *Hopkinsville Kentuckian*, May 31, 1910, 1.
[135] "Emancipation Day Observed," *Hopkinsville Kentuckian*, Aug 11, 1914, 8; "Emancipation Day," *Hopkinsville Kentuckian*, Sept. 23, 1915, 4.
[136] "Contest Closed," *Hopkinsville Kentuckian*, Sept. 21, 1905, 5.
[137] United States Work Projects Administration, *Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project, Vol. 7, Ken*tucky*, Bogie-Woods* (with combined interviews of others), 103, (Washington D.C., n.p., 1941), *Manuscript/Mixed Material*, Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/mesn070/.

Kentuckian reported jocularly on the arrest of six inebriated Emancipation Day celebrants for drinking too much, claiming that they "plunked up the cash" to satisfy their bonds "like a bloated bondholder would do" in their situation.[138] Reporters addressed whites' concerns over the danger from large gatherings of Blacks. For instance, in an article entitled, "To the 'Scursion on Amancipation Day," the *Hopkinsville Kentuckian* reported on the shooting of a Black man accused of attacking a white female three years prior at an Emancipation Day observance in Clarksville, delighting that "Hopkinsville, we are glad to say, was not a celebrating place, and the negroes who came to town were orderly."[139]

Consequently, reports of arrests and violence on these occasions alarmed Blacks. After a lively Paducah celebration, Black residents appealed to the mayor to prohibit such festivities since they drew licentious Blacks from other towns.[140] For various reasons, Blacks showed concern for their livelihoods and relations with whites within Jim Crow society.

Despite an active presence of pro-Union Kentuckians, memorial activity in Christian and Todd Counties decades after the war distorted the heterogeneous perspectives of residents. Currently, the Kentucky Historical Society lists six historical markers in Christian County and three in Todd County relating to the Confederacy. At the same time, each county has only one marker connected to Union memory. For example, in Hopkinsville, a marker installed in 1964 explains that Confederates under General Hylan B. Lyon burned the city's courthouse along with seven others during the winter of 1864.[141]

Ironically, a white Georgia marble drinking fountain now sits on the lawn of Hopkinsville's courthouse with an inscription that pays tribute to Confederates. The fountain is

[138] "Six Arrests," *Hopkinsville Kentuckian*, Aug. 10, 1907, 4.
[139] "Killed Sequel," *Hopkinsville Kentuckian*, Aug. 12, 1913, 1.
[140] "Cut Out Big Day," *Hopkinsville Kentuckian*, Aug. 20, 1908, 4.
[141] "Historical Marker Database Search," *Kentucky Historical Society,* accessed January 18, 2023, https://secure2.kentucky.gov/kyhs/hmdb/MarkerSearch.aspx?mode=All.

the brainchild of the Christian County UDC, who, initiating their design in 1906, wanted it to honor Confederate Colonel Thomas G. Woodward, a Hopkinsville resident who joined the 1st and then 2nd Kentucky Calvary. One September day in 1864, full of liquid courage, Woodward ordered his men to follow him into Hopkinsville, then occupied by federal forces. Shadowed by a single brave subordinate, Woodward defiantly rode his horse down Ninth and Main Streets when bullets struck him and his horse dead.[142]

After years of fundraising, Christian County Daughters hosted a dedication ceremony for the Woodward Fountain on November 29, 1911, attended by veterans and locals at the Princess Theatre situated across the street from the memorial's original location. Nearby schools let their students out early to participate in the ceremony where Hopkinsville resident and Kentucky UDC Division President Lizzie McFarland Blakemore's granddaughter drew back the red and white cloth covering the seven-foot-tall structure.[143] Promoting reverence for Confederates among local children, Daughters utilized the fountain as an extension of their gendered authority in the realm of social welfare through the charitable act of providing a much-needed clean water source to the city. In the context of laissez-faire capitalism, small government, and emerging female-led grassroots organizations during the Progressive Era, many affluent women, restricted from civic politics, utilized their economic privilege and nurturing capacities to address social ills in their communities.[144]

While many upper-class women across the nation organized to address the issues facing the poor amid a period of rapid industrialization, urbanization, and immigration, southern women in the UDC utilized their grassroots activism to influence the direction of political discourse

[142] "Woodward Fountain," *Hopkinsville Kentuckian*, Sept. 27, 1906, 4.
[143] "Unveiling of the U.D.C. Drinking Fountain," *Kentucky New Era* (Hopkinsville), Dec. 1, 1911, 1.
[144] Kathryn Kish Sklar, "The Historical Foundations of Women's Power in the Creation of the Welfare State, 1830-1930," In *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 54, 69, 72.

surrounding historical interpretation. Cox brands the UDC's philanthropic work, which the national organization focused on supporting homes for indigent Confederate veterans, donating pro-southern literature to schools and libraries, and funding educational scholarships, as a form of "southern progressivism" extending from members' status as upper-class white women, to promote Confederate ideology to whites.[145] As Elizabeth Gillespie McCrae asserts, women across the country mobilized in "social welfare institutions, public education, partisan politics, and popular culture," to ensure that the ideologies supporting racial segregation permeated society.[146] The Woodward fountain and two other fountains erected by the UDC near Cadiz and Princeton's courthouses, which Lyon's men also torched, remain standing, signifying the endurance of Daughters' labors to reshape local memory.[147]

In Kentucky, proposals for a new highway presented another opportunity to enhance the state's Confederate identity. In 1911, amid the growing ascension of the automobile, interest spiked throughout Western Kentucky over a proposed highway connecting Bowling Green, Hopkinsville, and Paducah. At a public meeting in Hopkinsville that September, delegates from various parts of the region wrestled for one of three paths that passed through their counties, attracted to the commercial prospects of the new highway. However, Bennett H. Young, recently promoted to command the UCV's Department of the Army of Tennessee, delighted in how the proposed "Jefferson Davis Highway" could fuel tourism to the Jefferson Davis Memorial Park. Jefferson Davis Home Association Treasurer John H. Leathers proclaimed that the highway would "put Fairview on the map of the United States in big letters."[148]

---

[145] Cox, 74.
[146] Elizabeth Gillespie McRae, *Mothers of Massive Resistance: White Women and the Politics of White Supremacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 4.
[147] *Minutes of the Nineteenth Annual Convention United Daughters of the Confederacy held in Washington, D. C., Nov. 13-16, 1912* (Jackson: McCowat Mercer, 1912), 352, *HathiTrust Digital Library* https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89062335203&view=1up&seq=592.
[148] "Enthusiastic Meeting in Interest of Davis Way," *Kentucky New Era* (Hopkinsville), Sept. 15, 1911, 10.

Like Young, Confederate Veterans and their kin wanted the Jefferson Davis Highway to draw attention from visitors from across the country to Confederate memorials along its path, including Jefferson Davis Memorial Park. At a JDHA meeting two years later, Leathers claimed that Davis's birthplace was just as significant to the nation as Mount Vernon, Monticello, and Hodgenville and that Davis defended "the noblest ideas of duty and devotion to his country."[149] At the November 1912 UDC annual convention in Washington, D.C., Kentucky Division President Charlotte Osborne Woodbury, daughter of JDHA Secretary Thomas D. Osborne and future leader of the UDC committee for the Jefferson Davis Highway, told Daughters that Davis's birthplace would be the road's focal point.[150] Veterans and Daughters hoped that facilitating widespread tourism to the Davis homestead would transform it into a national attraction, helping them spark reverence for Davis, mirroring that of other revered presidents.

Six years after purchasing Davis's birthplace, the JDHA focused on raising funds for a memorial. In 1912, it received a $7,500 state appropriation to help purchase land, a stone wall, and a monument. However, they deliberated over the type of memorial to build.[151] While the JDHA's plans progressed slowly, Young kept himself busy with UCV activities focused on elevating Davis's reputation amid growing support among whites toward sectional reunion. Young privately admitted that "it was difficult to excite and evoke enthusiasm" about Davis among Southerners.[152] However, he labored to boost Davis's reputation among both Southerners and Northerners by simultaneously depicting Davis as a Confederate hero and a protégé of the Founding Fathers.

---

[149] "The Jefferson Davis Birthplace," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XX, No. 9, September 1912, 407, *HathiTrust Digital Library*, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924057407318&view=1up&seq=57.
[150] *Minutes of the Nineteenth Annual Convention United Daughters of the Confederacy held in Washington, D. C., Nov. 13-16, 1912*, 353.
[151] John D. Carroll, William Edward Baldwin, ed., *The Kentucky Statues Containing All General Laws with Full Notes from Decisions of the Court of Appeals and the Constitution of Kentucky Annotations* (Louisville: Baldwin Law Book Company, 1922), 627.
[152] BHY to GWL, March 13, 1916, 2, UT.

As a prominent speaker at numerous Confederate events, Young utilized his rhetoric about Davis to encourage Southerners' steadfastness to their worldviews. On February 23, 1911, Young spoke at the dedication of a Jefferson Davis statue in New Orleans. In his usual fashion, Young depicted Davis as the South's martyr who defiantly stood by his morals. However, he expressed optimism that the passing of time "brightened every spot in his pure, unsullied life."[153]

As Young moved up the organizational ladder of the UCV, he continued to encourage Southerners to imitate Davis by staying true to their ideological convictions. In July of 1913, Young, recently elected commander-in-chief of the national UCV, represented the South at a meeting of the blue and gray at Gettysburg on the semicentennial of the battle in that town. While Grand Army of the Republic Commander-in-Chief Judge Alfred B. Beers spoke of fraternal bonds and a new era of harmony among "men of the same race," Young promoted a peace predicated on recognizing southern honor. He asserted that "time" is "a great vindicator," and that southern veterans needed to put forth "no apologies." Further, if any southern veteran believed "he was wrong, his uniform should be torn from him and he should hang his head in shame."[154]

On June 4, 1914, the day after Confederate Memorial Day, Young represented the South in a dedication ceremony for the first Confederate memorial at Arlington National Cemetery, which by then housed Confederate graves. Young remarked on the peculiarity of the occasion, claiming that "nothing more strange…has ever happened." Nevertheless, he recognized how a southern monument in the national cemetery reflected the tide of reunion between North and South. While tensions among imperial nation-states festered in Europe, Young argued that domestic peace could only be possible in a "republic," that respected the "ideals" of each section.

---

[153] "Davis Statue Unveiled with Much Ceremony," *Times-Democrat* (New Orleans), Feb. 23, 1911, 1.
[154] "Veterans' Day at Gettysburg," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XXI, No. 9, September 1913, 427-28, *HathiTrust Digital Library*, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=njp.32101076522034&view=1up&seq=21; "Heroes Entertained by their Peers," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XXI, No. 8, August 1913, 371.

Similarly, President Wilson highlighted the idiosyncrasies of American democracy and claimed that the monument was evidence of citizens' "solemn duty" to demonstrate the spirit of reconciliation as a model for the rest of the world.[155] With Wilson's endorsement, the Peace Monument at Arlington evoked a semblance of national unity on the eve of World War I.

Besides being depicted as an icon of domestic peace, the Confederate memorial's presence in a politically significant space competed with Arlington's legacy as the site of Union triumph, where federal forces captured Confederate General Robert E. Lee's home. A product of Daughters hailing from the District of Columbia, the Peace Monument featured a larger-than-life female holding an olive wreath, which Cox asserts reflects southern women's role in vindicating the South's "political and cultural values" on the "political landscape."[156] Paradoxically, the UDC's effort to return the Confederacy to Arlington signified the success of the Lost Cause Movement in recasting soldiers in gray as defenders of the nation's highest ideals. In a local newspaper, UDC President Daisy McLarin Stevens conveyed her expectation that "in after years…boys and girls shall look with reverence" at the memorial and be filled with patriotism.[157] To Daughters, the monument's influence on future generations of Americans was of the uppermost importance.

Meanwhile, Young canvassed support from wealthy individuals. In June 1915, Young started his almost four-year-long correspondence with George W. Littlefield, a multi-millionaire Texas cattleman and former Confederate major.[158] In 1907, Littlefield funded a monument to his former comrades of the 8th Texas Calvary, or "Terry's Texas Rangers," on the grounds of the Texas State Capitol in Austin.[159] Years later, Littlefield financed a memorial at the University of

---

[155] "Monument to Heroes of South Dedicated," *Washington Herald* (Washington, D.C.), June 5, 1914, 1, 7.
[156] Karen Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture, New preface* edition (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2019), 55-56, 66-68.
[157] *Washington Herald* (Washington, D.C.), June 5, 1914, 7.
[158] BHY to GWL, June 10, 1915, UT.
[159] "Invitation Extended to Eleventh Regiment," *Austin American-Statesman*, June 13, 1907, 4.

Texas featuring Davis, President Wilson, and Robert E. Lee, intending for it to glorify sectional reunion.[160]

After receiving an initial donation from Littlefield, Young fostered an ongoing correspondence with his wealthy benefactor to stir Littlefield's generosity and interest. He provided him with frequent updates about projected improvements to Jefferson Davis Memorial Park, such as a stone fence, new roads, and a memorial.[161] Hoping to lock in the cattle rancher's enthusiasm, Young proposed christening "George W. Littlefield Avenue" to compliment "Albert Sidney Johnson Avenue" and "Young Avenue" in the new park.[162] In September 1916, Young convinced Littlefield to go on a ten-day visit to Kentucky, where the two gray-haired veterans visited the Pewee Valley Confederate Home, the grounds at Fairview, and a local UDC meeting in Elkton, where Young announced Littlefield's munificent offer to match every dollar donated with two. To ensure that the JDHA project connected with his name would succeed, Littlefield set the cap of his offer at $40,000.[163]

During Littlefield's visit to Kentucky, he and Young visited the site of Lincoln's first home at Hodgenville. Writing afterward to Davis's son-in-law, Joel Addison Hayes, Young claimed he and Littlefield were not impressed with the temple and decided to "build a far grander structure to Davis."[164] Days before their arrival, President Wilson accepted the new Abraham Lincoln National Park, which housed a Greek Revival temple with a replica of Lincoln's first home inside, on behalf of the federal government, using the occasion less to honor the memory of the sixteenth president than to foster a sense of shared identity among the American public

[160] George Washington Littlefield letter to Pompeo Coppini, July 23, 1919, *Coppini-Tauch Papers*, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin.
[161] BHY to GWL, March 13, 1916, UT.
[162] BHY to GWL, April 3, 1916, UT.
[163] "G. W. Littlefield and J. W. Graham Return," *Austin American-Statesman*, Sept. 22, 1916, 1; "Gen. Littlefield Assures Jefferson Davis Memorial," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Sept. 18, 1916, 10; "Infuse New Life into Davis Memorial Project," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Sept. 20, 1916, 3; BHY to GWL, November 20, 1916, UT.
[164] Bennet H. Young to J. A. Hayes, Nov. 15, 1916, UT.

amid an expanding global conflict. The Lincoln Farm Association's president and the former Governor of Missouri, Joseph W. Folk, presided over the transfer, assuring a crowd of twenty-thousand that the memorial did not represent sectional prejudice; individuals from both North and South contributed to its completion. Furthermore, he declared that it snuffed out "the fires of fraternal hatred kindled by the fierce conflict a half a century ago," taking special care to calm fears about sectional partisanship by reframing the memorial more as an abstract symbol of national unity than a tribute to the Great Emancipator.[165]

Another orator of the event, Democrat Senator from Mississippi John Sharp Williams, focused his speech heavily on the theme of sectional reunion. Comparing and contrasting Davis and Lincoln, Williams depicted the former as a stalwart sectionalist and the latter as a "Great Nationalist" who acted more like a "Southerner" and who would never have supported the "gross violation of common sense and common justice" of Radical Reconstruction or harbored "hatred for the Southern white people." Additionally, Williams informed the crowd that Davis thought the loss of Lincoln was the worst thing to happen to the South besides losing the war.[166]

Williams' praise for Lincoln's conciliatory stance toward Southerners resonated with those familiar with the views of former Confederates who resented the Black progress wrought by Radical Reconstruction. Moreover, by 1916, many academic historians adhered to the Dunning School of thought, named after Columbia University professor William A. Dunning, which Reconstruction historian Eric A. Foner asserts "shaped historical writing for generations," framing Reconstruction as a period when Blacks mishandled their newly-gained citizenship.[167] President Wilson, having earned a Ph.D. in History from John Hopkins University, also

[165] "President Wilson Accepts Abe Lincoln's Birthplace as National Shrine where Hopes of Mankind are to be Rekindled," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Sept. 5, 1916, 1-2.
[166] Ibid., 2.
[167] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*, Updated edition (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2014), 609.

subscribed to the prevailing Dunning School outlook, writing in *Division and Reunion: 1829-1889* (1898) that the end of Reconstruction in 1876 restored "natural legal conditions" by quashing Black political achievement in southern states and facilitating the "inevitable ascendency of the whites, the responsible class."[168]

In 1915, Wilson gave D. W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation* the honor of being the first film played at the White House, lending his official endorsement as the nation's chief executive to the movie's depiction of Ku Klux Klan vigilantes as the saviors of white political and social domination. Based on Thomas Dixon's 1905 novel, *The Clansmen: A Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan*, Griffith, a Kentucky native, utilized the film adaptation to showcase Black South Carolinian politicians' hedonism and political corruption. Ultimately, Klansmen, the film's heroes, save the day by preventing a miscegenous wedding and scaring Blacks from election polls.[169]

Birth of a Nation drew applause from white people nationwide due to the broad acceptance of southern interpretations of Reconstruction within a climate of white support for national reconciliation. However, backlash in Kentucky over *Uncle Tom's Cabin* plays, based on a novel by Harriet Beecher Stowe that emphasized the cruelty of enslavers, exemplifies the significance of popular culture in validating Lost Cause proponents' claim that slavery supported better race relations. The Kentucky General Assembly passed a statute in 1906 called the "Uncle Tom's Cabin Bill," which imposed a fine between one and five hundred dollars or a prison sentence to anyone hosting theatrical productions that depicted relations between enslavers and Blacks negatively.[170] Lexington's UDC chapter played a crucial role in getting the statute passed

---

[168] Woodrow Wilson, *Division and Reunion: 1829-1889* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1898), 273.
[169] D.W. Griffith, *Birth of a Nation,* Griffith Feature Films, 1915, 3 hr., 13 min, Film; "President to See Movies," *Evening Star* (Washington, District of Columbia), February 18, 1915, 1.
[170] *Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Convention United Daughters of the Confederacy Held in Gulfport, Mississippi November, 14-17, 1906* (Opelika: Post, 1907), 44, *HathiTrust Digital Library,* https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89062335260&view=1up&seq=5.

after launching a campaign against the play's portrayal of enslavers as inhumane.[171] At the 1906 UDC annual convention, Kentucky UDC Division President Mary Mourning Faris McKinney encouraged all Daughters to influence their state assemblies to pass similar bills.[172] Years later, two Georgia UDC chapters influenced their cities to ban moving picture adaptations of Stowe's book. Georgia Daughters even set up a "Committee on Picture Censorship" to continue screening films for northern influence.[173]

Lexington Daughters' victory reflects whites' adherence to a historical narrative romanticizing antebellum race relations. Lost Cause promoters like Pollard claimed that during slavery, Southerners did not need force or "a system of paid police" to prevent violent reprisals from bondspeople. Instead, they argued, slavery conditioned the enslaved to be content with subjugation and serve their masters faithfully.[174] Drawing lessons from an idyllic abstraction of the Old South, Lost Cause promoters argued that peaceful and orderly relations between the races depended on Blacks' deference to whites. In the *Confederate Veteran*, Cunningham warned Southern Blacks to recognize that northern Blacks' civil rights activism fueled more white censure "than has ever existed in the South." Additionally, he assured them that "the Southern people remember the amiable dispositions of the race, and will be diligent to aid them if they will adopt the only method possible for friendly relations," meaning accepting their humble place in society."[175]

Tellingly, Kentucky's act, putatively passed to prevent racial animosity, did not prohibit plays and movies honoring the Klan. However, Black people in Christian County protested

---

[171] Marshall., 166, 170.
[172] *Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Convention United Daughters of the Confederacy Held in Gulfport, Mississippi November, 14-17, 1906*, 252.
[173] *Minutes of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy Held in Louisville, KY. April 1-5, 1919* (Kansas City: Kellogg-Baxter, 1919), 443, *HathiTrust Digital Library*, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433079013847&view=1up&seq=649.
[174] Pollard, 754.
[175] "Jerry May Got His Old Mistress a Pension," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XIII, No. 9, Sept. 1905, 423, *HathiTrust Digital Library*, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924057407243&view=1up&seq=1.

against these stories. The *Hopkinsville Kentuckian* praised *The Clansman's* depiction of southern race relations, advertising a performance based on the novel as displaying "the exact truth" of how the KKK rescued southern whites from "barbarism" and "negro mongrelism" during Reconstruction.[176] Eight years later, *Birth of a Nation* arrived at the city theater despite local Blacks' petitions to the city council.[177] Decades after the release of the film, Hopkinsville native Theodore Roosevelt Poston, an African American civil rights activist, *New York Post* contributor, and advisor in Franklin D. Roosevelt's Black Cabinet, wrote a fictional account about the film in "The Birth of a Notion."

Poston utilized his story to mock whites' framing of Reconstruction. In his story, a schoolmate of Poston's comes up with the idea to trick a local film projector into playing the last half of the film backward, altering the original storyline so that a white woman jumps into, rather than out of, a Black man's arms.[178] Glazier frames Poston's story as a form of typically overlooked resistance; while fictional, Poston presents a narrative of triumph over quotidian displays of white supremacy.[179] In 2017, Hopkinsville dedicated its first historical marker honoring a Black person to Poston, which, standing adjacent to the Woodward fountain's original location, presents a reminder of the diverse perspectives of Hopkinsville residents.

Meanwhile, Young contemplated designs for a memorial at Jefferson Davis Memorial Park. By October 1916, Young decided to build a monument to be "the greatest thing in America but the Washington monument."[180] Inspired by the Hodgenville Lincoln Memorial, he also hoped to build a replica of the Davis cottage, lost since appearing at the 1897 Nashville Centennial Exposition.[181] After receiving a price estimate from civil engineer S. F. Crecelius for

[176] "See 'The Clansman,'" *Hopkinsville Kentuckian*, Jan. 30, 1908, 8.
[177] Glazier, 135.
[178] Poston, 81.
[179] Glazier, 238.
[180] BHY to GWL, Oct. 19, 1916, UT.
[181] BHY to GWL, Oct. 4, 1916, UT.

an obelisk about 250 ft. high, Young set his sights one-hundred feet higher.[182] Shortly afterward, he added an extra foot to the proposed length to extend the shaft beyond the Perry Monument, which he mistakenly believed was 350 ft. tall.[183] According to historian Keith A. Erekson, the two sets of parallel sides on obelisks memorializing the Revolutionary Era, like the Bunker Hill and Washington Monument, symbolize egalitarianism in the new Republic and stand apart from Greek Revival structures, such as Ulysses S. Grant's Tomb in New York City, the Davis Monument and Confederate Memorial Institute in Richmond, and the Lincoln Memorials in Washington D.C. and Hodgenville.[184] Young's selection of an Egyptian obelisk reflects his desire to depict Davis and former Confederates as patriots like the revered figures during America's founding.

In November 1916, after stepping down as commander-in-chief of the national UCV, which awarded him the title of honorary commander-in-chief for life, Young attended the UDC annual convention in Dallas, Texas, hoping to obtain at least $500 in pledges from Daughters.[185] After his recent addresses at Gettysburg and Arlington, Young expressed his delight about not having to censure his praise of the South to Confederate partisans. After the recent dedication of Lincoln's home in Hodgenville, Young reminded his audience that a memorial lining a sky "starred with Southern virtues," would help them glorify their ancestors, defend southern dignity, and redeem southern honor, three of the UDC's primary organizational goals.[186] To his delight,

[182] S. F. Crecelius to Bennet H. Young, Oct. 3, 1916, *George Washington Littlefield Papers*, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin; BHY to GWL, Oct. 4, 1916, UT.
[183] BHY to GWL, Nov. 16, 1916, UT.
[184] Erekson, 54, 59.
[185] BHY to GWL, Nov. 9, 1916, UT.
[186] "The Jefferson Davis Memorial," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XXV, No. 2, February 1917, 67- 70, HathiTrust Digital Library, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924057372827&view=1up&seq=8.

the women responded enthusiastically, far exceeding his expectations, by pledging $10,000 and assigning the President General and each state division president to a JDHA "advisory board."[187]

To Young, news of the magnitude of the proposed obelisk would help garner enthusiasm among neo-Confederates and encourage them to donate to the JDHA. In January 1917, he told Littlefield, now chairman of the JDHA's Board of Directors, they would never raise enough subscriptions "for some little Greek Temple," but "the biggest thing in the world except the Washington monument" promised to draw the public's interest.[188] Additionally, the soaring monolith would provide evidence of Davis's station among other revered American figures. Young exclaimed that "more monuments to Southern valor have been erected upon Southern soil than have been set up in any other land to any other people," but that Southerners needed one to outshine all others and "truly convey to coming generations the full appreciation of Mr. Davis and his relations to the people of the South."[189]

Lost Cause promoters strove to defend the South's patriotism in a reunited nation by exonerating figures like Davis and the cultural, political, and social institutions he and other Confederates sought to preserve. Through their unmeasured praise of the Old South through commemoration and popular culture, neo-Confederates endorsed ideas about Black inferiority, which sustained white apathy toward Jim Crow violence and legal discrimination. White Kentuckians' Confederate memorial activity generated broader appeal within a national impetus toward sectional reconciliation. Regardless, Blacks preserved their collective memory and fought back in various ways against narratives that distorted their lived experiences.

---

[187] *Minutes of the Twenty-Third Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy Held in Dallas, Texas, November 8 to 11, 1916* (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Printing Company, 1917), 45, HathiTrust Digital Library, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433079013839&view=1up&seq=595.
[188] BHY to GWL, Jan. 10, 1917, UT.
[189] *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XXV, No. 2, February 1917, 70.

Chapter 4: Vindicating the Lost Cause through Davis

For those supporting Confederate memorialization efforts, monuments would forever preserve the histories they wanted future Americans to learn about the South. To garner interest in the Jefferson Davis Monument, Young addressed Confederate veterans' and their kin's concerns about keeping their collective historical memories culturally relevant as the ranks of men in gray thinned with each passing year. Marketing the Lost Cause to younger generations, they magnified the Confederacy's military prowess, moral integrity, and political ideologies without qualification. Consequently, by lavishing uncritical praise for the Klan and antebellum race relations, neo-Confederates provided both implicit and explicit support to white supremacist arguments sustaining Jim Crow legislation.

Now that Young settled on a design for a memorial to Jefferson Davis, as the leader of the Jefferson Davis Home Association, he set to work raising funds, garnering enthusiasm, and accruing labor to construct his leviathan. In addition to his efforts to redeem Davis's reputation among Northerners and Southerners, Young encouraged the United Daughters of the Confederacy to support the JDHA by appealing to their desire to use visible symbols and educational curricula to teach postwar generations the merits of the Lost Cause. By instructing young people that enslaved people fared better before freedom, incompetent Black politicians corrupted state legislatures during Reconstruction, and Klansmen saved Southerners from puppet state governments and Black criminals, UDC women and the men who supported their efforts condoned the discriminatory legislation subjugating Black people in every aspect of their lives. This chapter demonstrates that Jim Crow was alive and well in the backdrop of Jefferson Davis Memorial Park, exemplified by Black men's contribution and resistance to the construction of the Jefferson Davis Monument.

As contractor J. R. Gregg of Louisville began laying the foundation for the monument in the spring of 1917, Young hoped to garner much-needed financial assistance from those who sought to pass their ideas about the Confederacy down to their descendants. And so, he ramped up his fundraising efforts, hoping for a dedication that October.[190] After Cunningham passed in 1913, Young adopted the role of soliciting donations through his addresses at organizational events, correspondence with wealthy individuals, and articles in the *Confederate Veteran*.[191] On the other hand, Littlefield encouraged Young to focus his solicitation efforts on Kentucky and Christian and Todd County, placing an incredible amount of stress on Young, who resented the pressure of "begging" for money and traveling back and forth from Louisville on top of his other business and organizational obligations.[192] Nevertheless, Young embarked on a "whirlwind campaign," attempting to obtain at least $4,000 in Christian and Todd Counties.[193] With Gregg agreeing to build the monument for $60,000, Young needed to raise at least $20,000 for Littlefield's matching offer to yield $40,000. Additionally, Young counted on receiving an appropriation from the state government, which granted the JDHA $5,000 to build a memorial. He also expected to raise $12,500 from Daughters with the help of a new dime bank scheme.[194]

Young vigorously fundraised for the monument. Throughout 1917, he promoted his new plan to distribute thousands of dime banks with sketches of Davis and the prospective obelisk, with the inscription: "second highest monument in the world."[195] He told Littlefield he believed the banks would bring in $5,000.[196] As an incentive for children who filled their banks, Young offered *Confederate Veteran* readers the opportunity to have their descendants' names displayed

[190] BHY to GWL, April 9, 1917, UT.
[191] BHY to GWL, Sept. 27, 1916, UT.
[192] BHY to GWL, Nov. 2, 1916, UT; BHY to GWL, May 31, 1918, UT.
[193] BHY to GWL, Dec. 16, 1916, UT; BHY to GWL, March 31, 1917, UT.
[194] BHY to GWL, March 15, 1917, UT.
[195] "The Jefferson Davis Memorial," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XXV, No. 4, April 1917, 145.
[196] BHY to GWL, Jan. 29, 1917, UT.

on the shaft "for thousands of years" as a permanent testament of their personal devotion to the Confederate president.[197] Hoping to spur competition among children and parents, he reported that students in Fairview and Paducah and Boy Scouts in Wilson, Arkansas, had already started collecting their dimes.[198]

Young believed his dime bank idea would incite enthusiasm about the Jefferson Davis Monument among southern women already at work wielding their maternal authority over children's education as mothers and teachers to influence academic instruction that upheld the ideology sustaining Jim Crow inequality. Cox identifies Daughters' efforts to rear future Confederate apologists as a southern adaptation of "republican motherhood," a concept carried over from the early Republic period that delegated mothers the responsibility to teach "children a proper respect for the principles that guided the new nation." Similarly, Daughters hoped to pass their beliefs about conservative citizenship on to their children.[199] McCrae asserts that southern women utilized public instruction to reinforce historical interpretations that justified limited government and negated the ills of slavery to reinforce white supremacy. Their work coincided with a broad consensus gaining traction at the turn of the nineteenth century amid mass immigration, liberal social movements, urbanization, and industrialism that education should support "patriotic education, 100 percent Americanism, anti-immigration sentiment, and nativist-based politics."[200]

Veterans and their kin utilized their historical narratives as a bulwark against contemporary threats against white sociopolitical hegemony and the autonomy of local and state governments. After the birth of the UCV in 1899 and the UDC in 1895, both organizations'

[197] "A Thousand Year's Record," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XXV, No. 8, August 1917, 345.
[198] *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XXV, No. 4, April 1917, 145; "The Jefferson Davis Memorial," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XXV No.10, October 1917, 441.
[199] Cox, 122-23.
[200] McCrae, 42-43, 49.

founding constitutions laid out their mission to accumulate and safeguard unbiased interpretations of the Civil War.[201] Through their History Committees, the UCV and UDC countered unfavorable historical claims concerning the South they believed to be the result of northern prejudice. Paducah's Mary Mourning Faris McKinney served on the UDC's first Historical Committee, helping create the office of Historian General for the organization in 1898.[202]

McKinney played a leading role in representing Kentucky in the UDC. She was the daughter of a Confederate veteran who left Hickman, Kentucky, to join General Nathan Bedford Forrest's Fifth Tennessee Volunteer Infantry. While serving under Forrest, who would become the first Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan in the aftermath of war, he lost his arm during the Battle of Perryville in Kentucky. Enabled by her father's sacrifice, McKinney applied for membership in Paducah's UDC chapter, eventually serving as its president before attaining notoriety in the national organization as Recording Secretary General and President General. McKinney also served as a chairman of the UDC's Jefferson Davis Monument Committee beginning in 1916, becoming Vice Chairman in 1924.[203]

State division Historical Committees in each organization committed themselves to monitoring and influencing educational curriculum. For example, when Young became the

---

[201] *Proceedings of the Convention for Organization and Adoption of the Constitution of the United Confederate Veterans held in the City of New Orleans, La. June 10th, 1889* (New Orleans: Hopkins Printing Office, 1891), 6, Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/minutesucv17unit/page/7/mode/2up; *Constitution of the United Daughters of the Confederacy*, HathiTrust Digital Library, 2, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nc01.ark:/13960/t6155vs4z&view=1up&seq=1.

[202] "History Department of the U.D.C.," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XXXI, No. 10, Aug. 1923, 380, HathiTrust Digital Library, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=pur1.32754070878974&view=1up&seq=8.

[203] "Mrs. Roy M'Kinney Elected President U.D.C. Unanimously," *Paducah Sun-Democrat*, Nov. 13, 1919, 1; "United Daughters of the Confederacy," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XIX, No. 1, January, 1911, 3, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924057407235&view=1up&seq=9&q1=mckinney; *Minutes of the Nineteenth Annual Convention United Daughters of the Confederacy held in Washington, D. C., Nov. 13-16, 1912*, 1; *Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy Held in Asheville, N.C., November 9-13, 1920* (Jackson: McCowat-Mercer, 1920), 159, HathiTrust Digital Library, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433079013854&view=1up&seq=7; "From the President General," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XXXII, No. 6, June 1924, 276, HathiTrust Digital Library, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=pur1.32754060646506&view=1up&seq=6.

Kentucky UCV division's commander in 1902, he organized its History Committee, charging it with inspecting school textbooks for northern bias.[204] However, women played a larger role in influencing school curricula by pressuring public libraries, schools, boards of education, and state textbook commissions to adopt books that conformed to the Lost Cause.[205]

Daughters donated literature and iconography to schools to familiarize children with notable southern figures and stories. For example, Paducah Daughters planned to place pictures of Robert E. Lee in every school, and the Lexington Chapter influenced their city to name a school after Davis.[206] Also, Charlotte Osborne Woodbury and her father, JDHA Secretary Thomas D. Osborne, donated "42 volumes and pamphlets and newspapers on the Confederacy" to the Louisville Free Public Library.[207]

The UDC also placed particular focus on pressuring educators to adopt textbooks that taught students that secession was constitutional and slavery was benign. As McCrae argues, in the early twentieth century, textbooks "carried disproportionate authority" due to the scarcity of experienced teachers amid the burgeoning of public schools.[208] In 1919, the Kentucky Division of the UDC encouraged educators within the state to adopt Matthew Page Andrews's *History of the United States*, which took a sympathetic view toward slaveholders and blamed corrupt northern politicians for inflating the national debate over slavery.[209]

The UDC played a critical role in introducing American youth to the merits of racial inequality through historical instruction that legitimized white-on-black violence. In his

---

[204] "Col. Young Elected Commander of Kentucky Confederates," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Oct. 24, 1902, 4.
[205] McCrae, 52.
[206] Ibid; *Minutes of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the United Daughters of the Confederacy Held in New Orleans, LA., November 12-15, 1902* (Nashville: Foster & Webb, 1903), 45, HathiTrust Digital Library https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89062335278&view=1up&seq=9.
[207] George T. Settle to Mrs. John L. Woodbury, May 14, 1923, MSS 111, *United Daughters of the Confederacy Collection*, Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, Kentucky.
[208] McCrae, 45.
[209] *Minutes of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy Held in Louisville, KY. April 1-5, 1919,* 449; Matthew Page Andrews, *History of the United States* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1914), 208-212.

conciliatory stance toward Southerners, Andrews characterized the KKK as "patriotic" and nonviolent.[210] The popular author was the nephew of another celebrated southern writer, Thomas Nelson Page, who, historian Aaron Daniel argues, in seeking to vindicate the South, "magnified its virtues and painted over its blemishes." Neo-Confederate writers like Page viewed the task of legitimizing white supremacy as a critical step to redeeming the South's moral reputation.[211]

Through fashioning a historical narrative centered on white southern heroes, corrupt northern politicians, loyal enslaved persons, and overzealous Black politicians, Daughters presented a distorted version of the past to impressionable minds. Further, they used memorials to claim public acceptance of their arguments. For example, under Andrews' suggestion, the UDC erected a memorial to Heyward Shepherd called the "Faithful Slave Monument" in South Carolina.[212] By spotlighting Heyward, a free Black man killed during John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry, Daughters hoped to perpetuate the myth that enslavers treated their human chattel kindly, eliciting loyalty from them.

UDC women also used historical literature and iconography to preserve white antebellum Southerners' views on race by instilling them in people growing up with no experience of slavery, the Civil War, or Reconstruction. For example, one Memphis Daughter argued that the Shepherd monument would counteract anti-Confederate bias in schools by depicting "the story to coming generations that cannot be taught the lesson of self-sacrifice and devotion of the slave in any other way."[213] Through the Heyward monument, Daughters sought to perpetuate the idea

---

[210] Andrews, 338.
[211] Aaron Daniel, *The Unwritten War: American Writers and the Civil War* (Tuscaloosa: University Alabama Press, 2003).
[212] *Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy Incorporated, Held in St. Louis, Mo., November 8-12, 1921* (Jackson: McCowat-Mercer, 1921), 207-208, HathiTrust Digital Library, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uva.x004538551&view=1up&seq=7.
[213] "Monument to Faithful Slaves," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XIII, No. 3, March 1905, 123.

that northern whites were to blame for Black civil rights agitation since enslaved people loved their masters.

As with the dedication for the Hopkinsville Woodward Fountain, UDC women used memorial unveilings to encourage youth to accept the notion of racial inequality. For example, on May 1, 1917, Daughters unveiled a bronze plaque at the Klan's birthplace in Pulaski, Tennessee, in front of an audience of around one thousand, which included students from Martin College and the local high school.[214] Through their veneration of the Klan, southern women hoped to justify white supremacists' struggle against Black progress during Reconstruction and in the present. These icons complimented what Daniels terms "Black invisibility" in southern literature about the Civil War that minimized Blacks' presence in a conflict solely between white men.[215] Through public veneration, the UDC taught children to view the Klan as champions of states' rights, drawing attention away from the victims of white-on-black vigilante violence.

Veterans like Young and Littlefield also supported the production of literature exonerating the South. Young authored several books, his most famous being *Confederate Wizards of the Saddle: Being Reminiscences and Observations of One Who Rode With Morgan* (1914), about his experience in the Confederate cavalry. Toward the end of his life, Young planned to publish a book disputing claims surrounding atrocities in Confederate prison camps.[216] Additionally, Littlefield, a member of the Board of Regents at the University of Texas in Austin, established the Littlefield Fund for Southern History, an $25,000 investment to fund research on the "plain facts" of the South" to stimulate the growth of pro-southern academic scholarship.[217]

---

[214] "Birthplace of the Ku-Klux Klan," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XXV, No.7, July 1917, 335.
[215] Daniel, 333
[216] "The Passing of the Gray," *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. XXVII, No. 3, March 1919, 76.
[217] "Austin Patriot and Philanthropist Makes Princely Donation to Preserve True History of the South," *Austin American-Statesman*, May 10, 1914, 19.

Daughters also promoted the production of southern apologetic literature by funding essay contests among themselves and young people covering just about any aspect of the antebellum South, the Civil War, or Reconstruction. In Kentucky, UDC essay contests encouraged children to engage with pro-Confederate literature to explain states' rights and secession.[218] Western Kentucky Daughters played an active role in this process. For example, in 1906, Mrs. A. J. Casey proposed an essay contest with a first-place prize of twenty-five dollars for children under sixteen about "The Causes that Led to the Civil War."[219] Additionally, McKinney started the Florence Goalder Faris prize in 1917 in honor of her mother, encouraging youth in the Children of the Confederacy to study Kentucky's Orphan Brigade and former UDC Historian General Mildred Lewis Rutherford's pamphlet, "The Civilization of the Old South."[220]

Rutherford, the most famous UDC member, utilized her role as Historian General for the Georgia UDC Division and, later, the national organization as an extension of her educational work as an instructor at the Lucy Cobb Institute, an all-girls school in Athens, to inspire women to spearhead the indoctrination of young people about the Lost Cause. Having authored two textbooks, *American Authors* (1894) and *The South in History and Literature* (1906), she also produced a series of pamphlets. In one pamphlet entitled "Jefferson Davis and Abraham Lincoln," contrasting the historical legacies of Davis and Lincoln to "mothers and teachers," Rutherford characterized Davis as a caring enslaver who "loved" his enslaved people and claimed Lincoln intended to use his Emancipation Proclamation to endanger Southerners. She claimed that "slaveholders were in bondage far greater than the slaves," blaming Lincoln for prematurely liberating enslaved people. Sarah Case asserts that Rutherford stuck to three goals in her literature: "to establish the South's contribution to the United States, to legitimize secession,

[218] Marshall, 161.
[219] "Prize Essay," *Hopkinsville Kentuckian*, April 12, 1906, 5.
[220] "A New Prize Offered," *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. XXVII, No. 6, June 1919, 233.

and to idealize the antebellum plantation." For Rutherford, vindicating the South would simultaneously promote national reconciliation and local control of the color line.[221]

By defending enslavers, Klansmen, and limited government through education and memorials, neo-Confederates supported a segregated society that kept many impoverished Blacks dependent on white paternalism. By 1918, segregation was stridently imprinted on the Kentucky landscape. State legislators passed a series of Jim Crow laws preceding *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) mandating "separate but equal accommodations," such as a separate coach law in 1892, which provoked lawsuits from Hopkinsville Blacks.[222] An 1874 statute segregated public schools and assigned only Black taxpayers' funds toward financing Black education. With the revenue amounting to only fifty cents per Black student in Christian County, state legislation ensured that Blacks would receive an inferior education than whites. By 1884, Christian County Blacks established sixteen schools in log houses and seven in regular buildings. However, none of these early schools provided secondary education, leaving most Blacks living in Hopkinsville with no option but employment in domestic and physical labor.[223]

However, before 1904, private education offered Blacks in the state a chance to pursue higher education. Berea College, a private institution located in the central part of the state, offered integrated classes. However, Kentucky's 1904 Day Law prohibited integration even in private schools. Afterward, Black students in the Commonwealth could not attend graduate-level courses until 1949.[224] Kentucky Blacks' inability to obtain the same education as whites

---

[221] Sarah H. Case, "The Historical Ideology of Mildred Lewis Rutherford: A Confederate Historian's New South Creed," *The Journal of Southern History* 68, no. 3 (2002): 600, 606, 608-609, https://doi.org/10.2307/3070160; Mildred Lewis Rutherford, "Jefferson Davis and Abraham Lincoln," (Athens: UDC, 1916), 2, 12, 35, 45, *KHS Rare Books & Pamphlets*, Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, Kentucky, https://kyhistory.com/digital/collection/RB/id/3980/rec/33.
[222] *Plessy v. Ferguson,* 163 U.S. 537 (1896); *Glazier*, 137-40.
[223] William Henry Perrin, *Counties of Christian and Trigg, Kentucky: Historical and Biographical* (Louisville, F.A. Battey, 1884), Special Collections Research Center, University of Kentucky*,* 157, 252, https://exploreuk.uky.edu/catalog/xt7zs756fb8v; Glazier, 114.
[224] John A. Hardin, *Fifty Years of Segregation : Black Higher Education in Kentucky, 1904-*

reinforced the prevailing notion of inherent racial differences since Blacks were less educated and engaged in occupations mirroring those of enslaved individuals. It also left Blacks in Western Kentucky dependent on the charity and paternalism of local whites.

In Christian and Todd Counties, many Black people faced few options but to take jobs that resembled enslaved labor. Through sharecropping, tenants received subsistence from landowners, keeping the former in a state of dependence. By the second decade of the twentieth century, less than half, around forty-three percent, of Black farmers in Christian and Todd Counties owned their farms.[225] For a myriad of personal reasons, Blacks left the state looking for better opportunities in what locals called an "Exodus" of around one thousand Black "men and boys" from Christian county from 1916 to 1917.[226] Although the percentage of Blacks living in Kentucky fell from about thirteen in 1900 to a little less than ten percent in 1920, during the construction of the Jefferson Davis Monument, Christian and Todd Counties continued to contain very high ratios of Black residents compared with most of the other counties in the state. For example, in 1920, Blacks comprised twenty-five to thirty-seven percent of both counties, while in twenty-six other counties, they made up only twelve to fifteen percent of the population and less than twelve percent in eighty-nine counties in Kentucky.[227]

As Jack Glazier argues, despite Hopkinsville Blacks' unequal educational and economic opportunities, Black community leaders promoted racial uplift by promoting Black initiative and white empathy. Within the context of Jim Crow violence and legalized discrimination, Black

---

1954 (Lexington, Ky: University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 94-5, https://search-ebscohost-com.libsrv.wku.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=938270&site=ehost-live.

[225] Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920 Vol. V* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1921), 188, https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1922/dec/vol-05-agriculture.html.

[226] "The Exodus of Negroes," *Hopkinsville Kentuckian*, March 27, 1917, 1.

[227] Bureau of the Census*, Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920 Vol. III* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1921), 364, 368, https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1922/dec/vol-03-population.html.

people risked backlash for opposing the color line.[228] Their rhetoric aligned with the stance of Booker T. Washington, principal of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in Tuskegee, Alabama, who advocated Black industry, patience, and self-reliance through manual and domestic labor.

During a stop in Hopkinsville during one of his speaking tours through the South, Washington praised the city's race relations. To a crowd of white and Black onlookers, he observed that "here," he saw "probably the very highest type" of his race, which he attributed to the influence of local whites. Washington encouraged Christian County whites to be role models for their fellow Black neighbors and to support Black schools so that they could become "more law abiding" and "industrious." Since Black people fed whites and cared for their children, he argued, whites should help Blacks learn to be "clean, intelligent, and above all things, moral."[229] While Washington genuinely intended to help Blacks, he believed that tempered racial progress through white benevolence provided the most promising path out of Jim Crow. Whites across the South supported Washington's accommodationist tactics. As Glazier argues, "he made no demands on white people that would in any way challenge segregation and the social and racial principles of inequality supporting it."[230]

As Young searched for men to help construct the Jefferson Davis Monument in 1917, the surrounding area's labor pool reflected the environment of systemic inequality in Christian and Todd Counties. While Young preferred white labor, months later, his new workers threatened to strike for better pay. Competitive employment for local whites compelled him to hire unskilled Black workers from Hopkinsville and Pembroke who needed daily transportation to and from the

[228] Glazier, 115, 117-118.
[229] "Negro Orator Made a Hit," *Hopkinsville Kentuckian*, Nov. 25, 1909, 4.
[230] Glazier, 119.

park.[231] Young initially waned optimistic that the Black men were "willing…and want to work."[232] Nevertheless, by September, a few left to take jobs cutting tobacco for local farmers for three dollars a day, one more than Gregg could afford.[233] Young wrote Littlefield that "tobacco cutting is very hard work; that alone saved us any men."[234] However, with higher wages offered by tobacco farmers and World War I mobilization opportunities in Louisville, Young lamented that the "labor system has been thoroughly demoralized."[235]

Writing about the challenges Young faced in constructing the monument, Joy Giguere points out the "historical irony" of using Black labor to build a memorial to a man who died defending slavery.[236] However, the part these Black men played in erecting the Jefferson Davis Monument exemplifies the contemporary environment of systemic inequality in which Confederate apologists planned to fashion a lasting testament to the truth of their historical interpretations. After examining racial relations within the counties of 869 Confederate monuments, Heather O'Connell concludes that Confederate monuments reflect a history of local white privilege more often than civil rights backlash.[237] While the views of the Black laborers constructing the Jefferson Davis Monument are unknown, it is clear that they accepted wages unacceptable to local whites, who had greater educational and employment opportunities in a society stratified by Jim Crow legislation.

However, amid the irony of Black men constructing a monument to Davis, who not only defended slavery but the belief of inherent racial inequality that enslavers used to justify it, proclaiming to his fellow Congressmen in 1860 that Black "inferiority" was "stamped upon that

---

[231] BHY to GWL, May 19, 1917; BHY to GWL, July 27, 1917; BHY to GWL, Aug. 7, 1917; BHY to GWL, Feb. 15, 1917.
[232] BHY to GWL, May 30, 1917.
[233] BHY to GWL, Sept. 6, 1917; "Fairview Notes," *Kentucky New Era* (Hopkinsville), November 30, 1917, 5.
[234] BHY to GWL, Sept. 6, 1917
[235] BHY to GWL, Aug. 7, 1917, UT.
[236] Giguere, 58-9.
[237] Heather A. O'Connell, "More than Rocks and Stone: Confederate Monuments, Memory Movements, and Race," *Social Forces* 100, no. 4 (2022): 1484, 1493, muse.jhu.edu/article/859536.

race by the Creator," some of the men played a critical role in delaying its completion, compounding Young's fear that the monument would never be finished during his lifetime.[238] Throughout 1917 and 1918, Young warned Littlefield that either of the men could die before seeing their mission fulfilled.[239] Adding to his distress, less than one month after fifteen young Black men on parole, ages nineteenth to twenty-one, arrived from the House of Reform at Greendale to work on the monument, some of the men escaped.[240] By September 1918, work on the Jefferson Davis Monument halted, leaving it less than half-finished, at 156 ft. tall.[241] Until then, Young had funded construction incrementally with the JDHA treasury's cash on hand, of which Littlefield's contributions constituted a significant portion. However, after the government seized control of the railroads for the war effort, Young and Gregg eventually ran out of cement.[242]

An unstable labor force and the U.S.'s entry into the war in Europe significantly hampered Young's initial plan to complete the monument during his lifetime. Throughout 1918, Young's difficulty obtaining a consistent labor source, cement, and financial contributions took a toll on his physical and mental health. In March, he admitted to Littlefield that he had "very little peace of mind."[243] Moreover, with the UDC's diverted attention to hospital beds overseas dedicated to Jefferson Davis and just enough dime banks coming in to cover the contractor's expenses, he admitted, "I have begged all that I can beg" and offered to halt construction pending

[238] *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., 1st Sess. 58 (1860), 917.
[239] BHY to GWL, March 15, 1917, UT; BHY to GWL, April 9, 1917, UT; BHY to GWL, Feb. 23, 1918, UT; BHY to GWL, March 2, 1918, UT.
[240] "Reform School Boys Used," *Hopkinsville Kentuckian*, May 2, 1918, 4; Bennett H. Young to John H. Thomas, May 20, 1918, *George Washington Littlefield Papers*, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin.
[241] "Davis Monument Work Stopped; Nonessential," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Sept. 12, 1918, 3.
[242] BHY to GWL, April 29, 1918, UT.
[243] BHY to GWL, March 2, 1918, UT.

Littlefield's consent.[244] After two surgeries, the passing of one of his daughters, and his active involvement in the war effort, Young's tenacity appeared to wane. In May 1918, Leathers privately admitted to Littlefield that Young's "usefulness [is] practically gone."[245]

The Black men laboring on the Jefferson Davis Monument played a crucial part in the monument's history by contributing to construction delays that, along with a lack of material and funds, led Young to consider abandoning his project altogether. However, their mainly unrecognized role in the monument's eventual completion reflects the ways that Confederate apologists utilized pro-Confederate symbols and historical narratives to legitimize contemporary notions about inherent racial inequality forming the basis of legal discrimination that kept Blacks in a system of servitude and dependency on whites. Within the context of Jim Crow, historical literature and memorials produced by whites mirrored their racial privilege. Michel-Rolph Trouillot argues that interpretation of the past takes place during every stage of the historical process through "selective operations." By deciphering which aspects of the past to convey, historical actors and historians contribute to the "retrospective significance" of certain events and figures.[246] Lost Cause supporters promoted historical narratives that reinforced white apathy toward Blacks by glorifying Davis, the Confederacy, and the Klan, casting Blacks, like the men who constructed the Jefferson Davis Monument, into the shadows.

---

[244] "From the President General," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XXVI, No. 1, January 1918, 36, HathiTrust Digital Library, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924057373031&view=1up&seq=8; BHY to GWL, March 28, 1918, UT.
[245] John H. Leathers to George Washington Littlefield, May 6, 1918, *George Washington Littlefield Papers*, Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin.
[246] Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 53, 58.

Chapter 5: "Imperishable Monuments:" Lasting Evidence for Future Generations

Despite the passage of time, the Jefferson Davis Monument in Fairview, Kentucky, continues to evoke the racial politics held and disseminated by Veterans and Daughters at the beginning of the twentieth century. While the ranks of the men in gray and their kin dwindled over time, those who remained labored to perpetuate their ideologies and refashion them for contemporary audiences. This chapter takes a look at how, as the men who played such a critical role in the Jefferson Davis Home Association passed away, the United Daughters of the Confederacy and Sons of Confederate Veterans carried their torches in defining the symbolism of the Jefferson Davis Monument to future generations. Involved in fostering Confederate collective memory since the start of the Lost Cause Movement, this chapter reveals how the fruits of their labors cannot be separated from the legacy of white supremacy.

With each passing year, the number of men and women who lived through the Civil War and Reconstruction dwindled, reflected by attendance at UCV reunions. Fewer and fewer remained who recalled firsthand the sectional tension over the fate of slavery that led to the Civil War. With the war in Europe ended, Young planned to resume construction at Jefferson Davis Memorial Park in the Spring of 1919, but first, he headed South to Florida for some much-needed rest.[247] At the start of his journey, however, he suffered a heart attack. The *Courier-Journal* reported Young's desire to return to the Bluegrass state before his death so he could "bivouac there with my gallant comrades who have gone before."[248] After arriving in Louisville, Young drew his last breath, dying on February 23, 1919, at age seventy-five, with his *magnum opus* in Fairview half-completed.[249]

---

[247] BHY to GWL, Jan. 21, 1919, UT.
[248] *Courier Journal* (Louisville), Feb. 24, 1919, 1.
[249] "Col. Young Seriously Ill," *Leaf-Chronicle* (Clarksville), Feb. 17, 1919, 1; *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Feb. 24, 1919, 1.

Although unfinished, the Fairview obelisk's distinction within its rural surroundings provoked contemplation over its meaning for the present. Reflecting years later on drives past the park as an adolescent, Guthrie native and future three-time Pulitzer Prince winner Robert Penn Warren remembered thinking that the incomplete shaft "was already antiquated." However, he attempted to find "some meaning, however hard to define," from "the relation of past and present, old pain and glory, and new pain and glory." The "blank shaft" Warren gazed at left him asking, "was the tall shaft, now stubbed at the top, what history was?"[250] Months before Young's passing, he clarified the monument's symbolism, responding to a *Life* article questioning why the JDHA wanted to build a monument to a man famous for defending "self-determination for some white people, accompanied by slavery for some Blacks," by claiming that the obelisk was not solely a shrine to Davis but "a monument to the men and women of the South."[251]

Indeed, in the aftermath of Young's death, those who carried his mantle to complete the shaft took inspiration from a man who dedicated so much of his time and energy to the Lost Cause Movement. At the UDC's annual convention at Louisville in April 1919, JDHA Vice President and Commander-in-Chief of the United Confederate Veteran's Army of Northern Virginia Department Julian Shakespeare Carr from North Carolina, eulogized his late friend, claiming that "in the hearts of his people he has a monument that is more enduring than stone or brass." McKinney, as Vice-Chairman of the UDC's Monument to Jefferson Davis at His Birthplace in Kentucky Committee, reported to Daughters that, on her last visit with Young, he

[250] Robert Penn Warren, *Jefferson Davis Gets His Citizenship Back* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1980), 24-5.
[251] "A Monument to the Civil War," *Life* Vol. 72 No. 1875, October 3, 1918, 478, HathiTrust Digital Library, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924069235103&view=1up&seq=7&skin=2021&size=150&q1=jefferson%20davis; "Honor to Whom Honor is Due," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XXVI, No. 12, December 1918, 510-11.

urged her to influence the organization to pass a resolution for each member to contribute twenty-five cents to the JDHA.[252]

The JDHA showed determination to continue Young's work. The following month, the JDHA Board of Directors elected William Birch Haldeman, Orphan Brigade veteran and son of W. N. Haldeman, as Young's successor.[253] Like Young, Haldeman had commanded Kentucky's UCV division. The two men had also been connected in business; Young served on the executive committee of Haldeman's paper, the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, before they and their editor, Henry Watterson, sold it in August 1918.[254] As a prominent Veteran, Louisville businessman, delegate of Kentucky's Democrat party, and former commander of Kentucky's national guard, Haldeman was a well-known figure in the state.[255]

As president, Haldeman conveyed to the public the JDHA's desperate need for funding. Addressing Veterans at their November 1919 reunion in Atlanta, he admitted that the JDHA treasury was bankrupt and still needed to raise $30,000 to finish the shaft. Unlike Young, however, Haldeman wanted to "appeal to the masses" rather than "a few wealthy men" for donations.[256] He looked mainly to the Daughters for their support. Haldeman proposed a resolution designating Thanksgiving 1919 as "Jefferson Davis Memorial Day," encouraging southern women to canvas their communities that day for donations. At the UDC's annual convention in Tampa the following month, he emphasized his faith that Daughters could surpass the "ten thousand," Young had expected from them. Following Haldeman's address, the UDC,

---

[252] "From the President General," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XXVI, No. 12, December 1918, 536.; *Minutes of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy Held in Louisville, KY. April 1-5, 1919*, 375-6.; Julian S. Carr, "Remarks made before the members of the Society of the Daughters of the Confederacy- in convention at Louisville Kentucky- Saturday afternoon, April the 5th, 1919," *Julian Shakespeare Carr Papers,* Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 5.
[253] "Gen. W.B. Haldeman Named Head of Davis Home Association," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), May 7, 1919, 2.
[254] "Mr. Watterson is Made President," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), June 11, 1918, 1; "The Courier-Journal and The Times Change Ownership," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Aug. 7, 1918, 1.
[255] "Haldeman Dies at Downs; Military Rites Tomorrow," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Oct. 28, 1924, 3.
[256]"Report on the Jefferson Davis Memorial," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XXVII, No.11, November 1919, 407-9.

under the direction of President General McKinney, passed a resolution for each Daughter to give twenty-five cents to complete the monument.[257] With high expectations, Haldeman expected to host a dedication ceremony for the Jefferson Davis Monument on June 3, 1920.[258]

As head of the national UDC, McKinney utilized her monthly letters in the *Confederate Veteran* to urge Daughters to fulfill their pledges to fund the monument's construction. Expecting a dedication in June, the UDC Historian General themed her January historical program in honor of Davis.[259] Although June came and went, with progress in Fairview remaining stagnant, Daughters raised an impressive $5,550.12 that year. With Kentucky and Illinois Daughters already fulfilling their per capita pledges, Jackie Daniel Thrash, a Jefferson Davis Monument Committee chairman, projected a June 3, 1921, completion date.[260] In the meantime, with Daughters taking a more active role in the JDHA, Littlefield passed away on November 10, 1920, at seventy-eight years old.[261]

Thanks to the UDC's massive efforts, construction on the monument finally resumed after a four-year standstill. After the JDHA treasury's balance hit $20,000, contractor Gregg's crew began pouring concrete again in May 1922. However, the next month, work halted, with the obelisk extending 216 ft. tall.[262] The JDHA needed $40,000 more to continue their work, $15,000 of which they hoped to obtain from an appropriation from the state legislature. For the remaining cost, Haldeman relied primarily on the UDC, who in 1921 resolved to fund the

---

[257] *Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Convention United Daughters of the Confederacy held in Tampa, Fla., November 11-15, 1919*, (Jackson: McCowat-Mercer, 1920), 215-217, HathiTrust Digital Library, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433079013854&view=1up&seq=7.
[258] *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XXVII, No.11, November 1919, 407-9.
[259] "United Daughters of the Confederacy," *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. XXVIII, No.1, Jan. 1920, 32, 36, HathiTrust Digital Library, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044035882497&view=1up&seq=1.
[260] *Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy Held in Asheville, N.C., November 9-13, 1920*, 159; "From the President General," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XXVIII, No. 10, October 1920, 392.
[261] "George W. Littlefield, Austin Financier-Philanthropist, Dead," *Austin American-Statesman*, Nov. 10, 1920, 1; "Sees Shaft and is Much Delighted," *Kentucky New Era* (Hopkinsville), June 14, 1918, 1.
[262] "Fairview Notes," *Kentucky New Era* (Hopkinsville), May 12, 1922, 3; "Fairview Notes," *Kentucky New Era* (Hopkinsville), June 30, 1922, 4.

monument through their pledges and a new souvenir certificate campaign.[263] In honor of the memorial, the UDC's General Historian dedicated each month of 1923 Children of the Confederacy essay topics to biographical aspects of Davis's life.[264] As time passed, those who played a critical hand in the JDHA died before seeing their project completed. JDHA Treasurer John H. Leathers passed away that June, with two more JDHA board members, Virgil Young Cook and Carr, following shortly afterward.

Back in Fairview, Jefferson Davis Memorial Park continued serving as an event venue for the community. For example, local church women hosted an "ice cream supper and musical," and Gregg hosted two concerts at the park.[265] The site also attracted the attention of the Klan. In December, two men, "unmasked and strangers," found Gregg at the Methodist Church and handed him a $10.25 donation along with a note threatening the "crooked element that a moral clean-up is coming."[266] Afterward, "about fifty klansmen" watched from the ground as a twenty-foot-tall cross burned on top of the monument.[267]

The newspaper's framing of the anonymous Klansmen as a rehabilitative presence in Fairview demonstrates the influence of Lost Cause proponents' framing of the KKK. While various public officials in Kentucky condemned the white supremacist organization because of their reputation for vigilante violence and "racial hatred," in the mid-1920s, the Klan still had sizeable support in the state.[268] For example, a crowd of around fifteen to 20,000 people attended a KKK parade in Henderson featuring floats decorated with schoolhouses to demonstrate the

---

[263] *Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy Incorporated Held in St. Louis, Mo., November 8-12, 1921*, 191, 196.
[264] "Historical Program for Children of the Confederacy, 1923," *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. XXXI, No.1, Jan. 1923, 34.
[265] "Fairview Notes," *Kentucky New Era* (Hopkinsville), June 2, 1922, 4; "Fairview Notes," *Kentucky New Era* (Hopkinsville), June 23, 1922, 2; "Fairview Notes," *Kentucky New Era* (Hopkinsville), June 30, 1922, 4.
[266] Klu Klux Cross is Burned on Top Davis Obelisk: Strangers Leave Warning to 'Crooked Element' of 'Moral Clean-Up,'" *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Dec. 9, 1923, 4.
[267] "Fiery Cross on the Davis Obelisk," *Nashville Banner*, Dec. 9, 1923, 12.
[268] "Mountain Judge Rebukes K.K.K.," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), June 2, 1924, 2.

Klan's concern for children's education.[269] Neo-Confederates also continued to publicly revere the Klan. For example, the *Confederate Veteran* regularly featured full and half-page advertisements of Susan Lawrence Davis's *Authentic History, Ku Klux Klan, 1865-1877*.[270]

Months after Klansmen utilized the unfinished Jefferson Davis Monument to intimidate local Blacks, work on the obelisk started wrapping up. In February 1924, Gregg and his crew in Fairview began pouring the remaining concrete needed to finish the monument in time for a June dedication.[271] In March, the Kentucky General Assembly approved an act appropriating $15,000 to fund construction after vetoing a similar bill in 1922.[272] With Haldeman's influence, the legislature had already passed a bill in 1920 committing the state government to accept ownership of the park once it was completed.[273]

With the financial assistance of the state government and UDC women, the JDHA began preparing to present the obelisk to the public. Gregg and his crew finished laying concrete at the end of May 1924, and Haldeman officially designated the dedication ceremony for June 7, 1924.[274] Although she could not attend, UDC President General Allene Walker Harrold rejoiced in Daughters' success in erecting "imperishable monuments to the noblest ideals of our race." She asserted that the Jefferson Davis Monument offered a "value…incalculable" because it preserved indefinitely "the memory of the men who fought, bled, and died for truth, honor, home, and Anglo-Saxon civilization."[275]

---

[269] "Huge Crowd at Klan Meeting," *Owensboro Messenger*, June 1, 1924, 3.
[270] *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XXXI, No. 11, November 1923, 402.
[271] "Fairview Letter," *Kentucky New Era* (Hopkinsville), Feb. 22, 1924, 2.
[272] "An Act making an appropriation for completing the monument on the Birthplace of Jefferson Davis at Fairview, Ky.," Kentucky. *Acts Passed at the ... Session of the General Assembly for the Commonwealth of Kentucky. : Yr.1922-24*. Kentucky: J. Bradford, printer to the Commonwealth, 1792, 1924, 489-491; "Work is Suspended on Davis Memorial," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), June 29, 1922, 7.
[273] *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), June 29, 1922, 7.
[274] "Concrete Work on Davis Shaft is Completed," *Kentucky New Era* (Hopkinsville), May 30, 1924, 1; "A Message to Comrades in Reunion," *Confederate Veteran* Vol. XXXII, No. 6, June 1924, 203.
[275] "From the President General," *Confederate Veteran* Vol XXXII ,No. 7, July 1924, 276.

Confederate veterans and their kin celebrated the completion of a permanent symbol of the Lost Cause and white superiority. After taking a discounted train ride from the 1924 UCV annual reunion in Memphis, the Hopkinsville *Kentucky New Era* reported that "nearly two hundred veterans, headed by Gen. W. B. Haldeman," arrived in the city for the dedication, where volunteers from Christian and Todd Counties provided them free transportation to Fairview. The paper estimated the crowd that day at 10,000, while a surviving picture of the event reflects a more intimate gathering.[276] It was a "warm…bright…yet comfortable" summer day, with the sound of "Dixie," in the air as Jessica Smith presented a Confederate flag designed by her father, Orren Randolph Smith, to be draped over the top of the obelisk.[277] Another notable guest of the day, Davis's grandson, Major Jefferson Hayes Davis, U.S.A., showed his appreciation to the crowd.[278]

Proceeding over the occasion, Haldeman highlighted the Daughters' crucial contributions to the monument. McKinney gifted two bas-relief bronze plaques designed by Frederick Cleveland Hibbard, one with a figure of Davis and the other with an excerpt from his last public speech, to adorn the room inside the bottom of the shaft. Other notable Daughters, such as Rutherford, then serving as Historian General of the Confederated Southern Memorial Association, witnessed the culmination of their years-long effort to build lasting imagery signifying society's acceptance of the Lost Cause.[279]

The rhetoric of the dedication ceremony exemplified the JDHA's effort to use the Jefferson Davis Monument as a counterpoint to the state's Unionist heritage. After the flag ceremony, JDHA Director Robert J. McBryde took the stand. Unlike Osborne and John. A.

---

[276] "Gigantic Obelisk Climax Monument Building in World," *Kentucky New Era* (Hopkinsville), June 13, 1924, 4; "History of the Jefferson Davis Monument," interpretive panel at Jefferson Davis State Monument Historic Site.
[277] *Kentucky New Era* (Hopkinsville), June 13, 1924, 4.
[278] "10,000 Attend Dedication of Davis Obelisk," *Evansville Courier and Press*, June 8, 1924, 1.
[279] "Shaft Rears into Sky for Jefferson Davis," *Commercial Appeal* (Memphis), June 8, 1924, 15.

Webb, the only two JDHA executive board members during Young's leadership surviving, McBryde served during the First World War, not the 1861 to 1865 conflict.[280] He officially handed over the monument to Governor William Jason Fields, who accepted the Jefferson Davis Memorial Park on behalf of the state of Kentucky, depicting the completion of memorials to both Lincoln and Davis in the state's recent past as a sign of fraternal reunion.[281]

Finally, Dunbar Rowland, director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History and editor of *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist: His Letters Papers, and Speeches* (1923), provided the primary address of the day, demonstrating that within the context of national reconciliation, Southerners, like Davis, did not need to surrender their political views. He lauded Davis as a "gallant soldier, a profound philosophical statesman and an accomplished scholar and author." Moreover, he praised Davis's steadfastness to his political worldviews, having never disavowed his belief in the righteousness of the Southern cause. Yet, Rowland argued, if Davis had abandoned his convictions, "the verdict of history would have justly and rightly condemned him."[282]

Two other dedication ceremonies, one for a replica of Davis's first home in October 1924 and the other for an elevator inside the shaft in May 1929, brought the Jefferson Davis monument into newspaper headlines again. At the latter event, two grandsons of Union veterans attended as special guests and speakers. One of the men, Lieutenant Governor James Breathitt of Hopkinsville, saluted Davis as "a great statesman," who strived to conciliate the North and South. The other speaker, State Pardon Commissioner J. L. Hughlett, commended Southerners for having such a president as Davis. Only six Confederate veterans made it to the ceremony that

[280] "Jefferson Davis Monument Exercises at Fairview, Ky., Saturday, June 7," Jefferson Davis Monument dedication ceremony invitation, scrapbook 1898-1924, folder 2, box 30, MSS 111, *United Daughters of the Confederacy Collection*, Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, Kentucky.
[281] "Shaft Dedicated as Monument to Jefferson Davis," *Lexington Herald-Leader*, June 8, 1924, 18.
[282] *Commercial Appeal* (Memphis), June 8, 1924, 15.

day, sixty-four years after Appomattox, one being too weak to stand during the flag-raising. Mirroring the 1924 ceremony's rhetoric about Confederates' patriotism, both U.S. and Confederate flags adorned the monument, which provided a powerful display of national unity for the three hundred children attending from Christian and Todd Counties, some of whom performed the tunes "My Old Kentucky Home" and "America" for the crowd.[283]

Throughout the twentieth century, local newspapers mentioned the Fairview monument here and there, usually around Confederate Memorial Day or Jefferson Davis Day, which became official state holidays in 1932 and 1948, respectively.[284] Confederate holiday celebrations at the park included Miss Confederacy pageants, food and craft vendors, picnics, and Civil War reenactments. Meanwhile, the Jefferson Davis Highway drew modest numbers of tourists to the Jefferson Davis obelisk through an auxiliary route connecting it with Beauvoir, Davis's last home, in Biloxi, Mississippi. Nearby, Elkton's Jefferson Davis Hotel and Hopkinsville's Confederate Fountain and Latham Monument provided visitors with additional Confederate-themed attractions.

Events in the late seventies temporarily renewed attention toward the Jefferson Davis Monument. Two years after the Kentucky House of Representatives finally ratified the Reconstruction Amendments, eighteen Klansmen held a ceremony at the monument on Confederate Memorial Day in June 1978, handing out applications to onlookers. Unlike the 1923 cross-burning, a sizable police presence, accompanied by a small group of amused observers, watched the robed men unveil a Confederate flag composed of flowers. Afterward, the men planned to watch *Birth of a Nation* privately instead of setting any crosses ablaze.[285]

---

[283] "Jefferson Davis Memorial Shaft Elevator is Dedicated," *Franklin Favorite*, May 9, 1929, 1.
[284] "Confederate Holidays have been in state law for nearly 100 years, this bill would change that," *Messenger-Inquirer* (Owensboro), Jan. 22, 2020, B3.
[285] "KKK Lauds Jefferson Davis at Rally Near Hopkinsville," *Lexington Herald-Leader*, June 4, 1978, 27.

That October, President Jimmy Carter signed a bill posthumously restoring Davis's citizenship rights, citing the ex-Confederate president's tenure as a statesman before the Civil War as justification. Amid existing contention over the bill, Carter framed it as a progressive step toward putting to "rest the divisions that threatened to destroy our Nation."[286] However, Carter's symbolic act failed to quash the long-standing debate over the connotations of Confederate imagery. Even though the SCV and UDC distanced themselves from openly condoning white supremacy during the latter half of the twentieth century, various individuals continued to view Confederate iconography as symbols of white power.

In the nineties, the Klan utilized an ongoing debate about Confederate symbolism to recruit new members in Todd County. In 1993, Kentucky's NAACP began to pressure schools in the Commonwealth to remove Confederate imagery. Todd County Central High School, one of eight Kentucky schools at the time associated with the name "rebel," had Confederate art in its gym and foyer and on the school's flag, stationery, and uniforms.[287] The context in which the school, the first integrated school in one of the five last Kentucky school districts still segregated after *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) mandated school integration, reveals an impetus among local whites to preserve segregation. In 1963, the school's white students chose a Confederate soldier as their mascot amid local whites' apprehension about integration.[288] Meanwhile, Christian and Todd were two out of only five counties in Kentucky where 1968

[286] Jimmy Carter, "Restoration of Citizenship Rights to Jefferson F. Davis Statement on Signing S.J. Res. 16 into Law," October 17, 1978, *American Presidency Project*, University of California Santa Barbara, https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/restoration-citizenship-rights-jefferson-f-davis-statement-signing-s-j-res-16-into-law.
[287] "Rebel Rebellion," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Sept. 11, 1993, 1; "Flag Controversy divides Todd County," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Jan. 29, 1995, 2.
[288] *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Jan. 29, 1995, 1; "State Schools Told to Continue Daily Bible Reading, Prayers," *Lexington Herald*, June 27, 1963, 1; "2 Schools In Kentucky Integrated," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Sept. 5, 1963, 4.

presidential candidate George Wallace, who famously declared, "segregation now…segregation tomorrow…and segregation forever," won majorities.[289]

Blacks recognized the connections between persisting racial inequality and Confederate symbols. In response to Kentucky's NAACP President William Cofield's call for Todd County Central to remove its mascot, the school began to make incremental changes, such as ordering new uniforms and painting over the Confederate mural on the gym floor.[290] Yet, while the school modestly toned down its Confederate iconography, the murder of one of its graduates, Michael Westerman, in January 1995 inflamed the existing local debate over the racial implications of Confederate images.

On Martin Luther King Day in 1995, white nineteen-year-old Michael Westerman died after being shot the day before by a Black eighteen-year-old named Freddie Morrow on a road near the Kentucky/Tennessee border. Both Guthrie residents, Morrow claimed that he shot Westerman because he shook a Confederate flag and shouted racist remarks.[291] Because Morrow pointed to the southern flag hanging in the back of Westerman's truck as his motive, the issue of Todd County Central's Confederate imagery again entered the spotlight.

However, the school's decision to change its mascot and flag provoked angry parents and provoked white supremacist backlash. A local nurse, Frances Chapman, organized a petition with 3,000 signatures against the school's actions.[292] In the weeks following the murder, Klan members belonging to an organization called the Realm of Kentucky handed out pamphlets in

[289] "1968 Presidential General Election Results- Kentucky," *Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections,* accessed November 1, 2023*,* https://uselectionatlas.org; "Mansion Left in Top Shape for Wallace," *Alabama Journal* (Montgomery), Jan. 14, 1963, 24.
[290] *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Jan. 29, 1995, 2.
[291] *State v. Morrow Darden*, C.C.A. No. 01C01-9612-CC-00512 (Tenn. Crim. App. Dec. 22, 1998).
[292] "Crowd Speaks Up for Rebel Mascot," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Feb. 10, 1995, 14.

Elkton and Guthrie, calling Morrow and the three Black teenagers with him when he shot Westerman "the enemies of our people and the enemies of our once great nation."[293]

White hate groups' response to the shooting reflects the ways that both whites and Blacks perceive Confederate imagery as condoning racism. Chapman and SCV members who arrived in Todd County to support the Westerman family publicly condemned the Klan and reiterated their claim that the Confederate flag had nothing to do with racism.[294] However, civil rights activists in the state continued their push for the school to drop its rebel mascot, claiming that it was inappropriate for schools to display the Confederate flag in light of its ties to slavery.[295] While the school board initially rejected pleas to change its mascot, the Kentucky State Board of Education urged schools to abandon Confederate symbols that stirred racial animosity.[296] Today, Todd County Central retains its "Rebels" team name but no longer showcases Confederate imagery.

Confederate symbols showered Westerman's memorial service at the cemetery in Guthrie. Michael became a martyr for those defending southern symbols. Memorial attendees laid a Confederate flag, reading, "Michael David Westerman-1975-1995-Martyr" over his grave, and Civil War reenactors fired muskets in a salute to their fallen hero. After the service, attendees drove to the Jefferson Davis Monument for a rally while Klan members stood by the road, inviting onlookers to join their organization. At Fairview, another white hate group defending Americans with European ancestry handed out literature amid the sound of rebel yells in a sea of waving Confederate flags. Meanwhile, though SCV members and the Westerman

[293] "Klan Support for Mascot is Not Welcomed in Todd," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Feb. 1, 1995, 8.
[294] Ibid.
[295] "Group Seeks to Remove Todd Schools' Symbols," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), June 23, 1995, 6.
[296] "State Panel Urges End to Mascots that Offend," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Aug. 10, 1995, 1.

family distanced themselves from the hate groups, they admitted to a local newspaper that they couldn't prevent them from attending.[297]

The following year, white supremacists again returned to the monument. Two weeks after a peaceful but heavily patrolled counter-protest in Louisville between KKK and civil rights activists, another memorial to Westerman took place at Jefferson Davis Park.[298] The Conservative Citizens Foundation, which the watchdog Southern Poverty Law Center identifies as a contemporary version of the White Citizens Councils that formed in retaliation against mandatory school integration following *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), published a speech Samuel Francis gave at the monument. In his address, Francis framed Westerman's death as a sign of an impending race war between whites and America's rapidly increasing minority population.[299]

While Francis's rhetoric echoes that of other modern hate groups, his reaction to Westerman's death illustrates the connections between contemporary debates over Confederate iconography and racial prejudice. Confederate veterans and their kin utilized memorials as part of their broader effort to preserve whites' privilege. While many people defending Confederate iconography claim that it does not promote racism, the people who played a direct part in erecting Confederate memorials and fashioning narratives condoning racial inequality during the heyday of the Lost Cause Movement at the turn of the twentieth century made their support of white supremacy clear. Later in the century, members of hate groups seized the Jefferson Davis Monument's symbolism to promote white superiority, exposing how the Veterans' and Daughters' worldviews live on through "imperishable monuments."

---

[297] "Rally Touching for the Family of Slaying Victim," *Kentucky New Era* (Hopkinsville), March 4, 1995, 10-11.
[298] "Speech and Safety," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), April 16, 1996, 6.
[299] Samuel Francis, Speech Delivered at Jefferson Davis Monument in Fairview, Kentucky, April 27, 1996, freeservers, http://arcofcc.freeservers.com/Documents/westerman.html; "Council of Conservative Citizens," *Southern Poverty Law Center*, accessed June 29, 2023, https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/council-conservative-citizens.

Chapter 6: "The Past is Dead:" Finding Meanings for the Present

Along the stone-walled entrance of the Jefferson Davis State Historic Site sits a marker designating the "Zero Milestone" of the Jefferson Davis Highway, placed there by the United Daughters of the Confederacy in 1930. It describes Davis as a "Patriot, Soldier, Statesman, Christian," mirroring the Jefferson Davis Home Association's efforts to prop up Davis's identity and justify building a 351 ft. tall obelisk in a state that never seceded.[300] In the park's modern museum, visitors receive a lesson about Davis commensurate with the Jefferson Davis Home Association's and UDC's framing of Davis. According to the Kentucky State Parks website, the museum allows visitors to learn about lesser-known aspects of Jefferson Davis's life, asserting that while "Davis may be best known for his service as President of the Confederacy during the Civil War…the popular West Point graduate also had a distinguished military career before serving as a congressman and senator."[301] And so, the museum presents a complimentary instruction about Davis while ignoring the Black individuals who labored for his family in Fairview and how his personal experience with slavery affected his historical legacy. Furthermore, the site's general silence on race perpetuates the Lost Cause by ignoring local Blacks' perspectives and experiences.

A recent string of white supremacist violence and police brutality toward Blacks has helped bring Confederate memorials into the spotlight, leading activist groups to pressure state governments to remove symbols they perceive as condoning racism. In Kentucky, a debate surfaced in 2015 over whether a Jefferson Davis statue in the State Capitol Rotunda provided official sanctioning for the Lost Cause. While officials ultimately decided to remove the Davis statue and relocate it to the Jefferson Davis State Historic Site, the Fairview museum continues

[300] "Zero Milestone: Jefferson Davis Highway," Jefferson Davis State Historic Site, Fairview Kentucky.
[301] "Jefferson Davis State Historic Site," Kentucky State Parks, accessed October 18, 2023, https://parks.ky.gov/fairview/parks/historic/jefferson-davis-state-historic-site.

to mirror the historical narratives that the UDC and other Lost Cause proponents disseminated that legitimized racial discrimination by exalting those who defended it and trivializing Blacks' struggle for equal citizenship. Thus, this chapter examines the ways the museum's current narratives promote Lost Cause ideology by exalting Davis, the Confederacy, and identity politics, arguing that it does not meet the academic standards necessary to make Fairview an appropriate location for another idol to Jefferson Davis.

An assessment of the JDSHS museum's current narratives illustrates how, rather than provoking critical analysis about Davis's legacy, like the obelisk outside its doors, it encourages visitors to venerate Davis. Near the museum entrance, a laminated printout greets guests with an excerpt from a speech Davis gave the year before his death at the 1888 Mississippi Congressional Convention, encouraging those in attendance to retire their sectional animosities. Matching an inscription on the bas-relief bronze plaque inside the monument chamber, it reads, "The past is dead; let it bury its dead."[302] Echoing Davis, the museum urges visitors to set aside their partisanships before receiving a complimentary lesson about his life outside his role as leader of the Confederate States of America.

Thus, the JDSHS's narrative, focusing on Davis's political career before 1861, begins with a series of interpretive panels entitled "Highlights of a Distinguished Career." Introducing the series is a panel that lists Davis's military, political, and literary accomplishments. For example, it attributes him with the ideas of building a transcontinental railroad and purchasing Cuba along with authoring *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government.* Following this panel, visitors learn of Davis's education at Transylvania University, his army career after graduating from West Point, election to the U.S. House of Representatives, service in the Mexican-American War, election to the Senate, appointment as Secretary of War in President

[302] "Jeff Davis' Last Speech," *Los Angeles Herald*, July 20, 1898, 8; laminated paper and plaque at Jefferson Davis State Historic Site, Fairview, Kentucky.

Franklin Pierce's cabinet, and then his final return to the Senate before resigning on January 21, 1861.[303]

Mirroring the UDC's highway marker outside, the museum focuses on Davis's role as a "Patriot, Soldier," and "Statesman." However, the most significant political issue during Davis's political career, slavery, receives scant recognition in the interpretive panels. For example, the museum does not address Davis's adamant rejection of the Wilmot Proviso, which threatened to prohibit slavery in the territories the U.S. acquired after the Mexican-American War. Interpreting the proposal as an attack on the South, in 1850, Davis voiced his disdain in the Senate against Northerners' "insults heaped upon our institutions," which he claimed drove his section to "the point of civil war."[304]

The museum mentions the debate over slavery only once when discussing Davis's political career. It asserts that debate over the institution "had the greatest effect" on him during his time in Pierce's Cabinet.[305] However, the panels do not inform visitors how uncertainty over the fate of slavery led to Davis's resignation from the Senate in 1861 when he reminded his fellow senators that the nation's founding document did not proscribe enslaved peoples' "equality with white men."[306] Afterward, the museum's sole interpretive panel discussing Davis's leadership of the Confederate States of America does not mention slavery at all, only recognizing that the Emancipation Proclamation "changed the war and American history."[307]

While the museum primarily focuses on Davis's life outside the Confederacy, Confederate symbolism abounds in the museum and gift shop. Visitors' instruction on Davis's

---

[303] "Highlights of a Distinguished Career," "Army Career," "War Politics," "Senator Davis," and "Secretary of War," Museum Exhibits, Jefferson Davis State Historic Site, Fairview, Kentucky.
[304] Jefferson Davis, "Speech in U.S. Senate," January 10, 1850, in William Cooper Jr., Ed., *Jefferson Davis: The Essential Writings* (New York: Modern Library, 2003), 75-76.
[305] "Secretary of War."
[306] Jefferson Davis, "Speech in U.S. Senate (Farewell Address," January 21, 1861, in William Cooper Jr., Ed., *Jefferson Davis: The Essential Writings,* 193.
[307] "Civil War," Museum Exhibit, Jefferson Davis State Historic Site, Fairview, Kentucky.

life is frequently interrupted by Confederate memorabilia, such as a procession of Confederate flags lining the museum's back wall and a display containing a replication of a Confederate veteran's uniform. Some of the iconography in the gift shop includes a picture on the wall portraying Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson praying in church and a painting of Confederate General and first KKK leader Nathan Bedford Forrest. While the museum offers evidence of local Confederate memory with a panel discussing the Orphan Brigade, the amount of Confederate imagery throughout the museum contrasts starkly with its lack of discussion about Davis's legacy as president of the Confederacy. Consequently, the site simultaneously minimizes Davis's Confederate legacy while inflating the local area's Confederate heritage.

Like all museums, the Jefferson Davis Historic Site's museum is selective when choosing which aspects of history to highlight to the public. However, the museum's current displays fail to meet the AHA's Standards for Museum Exhibits Dealing with Historical Subjects. The AHA standards require that "exhibits should be grounded in scholarship, marked by intellectual integrity," and reflect "the diversity within communities and constituencies that they serve."[308] While this study reveals that whites in the local area resented Confederate and Union occupation, the museum compliments the obelisk's impression that the community served as a bastion of the Southern cause. As the Jefferson Davis Monument's creators' intended, the JDSHS amplifies the local area's devotion to the Southern cause despite the significant presence of Black residents in Todd County and Christian County during and after the Civil War.

In addition to obscuring the perspectives of local white Unionists and Blacks, the museum remains silent about the enslaved people who labored for the Davis family during their time in Fairview. For example, the sole interpretive panel discussing the Davis family's time in

[308] "Standards for Museum Exhibits Dealing with Historical Subjects (updated 2017)," *American Historical Association*, January 5, 2017, https://www.historians.org/jobs-and-professional-development/statements-standards-and-guidelines-of-the-discipline/standards-for-museum-exhibits-dealing-with-historical-subjects.

the town informs visitors that "Samuel Davis raised tobacco and thoroughbred horses," without mentioning the enslaved laborers who worked for him.[309] Tax records reveal that Jefferson's father Samuel owned two enslaved adults when he first moved to Christian County around the year 1800 and four enslaved adults by the time he moved to Louisiana around 1809 before pressing on to Mississippi.[310] However, the museum is silent about these individuals and how they transformed the land on which the JDSHS now sits. While historians know few details about the enslaved people who lived with the Davis family in Kentucky, they contributed to their subsistence and Samuel's ability to provide for his family and eventually relocate them further south.

Despite the museum's silence on slavery, records exist about the enslaved people owned by Samuel. One of these individuals was "Winny." She was given to him during his time in Georgia as a form of payment in a real estate transaction with Stephen Gafford.[311] Before accompanying the Davis family to Kentucky, Winny was an active member of Phillip's Mill Baptist Church, then an integrated congregation in Wilkes County, Georgia. Listed as a member of the church at the time of its founding in 1785 as "Gafford's Winny," on September 10, 1791, she was "dismissed by letter" as "Sam'l Davis' negro woman," which means that she left the church in good standing.[312]

In addition to the museum's silence on Winny, it does not discuss how Samuel Davis utilized the profits he accumulated from enslaved labor to provide a better life for his son Jefferson. The profits they earned Samuel enabled him to relocate his family and, afterward, send

[309] "Family Background," Museum Exhibit, Jefferson Davis State Historic Site, Fairview, Kentucky.
[310] Simmons, 4; A. B. Willhite, 5.
[311] Walter L. Fleming, "The Early Life of Jefferson Davis," In *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association 1915-1916* Vol. IX, Part 1, edited by Solon J. Buck (Cedar Rapids: Torch Press, 1917), 154.
[312] Jimmie Tucker Franklin, *Phillip's Mill Baptist Church Wilkes County, Georgia, 1785-1850* (Meridian: Lauderdale County Department of Archives and History, Inc., 1995), 3, 4, 7, 16, http://www.lauderdalecountymsarchives.org/uploads/2/6/2/1/2621480/303_phillps_mill_baptist_church.pdf.

Jefferson to St. Thomas College, a boarding school in Washington County, Kentucky, allowing him to obtain an education superior to that available in rural antebellum Mississippi.[313] However, the museum ignores Samuel's ownership of enslaved people. Instead of recognizing his drive to join the pool of wealthy cotton enslavers in the Deep South, the museum asserts that Samuel moved his family south because he "heard of the riches being made by cotton farmers."[314]

Along with the narratives about Samuel, the museum refrains from identifying Jefferson Davis as an enslaver. Instead, it contends that he became a "cotton planter" with the help of his brother, Joseph Davis.[315] Although Samuel Davis never enjoyed substantial financial prosperity, his son Joseph, a wealthy lawyer, purchased his father's property in 1822 and helped finance Jefferson's return to Kentucky to attend Transylvania University in Lexington. Later, Joseph, who became Jefferson's father figure and mentor after Samuel died in 1824, utilized his political influence to get Jefferson into West Point military academy. Eventually, Joseph set Jefferson up with a 900-acre cotton plantation named Brierfield, next to his 5,000-acre plantation called Hurricane, situated along a peninsula on the Mississippi River called Davis Bend near Vicksburg, Mississippi.[316]

Jefferson's ownership of enslaved people shaped the trajectory of his historical legacy. With Joseph's assistance, Jefferson became one of the wealthiest enslavers in antebellum Mississippi. As both Joseph and Jefferson reaped enormous profits from their cotton plantations, they acquired more and more enslaved people. For example, Jefferson owned only one enslaved man, James Pemberton, in 1835. However, by 1860, he had 113 enslaved laborers at Brierfield.[317] Meanwhile, at the start of the Civil War, Joseph owned 345 enslaved people at

[313] Cooper, 16-17.
[314] "Family Background."
[315] "Marriages, " Museum Exhibits, Jefferson Davis State Historic Site, Fairview, Kentucky.
[316] Ibid., 23-25, 30, 79, 82.
[317] Ibid., 246, 248.

Hurricane, which by then had grown to 1,700 acres.[318] Joseph's success as an enslaver allowed him to assist his younger brother in obtaining the financial and social capital to launch his political career. Jefferson's success as an enslaver meant a great deal to him. As one Davis biographer argues, the former Confederate president openly defended "the institution he had known since childhood and that provided the foundation for his and Joseph's prosperity and way of life."[319]

Rather than exploring slavery's role in Jefferson Davis's life, the museum at the Jefferson Davis State Historic Site in Fairview focuses on Davis's accomplishments outside his tenure as the sole Confederate president. Even so, Davis openly discussed the benefits of slavery. Davis proudly defended the peculiar institution, highlighting how racial stratification benefited all southern whites. In one speech he gave in Aberdeen, Mississippi, in 1851, he declared that slavery elevated white men's status in society "because the distinction between the classes throughout the slaveholding states, is a distinction of color."[320] Davis justified his support of slavery his entire life, spearheading the Lost Cause Movement by refusing to recant his faith in the righteousness of the Southern cause, which, before secession, he identified as slavery, the backbone of the South's economic and social institutions.

By not acknowledging the existence of enslaved laborers at Samuel Davis's property, Davis's views on the institution, or his role as an enslaver, the museum misses an opportunity to provoke critical analysis from visitors about Davis's historical legacy. Additionally, through an absence of discussion about the ideologies of the Confederate veterans and their kin who helped create the Jefferson Davis Monument, the museum perpetuates the Lost Cause symbolism these men and women sought to embed in the Kentucky landscape. Additionally, instead of examining

---

[318] Janet Sharp Hermann, *Joseph E. Davis: Pioneer Patriarch* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1990), 54.
[319] Cooper, 188.
[320] " For the Monroe Democrat, Aberdeen, Miss., May 29, 1851," *Monroe Democrat* (Aberdeen, Mississippi), June 4, 1851, 4.

how the JDHA and UDC envisioned the Jefferson Davis Monument as part of a broader indoctrination scheme, the on-site museum's sole interpretive panel concerning the site's creation states that its founders intended to "honor" Davis.[321] Indeed, by highlighting the more favorable parts of Davis's life, his service to the United States, and overlooking his connections to white supremacy, the museum continues to glorify him. While the monument's soaring height reflects its creators' desire to leave a powerful imprint on the physical landscape, the museum allows the site's curators to clarify the shaft's meaning for the present. Thus, it fails to explain why an isolated rural community in a state that never seceded is home to the third tallest obelisk still standing in the U.S.

Recent events surrounding the monument make this task even more critical. In the aftermath of a mass shooting on June 17, 2015, in which nine African Americans attending a Bible study at Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina, were fatally shot down by a twenty-one-year-old neo-Confederate, Kentucky Governor Steve Beshear called on Kentucky's Historic Properties Advisory Commission (HPAC) to determine whether to remove a fifteen feet marble statue of Jefferson Davis, erected by the UDC in 1936, from the company of the figures of five other notable Kentuckians, including Abraham Lincoln and Henry Clay, standing in the rotunda of the State Capitol building. On the statue's base, a plaque described Davis as a "Patriot-Hero-Statesman."[322]

Instead of removing the statue, the state government decided to provide context about Davis in the rotunda building. After considering public comments, which demonstrated that only a modest majority of Kentuckians polled, 1,800, were in favor of leaving the statue where it stood, while 1,225 wanted it removed, the all-white Commission voted seven to two not to

[321] "History of the Jefferson Davis Monument," Museum Exhibit, Jefferson Davis Historic Site and Museum, Fairview, Kentucky.
[322] "Jefferson Davis Statue Will Remain in Capitol," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Aug. 6, 2015, A2.

remove the statue.[323] Two years later, the Kentucky HPAC assembled a Rotunda Committee with the executive directors of the Kentucky Heritage Council and Kentucky Historical Society, African and African American Studies Professor from Western Kentucky University John Hardin, and JDSHS Park Manager Ron Sydnor.[324]

In Fairview, Syndor, a Black man, tried to steer the JDSHS's message toward racial inclusivity. Appointed by Kentucky's Department of Parks in 2010, he implemented historical programs about Black History Month, the Cherokee Nation, the 12th United States Colored Heavy Artillery Regiment, and a Black women's organization called FREED.[325] However, Snydor did not see Confederate pride as an overt sign of racism. In a 2021 interview, Sydnor rejected the assertion that the Confederate flag stood for white supremacy. Nevertheless, he recognized the "fear factor" at work when Black individuals witness Confederate flags flying out of truck beds or adorning license plates, beckoning the question, "what do they think it means?"[326] Furthermore, Sydnor asserted, "Davis lived and died believing in slavery," adding that if the South had won the Civil War, "I would have seen slavery in my time."[327]

Despite efforts to make the JDSHS more inclusive, however, the museum's Lost Cause symbolism persisted. Between 2017 and 2018, historian Patrick A. Lewis cooperated with a team tasked by the state with improving the historical integrity of the museum's exhibits. Lewis and his team removed what he terms "rebel flag kitsch," expanded the book selection in the museum's gift shop, and added a display about the Blue & Gray State Park, in between

---

[323] Ibid.
[324] "Now, Work Begins on Rest of Story About Jeff Davis' Capitol Statue," *Lexington Herald-Leader*, July 21, 2017, A8.
[325] "Sydnor to Retire as Park Manager of Jefferson Davis," *Kentucky New Era* (Hopkinsville), July 26, 2017; Ron Sydnor, interview with Ariel Lavery and Austin Carter, Middle of Nowhere, podcast transcript, "Black Overseer of Confederate Monument," Oct. 15, 2021, https://www.middleofeverywherepod.org/black-overseer-of-confederate-monument.
[326] "Black Overseer of Confederate Monument."
[327] "Removal of Davis statue shows change is possible," *Kentucky New Era* (Hopkinsville), June 19, 2020, A5; "Black Overseer of Confederate Monument."

Hodgenville and Fairview, which, during its brief existence from 1929 to 1933, celebrated Kentucky's divided Civil War heritage. However, the overall success of their project was doomed at the start because, as Lewis states, it "was an unfunded mandate." Because the state never provided Lewis's team adequate funding, interpretive panels they composed discussing Samuel Davis and his son Jefferson as enslavers, the impact Davis's views on slavery played in his decision to follow his state, Mississippi, out of the Union, and Davis's role in shaping the Lost Cause Movement through *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (1881) never made it to the museum. And so, the museum missed the opportunity to set the record straight on the significance of slavery in Jefferson Davis's life. Had the museum incorporated Lewis and his team's interpretive panels, it would have allowed visitors to learn how Davis's experience with slavery since his early years helped shape his steadfast views about the Southern cause.[328]

By avoiding discussion of Davis's controversial legacy, the museum seems to project the appearance of neutrality amid ongoing discourse about whether Confederate memorials promote racist ideologies. However, responding to the 2017 violence in Charlottesville, Virginia, where a former Kentucky high school student drove his car into a crowd of people counter-protesting a white supremacist "Unite the Right Rally" against the removal of a statue of Robert E. Lee, killing one woman and injuring thirty-five others, the Kentucky Historical Society declared that "history is not neutral," and that historical educators are responsible for "equip[ping] citizens to better evaluate" historical arguments.[329] Amid the potential for debates over the removal of Confederate monuments to provoke violence from white supremacists, it is clear that Confederate monuments still elicit meaning that individuals appropriate for the present.

---

[328] Patrick A. Lewis, interview with Lori Latham, Dec. 8, 2021, 8:20, 17:08, Zoom recording audio; "Blue & Gray State Park," Museum exhibit, Jefferson Davis State Historic Site, Fairview, Kentucky; Patrick A. Lewis et al., "Jefferson Davis State Historic Site Interpretative Background Document DRAFT April 20, 2018," unpublished, 6-11.

[329] "History is a High Stakes Profession," *Kentucky Historical Society*, accessed October 18, 2023, https://history.ky.gov/news/history-is-a-high-stakes-profession.

Following the violence in Charlottesville, many of the nation's leading historians weighed in on the debate over Confederate memorialization. About a week after then-President Donald Trump refused to condemn alt-right groups' role in the violence, the American Historical Association (AHA) released a statement clarifying the organization's stance on the removal of Confederate symbols, emphasizing that these objects are not history themselves, but signal "a moment in the past when a public or private decision defined who would be honored in a community's public spaces." Furthermore, the AHA asserted, those who erected the monuments did not consult local Black residents to garner their approval for memorialization projects.[330]

Historians of southern history also weighed in on how Confederate monuments evoke a false homogenous southern identity. Karen Cox, Professor of History at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, pointed out that Southerners are a diverse group of individuals possessing distinct ethnicities and holding various political and religious beliefs spread across a vast geographical region. She contends that, in contrast to the temporal context in which most Confederate memorials were erected, when they "were celebrated by the entire white community," today, "many contemporary Southerners find themselves at odds with that heritage."[331] In Fairview, the Jefferson Davis Monument obscures the conflicting perspectives of individuals in the local area and state who identified as Southerners yet did not share the political ideologies of the monument's creators.

Other historians emphasize the AHA's point that Confederate memorials do not constitute history. In an amicus brief supporting the removal of a bronze equestrian statue of Robert E. Lee from Monument Avenue in Richmond, Virginia, Professor of History at Yale

[330] AHA Council, "Statement on Confederate Monuments," *American Historical Association*, August 28, 2017, https://www.historians.org/news-and-advocacy/everything-has-a-history/historians-on-the-confederate-monument-debate.
[331] "Historians: 'Defending history' is complicated in the US," *CNN*, Aug. 19, 2017, https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/19/opinions/historians-confederate-statues-opinion-roundup/index.html.

David W. Blight described the turning point in Confederate memorialization efforts at the turn-of-the-century when celebrations of Confederate military figures reflected Lost Cause proponents' "historical revision campaign" which depicted the re-establishment of southern Redeemers' ousting of Black Reconstruction Era politicians as the South's ultimate victory despite military defeat in the conflict. Blight contextualized the monument's dedication within contemporary efforts to highlight the South's military prowess while minimizing Southerners' defense of slavery. He argued that Lost Cause advocates idealized many aspects of the Old South, including the racial order, to defend the continuing subjugation of Blacks within the contemporary context of Jim Crow segregation. All the while, however, Blacks recognized southern whites' efforts to obscure the actual cause of the war: slavery.[332]

In addition to events in Charlottesville, news of the killing of Breonna Taylor in Louisville on March 13, 2020, and white and Black Kentuckians' participation in Black Lives Matter protests following the murder of George Floyd on May 25, 2020, brought the issue of racial violence too close to home for many Kentuckians. During impassioned debates, state-sanctioned veneration of Davis appeared inappropriate to Black individuals like Kentucky HPAC member Cathy Thomas, who insisted that the figure of Davis "was placed to reaffirm a legacy of white supremacy…during a time when Black Kentuckians lived with threats of violence and lynchings and a system of segregation that denied us basic rights."[333]

On June 13, 2020, Kentucky Governor Andy Beshear announced on Twitter that he "pressed the button" for a construction crew to begin removing a statue of Jefferson Davis from the Kentucky State Capitol Rotunda. He remarked that, at last, "every child" entering the building "feels welcome" and that the state "took a step forward for the betterment of every

[332] Ralph S. Northam, et al.,. Appellees. Brief *Amicus Curiae* of Historians *David* W. *Blight* and Gaines M. Foster. In Support of Appellees. April 19, 2021, 8-9, 13, 21, https://glc.yale.edu/sites/default/files/lee_monument_amicus_brief_002.pdf.
[333] "Zoom Special Meeting of the Historic Properties Advisory Commission," 14:46-15:33.

single Kentuckian."[334] The day prior, the Kentucky HPAC voted eleven-to-one to remove the Davis statue from the rotunda and transport it 200 miles southwest to the JDSHS in Fairview. During the meeting, State Curator Carol Mitchell reasoned that the Fairview park could provide "appropriate historical context" for the statue.[335] Shortly after the removal, the Finance and Administration Cabinet reported that it would assist the JDSHS with providing suitable "context" for its new exhibit.[336] However, as of November 2023, Fairview has not received the statue.

The HPAC's almost unanimous decision to remove the Davis statue from the State Capitol Rotunda building begs the question of whether it is possible to provide a suitable environment at Fairview for a figure deemed inappropriate to associate with Kentucky's state government. Yet, while far removed from the state capitol, the JDSHS is owned and maintained by the state government, making it a public park funded with taxpayers' money. Upkeep at the park is expensive; in 2000, it underwent a renovation costing three million dollars, and in 2020, its annual budget exceeded $2,000.[337] Therefore, the Kentucky Department of Parks is responsible for determining whether the museum's current narratives reflect the interests of stakeholders in the local community, many of whom are Black.

With no alternation to the museum's current narratives, the new location will fail to provide an appropriate home for a symbol of reverence to Davis since it leaves the obelisk's historical significance open to interpretation. Urging further interpretation of Confederate memorials, historian Louis Nelson from the University of Virginia argues that such "powerful

[334] Governor Andy Beshear, Twitter Post, 10:56 a.m., June 13, 2020, https://twitter.com/GovAndyBeshear/status/1271833764122034178?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw.
[335] Governor Andy Beshear, "Zoom Special Meeting of the Historic Properties Advisory Commission," YouTube video, 13:42-14:09, 37:21, 38:46, June 12, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mgmaHn_AvyY.
[336] "Confederate statue removed from state Capitol in storage," *Lexington Herald-Leader*, June 16, 2020, A3.
[337] "Heritage or Hate? Memorials to Confederacy Spark Debate," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), Feb. 21, 2000, 14; "In Confederate Legacy's Shadow," *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), June 17, 2020, A16.

objects" require "powerful recontextualization."[338] However, when and if the statue arrives in Fairview, visitors will continue receiving a lesson primarily about Davis's patriotism and the hegemony of Confederate sympathy in Todd and Christian Counties. With Black Kentuckians playing such a critical role in pressuring the state government to remove the Davis statue from the State Capitol rotunda, they are clearly concerned with Davis's connection to slavery and the Lost Cause.

Today, the Jefferson Davis State Historic Site's flattering depiction of Davis continues to provide visual evidence for the legitimacy of the Lost Cause as its creators intended it to. However, while Confederate organizations proudly lauded white supremacy during the Lost Cause Movement, their successors now distance themselves from racism. For example, since 2006, each President General of the United Daughters of the Confederacy has reaffirmed a proclamation stating that the organization does not condone racism.[339] However, by lavishing uncritical praise of Davis and the Confederacy, the Jefferson Davis Historic Site's narratives promote Black invisibility and support a historical interpretation that promotes whites' privilege over shaping history.

Still, the site's museum can provide a more honest historical representation of Davis, local Civil War memory, and the site's history. The on-site museum offers the state government an opportunity to promote a critical analysis of Davis by highlighting the beginning of his connections to slavery at his birthplace. Furthermore, by including the experiences of Blacks, whose enslaved labor, service to the Union, resistance to Jim Crow, and contributions to the

[338] Louis Nelson, Interview in "The End of an Era. On History, Context, and Confederate Monuments," *International Coalition of Sites of Conscience*, Accessed November 1, 2023, https://www.sitesofconscience.org/2017/05/the-end-of-an-era-on-history-context-and-confederate-monuments/.
[339] "Reaffirmation of the Objects of the United Daughters of the Confederacy," United Daughters of the Confederacy, Accessed November 1, 2023, https://hqudc.org/proclamation/.

Jefferson Davis Monument's history, the museum can more accurately reflect the history of the site and surrounding community.

Black individuals played a direct part in shaping Davis's life and the historical context of the Jefferson Davis Monument; ignoring them not only sustains the goals of Lost Cause advocates but distorts historical reality. Inscribed on a bronze bas-relief plaque adorning the obelisk's interior is an admonition from Davis to Mississippians in 1888 to "lay aside all rancor, all bitter, sectional feeling," and join with "those who will bring about a consummation devoutly to be wished- a reunited country."[340] Davis, like other Lost Cause supporters, did not envision Black people in their version of a reconciled nation following the sectional conflict. However, by finally including Black lives in the Jefferson Davis State Historic Site's museum's narratives, Kentuckians can help dismantle the ways that Lost Cause symbolism, such as the Jefferson Davis Monument, perpetuates racial inequality by ignoring how Black people played a critical role in shaping the nation's history.

[340] "Jeff Davis' Last Speech," *Los Angeles Herald*, July 20, 1898, 8.

Works Cited

Primary Sources

"1968 Presidential General Election Results- Kentucky." *Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections.* Accessed November 1, 2023. https://uselectionatlas.org.

"A Monument to the Civil War." *Life* Vol. 72 No. 1875. October 3, 1918. 478. *HathiTrust Digital Library*. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924069235103&view=1up&seq=7&skin=2021&size=150&q1=jefferson%20davis.

Andrews, Matthew Page. *History of the United States*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1914.

Bureau of the Census. *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920 Vol. III.* Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1921. https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1922/dec/vol-03-population.html.

Bureau of the Census. *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920 Vol. V.* Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1921. https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1922/dec/vol-05-agriculture.html.

Bureau of the Census. *Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census*. Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864. https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1860/population/1860a-01.pdf.

Bureau of the Census. *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910 Vol. II.* Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913, https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1910/volume-2/volume-2-p7.pdf.

Carter, Jimmy. "Restoration of Citizenship Rights to Jefferson F. Davis Statement on Signing S.J. Res. 16 into Law." October 17, 1978. *The American Presidency Project*, University of California Santa Barbara. https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/restoration-citizenship-rights-jefferson-f-davis-statement-signing-s-j-res-16-into-law.

Confederate Veteran Magazine Collection. HathiTrust Digital Library. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/mb?a=listis;c=248732695.

Constitution of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. HathiTrust Digital Library. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nc01.ark:/13960/t6155vs4z&view=1up&seq=1.

Coppini-Tauch Papers. Dolph Briscoe Center for American History. University of Texas at Austin.

Davis, Jefferson. "A speech by Jefferson Davis to the Mississippi senate about the possibility of secession, November 1858." *Speeches of the Hon. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, delivered during the summer of 1858*. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1859.

Du Bois, W. E. Burghardt. *Black Reconstruction: An Essay Toward a History of the Part which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935.

Francis, Samuel. Speech Delivered at Jefferson Davis Monument in Fairview, Kentucky, April 27, 1996, freeservers, http://arcofcc.freeservers.com/Documents/westerman.html.

Franklin, Jimmie Tucker. *Phillip's Mill Baptist Church Wilkes County, Georgia, 1785-1850*. Meridian: Lauderdale County Department of Archives and History, Inc., 1995. http://www.lauderdalecountymsarchives.org/uploads/2/6/2/1/2621480/303_phillps_mill_baptist_church.pdf.

George Washington Littlefield Papers. Dolph Briscoe Center for American History. University of Texas at Austin.

Governor Andy Beshear. Twitter Post. 10:56 a.m. June 13, 2020. https://twitter.com/GovAndyBeshear/status/1271833764122034178?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw.

Governor Andy Beshear. "Zoom Special Meeting of the Historic Properties Advisory Commission." YouTube video. 38:34. June 12, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mgmaHn_AvyY.

Jefferson Davis Home Association Membership Certificate (Prattsburgh, E.P. St. John, n.d.), *KenCat Online Collections*. Kentucky Museum Library Special Collections. Western Kentucky University. https://westernkentuckyuniversity.pastperfectonline.com/archive/B22BC20D-4ED0-407B-8A3B-891619054544.

Julian Shakespeare Carr Papers. Southern Historical Collection. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Lewis, Patrick A. interview with Latham, Lori. Dec. 8, 2021. Zoom Recording audio. 40:34.

Lewis, Patrick A. et al. "Jefferson Davis State Historic Site Interpretative Background Document DRAFT April 20, 2018." unpublished.

M., S. C. *The Story of a Monument: Memorial of the Unveiling of the Monument to the Unknown Confederate Dead. May 19, 1887, at Hopkinsville, Ky.* New York: Dennison & Brown, 1888. *Special Collections Research Center*. University of Kentucky. https://exploreuk.uky.edu/catalog/xt7v9s1khr4z#page/1/mode/1up.

Magoffin, Beriah. Kentucky Civil War Neutrality Proclamation, May 20, 1861. *Broadsides and Ephemera Collection*. Duke University Libraries. https://repository.duke.edu/dc/broadsides/bdsky20544.

Minutes of the Nineteenth Annual Convention United Daughters of the Confederacy held in Washington, D. C., Nov. 13-16, 1912. Jackson: McCowat Mercer, 1912. *HathiTrust*

Digital Library.
https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89062335203&view=1up&seq=592.

Minutes of the Nineteenth Annual Meeting and Reunion of the United Confederate Veterans held at Memphis, Tenn. On Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, June 8th, 9th and 10th, 1909 (New Orleans: Schumert & Warfield, Ltd., 1909. *Internet Archive*.
https://archive.org/details/proceedingsseria05unit.

Minutes of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the United Daughters of the Confederacy Held in New Orleans, LA., November 12-15, 1902. Nashville: Foster & Webb, 1903. *HathiTrust Digital Library*.
https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89062335278&view=1up&seq=9.

Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Convention United Daughters of the Confederacy Held in Gulfport, Mississippi November, 14-17, 1906. Opelika: Post, 1907. *HathiTrust Digital Library*. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89062335260&view=1up&seq=5.

Minutes of the Twentieth Annual Meeting and Reunion of the United Confederate Veterans held at Mobile, Ala. On Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, April 26th, 27th and 28th, 1910. New Orleans: Press of Schumert & Warfield, Ltd., 1910. *HathiTrust Digital Library*.
https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89077211415&view=1up&seq=388.

Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy Incorporated, Held in St. Louis, Mo., November 8-12, 1921. Jackson: McCowat-Mercer, 1921. *HathiTrust Digital Library.*
https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uva.x004538551&view=1up&seq=7.

Minutes of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy Held in Louisville, KY. April 1-5, 1919. Kansas City: Kellogg-Baxter, 1919. *HathiTrust Digital Library*.
https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433079013847&view=1up&seq=649.

Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy Held in Asheville, N.C., November 9-13, 1920. Jackson: McCowat-Mercer, 1920. *HathiTrust Digital Library*.
https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433079013854&view=1up&seq=7.

Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Convention United Daughters of the Confederacy held in Tampa, Fla., November 11-15, 1919. Jackson: McCowat-Mercer, 1920. *HathiTrust Digital Library.*
https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433079013854&view=1up&seq=7.

Minutes of the Twenty-Third Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy Held in Dallas, Texas, November 8 to 11, 1916. Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Printing Company, 1917. *HathiTrust Digital Library*.
https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433079013839&view=1up&seq=595.

Northam, Ralph S. et al.,. Appellees. Brief *Amicus Curiae* of Historians *David* W. *Blight* and Gaines M. Foster. In Support of Appellees. April 19, 2021, 8-9, 21. https://glc.yale.edu/sites/default/files/lee_monument_amicus_brief_002.pdf.

Pollard, Edward A. *The lost cause; a new southern history of the war of the Confederates. Comprising a full and authentic account of the rise and progress of the late southern Confederacy--the campaigns, battles, incidents, and adventures of the most gigantic struggle of the world's history. Drawn from official sources, and approved by the most distinguished Confederate leaders*. New York: E. B. Treat & Co., 1867. *Book/Printed Material*. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/item/02011254/.

Proceedings of the Convention for Organization and Adoption of the Constitution of the United Confederate Veterans held in the City of New Orleans, La. June 10th, 1889. New Orleans: Hopkins Printing Office, 1891. *Internet Archive*. https://archive.org/details/minutesucv17unit/page/7/mode/2up.

Rutherford, Mildred Lewis. *Jefferson Davis and Abraham Lincoln.* Athens: UDC, 1916. *KHS Rare Books & Pamphlets*. Kentucky Historical Society. Frankfort, Kentucky. https://kyhistory.com/digital/collection/RB/id/4028/rec/4.

Sachs, Honor. *Home Rule: Households, Manhood, and National Expansion on the Eighteenth-Century Kentucky Frontier.* New Haven: Yale University, 2015.

Simmons, Don. *Christian County, KY., Tax Records, 1800-01-02-03*. Melber: Simmons Historical Publications, 1978.

Southern Bivouac Collection. HathiTrust Digital Library. https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/102777097.

Southern Historical Society Papers. Perseus Digital Library. http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2001.05.0120%3Achapter%3D3.26%3Apage%3D159.

Sydnor, Ron. Interview with Ariel Lavery and Austin Carter. *Middle of Nowhere*. podcast transcript. "Black Overseer of Confederate Monument." Oct. 15, 2021. https://www.middleofeverywherepod.org/Black-overseer-of-confederate-monument.

United Daughters of the Confederacy Collection. Martin F. Schmidt Archives and Research Library. *Kentucky Historical Society*. Frankfort, Kentucky.

United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* Series III Vol. III. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899. HathiTrust Digital Library. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.b000858740&view=1up&seq=172.

United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* Series III Vol. IV. Washington: Government

Printing Office, 1900. HathiTrust Digital Library. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hwsk39&view=1up&seq=174.

United States Work Projects Administration. *Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project*, Vol. 7, Kentucky, Bogie-Woods (with combined interviews of others). Washington D.C., n.p., 1941. *Manuscript/Mixed Material*. Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/item/mesn070/.

Wallace, Ellen Kenton McGaughey. Diary, 1861-1863. *Manuscripts*. Kentucky Historical Society. Frankfort, Kentucky. https://www.kyhistory.com/digital/collection/MS/id/1831/rec/1.

Warren, Robert Penn. *Jefferson Davis Gets His Citizenship Back*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1980.

Willhite, A. B. *Christian CO., Kentucky: Tax List: 1804-1809*. Russellville: A. B. Willhite, n.d.

Young, Bennett Henderson. *Kentucky Eloquence, Past and Present; Library of Orations, after-Dinner Speeches, Popular and Classic Lectures, Addresses and Poetry. Editor-in-Chief, Col. Bennett H. Young. Associate Editors, Hon. Henry Watterson [and Others].* Louisville: Ben La Bree Jr., 1907.

Secondary Sources

Berlin, Ira. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1998.

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

Brown, Vincent. *Tacky's Revolt: The Story of an Atlantic Slave War*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2020.

Carroll, John D. *The Kentucky Statues Containing All General Laws with Full Notes from Decisions of the Court of Appeals and the Constitution of Kentucky Annotations*. William Edward Baldwin, Ed. Louisville: Baldwin Law Book Company, 1922.

Case, Sarah H. "The Historical Ideology of Mildred Lewis Rutherford: A Confederate Historian's New South Creed." *The Journal of Southern History* 68, no. 3 (2002): 599-628. https://doi.org/10.2307/3070160.

Cooper, William J., Jr. *Jefferson Davis, American*. New York: Random House, Inc., 2000.

Cooper, William J., Jr., ed. *Jefferson Davis: The Essential Writings*. New York: Modern Library, 2003.

"Council of Conservative Citizens." *Southern Poverty Law Center.* Accessed June 29, 2023. https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/council-conservative-citizens.

Cox, Karen. *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture*, new preface edition. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2019.

Daniel, Aaron. *The Unwritten War : American Writers and the Civil War*. Tuscaloosa: University Alabama Press, 2003.

Dietzman, Richard Priest. "The Four Constitutions of Kentucky." *Kentucky Law Journal*: Vol. 15: Iss.2, Article 2 (1927). 116-127. https://uknowledge.uky.edu/klj/vol15/iss2/2.

Erekson, Keith A. "Lincoln and Davis: Three Visions of Public Commemoration in Kentucky." *Ohio Valley history* 8, no. 2 (2008): 48–67. https://muse.jhu.edu/article/568116.

Faust, Drew Gilpin. "Battle over the Bodies: Burying and Reburying the Civil War Dead, 1865-1871." In *Wars Within a War: Controversy and Conflict Over the American Civil War*, edited by Joan Waugh and Gary W. Gallagher. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009. https://search-ebscohost-com.libsrv.wku.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=343592&site=ehost-live.

Fleming, Walter L. "The Early Life of Jefferson Davis." In *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association 1915-1916*, edited by Solon J. Buck. Cedar Rapids: Torch Press, 1917.

Foner, Eric. *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*. Updated edition. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2014.

Giguere, Joy M. "'Young and Littlefield's Folly': Fundraising, Confederate Memorialization, and the Construction of the Jefferson Davis Monument in Fairview, Kentucky, 1907-1924." *The Register- Kentucky Historical Society* 115, no. 1 (2017): 39-73, http://www.jstor.org/stable/44981113.

Glazier, Jack. *Been Coming Through Some Hard Times: Race, History, and Memory in Western Kentucky* Vol. 1st edition. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2012.

Griffith, D.W. *The Birth of a Nation.* Griffith Feature Films. 1915. 3 hr., 13 min. Film.

Hardin, John A. *Fifty Years of Segregation : Black Higher Education in Kentucky, 1904-1954*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997. https://search-ebscohost-com.libsrv.wku.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=938270&site=ehost-live.

Harrison, Lowell H. *Kentucky's Governors.* Updated edition. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004. https://search-ebscohost-

com.libsrv.wku.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=938309&site=ehost-live, 121.

Harrison, Lowell H. *The Civil War in Kentucky*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1975.

Hermann, Janet Sharp. *Joseph E. Davis: Pioneer Patriarch*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1990.

"Historians: 'Defending history' is complicated in the US." *CNN*. Aug. 19, 2017. https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/19/opinions/historians-confederate-statues-opinion-roundup/index.html.

"Historical Marker Database Search." *Kentucky Historical Society*. https://secure2.kentucky.gov/kyhs/hmdb/MarkerSearch.aspx?mode=All.

"History is a High Stakes Profession," *Kentucky Historical Society*. Accessed October 18, 2023, https://history.ky.gov/news/history-is-a-high-stakes-profession.

"Jefferson Davis State Historic Site." *Kentucky State Parks*. Accessed October 18, 2023. https://parks.ky.gov/fairview/parks/historic/jefferson-davis-state-historic-site.

Klotter, James C., and Craig Thompson Friend. *A New History of Kentucky*. Second edition. *Book Collections on Project MUSE*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2018. https://search-ebscohost-com.libsrv.wku.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=1803976&site=ehost-live.

Lewis, Patrick A. *For Slavery and Union: Benjamin Buckner and Kentucky Loyalties in the Civil War*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015.

Lucas, Marion B. *A History of Blacks in Kentucky: From Slavery to Segregation, 1760-1891*. Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 2003.

Marshall, Anne E. *Creating a Confederate Kentucky: The Lost Cause and Civil War Memory in a Border State*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2010.

Mayers, Adam. *Dixie & the Dominion : Canada, the Confederacy, and the War for the Union*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2003. https://search-ebscohost-com.libsrv.wku.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=121073&site=ehost-live.

McCurry, Stephanie. *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South*. Cambridge: Harvard, 2010.

McKnight, Brian D. *Contested Borderland: The Civil War in Appalachian Kentucky and Virginia.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2006.

McRae, Elizabeth Gillespie. *Mothers of Massive Resistance: White Women and the Politics of White Supremacy.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Miller, James W. *Integrated The Lincoln Institute, Basketball, and a Vanished Tradition*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2017.

Museum Exhibits. Jefferson Davis State Historic Site. Fairview, Kentucky.

Nelson, Louis. Interview in "The End of an Era. On History, Context, and Confederate Monuments," *International Coalition of Sites of Conscience*. Accessed November 1, 2023. https://www.sitesofconscience.org/2017/05/the-end-of-an-era-on-history-context-and-confederate-monuments/.

O'Connell, Heather A. "More than Rocks and Stone: Confederate Monuments, Memory Movements, and Race." *Social Forces* 100, no. 4 (2022): 1479-1502. muse.jhu.edu/article/859536.

Perrin, William Henry. *Counties of Christian and Trigg, Kentucky: Historical and Biographical*. Louisville: F.A. Battey, 1884. Special Collections Research Center. *University of Kentucky*. https://exploreuk.uky.edu/catalog/xt7zs756fb8v.

Post, Edward M. "Kentucky Law Concerning Emancipation or Freedom of Slaves." *Filson Club History Quarterly* Vol. 59, No. 3, July, 1985. 344-367. https://filsonhistorical.org/wp-content/uploads/publicationpdfs/59-3-4_Kentucky-Law-Concerning-Emancipation-or-Freedom-of-Slaves_Post-Edward-M..pdf.

"Reaffirmation of the Objects of the United Daughters of the Confederacy." *United Daughters of the Confederacy*. Accessed November 1, 2023. https://hqudc.org/proclamation/.

Sklar, Kathryn Kish. "The Historical Foundations of Women's Power in the Creation of the Welfare State, 1830-1930." In *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States.* New York: Routledge, 1993.

"Standards for Museum Exhibits Dealing with Historical Subjects (updated 2017)." *American Historical Association*. January 5, 2017. https://www.historians.org/jobs-and-professional-development/statements-standards-and-guidelines-of-the-discipline/standards-for-museum-exhibits-dealing-with-historical-subjects.

"Statement on Confederate Monuments." *American Historical Association*. August 28, 2017. https://www.historians.org/news-and-advocacy/everything-has-a-history/historians-on-the-confederate-monument-debate.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1995.

White, Deborah Gray. *Ar'n't I a Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999.

Williams, Kenneth H., and James Russell Harris. “Kentucky in 1860: A Statistical Overview.” *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 103, no. 4 (2005): 743-764. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23386626.

Wilson, Woodrow. *Division and Reunion: 1829-1889*. New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1898.

Wright, George C. *Racial Violence in Kentucky, 1865-1940: Lynchings, Mob Rule, and “Legal Lynchings.”* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996.

Name: Latham, Lori

Email (to receive future readership statistics): Latham.Lori@ymail.com

Type of document: ['Thesis']

Title: “A CONSUMMATION DEVOUTLY TO BE WISHED”: FINDING A PLACE FOR JEFFERSON DAVIS IN KENTUCKY’S HISTORICAL MEMORY

Keywords (3-5 keywords not included in the title that uniquely describe content): Lost Cause, Confederate Memorialization, Civil War Commemoration

Committee Chair: Dr. Dorothea Browder

Additional Committee Members: Dr. Alexander Olson and Dr. Kathryn McClurkin

Select 3-5 TopSCHOLAR® disciplines for indexing your research topic in TopSCHOLAR®: United States History, Public History, Social History