

# Devotion, Deception, and the Ladies Memorial Association, 1865-1898: The Mystery of the Alabama Confederate Monument

MICHAEL PANHORST

THE EIGHTY-EIGHT-FOOT TALL *Alabama Confederate Monument* (Figure 1) on Montgomery's Capitol Hill stands in commemoration of the service and sacrifice of 122,000 Alabamians who fought for the Confederacy during the Civil War. Fund-raising for the \$47,000 monument began in 1865 and was largely the work of white women, as was typical of Civil War memorial patronage in the South. The Ladies Memorial Association (LMA) raised most of the money through lengthy efforts involving bazaars and appeals to private donors and the state government. Due to pressing post-war needs for proper burial of many Confederate bodies lying in shallow battlefield graves, and the needs of widows, orphans, and Confederate veterans during Reconstruction, plus an economy slow to recover from the war, the cornerstone was not laid until 1886. More than 5,000 people witnessed Jefferson Davis perform that ceremony with full Masonic rites near the spot where he had taken the oath of office as the only President of the Confederacy. Another twelve years passed before the monument designed by New York sculptor Alexander Doyle (1857-1922) was completed with his handsome bronze finial figure of *Patriotism* and bronze relief sculpture of a generic battle scene encircling the column. Granite statuary by Frederick Barnicoat (1857-1942) of Quincy, Massachusetts, representing the Infantry, Artillery, Cavalry, and Navy was added by the patrons to complete Doyle's design. The elaborate dedication on December 7, 1898 (near the

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FIGURE 1

*Alabama Confederate Monument, state capitol grounds, Montgomery*

*photo courtesy of the author*

fortieth anniversary of the Confederacy's surrender, the highpoint of its commemoration both North and South), was attended by thousands who cheered the bombastic orations, flowery poetry, and pagantry of the Lost Cause. Despite a decade of involvement in the monument's design and construction, Doyle was not present.

At that time, few knew the truth behind a lengthy disagreement between the monument's designer and the patrons that had delayed construction and deprived Doyle of either providing the statuary at the monument's base or earning any profit. Documents in the remarkably comprehensive records of the LMA—and two or three that are conspicuously absent—coupled with modern scientific analysis of the monument's limestone indicate that the stone is very likely not all Alabama limestone as the LMA proudly proclaimed in the 1880s and 1890s. Although there are still small holes in the historical fabric that are not definitively filled by scientific analysis, a plausible explanation for some of the delays in the protracted construction of the colossal column proves beyond a reasonable doubt that the stone in the shaft is not Alabama limestone but rather Indiana limestone from near Bedford, Indiana, where Doyle's family owned a quarry. It further appears that the LMA was aware that the colossal stone shaft eventually erected was not native stone but instead northern stone, yet they chose to keep silent on the issue.

The LMA certainly did not initially intend to use Yankee stone in their Confederate monument, but the implications of public knowledge of the final outcome may have influenced the Ladies' initiative to find alternatives to Doyle and his design, thus causing delays and tempering decisions regarding the forms and materials that ultimately came to commemorate Alabama's Confederate soldiers and sailors. Southern patrons of Civil War soldiers and sailors monuments often favored local designers and materials suppliers for financial as well as patriotic reasons, but there were few sculptors and no bronze fine arts foundries in the South in the nineteenth century. Many patrons of larger memorials tacitly conceded the inclusion of northern materials and manufacture, as did the LMA for *Patriotism*, the circular bronze relief, and the New England granite statuary they eventually acquired instead of Doyle's bronzes. Still, white southern pride

may well have influenced the LMA's actions regarding the northern designer and his design, much as it affected the decision to commission a Frenchman, Jean Antonin Mercié, to create the monumental bronze equestrian statue of Robert E. Lee dedicated in Richmond in 1890, and countless decisions by local monument patrons in the South to purchase memorials from the Muldoon Monument Company, which capitalized on its location on the southern shore of the Ohio River in Louisville, Kentucky, and its frequent use of bronze statuary imported from the Ferdinand von Miller foundry in Germany to become one of the largest suppliers of southern Civil War monuments around the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>1</sup>

By the turn of the twenty-first century, the stone in the base of the *Alabama Confederate Monument* had deteriorated badly and the Alabama Historical Commission initiated a conservation study of the structure. The research leading to this essay originated as part of that study, demonstrating the importance of examining the substance of historic monuments in addition to their history and symbolism. This paper proves the value of integrating scientific analysis with historical research during the conservation of public monuments. It also provides another perspective on the Lost Cause, one that illuminates the trials and tribulations suffered by white Southern women and men committed to commemorating the courage and conviction of Confederate soldiers and their families.<sup>2</sup>

In recent years, many scholars have commented on the Lost Cause and the role of white women in memory and memorialization of the Confederacy. Others have addressed the importance of public monuments in late-nineteenth century America. Still others have explored Reconstruction, sectional reconciliation, and racial issues of the period. There is a consensus of opinion that southern white women car-

<sup>1</sup> For information on Ferdinand von Miller and the Muldoon Monument Company, see Michael W. Panhorst, "Lest We Forget: Monuments and Memorials on Civil War Battlefields, 1861-1917" (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 1988), 111-14.

<sup>2</sup> McKay Lodge Fine Arts Conservation Laboratory, Inc., "Historic Structure Report, The Confederate Monument at the Alabama State Capitol," (Oberlin, Ohio, 2002), "Alabama Historical Commission, State Publications, Alabama Department of Archives and History. This report is also available online at <http://www.monumentpreservation.com/history.html> (last accessed August 24, 2012).

ried the torch of remembrance for their lost husbands, sons, and fathers—especially during Reconstruction when Confederate veterans could not legally assemble lest they be charged with treason—as an extension of the role played by women during the war as nurses and nurturers, and as an especially appropriate endeavor of white southern womanhood. Their empowered efforts stand in marked contrast with those of their sisters in the North, where male veterans dominated Civil War memorial patronage. The LMA’s efforts to design, fund, and build a fitting monument to the Confederate soldiers and sailors of Alabama illustrate the magnitude of the memorial quest of white women across the South who labored without civil and political rights equal to those of their husbands, sons, and fathers. Consequently, we are able today to see the *Alabama Confederate Monument* not only as a memorial to the men of the Confederate army and navy, but also as a manifestation of white southern women’s patriotism.<sup>3</sup>

#### DESIGN, CONTEXT, and SCIENCE

It stands revealed, a thing of beauty and grace, the work of Woman, the pride of the State, commemorative of man’s truth to his convictions and woman’s gratitude.

Ina Marie Porter Ockenden,  
*The Confederate Monument on Capitol Hill*

Ina Marie Porter Ockenden, secretary of the LMA, summed up the monument with those words in her history of the structure published

<sup>3</sup> Seminal texts of recent scholarship on the Lost Cause are Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens, Ga., 1980) and Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913* (Oxford, 1987). In recent years, broader perspectives on collective memory of the Civil War have been published by David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Mass, 2001), and William Blair, *Cities of the Dead: Contesting the Memory of the Civil War in the South, 1865-1914* (Chapel Hill, 2004). Women’s role in commemorating Confederate heritage has been addressed in Cynthia Mills and Pamela Simpson, eds., *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory* (Knoxville, 2003), Karen C. Cox, *The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville, 2003), and Caroline Janney, *Burying the Dead but not the Past: Ladies Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill, 2008). Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-century America* (Princeton, 1997) is the best recently-published account of Civil War monuments.



FIGURE 2

*Patriotism* after conservation

*photo courtesy of the author*



FIGURE 3

Base, granite statuary, and bronze relief before conservation.

*photo courtesy of the author*



FIGURE 4

Base, granite statuary, and bronze bas relief before conservation.

*photo courtesy of the author*

in 1900. It is indeed a thing of beauty and grace, the soaring column topped by the graceful figure of *Patriotism* (Figure 2) sadly bestowing her sheathed sword on the birthplace of the Confederacy. The broad, tall base with its bold foliate decoration, vigilant soldiers and sailors carved for eternity in grey granite, and the compelling battle scene in the bronze relief band (Figures 3 and 4) contribute to the overall beauty and meaning of the memorial.<sup>4</sup>

Neither the overall design nor that of its components is unique to the *Alabama Confederate Monument*. Like scores of similar contemporaneous memorials erected to the memory of the war's 620,000 fatalities and roughly two million more who served and survived, the conventional composition expresses the sentiments of Civil War veterans, widows, orphans, and their families and friends with a style and verve shaped by late-Victorian and Beaux-Arts aesthetics. Randolph Rogers (1825-1892) and Martin Milmore (1844-1883) had created individual standing figures of common soldiers for cemetery and civic memorials in the North during and immediately following the war, and both had also used those sculptural forms of sentinels and soldiers standing at parade rest with comparable statuary representing rank and file artillery, cavalry, and sailors around the bases of columns and shafts topped with flag bearers or allegorical female figures. By the time Jefferson Davis laid the cornerstone of the *Alabama Confederate Monument* in 1886, colossal stone columns with monumental statuary top and bottom were standing in numerous northern cities and similar designs were destined for countless other sites North and South. The *Alabama Confederate Monument* is not as large or ornate as the contemporaneous half-million dollar Civil War memorials built in Cleveland and Indianapolis, but it is one of the largest nineteenth-century soldiers and sailors memorials built in the South. Moreover, the *Alabama Confederate Monument* makes its commemorative point effectively in forms and iconography appreciated by the culture that built it.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Ina Marie Porter Ockenden, *The Confederate Monument on Capitol Hill, Montgomery, Ala.* (Montgomery, 1900), 76.

<sup>5</sup> For Victorian and Beaux Arts aesthetics, see the Brooklyn Museum, *The American Renaissance, 1876-1917* (New York, 1979), especially chapter 3, "The Presence of the Past," and chapter 6, "Architecture, Landscape, and City Planning," both by Richard Guy Wilson. For

In fact, given the impecunious condition of the post-war South, the achievement of the LMA is notable, comparable perhaps to the courage and conviction shown by the Confederate soldier and sailor. The LMA's perseverance in fund-raising echoed the fortitude exhibited by white Southern women during the war. The women's work to commemorate Alabama's Confederate soldiers was a continuation of their struggle during the war to tend the hearth, heal the sick and wounded, and care for veterans, widows, and orphans in the absence of adequate state or national support. Their valiant post-war efforts to re-bury the dead then lying in shallow, unmarked battlefield graves and to memorialize the fallen as well as the sacrifice of survivors is chronicled in the papers of the LMA.

The record books of the association containing the minutes of their meetings from the first in 1866 through the monument's dedication and into the 1920s survive, along with numerous letters from the monument's designer, Alexander Doyle, and other correspondents; however, correspondence from the LMA to Doyle has been lost. A collection of Doyle's papers at the Smithsonian's Archives of American Art contains no mention of this major project—possibly for reasons that will be revealed below.<sup>6</sup>

Alexander Doyle (Figure 5) was a leading sculptor and monument maker in late nineteenth-century America. Doyle was born into the

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sentinels and early Civil War monuments by Rogers, Milmore, and others, see Panhorst, "Lest We Forget," pp. 216-22. For general information on Milmore, Rogers and other early Civil War monuments, see also Wayne Craven, *Sculpture in America* (Newark, Del., 1984), Lorado Taft, *The History of American Sculpture* (New York, 1924), Millard Rogers, *Randolph Rogers* (Amherst, 1971), and the entry on Milmore by Panhorst in John A. Garraty and Mark Carnes, eds., *American National Biography* (New York, 1999), vol. 15, 557-58. See also Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves*, especially chapter 6 on Army regulars. Ralph W. Widener, *Confederate Monuments: Enduring Symbols of the South and the War Between the States* (Washington, 1982), pictures nineteenth-century soldiers and sailors memorials of comparable or slightly smaller scale in Augusta (1878) and Savannah, Georgia (1880), the state capitol grounds at Columbia, South Carolina (1878) and Raleigh, North Carolina (1895), Libby Hill in Richmond (1894), and Dallas (1897).

<sup>6</sup> Unless noted, letters from Doyle cited below are in the Correspondence File, Papers of the Ladies Memorial Association, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery. The Alexander Doyle Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution contain 80 items including correspondence 1912-37, a few dated ca.1880, and some undated items.



FIGURE 5

Alexander Doyle

Alexander Doyle Papers, Archives of American Art,  
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

*photo courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution*

monument business. His father had roots in the New England granite industry in Hallowell, Maine, and owned a prosperous limestone company in Bedford, Indiana (Figure 6), still today the center of limestone production for building stone in the United States. At age 12, Doyle's family moved to Italy, where he studied music, painting. He also made monuments for New York City (*Horace Greeley*, 1889-94), New Orleans (*General Albert Sydney Johnston and the Louisiana Division of the Army of Tennessee*, 1877; *Washington Artillery Monument*, 1880; *Robert E. Lee*, 1884; *Marguerite Haughery*, 1884; *The Confederate Soldier*, 1885; *Volunteer Fireman's Monument*, 1887; *General P.G.T. Beauregard*, 1915), Atlanta (*Henry Grady*, 1891), Savannah (*Sergeant Jasper*, 1888), and other cities (Toledo, Terra Haute, New Haven, and Frederick, Maryland). Doyle designed the *Alabama Confederate Monument*, modeled the finial figure and bronze relief of a generic battle scene that



FIGURE 6

Doyle Stone Company and Quarry at Dark Hollow, Bedford, Indiana

*photo courtesy of the Lawrence County Historical and Genealogical Society, Bedford, Indiana*

surrounds the base of the column, and coordinated the monument’s construction, but he did not create the statuary installed around the monument’s base.<sup>7</sup>

The granite figures representing the infantry, artillery, cavalry, and navy were made by Frederick H. Barnicoat, who operated the largest granite sculpture carving company in the country. He employed thirty men in Quincy, Massachusetts and produced as many as fifty statues annually using the latest pneumatic tools and other technical advances. Barnicoat also innovated the production of portrait busts in granite and may have been the only American nineteenth-century artist and entrepreneur to create them. Like other monumental sculptors, Barnicoat had the rare ability both to give form to ideas

<sup>7</sup> Doyle is not discussed by Craven in *Sculpture in America*, and Taft, *History of American Sculpture*, mentions him only in passing. Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928), 3: 420-21 says Doyle studied sculpture “in the national academies at Carrara, Rome, and Florence.” *The Art of the United States Capitol* (Washington, 1978) illustrates Doyle’s *Thomas H. Benton* (1895-97, p.231), *Francis P. Blair, Jr.* (1895-97, p.232), and *John P. Kenna* (1897-1901, p.248). The Smithsonian’s online Inventory of American Sculpture lists twenty-four works by Doyle. See also *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, vol. 10 (Ann Arbor, 1967), 371.

through modeling in clay and to manage the efforts of artisans reproducing those forms in stone. In addition, Barnicoat possessed superior entrepreneurial skills that made him a financial success in the granite sculpture business.<sup>8</sup>

Alas, if only the whole monument were granite, the most durable of stones. If it had been built from the ground up in the 1890s, when technology had evolved to harvest, handle, shape, and ship granite cheaply, and when pneumatic tools existed to create granite statuary economically in the production centers of Quincy, Massachusetts and Westerly, Rhode Island (the only two places in the U.S. quarrying fine-grained grey granite suitable for figurative statuary), the monument might have been built entirely of granite like many that still stand in pristine condition in towns and cities North and South.<sup>9</sup>

But the monument, reportedly, is made of Alabama limestone. The *Huntsville Daily Mercury* reported on May 13, 1886 that the monument “will be very fittingly built of native stone.” The caption of the engraved image of the monument (Figure 7) published by Walter A. Taylor in *The Confederate Souvenir* in 1886 (which shows a variant design including two soldier statues and seated female figures of *History* and *Peace*) also says the “base and column will be of native stone.”

<sup>8</sup> Ina Marie Porter Ockenden identifies Barnicoat as the source of the granite statuary (Ockenden, *Confederate Monument on Capitol Hill*, 76). For information about Barnicoat and his business, see H. F. Donlan and W. F. Morris, compilers, *The Quincy Patriot—Souvenir Edition: An Illustrated and Descriptive Exposition of the City of Quincy* (Quincy, 1899), 20-21. See also, Arthur Brayley, *The History of the Granite Industry of New England*, vol 1 (Boston, 1913), 107. For background on the monument industry, see Panhorst, “Lest We Forget,” 92-122 and 146-48. There are occasional references in the twentieth century to G.C. Doud being the artist of the *Alabama Confederate Monument*. Those may have originated with a misinterpretation of Ockenden. She stated (p.76) that “photographs submitted for selection [of the base statuary], not exactly meeting the ideals of the ladies, the sketches inspired by their suggestions and furnished for the figures representing the four branches of the service, were modeled by the graceful and skillful pencil of Mr. G. C. Doud, a Montgomery artist of superior talent on many lines.” The granite figures on the monument do not differ significantly from other generic rank and file soldier and sailor statues produced by Barnicoat from “his collection of models. . . [of] all the popular figures now in use” (Donlan and Morris, *Quincy Patriot—Souvenir Edition*, 21). The technology and methodology of the day would have permitted Barnicoat to customize facial and costume details to meet the demands of patrons.

<sup>9</sup> See Panhorst, “Lest We Forget,” 104-08 regarding the Van Amringe Granite Company, their Pennsylvania regimental monuments at Antietam National Military Park, and the *Iowa Monument* at Chickamauga-Chattanooga National Military Park.

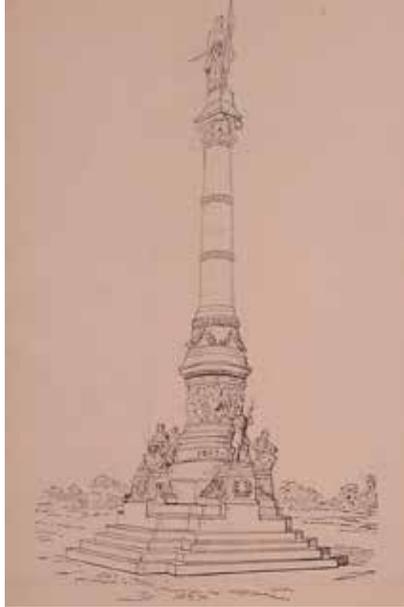


FIGURE 7  
*The Monument*  
 from Walter A. Taylor’s, *The Confederate Souvenir*  
*image courtesy of the author*

And the history of the monument published by the LMA in 1900 says, “the stone was supplied from our own quarries by I. [sic] L. Fossick, of Sheffield, Ala.”<sup>10</sup>

The base is undoubtedly Alabama grey limestone, some of the first cut from T. L. Fossick’s pioneering Rockwood quarry near Russellville in northwest Alabama.<sup>11</sup> The shaft may be Alabama limestone from a different part of Fossick’s expansive quarry that remains active today. However, laboratory examination initiated as part of the recent

<sup>10</sup> Huntsville *Daily Mercury*, May 13, 1886, 3; Walter A. Taylor, *The Confederate Souvenir* (Atlanta, 1886), 3; Ockenden, 76. Ockenden also says “it is gratifying to note that home talent has been largely patronized” in the monument’s production; the monument was “erected by Curbow and Clapp, of our city” and “granite statues were furnished by Curbow-Clapp Marble Co., and chiseled by F. Barnicoat, of Quincy, Mass.”

<sup>11</sup> For limestone analysis and historical information on the Rockwood quarries, see McKay Lodge, “Historic Structure Report.” For general information on Alabama limestone, see Walter B. Jones, Circular 8: Summary Report on the Building Limestones of the Russellville

monument conservation project shows that samples from the shaft are very similar to Salem limestone from around Bedford, Indiana, where Doyle's father owned and operated a limestone company.<sup>12</sup>

Prior to the monument's conservation in 2003, it was evident to most observers that the limestone in the base built in 1886 looked distinctly different than that of the column erected after 1886 (Figure 8. Also see Figures 3 and 4). The limestone in the monument base appeared grey while that of the column base, shaft, and capital was, and is today, tan. Dark biological growths on the more porous stone of the monument base contributed to the difference in color. The preferential growth of biological matter on the monument base is the most apparent difference between the two stones other than the greater deterioration evident in the monument base. Laboratory analysis reveals significant additional differences that suggest the stone in the base came from one quarry or geographic region while that in the column came from another. The upper limestone is not characteristic of stone quarried in northwest Alabama. Instead,

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District (Tuscaloosa, Geological Survey of Alabama, 1928). See also *The Source* (vol. 8, issue 2, Oct. 2000), a Russellville area historical magazine, for additional information on the Rockwood quarries, which were advertised in 1891 as the largest dimension stone quarries in the South. Today the quarries are operated by the Alabama Stone Company, a division of Vetter Stone Company, Mankato, Minnesota.

<sup>12</sup> Although Alexander Doyle's obituaries in the *New York Tribune* (December 22, 1922) and *Boston Herald* (December 21, 1922) say his father died in 1898, Clay W. Stuckey, "Gazetteer of Limestone Mills of Owen, Monroe, and Lawrence Counties to 1950," an unpublished typescript dated 1989 in the Bedford Public Library says George Doyle died in 1909. Stuckey provides ample documentary evidence of the sale of the George Doyle Co. and George's other business interests to substantiate the 1909 death date. Stuckey profiles the Doyle Stone Co. (18??-1926) started by George and run after his death by Alexander (p. 28). Stuckey says it leased land at the Dark Hollow quarry and operated a very large stone lathe and other scabbling equipment but did not own a mill as such. Stuckey also cites Lawrence County records to chronicle the progression of the Hinsdale Doyle Granite Co. (1881-1886) to the Dark Hollow Limestone Co. (1886-1894) to George Doyle (1894-1909) and subsequently to the Shea & Donnelly Co. that ultimately sold to the Indiana Limestone Co. in 1926 (pp. 88-92). In that discussion, Stuckey says Shea & Donnelly acquired from Doyle's estate a mill built circa 1880 at Dark Hollow. Stuckey also briefly discusses George Doyle's involvement in the Maine granite trade through the Hallowell Granite Co. and Hallowell Stone Co., firms in which the principal was George's nephew, John R. Doyle of New York City. Through his long career, George was involved in supplying Bedford limestone for Chicago City Hall, the New Orleans Cotton Exchange, and Vanderbilt's Biltmore Estate. Typescripts of news clippings from *The Star* in the Bedford Public Library contain several additional references to George Doyle's local business concerns starting in 1878.



FIGURE 8

Detail of *Alabama Confederate Monument* before conservation. Note lighter color of round shaft compared to rectilinear base with its statuary bases (and granite figure). Also note presence of biological growth on rectilinear base, especially where moisture was harbored in deep recesses of carved decoration and where water runoff occurred.

*photo courtesy of the author*

it is characteristic of Salem limestone quarried around Bedford, Indiana.<sup>13</sup>

Limestone is composed of fossil remains cemented with crystals. Oolitic limestone is composed of egg-shaped spheres, each of which consists of layers of calcium carbonate or calcite that precipitated in thin layers from a solution of the mineral around a nucleus such as a tiny shell fragment. The limestone in the *Alabama Confederate Monument* (Figure 9) was created over eons of time from sediments in the prehistoric seas that covered much of our present continent when that land lay across the equator. Over hundreds of millions of years, continental drift shifted those beds of fossils to their present loca-

<sup>13</sup> The deterioration of stone in the monument base and the stones in the column base on which the circular relief sits are thoroughly documented and illustrated in McKay Lodge, “Historic Structure Report.”

tions. Since the exact composition of sediments on the ancient sea-floor varied from place to place depending on waves, tides, storms, and the organisms living there, the limestone created by those conditions also varies. The sediment was subject to compaction and cementation—the crushing of fossils and crystallization in the pores between fossils. Crystals that grow in the pores of sediments are known to geologists as cements. This process, known as lithification, takes millions of years to complete.<sup>14</sup>

A microscopic look at samples taken from the base and column of the *Alabama Confederate Monument* reveals clear differences between these two stones in terms of both fossils and cements. Photomicrographs show that column samples have a less dense population of oolites with larger cementing crystals than base samples (Figure 10). Samples from the upper part of the monument have an abundance of sand grains derived from crinoids, which are known informally as sea lilies (Figure 11A). Crinoids are ancestors of sand dollars and sea urchins. The shells of all these are an interlocking mosaic of large crystals, although the shape of those crystals may vary widely. Under the microscope, those large crystals are easy to spot because they appear as large patches that are relatively clear except for dusty inclusions. The shells of other types of organisms such as corals, clams, and bryozoans are quite dark by comparison. Such crinoids are relatively scarce in samples from the base of the *Alabama Confederate Monument* whereas other types of fossils are relatively abundant (Figure 11B).

The difference in the size and abundance of fossils in these two limestones had a major influence on the type of cement they contain. The samples from the upper part of the monument with abundant crinoid grains have cement crystals which are much larger and clearer than those filling the pores of the crinoid-poor stone from the base of the monument in which other types of fossils are more abundant (Figures 12A and 12 B). The comparison is similar to that between known Salem and Russellville limestone samples (Figures 13A and 13B).

<sup>14</sup> See McKay Lodge, "Historic Structure Report," 36-46 for information on limestone formation. See also Mark Camp and Graham Richardson, *Roadside Geology of Indiana* (Missoula, 1999) for information on Salem limestone, 75-76, Bedford, 128-29, and local quarry history, 84-87.

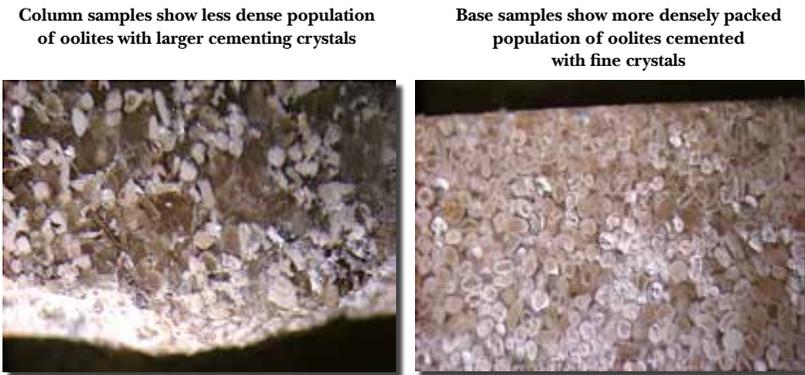
FIGURE 9

*Alabama Confederate Monument*  
limestone samples under increasing magnification



FIGURE 10

*Alabama Confederate Monument*  
photomicrographs of polished limestone from column and base



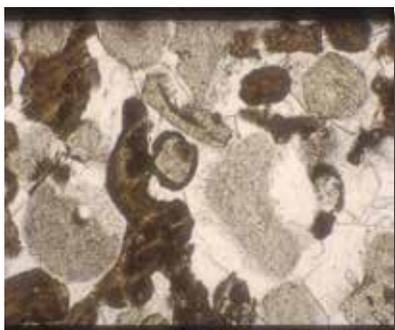
*n.b.: Full-color versions of Figures 9-14 and all other images in this article are available at [www.alabamareview.org](http://www.alabamareview.org)*

## FIGURE 11

*Alabama Confederate Monument* limestone samples from column and base under plane-polarized light

Fig. 11A. Column sample. Many light-colored crinoids

Fig. 11B. Base sample. Fewer light-colored crinoids, more shells of other animals



## FIGURE 12

*Alabama Confederate Monument* limestone samples from column and base in crossed polars with gypsum plate

Fig. 12A. Column sample. Light-colored crinoid debris; darker-colored other fossil debris; large cement crystals

Fig. 12B. Base sample. Less light-colored crinoid debris; more darker-colored fossil debris; virtually no large cement crystals

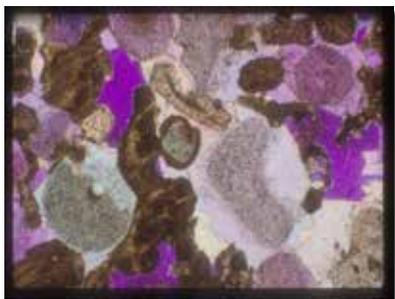


FIGURE 13

*Alabama Confederate Monument*  
Known samples of Salem and Russellville limestones in  
crossed polars with gypsum plate

Fig. 13A. Salem Limestone.  
Large crystals in pores between coarse sand

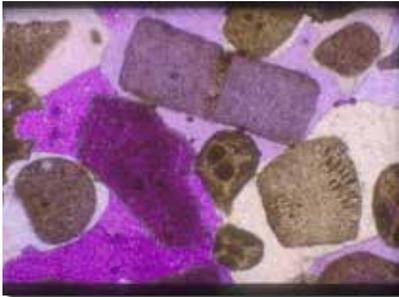


Fig. 13B. Russellville Limestone.  
Fewer large lighter-colored crystals; smaller  
dark-colored crystals

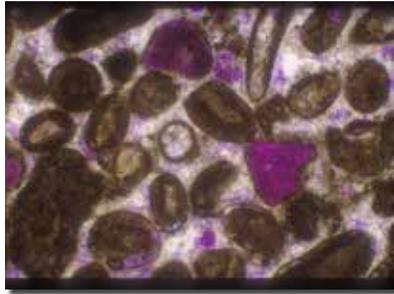


FIGURE 14

Column and Base samples compared with known  
samples of Salem and Russellville limestone

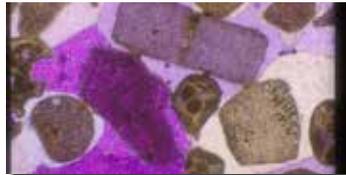
column sample



base sample



Salem Limestone



Russellville Limestone

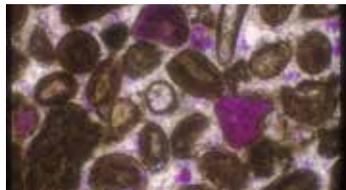


Photo microscopy and petrographic analyses (Figures 9-14), were originally provided for the "Historic Structure Report on the Confederate Monument" prepared by McKay Lodge Conservation Laboratory, Inc., Oberlin, Ohio for the Alabama Historical Commission in 2002. Dr. Bruce Simonson of Oberlin College, a specialist in limestone, was the consulting geologist. Petrographic images were prepared by McKay Lodge Conservation Laboratory, Inc.

*all images in Figures 9-14 courtesy of McKay Lodge Conservation Laboratory, Inc.*

In short, laboratory analysis of stone samples from the column and base of the monument compared with samples of Salem and Russellville limestones (Figure 14) indicates that while the limestone in the base definitely came from Alabama, that in the shaft likely came from Indiana. Of course sediments are by nature heterogenous, so this analysis does not prove beyond a doubt that the shaft is not Alabama limestone. Extensive testing of stone from throughout the Russellville quarry would be required for that, but on the basis of available evidence, the 2001 conservation assessment concluded that the colossal column is Indiana limestone.<sup>15</sup>

Could the sculptor have quietly imported this northern stone—which probably came from his family’s quarries—to profit himself or his family? Could the secret have been discovered by the Ladies who claimed so publicly and so proudly that the monument was Alabama limestone? Could that have prolonged the construction, soured the artist’s relationship with his patrons, and led to the employment of a local monument company, Curbow and Clapp, to finish the memorial with Barnicoat’s relatively inexpensive granite statuary representing the four branches of the military? Probably no one alive will know for sure; however, modern scientific analysis leaves little doubt that while the base of the monument is definitely Alabama limestone, the shaft appears much more similar to Salem limestone found around Bedford, Indiana. Moreover, the historical record sheds additional light on this reality.

#### HISTORY *and* HYPOTHESES

The Civil War ended in the spring of 1865. That November a meeting was held in the state Capitol to organize the Historical and

<sup>15</sup>McKay Lodge, “Historic Structure Report,” 36-46 documents this conclusion more fully. It is the opinion of Dr. Bruce Simonson, Professor of Geology at Oberlin College and a consulting scientist on the McKay Lodge project team, that the monument base is Russellville limestone and the shaft is Salem limestone. In correspondence to the author on October 2, 2007, Simonson pointed out that he could not state categorically that the sample from the shaft was not from Alabama “without a systematic study of all of the layers that might have been quarried in Alabama.”

Monumental Association of Alabama. Colonel Joseph Hodgson, who was appointed secretary, publicized the meeting in the press. In his words, “the sacred duty of preserving the memory of our gallant dead is one which will commend the devotion of all who lament misfortune and applaud virtue.” The purpose of the Association was “to preserve the historical facts in relation to the late war and to build a monument to the dead of Alabama.” Both ladies and gentlemen were invited.<sup>16</sup>

Passions were still inflamed over “the late war,” and gatherings of Confederate veterans were viewed with suspicion by federal authorities across the South. Consequently, the Association was careful to articulate its purpose publicly through the *Montgomery Daily Advertiser*:

“We desire a pall dropped upon the past except so far as their patriotic devotion is to be recorded. The grave of the hero is sacred everywhere—the impulses which prompt to its veneration are indifferent to neither friend nor foe. . . . In this sense we desire to record the memory of our sons, and erect a cenotaph which shall at once be sacred to their names and battlefields. Nor will it be said by the invidious critic that this pious task is affected by unfaithfulness to our now common country. . . . Let us all unite in erecting a pillar for the dead of Alabama in the solemnity and manliness of a yet free people. Let it record only of her sons what the traveler reads of the gallant Spartans who fell at Thermopylae: ‘We lie here in obedience to the laws of our country.’”<sup>17</sup>

The Association resolved to request \$5,000 from the state legislature, and to build the monument inscribed “Alabama honors her sons who died in her service,” and that “the outside of said monument shall be built of solid marble. . .and after the plan hereafter

<sup>16</sup> Marielou Armstrong Cory, *The Ladies Memorial Association of Montgomery, Alabama: Its Origin and Organization, 1860-1870* (Montgomery, 1902), 26. See also Joseph Hodgson, *Origin of the Alabama Memorial Association* (Mobile, 1903), 5-6.

<sup>17</sup> *Montgomery Daily Advertiser* as quoted by Cory, 27.

agreed upon.”<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately, no image of any 1865 plan has come to light. The earliest known image of a design (Figure 15) dates to the 1880s.

According to Hodgson, nothing more was done to advance the monument that winter because Congress was preparing the Reconstruction scheme that “threatened subversion of the State government, and no one could predict the future. So deep was the gloom that no one was disposed to embark on even philanthropic movements that might be tortured into displays of latent rebellion. The Society remained quiet until appeals came from the battle-fields for protection of the graves of our soldiers.” Such appeals would divert survivors’ energies and delay the monument effort for years. Moreover, they illuminate the cultural and political climate in which the *Alabama Confederate Monument* took root.<sup>19</sup>

In March 1866 the *Montgomery Mail* published an editorial in response to a circular letter from Winchester, Virginia. The editorial reported that the women of Winchester were preparing a cemetery “for the reception of those remains which are not removed by friends. The ploughshare is now passing over their graves and soon the places which once knew of their gallant devotion on the banks of the Shenandoah will know them no more forever, unless the hand of pious affection collects their ashes and marks their resting place in some consecrated ground.”<sup>20</sup>

Two weeks later the executive committee of the Historical and Monumental Association appointed a commissioner to “proceed to the battlefields of Virginia and other States to collect and protect from desecration the remains of her [Alabama’s] gallant dead.” They also moved to appoint vice presidents for each Alabama county and encouraged women to hold bazaars on the first day of May to “raise money enough to give the remains of our dead decent burial.”<sup>21</sup>

On April 11, 1866, Montgomery’s Judge John Phelan, an officer of the Historical and Monumental Association whose four sons each

<sup>18</sup> Cory, 30.

<sup>19</sup> Hodgson, 6.

<sup>20</sup> *Montgomery Mail* editorial, March 3, 1866, as cited by Cory, 35.

<sup>21</sup> Hodgson, 7.



FIGURE 15

Doyle’s monument design, from the files of Old Alabama Town, Montgomery. Note seated figure of Jefferson Davis at base.

*image courtesy of Old Alabama Town, Montgomery*

shed blood in the war (two were then still “sleeping” on distant battlefields), made an eloquent appeal to local women “to devote the first evenings of the coming May to a fair or festival by which money can be made” to care for the graves of the dead, “and to decorate them with the simple emblems of purity and holiness, [which] will adorn the abyss of ruin with a splendor as enduring as that of the eternal rainbow which spans the precipice of Niagara.” On April 16, the Ladies met at Court Street Methodist Church “to devise ways and means for raising funds to have the remains of Alabama soldiers now lying scattered over the various battlefields of the war collected and deposited in public burial grounds or elsewhere where they may be saved from neglect.” They established officers and passed their first resolution: “That it is a sacred duty of the South to preserve from

desecration and neglect the mortal remains of the brave men who fell in her cause, to cherish a grateful recollection of their heroic sacrifices and to perpetuate their memories.” Annual dues were set at one dollar. All clergy were considered honorary members. The group was initially named the Ladies Society for the Burial of Deceased Alabama Soldiers, but it was later changed to the Ladies Memorial Association. Phelan’s wife, who shared her husband’s passion for this “sacred duty,” was elected vice president. Sophie Bibb was called to the chair.<sup>22</sup>

Sophia Lucy Ann Gilmer Bibb (1801-1887) was the wife of Judge Benajah S. Bibb of Montgomery. She was the sister of George R. Gilmer (1790-1859), a two-term governor of Georgia and U. S. congressman from that state, and the descendant of early Virginia planters. Well born, well bred, and well-married, during the Civil War she organized and operated a hospital in Montgomery that served Union and Confederate soldiers alike. They called her “Aunt Sophie,” and she followed the hearse to Oakwood Cemetery for each of the 800 who died in her care.<sup>23</sup>

No doubt those memories were still vivid in her mind on April 26 (the first anniversary of Gen. Joseph Johnston’s surrender of the last large force of Confederate soldiers), when the women of Montgomery “re-touched and re-decorated the grave of every soldier” interred in Oakwood Cemetery and “planted and strewed them with flowers and performed other offices as their fancies suggested.”<sup>24</sup>

A week later, on May 1 and 2, the first May Day offering was held. In anticipation, the local newspapers printed numerous articles and

<sup>22</sup> Phelan quoted by Hodgson, 7; LMA quotes from record book 1, Ladies Memorial Association, Alabama Department of Archives and History (hereafter LMA). Cory, 48, says Mrs. Phelan with “Mrs. Judge Baldwin” and “Mrs. Judge Bibb” encouraged her husband to pen the call to action for Montgomery’s ladies “since grief for two of her [four] noble boys, still sleeping the last sleep out on the battlefields far away, was ever tugging at her mother-heart.”

<sup>23</sup> Thomas M. Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography*, vol 13, 144, 147 provides the most succinct biographical information on Bibb. Ockenden, 6, says Bibb’s carriage “followed eight hundred to their graves.”

<sup>24</sup> Quote from Cory, 69. Similar duties were performed that day across the South, initiating Confederate Memorial Day. See Gaines Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 38-45, regarding early Confederate Memorial Day services.

editorials encouraging generous contributions and applauding the women for their efforts. Sophie Bibb's open letter published in the *Montgomery Mail* announced: "We wish to raise funds with which to give Christian burial to our brave, noble and lamented martyrs, and to effect this, we propose to have an 'offering'. . . which you are respectfully requested to attend, and to which you are earnestly invited to contribute." Bibb went on to identify businesses where "articles such as hams, fresh meat, fowls, cream, butter, eggs, vegetables, fruit, etc." sent from the surrounding area by wagon or rail could be delivered. The response was gratifying. Through the press, the Ladies expressed their appreciation for the offer of theaters for the concert and tableaux, halls for the children's festival, lights, and "confectionaries."<sup>25</sup>

Several days before the event, the program was published in the local newspapers. It included a "Children's Offering" consisting of concert and tableaux Tuesday morning, the "Ladies' Grand Tableaux" Tuesday night, the "Ladies' Grand Concert" Wednesday night, and a lunch Tuesday. On May 2, the *Montgomery Mail* reported, "everything was admirably arranged and the halls gaily decorated with garlands and mottoes. Edibles of every description, consisting of substantials, delicacies and luxuries, were in great abundance, and the atmosphere was redolent with perfumes of sweet flowers and the scene was enlivened by the bright smiles of our self-sacrificing women." The following day a newspaper article indicated that

"the concert, like the tableaux the night before, was a brilliant success, reflecting great credit upon the industry, good taste and accomplishment of the young ladies and gentlemen who consented to appear upon the stage. . . and upon the large audience which was present. . . . Seldom, if ever in the history of Montgomery, have ladies and gentlemen exhibited such devotion to a purpose. The result has been commensurate with their labors, the amount of money realized being probably larger

<sup>25</sup> Cory, 63-64. The Jewish community was also singled out for its contributions (Cory, 79).

than has ever been realized heretofore for any single charitable or pious purpose.”<sup>26</sup>

The May Day offering realized five to six thousand dollars. On the tenth of May, the first of many meetings of the women was held in Sophie Bibb’s home. Over the following year they distributed \$3800 for improving Confederate graves in Richmond, Fredericksburg, Spotsylvania, Jonesboro, Resaca, Franklin, and Corinth. They were also besieged with requests to support widows, orphans, and destitute veterans, but kept their focus on their stated purpose, assured by the city and the state that they would provide assistance to the poor. In 1868 the Ladies committed \$700 for a slender marble obelisk (Figure 16), pavilion, and chart of the graves in Montgomery’s Oakwood Cemetery. Eight years later they proposed to erect granite headstones to replace the fading wooden headboards in the cemetery at a cost of three dollars each. It took another six years to raise the money needed for that task, but on May 1, 1882, the treasurer reported stones were on all the graves and all were paid for. At that same meeting, the Ladies requested that Mrs. Dudley Robinson “give an opera” and that the proceeds “be given for the Monument to our fallen heroes and that said Monument be erected on Capitol Hill in the City of Montgomery.” The opera netted the Ladies \$117.65.<sup>27</sup>

Finally, two years later, on April 9, 1884, the LMA established a Monument Committee and a “Committee to take charge of the Monument Fund.” With the fulfillment of their duty to bury the dead respectfully, and the formation of monument committees, two decades of memorial gestation came to a close, and the long and labored birthing of the monument began.

By the mid-1880s Montgomery was booming. An energetic young

<sup>26</sup> Quotes from Cory, 84 and 88. Cory, 78, reproduces the program and indicates lunch tickets were \$1, with strawberries, ices, and coffee extra. Tickets for each concert were \$1 for adults and \$.50 for children, with reserved seats an additional \$.50.

<sup>27</sup> Cory, 90, cites \$6,000 “realized” in quoting a contemporary newspaper account, but on page 102 she quotes a *Montgomery Mail* article of May 20, 1866 that says \$5,000 was realized. The record books are silent on this issue at the time, but do contain a resolution on page 124 (c.1905) that claims proceeds of \$5,600. The record book entries of the late 1860s document the distribution of funds and other efforts of the association.

mayor, Col. Warren Reese, was steering the city into prosperity. A thirty-foot tall cast iron fountain was built in Court Square, which became the hub of the first electric streetcar system in the country. On September 30, 1885, local men formed a new Historical and Monumental Society, chaired by Reese, a Confederate veteran. Still, fundraising for the monument went slowly, and construction was stymied by disagreement between the patrons and the artist.<sup>28</sup>

Part of the disagreement stemmed from the existence of the two monument committees. The men apparently contracted with Doyle for a design (Figure 15) which featured a statue of Jefferson Davis seated at the base of the shaft. But shortly after laying the cornerstone in 1886, the men's group "realizing that memorial work belonged peculiarly to woman and believing that the desideratum would be best effected by a transfer of their funds and their hopes into the hands of the Ladies Memorial Association, they generously withdrew and deposited the amount of \$6,755 into the L.M.A. Treasury." The records of the LMA indicate that Doyle defended his contract vociferously through the late 1880s and 1890s, but the women explored other options for those portions of the monument above its five-tiered elevated base with its bold foliate decoration on the pedestals for the infantry, artillery, cavalry, and sailor statues and its cornerstone of Alabama limestone laid by Jefferson Davis.<sup>29</sup>

In anticipation of laying the cornerstone, the Ladies corresponded with Jefferson Davis for photographs of him and his family that might be offered for sale at the ceremony, the proceeds to benefit the monument fund. At that time, the record book of the LMA reports about \$1,300 on deposit earning eight percent interest. A month before laying the cornerstone, Mayor Reese acknowledged that the "ladies were first and have always been foremost in the performance of the sacred duty the living owe the dead."<sup>30</sup>

That sacred duty was played out with appropriate solemn pomp on April 29, 1886 with the laying of the cornerstone (Figure 17) by the

<sup>28</sup> For more on Montgomery history, see Beth Taylor Muskat and Mary Ann Neeley, *The Way It Was: Photographs of Montgomery and Her Central Alabama Neighbors, 1850-1930* (Montgomery, 1985).

<sup>29</sup> Ockenden, 14.

<sup>30</sup> LMA record book, March 21, 1886.



FIGURE 16

An earlier *Alabama Confederate Monument* dating from 1868, located amid Confederate tombstones in Oakwood Cemetery, Montgomery. Extant tombstones were installed circa 1975 by U.S. Veterans Administration as part of nationwide program according to Bob Bradley, curator, Alabama Department of Archives and History. The granite stones installed by the LMA have not been located.

*photo courtesy of the author*

elderly and greatly venerated Jefferson Davis. Davis had responded to the invitation of the Alabama Soldier's Monument Association and Mayor Reese, who had visited Belvoir and appealed to Davis and his wife. Reese convinced Mrs. Davis to urge her husband to accept the invitation so that their daughter, Winnie, could see how much the South still loved the ex-president. Davis and his daughter traveled with Gen. John Gordon, then governor of Georgia, stopping in Montgomery en route to Atlanta, Macon, and Savannah. He asked Reese to accompany him from Montgomery, and the mayor graciously replied, "there is no wish or desire of yours that shall go ungratified as long as I live, that is in my power to grant, and I know I but express the sentiment of every man, woman and child in Montgomery. . . ." It was the last series of public appearances by Davis. He died three years later.<sup>31</sup>

Inclement weather in Montgomery postponed the annual Memorial Day ceremonies on April 26. They were rescheduled in conjunction with laying the cornerstone on the 29th. That day a procession accompanied Davis several blocks from the Exchange Hotel near the foot of Dexter Avenue to Capitol Hill. According to the *Huntsville Daily Mercury*, "about 2:30 the sound of the approaching band was heard and in a few minutes the shouts and cheers of the immense crowd made the ground tremble." A later article in the same paper indicated that "the foundation only of the monument was ready. It is thirty-five feet square. The cornerstone to be laid by Mr. Davis was all ready for him."<sup>32</sup>

Because of the continual rains, the program was moved to the front portico of the capitol. Davis spoke to the crowd of 5,000 from where he had taken the oath of office as President of the Confederacy. His half-hour speech is quoted in the *Montgomery Advertiser*, which reported that "Mayor Reese conducted Davis from the stand to the spot where the cornerstone lay. He laid his hand upon it, bowed

<sup>31</sup> Reese quote in unpublished typescript by the mayor's son, Alabama Department of Archives and History, "Warren Stone Reese autobiography and history of Montgomery," 1936-1937, p. 52, was originally published in the *Montgomery Advertiser*, April 29, 1886. Reese explained, p. 104, that "Father did no more than pay his respects to Mr. Davis, but, concentrated his efforts on Mrs. Davis...."

<sup>32</sup> *Huntsville Daily Mercury*, April 30, 1886 and May 13, 1886.

his head in silent prayer; then the stone was lifted and placed where it is to remain through the coming ages." After the Masonic ceremonies, a reception was held for Davis in the capitol where thousands of Confederate veterans shook his hand. Then followed a long and imposing procession to the cemetery for the Memorial Day rites. The absence of the elderly Sophie Bibb was palpable to the members of the LMA. She was too ill to participate.<sup>33</sup>

In the wake of Davis's visit, the ranks of the LMA swelled from two dozen to about seventy-five and meetings were held monthly in addition to several routine meetings in the weeks prior to the annual celebration on April 26. Contributions ranging from pennies to \$200 poured into the LMA. Fund-raising activities proliferated. A news clip in the LMA Record book dated February 7, 1887 indicates that a recent bazaar netted about \$2,000, making "more clear money than any bazaar ever held in Montgomery" except for the initial May Day offering. The record books reported \$6,828 on deposit in March 1888.

The next month, the Ladies met with Mayor Reese and representatives of the men's association regarding the men's contract with Doyle, whom the LMA record book recognized as "a sculptor of national reputation." On May 2, Reese and Thomas Goode Jones met with the LMA and Doyle, who "gave a clear statement of the facts, and many matters about which the ladies desired information." Jones, a Montgomery attorney and prominent Confederate veteran then serving as Speaker of the Alabama House of Representatives and soon to be elected governor, drew up a contract between Doyle and the Ladies Memorial Association. The record book indicates it was signed on June 30 by Martha D. Bibb, Sophie's daughter (and the widow of Col. Joseph Bibb) who had succeeded to the presidency of the LMA after her mother's death in January 1887, and Miss Jeannie R. Crommelin, secretary of the LMA. On July 6, Doyle wrote Bibb saying he was enclosing a copy of the contract and a drawing, but no contract

<sup>33</sup> Joseph Abram Jackson, *Masonry in Alabama: A Sesquicentennial History* (Montgomery: Brown Printing Co., 1970), 105, says 5,000 attended. The record book on April 29, 1886 states, "for the first time in many years, our venerable president, Mrs. S.L.G. Bibb, was not well enough to participate" in the memorial services.



FIGURE 17

*Alabama Confederate Monument* cornerstone.

*photo courtesy of the author*

or drawing is in the otherwise remarkably complete files of the association today.<sup>34</sup>

Doyle also noted that “all of the stone has been safely delivered on the hill.” He asked the LMA to make payment of \$2,500 for it directly to “Mess. T. L. Fossick & Co. of Dickson, Al,” but said they could “remit me a check direct for 2,500\$ [sic] and I will endorse it to Fossick & Co.” as an alternative. The record book reports on July 24, 1888, “Paid Mr. Alexander Doyle (Sculptor) of New York through draft to F. L. Fossick and Co., of Ingleton, Colbert Co., Ala. the sum of \$2,500 for stone for monument as per contract of June 30th, 1888.”

It is unclear whether the LMA’s decision to pay Doyle through draft to Fossick was merely a convenient way to discharge their financial debt, or a conscious effort to remunerate the sculptor for Indi-

<sup>34</sup>Thomas Goode Jones (1844-1914) grew up in Montgomery, attended Virginia Military Institute where he studied under Thomas (soon to be “Stonewall”) Jackson, enlisted in the Confederate military under Jackson along with his VMI classmates, eventually ending up in the Army of Northern Virginia, was wounded four times, rose to serve as aide to Gen. John Gordon, and carried one of the flags of surrender at Appomattox. After the war he

ana limestone that they knew was imported to the state through Fos-sick without publicly acknowledging the stone's northern heritage. It is also possible that the LMA was not aware that the stone on the hill was Indiana limestone, and it is possible that the stone then on the hill is not the stone of the current monument shaft and capital but rather Alabama limestone that proved unsatisfactory, as later events suggest.

Whether or not the source of the stone was discussed in Doyle's "clear statement of the facts" in his May meeting with the LMA may never be known for sure, but over the following few months it appears that the state legislature became aware something was amiss. At the end of February 1889 the legislature appropriated \$5,000 for the monument, but the official act contains peculiar language that permitted its use only by the governor to "purchase goods and services actually supplied and not supplied prior to the date of the appropriation."<sup>35</sup> This strongly suggests that the stone on the hill, probably Ala-

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returned to Montgomery, was admitted to the state bar in 1866, edited the *Montgomery Daily Picayune* in 1868, and reported on the state supreme court from 1870-80. In 1876 he was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of the United States (which signified that he was authorized to argue cases before the high court) and was elected an alderman of the City of Montgomery, serving in that capacity until 1884, when he was elected to the state legislature. He was Speaker of the House 1886-88, a two-term Governor of Alabama (1890-1894), and served as United States District Judge from 1901 until his death in 1914. Jones gave the main oration at the dedication of the Alabama Confederate Monument, and later in his life, following the deaths of most of the major political and military figures of the Confederacy, he was tapped to represent the South for a number of public ceremonies such as the dedication of Ulysses Grant's tomb in New York City in 1902. Ockenden, 89-90, provides a brief biographical sketch of Martha Danbridge Bibb who "attributes her success. . . to the blessed memories of her sainted mother" and mentions her husband's ultimately fatal war wounds (p. 87).

<sup>35</sup>On February 28, 1889, the Legislature appropriated \$5,000 for payment "only upon warrants drawn by the governor of Alabama upon certificate of the president of said Ladies Memorial Association of Alabama, and then only in payment of material actually purchased and used in the erection of said monument, or for services actually rendered in the erection of said monument, and not for any other purpose whatsoever." The act included a "Sec. 3" that expounded on the summary statement in section two quoted above. It required that "before drawing his warrant...it shall be the duty of the governor to fully investigate and carefully see that the materials for the payment of which such warrant is requested...have been purchased in good faith and actually used in the erection of said monument, or that the services to be paid for have been actually rendered in the erection of said monument, and not for any other purpose whatsoever...provided that none of the money hereby appropriated shall be used for the payment of material used up to date of the passage of this act, or for the payment of services done prior to the passage of this act."

bama limestone, had proven unsatisfactory to Doyle or the LMA by virtue of its composition or craftsmanship, necessitating the purchase of replacement Indiana limestone at additional cost.

On March 3, Doyle wrote Bibb regretting that the legislature should do so little towards the monument. He defended his “fixed price contract” (\$47,000 complete; \$52,000 with statue of Jefferson Davis) and bemoaned that he had paid out more than received and would have but a small margin of profit once done and “you will have the cheapest monument of our times.” Nevertheless, he was glad the appropriation was no less than \$5,000 because, as he said, that was “just about sufficient to cover the actual cost of casting the statue [of *Patriotism*] and putting it in place.” He predicted about four months to complete and install the finial figure, which he offered to set in place for “5,000\$ on account payable 4,000\$ when it arrives in Montgomery and 1,000\$ when set in place.”

He also chided the LMA, whose leaders were apparently exploring other options for statuary, “that on artistic grounds I must recommend the female figure and not a soldier on top. A male figure is not adapted at all to the top of such a column—artistically or architecturally speaking. The cost would be about the same except that I already have at odd times prepared the female figure which forms part of the design.” Doyle finished the clay and plaster models. The bronze was cast by an unknown foundry and shipped to Montgomery. A June 29, 1890 news clip from an unidentified local newspaper in the record book indicates the \$109 freight on *Patriotism* from New York was cancelled by the presidents of the Georgia Central railroad and steamship lines, both of whom were probably Confederate veterans.

Discord persisted. In a letter to Mayor Reese dated December 18, 1890 Doyle complained of the Ladies’ intimations that they might contract with others for remaining parts of the work. Despite the June 30, 1888 contract acknowledged in the record book, Doyle wrote Reese, “of course, I have no contract with them unless the law should construe their previous communication with me as making them a party to my contract with the Ala. S. Mon. Assn.” Doyle may have been trying to bolster a claim against the men’s association or strong-arm them into convincing the women of his position, but he

apparently got little sympathy from the men. In fact, he closed his letter to Reese with: "I say this to you confidentially for my relations with the Ladies Assn. have always been pleasant and were it not for the expression in their correspondence before referenced I should have no grounds for [illeg.] saying this." The presence of Doyle's confidential communication to Reese in the LMA correspondence file indicates that Reese did not keep Doyle's confidence. Doyle continued:

"the ladies are deserving all praise for their patriotic endeavors. I also have done my share in endeavoring to help the project, and perhaps foolishly on my part have actually put up more work than warranted by the sums paid on a/c. In short so far I am on the actual losing side. When the monument shall have been completed I shall not [illegible] any profit but my only chance to get back what I have put in and come out even is to so complete it, and of course I should be compelled to vigorously combat any other outcome."

Doyle visited Montgomery at the end of January 1891, journeying from Atlanta, where he was working on a statue of Henry Grady for that city. In early February, Martha Bibb and Jeanie Crommelin, seeking a \$10,000 state appropriation, visited the governor, Thomas Goode Jones. The appropriation passed on the eighteenth of that month.

An interview with Doyle reported in the record book on that same date reflects Doyle's claim that he had invested more than he had received, documents the slow process of construction, and alludes to the status of the stone. He indicated expenses of "\$16,000 for stone but \$13,000 cash sufficient to resume work. . . . The entire contract for stone work is with the quarrymen, and about one-third of the stone work is completed on the monument as it now stands." Doyle went on to say, "the bronze statues will be 7 ft or 7 ½ ft or possibly 8 ft high; though there is a certain relative proportion which would have to be observed, and will probably require 9 ft. statues."<sup>36</sup>

<sup>36</sup> LMA record book, January 18, 1891.

Two and a half months passed. On May 4, 1891 the LMA met. The record book says, "This was a special called meeting," but there were no minutes recorded. The absence of the minutes in the space left for them in the record book (Figure 18) indicates that there must have been discussions the women preferred not to document. Five months later, on October 1, 1891 the record book chronicles, "Mr. Doyle. . .will be in Montgomery tomorrow. . . . The work on the Confederate Monument seems to be abated for the present. It needs the finishing touches to make it as beautiful as it should be." A copy of a memo in the record book dated the next day quotes Doyle reiterating his claim for \$13,000 and "whatever amount may be in the treasury not exceeding the sum of six hundred dollars additional." In return, Doyle guaranteed that the work of setting stone would be commenced immediately on its arrival or within a reasonable time thereafter—an indication that the stone "safely delivered on the hill" by July 6, 1888, possibly from Russellville, had been found unsatisfactory, necessitating a second order supplied from Indiana, but there is no other documentation to substantiate this conjecture. However, as the recent conservation study shows, only the Alabama limestone in the base has deteriorated over time.<sup>37</sup>

Fifteen months passed. On January 25, 1893, Doyle wrote asking if the Ladies were pleased with the work "as it was progressing and if an appropriation would be made for the remaining statuary" around the base. Things must have been relatively complete except for the four statues at the monument's base, because in March 1893 the Ladies received a bid of \$223.50 for a cast iron fence to surround the monument. Then a debate ensued over the cement used in the monument. Doyle wrote on April 8, 1893 accepting \$3,200 in Exchange Hotel stock and a payment of \$1,377.50 to Sinclair and Lawler, Alabama builders who were erecting the monument, toward the \$13,600 contract price, less \$106 in dispute over the cement. That left Doyle due a balance of \$8,916.50.

On April 14 Doyle wrote the Ladies requesting that they pay Fos-sick \$7,400 in lieu of cash to him. The next day he wrote again, this

<sup>37</sup> McKay Lodge, "The Confederate Monument at the Alabama State Capitol," HSR pt III, Condition Study, 47-85.

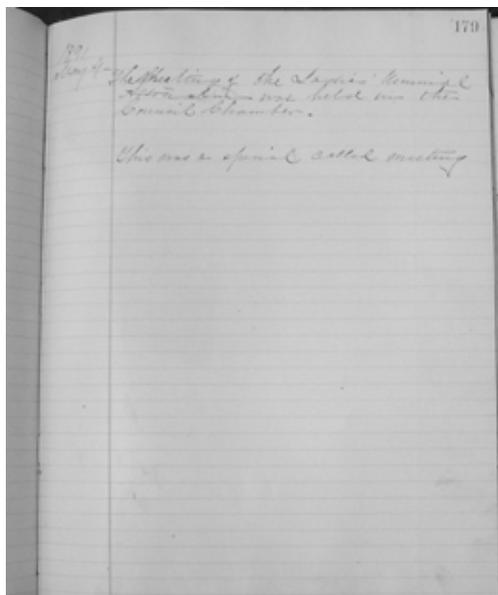


FIGURE 18

Ladies Memorial Association Record Book for May 4, 1891 with no minutes of “special called meeting.”

*image courtesy of the author*

time complaining that payment had been “miserably delayed” and claiming that the Ladies were “liable for interest” due and for them to please “remit at once.” He added, “if a settlement is not reached this coming week I shall be compelled to enforce my charge for interest as well as for extra brickwork.”

The dispute dragged on, and four years later, in February 1897, the state legislature appropriated \$1,000. The Ladies met on June 7 of that year for “deciding upon the statues representing the four branches of the Confederate Service ... it was decided to employ the services of Mr. G. C. Doud to paint ideals to be placed on the vacant pedestals of the Confederate Monument. They will add wonderfully to the appearance of the monument.” The appearance of the “ideals” is unknown, but these temporary items are presumed to have resembled the granite statuary ultimately installed.

In their meeting on September 6, 1897, the minutes discuss a letter from Doyle regarding the contract and an old letter of April 8, 1893 from Capt. J. M. Falkner, the local district attorney of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad, that “advised the Ladies that the Ladies M.A. could not be held responsible for turning over the completion of the monument to Mr. Curbow and Clapp.” In January of 1898 the Ladies were still discussing the selection of statues for the base and Doyle, who threatened suit. Later that year they asked a committee to see Clapp with instructions “to obtain his lowest figures for the remainder of the work,” that is, the statuary at the monument’s base.<sup>38</sup> On July 20, 1898, the *Huntsville Weekly Democrat* reported that the four statues by Barnicoat for the base of the *Confederate Monument* were completed and accepted.

The switch to the local monument company of Curbow and Clapp to provide inexpensive granite statuary representing the four branches of the military from Barnicoat’s New England manufactory indicates that the women were disgusted with Doyle and felt confident of their position despite the 1888 contract with the artist they had earlier acknowledged in the record book. The special meeting in 1891 and the absence of minutes suggest a difficult decision was made, one the Ladies did not want to document for posterity. In hindsight, the record book entry of July 24, 1888 that the LMA paid Doyle “through draft to Fossick of Ingleton, Colbert Co., Ala.” appears today to indicate that the Alabama limestone delivered to Montgomery in 1888 was not used for the monument shaft, which was subsequently built with Indiana limestone. Regardless of the source of the stone safely delivered on the hill in 1888, either that payment or Doyle’s subsequent 1893 request that the LMA pay Fossick “\$7,400 in lieu of cash to me” may have been convenient financial transactions that kept the secret of the stone’s Yankee heritage and maintained the women’s claim that the monument was Alabama limestone while paying Doyle something for quarrying and transporting the stone—but little or nothing for profit.

<sup>38</sup>Undated entries in record book 4, pages 12-14 (between January 17, 1898 and July 20, 1898).

In fact, the record books contain no further mention of the \$8916 balance that Doyle claimed in 1893 was due him. Nor is there any other reference to the legal suit Doyle threatened in January 1898. So, to his dismay, Doyle may have been right in the end: the LMA had what he had called “the cheapest monument of our times.”

#### DEDICATING THE MONUMENT

There was no mention of Doyle when the monument was dedicated on December 7, 1898 (Figure 19). In the words of Ockenden, the LMA secretary, “the dreary clouds which had heralded December were lifted, earth’s tears were dried, and the matchless bonnie blue floated from line to line of the exquisite dome which rounded above the beauteous figure which drew her harmless sword against the sky.”<sup>39</sup>

As with the cornerstone ceremonies, the dedication commenced with a parade up Dexter Avenue to the monument. That was followed by lengthy orations by Thomas Goode Jones and other prominent Confederate veterans who extolled the courage of the Confederate soldier. The rhetoric compares with the best of the Lost Cause, concentrating on the commitment to principle practiced by the men and women of the Confederacy and defense of the southern states’ decision to secede from the Union to defend their liberty just as the colonies had declared their independence from England less than a century before the Civil War. Several speakers referred to *Patriotism*, the monument’s finial figure, and how it represented the actions of Confederate soldiers and their families. The focus of the day was on 1861, the start of the war, and the significance of the monument’s site on Capitol Hill, the Cradle of the Confederacy.

The dedication ceremony included an oration prior to the unveiling of each of the four granite figures plus a presentation of the monument to the governor and his acceptance. This was followed by

<sup>39</sup>Ockenden, 15.

an elaborate tableau vivant featuring thirteen young girls whom Ockenden described as “representing the thirteen states of the Confederacy, attired in spotless white, with grey uniform caps, bright crimson sashes and the badges of their various States.”<sup>40</sup>

There is no better description of the long-awaited denouement than Ockenden’s:

“These young women were representatives of old families and were grouped around the tattered battle flag of the Sixtieth Alabama Regiment, in the hands of the central figure of ‘The Southern Confederacy,’ represented by Miss Sadie Robinson, who was dressed in deep mourning, the only note of color being the thirteen stars that crowned her jet-black hair. Miss Robinson was the niece of the late devoted Secretary, Miss Jeannie Crommelin, and standing thus in the strikingly fair circle, she recited Father Ryan’s immortal poem, ‘Furl that Banner,’ in perfect taste and deep feeling, which held all hearers spell-bound. Intense silence reigned until broken by “Taps” blown by Capt. Courtney, on the clarinet, as if the sad parting hymn of dying day. Slowly the picture became a dissolving scene and the fair wraiths of the Southern Confederacy were lost to sight. The Rev. Dr. Eager pronounced the benediction. The Montgomery Field Artillery fired salutes—the unveiling was over.”<sup>41</sup>

On July 18, 1899 the record book indicates that \$45.20 was “paid to Mr. Towles for cutting drip, pointing joints, carving inscriptions and cleaning.” There is no discussion in the record books regarding the inscriptions below the four soldier statues which praise “the knightliest of the knightly race” and sing “a deathless song of southern chivalry.” Presumably, the LMA left those poetic expressions of

<sup>40</sup>Ockenden, 75.

<sup>41</sup>Ockenden, 76.

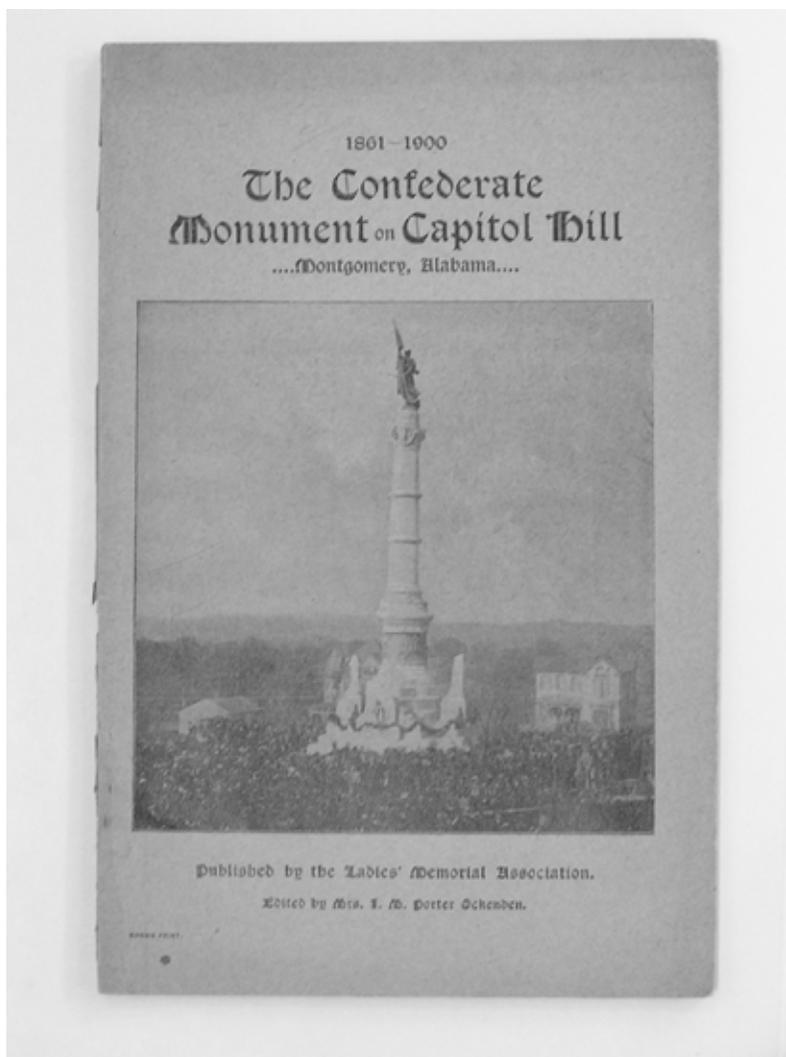


FIGURE 19

Cover of official history of the monument with illustration of shrouded  
statuary around base during dedication ceremony

*image courtesy of the author*

local sentiment to the “good taste and discretion” of the LMA president, Martha Bibb, and secretary, Ina Marie Porter Ockenden, just as they had left to them the details of the dedication ceremony.<sup>42</sup>

The annual report for 1899 says “the contract for the completion of the work, transferred to Mr. Oliver Clapp [Curbow had died, and Oliver’s father had passed the company on to him] has been closed satisfactorily to all parties.” Undoubtedly, Doyle would have disagreed. Like the LMA, he had struggled with the massive commemorative project for more than a decade. Despite having not one, but arguably two, contracts for the monument, he was unable to close either to his satisfaction. He had contended not only with the LMA, but also with the politically powerful men who formed the Historical and Monumental Society in 1885. Doyle had succumbed to Montgomery’s white men and women who worked together to champion the commemoration of their Confederate heroes.

Thirty-three years had passed since the Historical and Monumental Association of Alabama had formed in the Capitol just seven months after Appomattox. The LMA had formed the following spring, held bazaars, tended graves, organized commemorative ceremonies, appealed to legislators, businessmen, and housewives to raise money, and for a decade had worked with and against Doyle to build an appropriate memorial to their fathers, sons, husbands, and friends. Thanks to the perseverance of these white women, they achieved suc-

<sup>42</sup>Undated entry, record book 4, p. 14 (between January 17, 1898 and July 20, 1898), delegates the programing and unveiling to the president and secretary. The inscriptions are as follows:

INFANTRY: Fame’s temple boasts no higher name/No king is grander on his throne/No glory shines with brighter gleam/The name of “Patriot” stands alone.  
-C.T.R.

CAVALRY: The knightliest of the knightly race/ Who since the days of old/Have kept the lamp of chivalry/ Alight in hearts of gold.  
-F.O.T.

SAILOR: The seamen of Confederate fame/ Startled the wondering world/For braver fight was never fought/And fairer flag was never furled.  
-Anon.

ARTILLERY: “When this historic shaft shall crumbling lie/ In ages hence/in woman’s heart will be/A folded flag/a thrilling page unrolled/A deathless song of southern chivalry.

I.M.P.O.”

cess in due time, fulfilling the wisdom of Sophie Bibb's words written to accompany her check for \$100 that started the monument fund in 1885: "I do not doubt the monument will be erected, and prove a sacred shrine where we may repair, and, forgetting the bitterness of the past, receive inspiration from the memories invoked to fulfill the obligations of the present and develop the possibilities of the future."<sup>43</sup>

<sup>43</sup>See Ockenden, 12, regarding first subscription and October 1, 1885 letter to W. S. Reese regarding her learning through the Advertiser that a monument association had been formed. Entire letter and Reese's response quoted in Ockenden, 11-13. Bibb's quote on page 12. Reese's acknowledgement is in the correspondence file, Papers of the LMA, ADAH.