

The Lost Cause in the Golden State

The California UDC and the Erasure of California's Civil War History

This article identifies a previously overlooked mode of operation of Confederate memory beyond the South. Focusing on the United Daughters of the Confederacy in California, it argues that the organization did not simply transplant the Lost Cause narrative westward or revive a dormant pro-Confederate tradition. Instead, it helped facilitate the displacement of California's own pro-Confederate and proslavery past by a form of transplanted Southern commemoration. Although California was deeply entangled in the sectional crisis and included significant pro-Confederate networks and leaders, the California Division largely bypassed this history. As a diasporic institution serving white Southern migrants, it emphasized attachment to a distant Southern homeland while detaching the Civil War from California's historical experience and by selective commemoration and reinterpretation recast the conflict as external to the state, reinforcing a durable narrative of California's supposed detachment from the sectional crisis.

In 1915, San Francisco became the first city in the United States to host the annual convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) for a second time, ten years after it had become the first and only city in a former free state to do so. Annie Clay, president of the California Division, welcomed the delegates by thanking them for bringing “to us, on this far western shore, memories and traditions of the chivalry, the courtesy, and the hospitality of the old South.” Clay expressed satisfaction that the convention offered an opportunity for UDC members from the Southern states to meet California members, “for though we live upon the shores of this great trackless sea, and the lure of the West is ever in our blood, our hearts are ever turning to that dear, dear land of our birth.”¹

The two San Francisco conventions, together with a national convention held in Los Angeles in 1942, marked the only occasions in the UDC's first half century when the annual convention assembled in a former free state, underscoring the California Division's importance within the

national organization. When the division was founded in 1900 with 196 members, it was the second established in a former free state. Within just four years, it had grown to more than 1,500 members, solidifying its status as the largest division in any former free state. At times, it was larger even than divisions in former slave—and occasionally Confederate—states, surpassing Florida in 1903 and Louisiana in 1906 (see table 1 in the appendix).²

Why was the UDC so vibrant in California, and what were its leaders and members trying to do? As Clay's remarks suggested, the California Division understood itself as a diasporic organization aimed at building, sustaining, and preserving a Southern expatriate community in a setting far removed from the Civil War's geographic and historical terrain. The division's memorialization activities should be understood in the context of the broader memorialization movement by the UDC and other pro-Confederate groups. Founded in 1894 in Nashville, Tennessee, the UDC reached a peak membership of roughly sixty thousand nationally by the end of the 1920s.³ As scholars have shown, the UDC was essential in helping cement the Lost Cause narrative, a way of understanding the Confederacy's history and lasting meaning. The Lost Cause narrative portrayed slavery as benign, peripheral to Southern life, or destined to fade away on its own. It envisioned the war as a struggle over constitutional principles and states' rights rather than over slavery and claimed that the Confederate cause had been honorable and principled, characterized by the valor and suffering of Southern soldiers and civilians. The Lost Cause framed Confederate defeat as a moral vindication and depicted Reconstruction as a punitive and illegitimate imposition upon the South rather than as a response to slavery and rebellion. The UDC shaped the Lost Cause narrative and institutionalized it through monuments, ritualized ceremonies, print media, and educational initiatives.⁴

But the women of the UDC also took on different projects in different places. As historians have shown, the organization's center of gravity lay firmly in the South; by 1929, however, divisions had been commissioned in thirty-six states. In the North, these chapters generally promoted Lost Cause interpretations while not directly contesting the legitimacy of local unionist history.⁵ In border states like Kentucky and Missouri, wartime allegiances had been divided and memory remained politically charged. Scholars have demonstrated that in those states, UDC activists sought to stabilize and legitimize a distinctly Confederate lineage within an ambivalent regional past. Historians have argued that the California Division functioned similarly, viewing its activities as the continuation of a pro-Southern political and cultural project rooted in the 1850s.⁶

This article, in contrast, shows that the California UDC leaders were most preoccupied with serving recent white Southern migrants and that they did not cement or resurrect the state's pro-Confederate history but rather helped erase it. The California Division was shaped by a diasporic self-conception and aimed to help Southern transplants feel connected to the Old South even as they formed communities in a western state that had remained in the Union. In contrast to UDC organizations in many places in the South, the California Division lacked the political leverage to reshape the state's racial regime. Instead, the division fused a broadly pro-Confederate eastern-centered interpretation of the Civil War with California's self-image as a place of renewal and new beginnings. In the process, the California Division detached California from the antebellum crisis and the Civil War. It was noticeably uninterested in California's actual antebellum or wartime history and did not discuss or commemorate the many Californians, including some nationally prominent leaders, who had advocated secession or the perpetuation of slavery. Instead, its activities helped erase that history.⁷

Annie Clay's 1915 remarks illuminate the California Division's orientation. By emphasizing the distance between the Pacific Coast and the "dear land" of the South, she framed the division not as the guardian of a distinct Californian Confederate tradition but as part of a community of transplants seeking to preserve attachment to a lost homeland. Although the California UDC often faced difficult political headwinds in the state, its members avidly participated in fundraising drives for monuments in the East while also managing to install numerous monuments and markers in California. Research into the composition of the California Division, its rhetoric and its activities—including the personal histories of its members and the internal geography of its chapters—bolsters the point that the division bypassed and erased California's proslavery and pro-Confederate past while seeking to serve white Southern migrants and their descendants.

■ We begin with what the California UDC ignored. California had been central to national politics in the 1850s. As historian Kevin Waite has shown, the prospect of a slaveholding empire extending all the way to the Pacific served as a powerful motivating force for leading Southern politicians such as Jefferson Davis. Competing visions of a transcontinental railroad—anchored in either the North or the South—helped accelerate the nation's descent into war, including the Kansas–Nebraska Act and the Gadsden Purchase. Nor was California merely a passive object of these national maneuverings. The state's two US senators—proslavery William Gwin and

antislavery David Broderick—played prominent and often antagonistic roles in sectional battles. Broderick served as Stephen A. Douglas’s chief ally in the chamber, while Gwin was instrumental in Douglas’s eventual marginalization. At the Democratic National Convention in Charleston in 1860, the California delegation cast the decisive vote precipitating the convention’s collapse and, ultimately, the party’s split. In the secession winter that followed, Gwin emerged as a central intermediary in negotiations with William H. Seward, seeking to avert full-scale war in the fragile interval between initial secessions and the firing on Fort Sumter. California’s eventual alignment with the Union—far from a foregone conclusion—proved critical to Union success, as the state’s gold underwrote federal credit and enabled the issuance of Greenbacks without triggering hyperinflation.⁸

In California, migrants from the North outnumbered those from the South, and slavery was formally prohibited. Still pro-Southern Democrats—known locally as the “Chivalry” or “Chivs”—dominated state politics from statehood through the late 1850s through tightly organized party machines and extensive patronage networks. Led by Gwin, California Democrats hoped California would be a western extension of the slaveholding South. In 1859, escalating tensions between the Chivs and Broderick’s antislavery faction culminated in a duel between Broderick and David S. Terry, the pro-Southern outgoing chief justice of the California Supreme Court, in which Broderick was killed. That same year, Chivalry leaders pushed for partitioning the state, making southern California into a proslavery “Territory of Colorado”; the partition scheme was rejected by Congress.⁹

Public outrage over Broderick’s death helped propel California toward the Republican column in the 1860 presidential election. Yet the realignment proved fragile and temporary. In 1868, California returned to Democratic control with the election of Governor Henry Haight. The state refused to ratify the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, approving them only in 1959 and 1962, respectively. In the 1870s, California’s political conflicts increasingly revolved around labor unrest, corporate power, and Chinese exclusion. Meanwhile, the Civil War and its antecedents receded from public political memory.¹⁰

An influx of Southern migrants soon brought the memory of the Civil War back to life in California. White Southerners were a growing share of migrants to California in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At its nadir in 1900, the share of US-born Californians who were born in the South (as defined by the US Census) was 6 percent. The twentieth-century migration boom brought a relative increase of transplanted Southerners in California, reaching 15 percent of US-born Californians by 1940. The

vast majority of Southern migrants were white; only during World War II did African Americans begin arriving in large numbers.¹¹ Early on, some notable people with Confederate affiliations moved to the state. Among them was Brig. Gen. Tyree Bell, a Tennessee-born Confederate cavalry general, as well as the daughter of Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson, the niece of Jubal Early, and the daughter of Albert Sidney Johnston, who had commanded the US Army’s Pacific Department in California for a few months in 1860 before joining the Confederacy and dying at Shiloh. The scientist Joseph LeConte, a former Confederate officer, became a prominent professor at the University of California, where his brother John served as president between 1869 and 1891; Aurelius W. Hutton, an Alabama-born Confederate officer, served as justice of the Los Angeles County Superior Court between 1875 and 1881; and Victor Montgomery, a Confederate veteran from Tennessee, was a civic leader in Santa Ana Valley who helped found Orange County in 1889.¹²

White women associated with Southern migration founded and sustained the California Division of the UDC. The first California chapter, named for Confederate leader Albert Sidney Johnston, was established in San Francisco in 1898, just two years after the UDC was founded in Nashville, Tennessee. This was the first chapter founded outside the former Confederacy. The California Division, established in 1900, included five chapters: two in Los Angeles and one each in San Francisco, San Diego, and Santa Ana, with a total membership of 196 persons. By 1904, the division had grown to 1,622 members, with the largest membership in northern California.¹³ The overwhelming majority of the UDC founders, officers, and early presidents had arrived in California in the 1870s or later or were the California-born daughters of Southerners who had arrived after the war. Of the seven officeholders elected upon the division’s founding, only one, Johana Maynard Wright, lived in California before 1870, and neither she nor her husband had been involved in pro-Confederate activities at the time. Of the first thirteen presidents of the division, only two had lived in California before 1880. These women were not descendants of California politicians of the 1850s nor the heirs of California’s wartime secessionist networks. They carried with them inherited memories of the Confederacy rather than lived connections to California’s own antebellum conflicts.¹⁴

The lack of connection between the state’s prewar history and the UDC is further suggested by the geographic distribution of California chapters. Before and during the Civil War, pro-Confederate forces had concentrated primarily in southern California. Yet, at the outset, the UDC was disproportionately a northern California organization. At peak membership, in 1904, only 40 percent of division members belonged to chapters in

southern California. Had the organization grown directly out of surviving pro-Confederate political strongholds within the state, one would expect its strength to lie in southern California.¹⁵ Chapters in southern California surged only in the 1910s and 1920s, coinciding with a dramatic increase in migration to southern California, particularly Los Angeles, which was fueled by the combination of the consolidation of railroad infrastructure, large-scale oil discoveries, the completion of the Los Angeles Aqueduct, and the rise of the motion picture industry.

Members of the white Southern diaspora living in California had strong desires to both sustain attachment to their former homeland and create a community of Southern expatriates in the West.¹⁶ Chrissie Leigh, historian for the California Division, recalled that the state's UDC had emerged after a "request . . . from the daughters of the Confederacy of Virginia" to initiate chapters everywhere. Leigh wrote that California chapters were instruments for preserving "the traditions, customs and affections of the land of their birth." The Los Angeles chapter, she explained, was founded in 1898 by "a group of Southern women who, being permanently established on this far Western shore felt the need of keeping alive."¹⁷ In 1921, division president Emma Douglass articulated the ethos of keeping the connection to the Old South, declaring, in an address, "The Southern Spirit is planted in the minds and affections of all true Southerners wherever they go" and the UDC helped women fulfil "their sacred duty to their Confederate ancestry" by perpetuating the traditions of their people "in marble, in character, history, story and song."¹⁸ The attachment to the Old South was even manifested in the names of division members. The rosters list fifty-seven women named Virginia, seven Georgia, four Florida, and two Alabama.¹⁹

The women of the California Division also sought to create community. An obituary of UDC leader Charlie Louise Montgomery recalled that Montgomery founded the Emma Sansom chapter in Santa Ana since she "knew instinctively that Southerners, far from the South, needed such comfort as was to be obtained from banding together in one great body."²⁰ In her 1922 report to the national convention, division president Florence Ross similarly emphasized the communal spirit of the organization, noting that the division's conventions were "a real UDC reunion." Those who attended regularly had "grown very fond of each other and almost feel like real sisters."²¹ UDC women's dual commitment to preserving Southern heritage and sustaining expatriate solidarity culminated in an explicitly diasporic self-understanding. In her 1921 address, Douglass drew a direct comparison between the Southern expatriate community and the Jewish diaspora. Just as Jews had been saved from annihilation by "the

perpetuation of the traditions and inheritances,” she argued, so too the Southerner could not afford to allow “the fires of patriotism smolder in the ashes of neglect, or forgetfulness.”²²

As a diasporic institution, the California Division fused white Southerners’ pride in the Confederacy with the project of making a life in California, and this included drawing inspiration from a powerful contemporary mythology of California and the Far West. Spurred in part by Frederick Jackson Turner’s frontier thesis, many Americans imagined the West as the crucible of American democracy, vitality, and self-reinvention—a space where the nation’s character was continually reborn. Within this framework, the image of California stood in relation to the eastern states as the image America had once stood in relation to Europe: a land of promise and purification, where history could be remade and past failures transcended. In the late nineteenth century, California boosters—developers, civic leaders, and railroad promoters—depicted the state as a paradise of opportunity, health, and moral renewal. It was a place to begin life anew, free of the burdens of the past. Booster rhetoric celebrated California as the culmination of American progress and expansion, offering regeneration to body and spirit.²³

Even as California UDC leaders lamented Confederate defeat, they relied on such boosterist optimism, representing the state as a site of convalescence and cultural renewal for white Southerners far from home. Division historian Lilian Pritchett wrote of how the grandmother of Charlie Louise Montgomery fled the postwar South. The South, “under carpet-bag rule, and with Negroes being incited to dangerous moods, was no place for a widow with such heavy responsibilities[,] and the grandmother took her large family, together with many neighbors and friends, and started for California.”²⁴ Here, migration westward was both an escape from Reconstruction and an act of collective preservation. Similarly, when Aurelius Hutton addressed the Robert E. Lee Chapter in 1902, he described veterans who “came in life to this coast either to make here their permanent homes or to benefit their impaired health.” In California, he continued, they “formed new associations and new friendships” and, through their conduct, “proved to the world that however valiant they may have been as soldiers in war they were equally deserving of esteem . . . as citizens in times of peace.”²⁵ A decade later, in her report to the national UDC convention, division president Anna Bell Dunlap echoed the same theme: “This land of sunshine and flowers attracts many veterans and their families,” drawn westward by “the promise of reviving health and abundant work.”²⁶ Division president Emma Douglass struck a similar note in her report to the 1920 national convention: “the spirit of the West has afforded

an opportunity for development and expression of the splendid ability of the Southern woman,” and in California, “she comes into her own.”²⁷

UDC women and their allies thus struck a delicate balance between expressing respect and admiration for the Old South and consciously seeking to break from that past. By locating the war and its passions firmly in the East, division leaders could preserve pride in Southern origins while distancing themselves from the political and moral conflicts associated with it. That combination also made it possible to cooperate with Union veterans’ organizations. Reporting to the national convention in 1909, division president Zoe Hill noted that one chapter “gave liberally and worked for the G. A. R. Rally Encampment.” The effort, she explained, “greatly pleased the G. A. R. veterans” and “removed all prejudice forever from that district.” Hill described the collaboration as “a wise, far-seeing conciliatory measure,” particularly appropriate “in this Western country where the U. D. C. are not yet thoroughly understood, and where in some places the Stars and Bars still suggest dissension and strife.”²⁸ Five years later, division president Carroll Stewart reported that the division had helped organize two Blue and Gray reunions in California.²⁹

In its early decades, the California Division responded to the UDC national leadership, in part by participating in the organization’s efforts to fund and construct Confederate monuments in the East. Division presidents’ annual convention addresses devoted as much as one quarter of their text to the UDC’s Eastern memorial projects (see figure 1).³⁰ During the 1920s, the California division devoted nearly 15 percent of all its designated funds (excluding per-capita dues) toward memorial projects in the East. Although other causes received greater sums—particularly veteran relief and aid to survivors of natural disasters in the South, such as hurricanes and floods—the share dedicated to eastern memorial projects was notable. In fact, the full extent of support is likely understated in this analysis, as detailed figures are missing for most years before 1925, when many of the major monument campaigns took place (see figure 2).³¹ Even moveable objects located in California were treated as components of a commemorative landscape centered elsewhere. When a Mississippi woman reported that the chair Jefferson Davis had once used in the US Senate was in the possession of a family in San Jose, the California Division appointed a committee to negotiate its transfer to Mississippi.³²

The California Division’s eastward gaze suited its purposes of community-building and heritage preservation. First, raising funds for memorials in Virginia, Mississippi, and elsewhere helped members maintain California migrants’ connection to the South, reinforcing their ties to a shared Confederate past as well as their commitment to keep

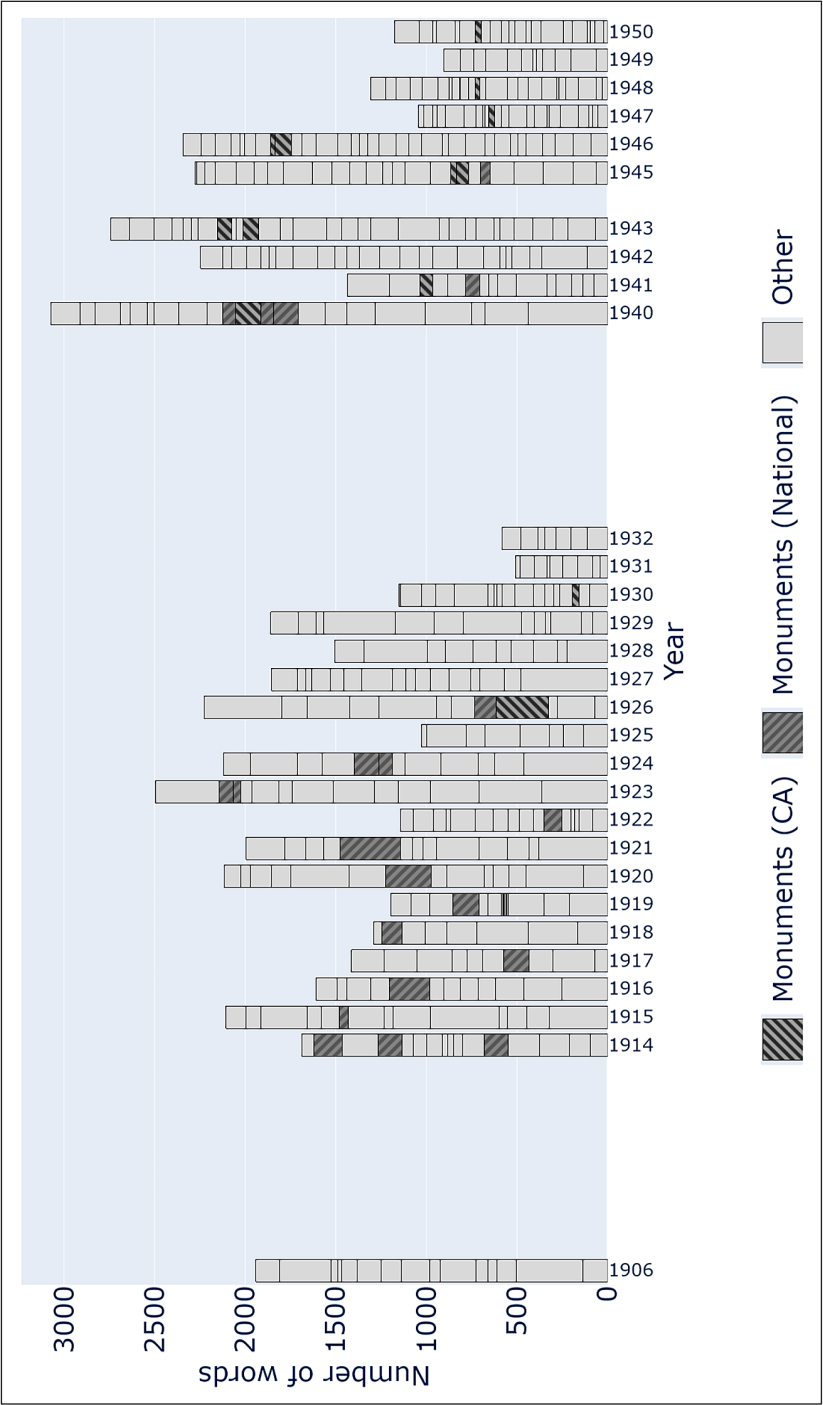


Figure 1 (a)
The number of words dedicated to each topic in California UDC presidential addresses, per year, up to 1950 (GPT). The bars are ordered according to the speech (the beginning of each speech is at the bottom of the bar and the end at the top).

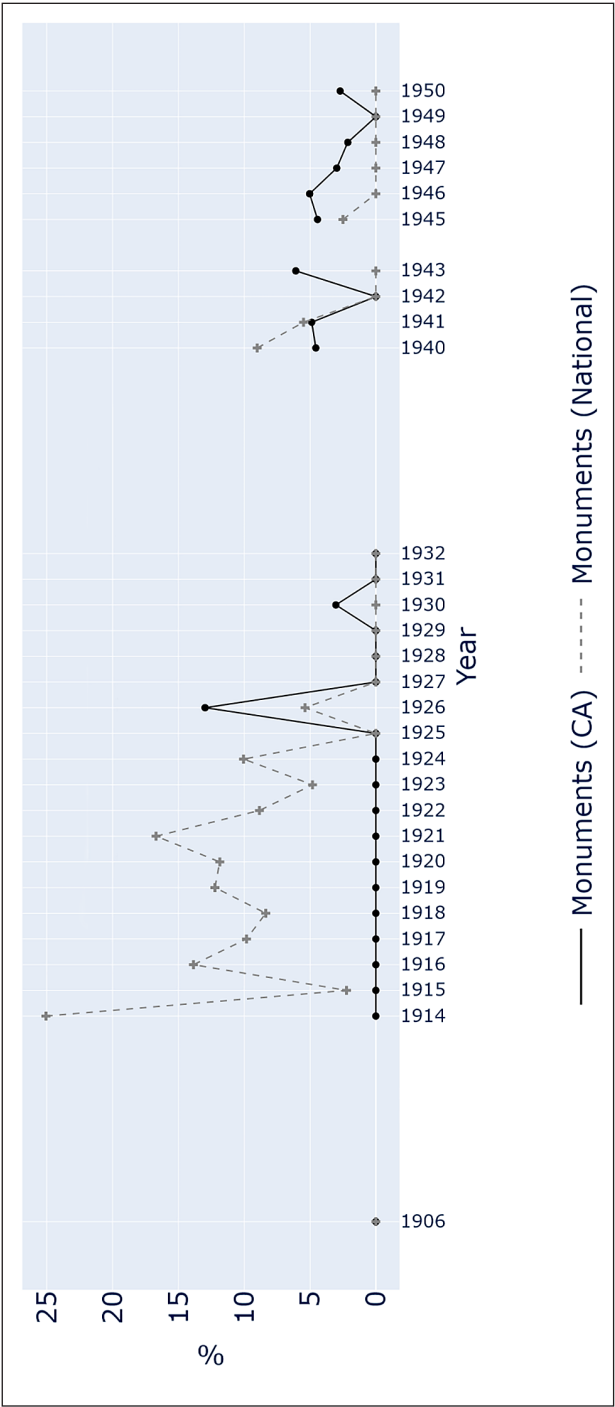


Figure 1 (b)
The share each address dedicated to monuments on the national level and to monuments in California, per year, up to 1950.

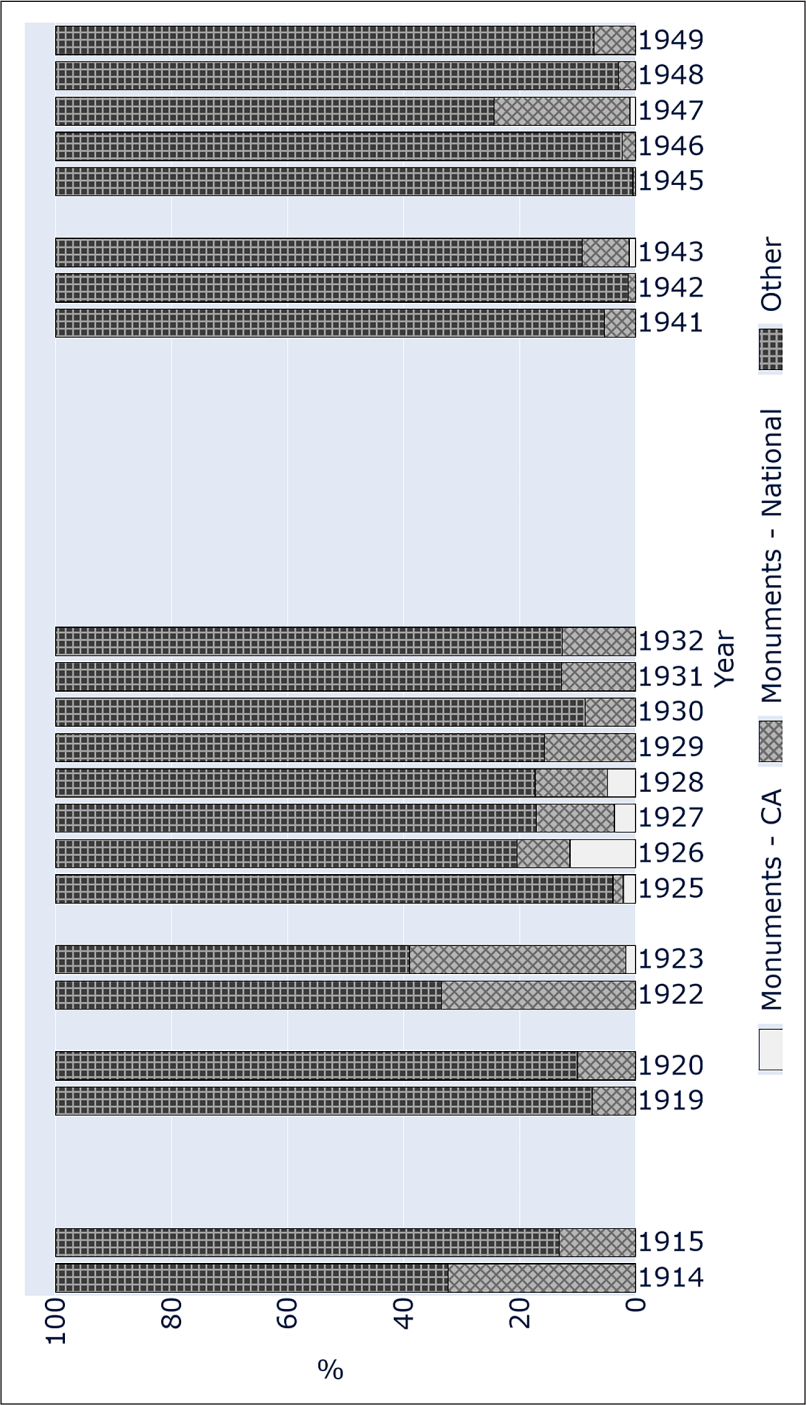


Figure 2
Share of members' donations for each cause category, monuments or "other," per year.

Confederate heritage alive. As division president Carroll Stewart described in her 1915 address, the UDC's work is "a sacred trust," binding members to the past while directing their attention to the present and future. The monuments, she declared, were "testimonials of our love for our heroes in gray."³³ Second, these efforts helped alleviate a sense of isolation by connecting California women with one another and with women elsewhere. In her address at the 1914 convention, Stewart urged closer ties among chapters so that each daughter would feel "very much needed and wanted." Members, she argued, should "exchange ideas and give and take inspiration from each other," recognizing that they belonged to "a magnificent organization whose possibilities for good are limitless." The work, she reminded them, was "not a local task." The UDC, she emphasized, was "over 90,000 strong," and its activity extended "to almost every State in the Union."³⁴ Her successor, Georgie Davis, echoed this consciousness of distance and belonging. Informing the 1917 national convention that California counted 1,246 members, she acknowledged that "in comparison with our Southern States, this number looks very meagre." Yet, she continued, "situated as we are on the rim of the world, so far away from 'Dixie Land,' it is very gratifying to transplanted Southern hearts."³⁵

Participating in projects whose focus was elsewhere may have been fulfilling for members of the California Division, but they also revealed the division's lack of interest in, or perhaps lack of awareness of, the state's own Civil War-era history. As division president Charlie Louise Montgomery stated in 1903, "we lack in California local sources of inspiration there are no relics of combat, nor battle-scarred monuments, nor historic spots I point out as possessing an interest peculiar to them and their people."³⁶ Division historian Julia Harris wrote in 1921, "We are far from where the real history of the Confederate States was made."³⁷

■ In the second half of the 1920s, the California Division underwent an important shift in orientation, alongside a renewed surge in membership and fundraising. For the first time, the division directed its attention to California itself, increasingly seeking to inscribe Confederate memory directly into the state's landscape. Recovering from a relative decline in membership of roughly 1,200 members over the 1910s, by 1930 membership had reached a new peak of 1,575. Annual contributions climbed to an all-time high of \$12,000, equivalent to roughly \$240,000 in 2026 dollars. Two major projects, one completed in 1925 and one initiated that year, demonstrate the division's new focus. First, the division helped fund and erect a Confederate monument at Hollywood Forever Cemetery; second, it lobbied for California recognition of the Jefferson Davis Highway. In

both projects, the division continued its emphasis on serving current-day Confederate memory while mostly ignoring the state's prewar history.

The Confederate monument at Hollywood Cemetery (now Hollywood Forever Cemetery) became the clearest and most visible expression of UDC commemorative activity in California, symbolizing the organization's effort to establish a durable Confederate memory there. Still, the focus was on Confederate veterans who had transplanted to California, rather than on the state's own proslavery or pro-Confederate history. The effort began in the early 1920s, when residents of Los Angeles formed the Confederate Memorial Association of Los Angeles, led by President William C. Harrison, longtime commander of the Pacific Division of the United Confederate Veterans; vice president Emma Douglass, who served as president of the California Division of the UDC in 1923–24; Ella Swickard, president of the Wade Hampton UDC Chapter in Los Angeles in 1918–19; and Marie Harrington, historian of the same chapter. Although not formally an organ of the UDC, the association was clearly closely associated with it and took major credit in erecting the monument.³⁸

The monument ended up in a cemetery in part because it was not permitted elsewhere. By 1925, the association had collected \$2,000 (roughly \$37,000 in 2026) and purchased a granite boulder for the monument it hoped to erect in a central park in Los Angeles. Following political pressure from Union veterans, however, the city government withdrew its support. The association then purchased a plot in Hollywood Cemetery to serve as both the site of the monument and a burial ground for Confederate veterans. Hollywood Cemetery, established in 1899, had grown up alongside the Hollywood district and had become one of the principal burial grounds of the expanding city. Although the association did not explicitly explain why it chose this particular cemetery, the decision likely reflected a combination of practical concern for the burial needs of aging veterans and a desire to place the monument in the most prominent location possible. In time, the plot came to contain the graves of roughly thirty Confederate veterans.³⁹

The unveiling ceremony was concerned with the living as well as the dead. The monument itself was a six-foot boulder with a bronze plaque dedicated to the "memory of Confederate Soldiers who have died or who may die on the Pacific Coast."⁴⁰ Ahead of the June 3, 1925, unveiling, the UDC national president visited California and attended several large gatherings, as well as the state convention in San Jose, in which discussions of the unveiling featured prominently. The dedication itself was attended by ex-Southerners from across southern California, with eighteen aging Confederate veterans as guests of honor.⁴¹ Harrison addressed the veterans

directly: "The monument is ours, boys. A tribute to the memory of those days when the boys of have gone beyond fought with us under the colors for the pride of Jeff Davis's southland."⁴² The monument and associated events epitomized the overall focus of the UDC commemoration in California. It did not aim to preserve a link to California's own historical entanglements with the Confederacy. Rather, it recast the state instead as a destination for Southern migrants, making the Civil War a memory distant not only in time but—crucially—in space as well.

The Hollywood Forever monument was the first of several memorials honoring Confederate veterans in California cemeteries. From the division's early years, members had decorated the graves of Confederate veterans in the state on Decoration Day, later Memorial Day. The Hollywood Forever monument quickly became a site of Confederate Memorial Day observances and related ceremonies.⁴³ In 1948, the UDC dedicated a monument in San Diego that was funded through an ambitious campaign that raised more than \$1,000 (approximately \$13,560 in 2026). Separately, the Sons of Confederate Veterans established a solitary monument at Bethel Cemetery, a remote burial ground about twelve miles southeast of Fresno.⁴⁴ In 1954, the division established a standing committee tasked with locating and decorating the graves of Confederate veterans buried in California. Over six years, the committee compiled a final list containing several hundred graves.⁴⁵

In the mid-1920s, the California Division began work on the Jefferson Davis Highway, another project that honored the Confederacy without acknowledging California's real connections to it. The highway was a major undertaking by the national UDC, created in response to the 1913 establishment of the coast-to-coast Lincoln Highway by the Lincoln Highway Association. The UDC's goal was to establish a coast-to-coast highway paralleling its Northern counterpart, beginning in Richmond and extending through all the ex-Confederate states, as well as New Mexico, and Arizona, before reaching the Pacific Coast. The initial route was intended to follow Highway 80 (now I-8) between Yuma and Los Angeles and then continue to San Francisco, which would serve as the terminus, as it did for the Lincoln Highway.⁴⁶

Facing adverse political conditions in California, the division's leaders emphasized Davis's connections to the transcontinental railroad, not to the Confederacy. Governments of the former Confederate states, entrenched in the Jim Crow order, had readily embraced the Jefferson Davis Highway project, as had governments of New Mexico and Arizona, whose highway commissions either erected monuments (New Mexico) or designated entire stretches of road for Davis (Arizona).⁴⁷ But politics in California were

largely progressive and Republican, making it hard for the UDC to raise money to erect markers along the route. The California Division therefore represented Davis not as the Confederate president or proslavery politician but as the farsighted architect of California's connection to the Union. For instance, division leaders selected San Diego for a highway marker because, they argued, Davis, while serving as US secretary of war in 1853, had identified its harbor as "the most advantageous harbor for the Coast-to-Coast Military Road . . . which as the first transcontinental highway he urged Congress to establish."⁴⁸ The reality was that Davis's interest in a transcontinental railroad had everything to do with his vision of extending slavery to the Far West.⁴⁹ But UDC leaders conveniently ignored that fact, choosing instead to emphasize his continental vision alone. At the 1926 dedication of the San Diego marker, Jessie Calhoun Anderson, president of the Robert E. Lee Chapter, declared that it was "especially apropos for a great road to the Pacific Coast to be named for Jefferson Davis," because he was "the first American statesman to propose such a road."⁵⁰ As division president Margaret Grafield put it in a telegram to a San Diego newspaper, "it was Jefferson Davis, as Secretary of War, who first recognized the necessity for safe and rapid communication with the Pacific Slope," and therefore it was only fitting that "the great transcontinental highway bearing his name should find its western terminus at San Diego."⁵¹

The UDC's downplaying of the sectional motives behind Davis's actions is in some respects understandable. As an organization devoted to honoring Confederate leaders while operating in a Union state where most residents and most migrants came from the North, the California division faced clear constraints on how openly it could celebrate the Confederacy's political aims. Emphasizing Davis's role in strengthening national connections offered a convenient way to present his legacy as compatible with American patriotism and with California's dominant political culture. Yet the result was a deeply distorted narrative. By presenting Davis primarily as a visionary of national unity, the division obscured the political context in which his plans emerged, transforming a project closely bound up with Southern, proslavery ambitions into evidence of foresight and loyalty to the Union.

The UDC finally managed to install a marker on the Jefferson Davis Highway in San Diego on May 10, 1926. Unable to secure support from the state government, division president Margaret Prewett Garfield had convinced the national organization to shift the terminus point to San Diego, where a conservative local climate, shaped in part by the broader nativist politics of 1920s southern California and the presence of the Ku Klux Klan, made Confederate commemoration more feasible.⁵² The installation ceremony included comments from the mayor, the chamber of commerce,

and the Automobile Club of Southern California, as well as the UDC division president and other UDC dignitaries.⁵³ Yet, the dedication also incited backlash led by Republican-aligned councilmember Dan Wilson, and the plaque was removed four months later, to the great dismay and protest of the UDC. It was reinstated thirty years later.⁵⁴

In the early 1940s, after a hiatus in marker-related work, the California Division renewed its efforts but changed its geographical focus. Earlier, the California Division, under the leadership of Marie Harrington, had envisioned placing Jefferson Davis markers along the coastal route from San Diego along US 101 to San Francisco and from there to Sacramento and points north. Now the group shifted its attention to an inland route along what was then US 99 (now a state road) through the Central Valley. The shift was likely prompted by Rachel Wasem, chair of California's Jefferson Davis Highway Committee, who lived along US 99 in Bakersfield.

Wasem and other division members also adopted a new interpretive angle: Jefferson Davis's camel experiment. In 1855, Davis had conceived the idea of importing camels from the Middle East to use as a means of transportation over the deserts of the American Southwest. By 1857, the US Army had imported seventy-five camels and housed them at Fort Tejon in California, just south of Bakersfield, along what became US 99. The experiment was a total failure. The camels were unsuited to the climate and fought constantly with other working animals such as horses and mules. Within a decade, all the camels, thin and starving, were auctioned off. Rachel Wasem viewed the camel experiment as a local historical connection that could justify a Davis highway commemoration.⁵⁵ Under Wasem's leadership, a concrete marker with a bronze plaque was installed adjacent to the highway in the town of Lebec, just north of Tejon Pass near Bakersfield on October 15, 1942. The new emphasis on the camel trail was evident in media reports and in Wasem's report to the division convention in 1943, depicting the monument "Our 'Camel Trail Monument'" dedicated "to Jefferson Davis as 'Father of National Highways'"⁵⁶ Yet, neither the monument's inscription nor the speeches at the dedication ceremony mentioned the camels. Rather, the central point was that Davis was the originator of transcontinental routes that connected California with the rest of the nation.⁵⁷

The division now embarked on an ambitious campaign to secure formal state recognition of US 99 as Jefferson Davis Highway. After lobbying by the division, conservative assemblyman Thomas H. Werdel proposed legislation to that effect, with the original UDC justification of Davis as originator of transcontinental routes. The assembly rejected the proposal, whereupon Gertrude Montgomery, daughter of Charlie Louise

Montgomery and the new head of the UDC's California Division markers committee, sought to reframe the campaign. She "decided to stress an historical event pertaining especially to California, namely the era of the Camels, and Secretary Davis's connection with that unique period" and therefore "prepared a one-page leaflet setting forth all the facts in as dramatic a manner" as she could.⁵⁸ It did not work. A year later, the division received word that the legislature agreed to name the highway the "Blue Star" Highway at the request of the Garden Clubs of California.⁵⁹

The California Division never succeeded in getting a stretch of highway named after Jefferson Davis, but commemoration of the camel experiment reached its zenith in 1956, when the division erected a marker at Fort Tejon, by then designated a state historic park. During the 1930s and 1940s, county authorities and the Chamber of Commerce had invested considerable effort in preserving the fort, lobbying in Sacramento and supporting the project with local funds. The UDC had played no part in that effort, but after the park was created, the division placed a marker in its perimeter, linking Jefferson Davis to the army's camel experiment and presenting the episode as part of the broader story of the Jefferson Davis Highway.⁶⁰

By the mid-twentieth century, California featured nineteen different places commemorating Confederate veterans or veterans or leaders, most of them sponsored by the UDC. UDC women oversaw installation of four monuments honoring Confederate veterans who died in California and, eventually, five Jefferson Davis Highway markers. They successfully promoted the naming of schools, hills and sequoia trees after the CSS *Alabama* and Robert E. Lee. Notably, neither Alabama nor Lee had any connection to California, further emphasizing the geographically detached nature of these commemorations. California also gave Confederate names to two sites whose designations were not initiated by the UDC: a mountain peak in the High Sierras named after Jefferson Davis and a small town once named Confederate Corners.⁶¹

Perhaps the most literal expression of the UDC's signature commemorative project—its efforts to transplant Confederate memory onto western soil—occurred in 1934, when the Thomas J. Churchill Chapter of Santa Monica moved twenty sugar maple trees from the Civil War battlefield in Fairfield, Tennessee, to the campus of Loyola University in Los Angeles. The effort was led by John Christopher Brooks, a Tennessee native and the inspector general of the Pacific Division of the United Confederate Veterans. Brooks and the Santa Monica UDC dedicated the grove to the Confederacy's Gen. Patrick Cleburne, who died in that battle, as well as to the Confederate poet-priest Abram Ryan. The UDC women carefully

maintained the grove and in 1957 installed a new commemorative marker and new trees, as the originals had died.⁶² Twenty-seven years after the dedication of the Loyola grove, Alice Quinn, division president, made a similar gesture on a more intimate scale, planting in her backyard a hickory nut she had collected from a battlefield while attending a national UDC convention in Memphis. These acts of literally transplanting living matter from Confederate battlefields reflected the California UDC's broader project: the physical and mnemonic transplantation of Southern memory into a distant western landscape.⁶³

The Loyola University trees constitute perhaps the clearest embodiment of the California UDC's collective work in shaping public memory. The division fused the Lost Cause narrative with California boosterism to produce a distinctive story in which the state was reimagined as a sanctuary for ex-Confederates and a center of Southern cultural preservation and renewal. Through initiatives such as the Hollywood Forever monument and the decoration of Confederate veterans' graves, the UDC institutionalized this vision within California's commemorative landscape. Other projects—most notably the designation of the Jefferson Davis Highway and the naming of streets, schools, and trees after Robert E. Lee—further reinforced the perception of California as spatially and historically removed from the Civil War. Collectively, these efforts also effaced California's complex antebellum and wartime history and obscured its contributions to both the Confederate and Union causes, entrenching a narrative of the state's supposed detachment from the sectional conflict and the Civil War.

NOTES

1. United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), Minutes of the Twenty-Second Annual Meeting of the *United Daughters of the Confederacy, Held in San Francisco, Cal. October 20 to 24, 1915* (Observer Printing House, 1915)

2. For convention locations, see UDC, Minutes of the Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, vols. 1–49 (Foster & Web and various, 1894–1942). For division sizes, see UDC national convention minutes (Tenth, Thirteenth, Sixteenth, Nineteenth, Twenty-Fourth, Twenty-Eighth, and Thirty-Third Annual Meetings); full citations and page references are provided in the appendix. See also Crissie P. Leigh, “Forty-Two Years with the California Division, U.D.C.,” 2, Local History LH.86, box 4, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Emma Sansom Chapter Records, California State University, Fullerton; Mary B. Poppenheim et al., *The History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy*, vols. 1–2: 1894–1929, 1930–1955 (Literary Licensing, LLC, 2013), 33; Dorothy M. Watson, “A Handbook of History,” 3, California Division, UDC, 1942, Local History LH.86 box 11, UDC, Emma Sansom Chapter Records; Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (University Press of Florida, 2003), 16–24.

3. Most scholars follow contemporary newspaper accounts and UDC officials' speeches in assessing the UDC reached its peak at 100,000 members or more by the end of World War I. However, my examination of the membership data from the annual convention minutes shows that, in fact, the peak was around sixty thousand members, reached only by 1929, followed by a decline during the Great Depression.

4. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*; W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* (Harvard University Press, 2009), 105–37; Francesca Morgan, *Women and Patriotism in Jim Crow America, Gender and American Culture* (University of North Carolina Press, 2005). On state divisions in the South, see Kelly M. Stott, "From lost cause to female empowerment: The Texas Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1896–1966" (PhD diss., University of North Texas, 2001); Barrett Codeick, "Keepers of History, Shapers of Memory: The Florida Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1895–1930" (MA thesis, Florida State University, 2012). On the formation of the Lost Cause, see David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001), 97, 235; Caroline E. Janney, *Remembering the Civil War: Reunion and the Limits of Reconciliation*, (University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 8–9; Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865–1913* (Oxford University Press, 2014), 116–26.

5. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 29; James N. Gregory, *Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migrations of Black and White Southerners Transformed America* (University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 158–59; Samuel Bazzi et al., *The Confederate Diaspora*, NBER Working Paper No. w31331 (National Bureau of Economic Research, 2023).

6. Anne E. Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky: The Lost Cause and Civil War Memory in a Border State* (University of North Carolina Press, 2013); Amy L. Fluker, *Commonwealth of compromise: Civil War Commemoration in Missouri*. (University of Missouri Press, 2020); Kevin Waite, "The 'Lost Cause' Goes West: Confederate Culture and Civil War Memory in California," *California History* 97, no. 1 (2020): 33–49; Emma Bianco, "Memorializing a 'Golden Era' in the Golden State," *Southern California Quarterly* 104, no. 1 (2022): 5–34.

7. Bill Deverell and Stacey Smith also discuss how Californians effectively erased the 1850s from public memory and largely ignored the state's role in the antebellum crisis and the war. See William Deverell, "The 1850s," in *A Companion to California History*, ed. William Deverell (Wiley Blackwell, 2014); Stacey L. Smith, *Freedom's Frontier: California and the Struggle over Unfree Labor, Emancipation, and Reconstruction* (University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 4.

8. Kevin Waite, *West of Slavery: The Southern Dream of a Transcontinental Empire* (University of North Carolina Press, 2021), 41–62. See also William P. Moody, "The Civil War and Reconstruction in California Politics" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1950), 13–14; Alan Taylor, *American Civil Wars: A Continental History, 1850–1873* (W. W. Norton, 2024), 73–75, 91–94; William Deverell and Anne F. Hyde, *Shaped by the West: vol. 1 of 2: A History of North America to 1877* (University of California Press, 2018), 285–91; William M. Gwin, "Gwin and Seward.—A Secret Chapter in Antebellum History," *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine* 18, no. 107 (1891): 465–71;

The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft: vol. 24, History of California: vol. 7, 1860–1890 (History Company, 1890), 262; Robert W. Johannsen, Stephen A. Douglas (Oxford University Press, 1973), 685–86; David A. Williams, David C. Broderick: A Political Portrait (Huntington Library, 1969), 196; Jeremiah Lynch, A Senator of the Fifties: The Life of David C. Broderick (Baker & Taylor, 1911), 170; Roy Bloss, “Senator Defiled: Biography of William Gwin,” 256–58, 297–98, BANC MSS 98/154 c, box 1, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; Moody, “Civil War and Reconstruction in California Politics,” 58–62; Ronald A. Shearer, “California and the Gold Standard During the American Civil War,” working paper, Department of Economics, University of British Columbia, October 2000.

9. Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft: vol. 23, History of California: vol. 6, 1848–1859 (History Company, 1888), 287–93, 589–602, 659–73; Theodore H. Hittel, History of California, vol. 4 (N. J. Stone & Co., 1898), 89–180, 201–30, 237–83, 423–440; James M. Guinn, “How California Escaped State Division,” Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California 6, no. 3 (1905): 227–31; Imogene Spaulding, “The Attitude of California to the Civil War,” Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California 9, nos. 1–2 (1912): 104–31; Lately Thomas, Between Two Empires: The Life Story of California’s First Senator, William McKendree Gwin (Houghton Mifflin, 1969), 6–46; Kevin Starr, California: A History (Modern Library, 2015), 95–107; Arthur Quinn, The Rivals: William Gwin, David Broderick, and the Birth of California (University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 236–37.

10. Waite, *West of Slavery*, 41–62, 155–58, 181–89; Glenna Matthews, *The Golden State in the Civil War* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 42–130; Eugene H. Berwanger, *The West and Reconstruction* (University of Illinois Press, 1981), 173–84, 207–14; Gerard Stanley, “Civil War Politics in California,” *Southern California Quarterly* 64, no. 2 (1982): 115–18.

11. Gregory, Southern Diaspora, 13–16.

12. Watson, “Handbook of History,” 8, 12, 15, 27; Poppenheim et al., History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, 33; “Last Rites for Hutton Set Today: Pioneer Resident, Former City Attorney and Judge, Succumbs at Home,” Los Angeles Times, December 12, 1931; “Judge Victor Montgomery,” Anaheim (CA) Gazette, October 26, 1911.

13. Chapter sizes were reconstructed primarily from membership rolls published in the minutes and yearbooks of the California Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. See the appendix for details. Membership rolls showed a sharp drop in membership in 1908, with steepest declines in northern California. Strong circumstantial evidence suggests that this was a delayed result of the 1906 earthquake.

14. US Census, 1860, entry for George Glascock and Elizabeth A. Glascock; US Census, 1870, entry for B. C. Aldrich and Stewart Aldrich, US Census, 1880, entries for S. R. Thorpe and Helena Thorpe, E. M. Orrick and Mrs. E. M. Orrick, Walter B. Hill and Zoe T. Hill, Louis Alldrich and Virginia C. Alldrich, Edwin Moise and Esther Moise, T. J. Douglass and Emma Douglass, Albert Stephen and Matilda Stephen; US Census, 1900, entries for Spencer R. Thorpe and Helena B. Thorpe, Wm. J. Davis and Mattie S. Davis, Benjamin F. Church and Mabel Church, Thomas T. Loy and Emma A. Loy; US Census, 1910, entry for Chas L. Trabert and Harriet A. Trabert (US Census

information available via FamilySearch.org); US Confederate Officers Card Index, 1861–1865,” entry for Isaac Thomas Bell, available via FamilySearch.org; Virginia, Marriages, 1785–1940, entry for Mabel Stuart (in Major Carrington entry); Texas, Marriages, 1837–1973, entry for Ida M. Dobson (in Chapel D. Stanton entry); Tennessee, County Marriages, 1790–1959, entry for Albert M. Stephens and Mettie Wicks; California, County Marriages, 1849–1957,” entry for J. Henry Stewart and Carroll Gay Loy, February 6, 1904 (marriage records available via FamilySearch.org); 1920 US Federal Census and 1900 US Federal Census, available via Ancestry.com; US Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900 (National Archives and Records Administration, 1900), T623, 1854 rolls; William A. Conard, ed., *The Encyclopedia of the History of Missouri* (Southern History Company, 1901), 15; Lilian Pritchett, “A Tribute to Mrs. Victor Montgomery, Local History LH.86, box 11, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Emma Sansom Chapter Records; “Annie Clay Funeral Set,” *Oakland Post Inquirer*, March 7, 1942.

15. Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, 24:7:259–61, 281–91; Spaulding, “Attitude of California to the Civil War,” 105–6; Kevin Waite, “The Brittle West: Secession and Separatism in the Southwest Borderlands During the Civil War Era,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 127, no. 1 (2023): 8–28; Robert M. Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850–1930* (University of California Press, 1993), 52; Gregory, *Southern Diaspora*, 210–13, 288–89, 291–92.

16. Such dynamics among diasporic communities are discussed in Alan Gamlen, Michael E. Cummings, and Paul M. Vaaler, “Explaining the Rise of Diaspora Institutions,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45, no. 4 (2019): 492–516.

17. Leigh, “Forty-Two Years with the California Division,” 2.

18. Emma Douglass, “President’s Address,” in *United Daughters of the Confederacy, California Division (UDC-CA), Minutes of the Twenty-First Convention*, 31–36. For archival details of the division yearbooks cited in this article, see appendix.

19. Leigh, “Forty-Two Years with the California Division,” 1–2. Names were derived from the UDC members database: see appendix.

20. Pritchett, “Tribute to Mrs. Victor Montgomery.”

21. Florence B. Ross, “California Division,” in UDC, *Minutes of the Twenty-Ninth Annual Meeting* (McCowat Mercer, 1922), 254.

22. Douglass, “Presidential Address” in UDC-CA, *Minutes of the Twenty-Second Convention of the California Division*, 31.

23. Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (University of Michigan Library, 1920); Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union* (C. Scribner’s Sons, 1947); Charles A. Beard and Mary Ritter Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, rev. ed. (Macmillan, 1966); Leo Braudy, “Cultures and Communities,” in *A Companion to Los Angeles*, ed. William Deverell (Wiley Blackwell, 2010), 271; William Deverell, “Convalescence and California: The Civil War Comes West,” *Southern California Quarterly* 90, no. 1 (2008): 9–12; Waite, *West of Slavery*, 239–247; Smith, *Freedom’s Frontier*, 231–35. John Shertzer Hittel, *All About California and the Inducements to Settle There* (California Immigrant Union, 1871); Charles Nordhoff, *California: For Health, Pleasure, and Residence: A Book for Travelers and Settlers* (Harper & Brothers,

1873); Damon B. Akins and William J. Bauer Jr., *We Are the Land: A History of Native California* (University of California Press, 2021), 169.

24. Pritchett, "Tribute to Mrs. Victor Montgomery."

25. Aurelius Winfield Hutton, *Address Delivered before Robert E. Lee Chapter, U.D.C., at Y.M.C.A. Hall, Los Angeles, Cal., June 3rd, 1902* (N.p., 1902).

26. Anna Bell Dunlap, "California Division," in UDC, *Minutes of the Eighteenth Annual Convention* (Paducah Publishing Company, 1911), 318–19.

27. Emma Thompson, "California Division," in UDC, *Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Annual Convention* (McCowat Mercer, 1921), 210.

28. Zoe Hill, "California Division," in UDC, *Minutes of the Fifteenth Annual Convention* (Post Publishing Company, 1909), 294.

29. Carroll Stewart, "California Division," in UDC, *Minutes of the Twentieth Annual Convention* (Edwards & Broughton, 1914), 379–80.

30. The analysis was done by classifying the subject of each paragraph of the presidential addresses published in the minutes and yearbooks of the California Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, where available, and counting the number of words in each paragraph. The classification was performed by GPT-5.2-mini and then manually verified by the author. See appendix for details of the page numbers for each address. See the appendix for details and page numbers of the addresses.

31. The data was processed from financial reports published in the minutes and yearbooks of the California Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, where available. See the appendix for details and page numbers of the reports.

32. The effort failed when the owners declined to sell; twenty-six years later the chair was moved. Georgie Davis, "California Division," in UDC, *Minutes of the Twentieth Annual Convention*, 379–80; Gertrude Montgomery, "President's Address, 1945," in UDC-CA, *Yearbook, 1945–1946*, 45.

33. Carroll Stewart, "President's Address," in UDC-CA, *Minutes of the Fifteenth Convention*, 40.

34. Stewart, "President's Address," 35. The membership numbers Stewart cited are not supported by the official count in the national annual meeting of that year, which sets the number of overall members at 46,501. See UDC, *Minutes of the Twentieth Annual Convention*, 187.

35. Georgie Davis, "California Division," in UDC, *Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Convention* (Richmond Press, 1918), 344.

36. UDC-CA Jefferson Davis Chapter, *Our Journey 1901–2010* (UDC-CA Jefferson Davis Chapter, 2010), 1904.

37. Julia Tyree Harris, "Report of Historian," in UDC-CA, *Minutes of the Twenty-First Convention*, 31–36.

38. "Confederate Monument to Be Unveiled," *Los Angeles Evening Express*, June 2, 1925; "Veterans Will Conduct Rites," *Los Angeles Times*, Mar 28, 1926.

39. "Will Unveil Memorial to War Veterans," *Los Angeles Times*, March 19, 1925; "U. D. C.," *Los Angeles Times*, June 3, 1925; Alex Cohen et al., "Hollywood Forever Cemetery Removes Confederate Monument," *LAist*, August 16, 2017, <https://laist.com/news/kpcc-archive/hollywood-forever-cemetery-to-remove-confederate-m>.

The Mapping Confederate Monuments project (compiled by Benjamin Cawthra's Fall 2020 Introduction to Public History class at California State University, Fullerton, <https://demo4hist402a2020fall.omeka.net/items/show/22>) claims that the plots were previously bought by the Robert E. Lee chapter of the UDC in Los Angeles, but I could not find evidence for this.

40. UDC-CA, Yearbook: Minutes of the Twenty-Fifth Convention, 2.

41. "West Honors Heroes of Old South," Los Angeles Evening Post Record, June 8, 1925; "National Official Southern Daughter's Guest," San Francisco Bulletin, May 9, 1925; "Mason-Dixon Line Vanishes," Los Angeles Evening Express, May 18, 1925; "Fete Chief of United Daughters," Los Angeles Times, May 17, 1925; "In the Early Days of Los Angeles," Los Angeles Times, June 2, 1925; UDC-CA, Minutes of the Twenty-Fifth Convention, 2–3; "Confederate Monument to Be Unveiled"; "Dixie Folk to Unveil Monument," Santa Ana Daily Evening Register, June 1, 1925.

42. "West Honors Heros of Old South."

43. Florence B. Ross, "California Division," UDC, *Minutes of the Thirtieth Annual Convention*, (McCowat Mercer, 1927). Fowler, "Report of Division President," and Edna H. Fowler, "Report of Division President," both in UDC-CA, Yearbook 1951–1952, 22, 21; "Division News: California," United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine, August 1971, 15–16.

44. Gladys Behlow, "Markers Committee Report" in UDC-CA, Yearbook 1949–1950, 28; Jean C. Armistead, "CA-San Diego-San Diego-MtHopeCem-U.D.C. Monument," in Civil War Memorials, San Diego County, Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War Dept. of California & Pacific, 2018, <https://www.suvpac.org/CWM/CWM%20San%20Diego%20County.pdf>.

45. Charlie Louise Montgomery, "President's Report," in UDC-CA, California Division UDC, 1905–1906; Ruth F. Kreusher, "Records of Confederate Soldiers Buried in California," in UDC-CA, Yearbook 1953–1954, 28; Marguerite B. James, "Report of Division President," in UDC-CA, Yearbook 1957–1958; Roselle Williams, "Report of Division President," in UDC-CA, Yearbook 1961–1962, 31; Poppenheim et al., *The History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy*, 33; Watson, "Handbook of History," 13; Leigh, "Forty-Two Years with the California Division," 8, 10.

46. Garth Kinst and Stephen H. Provost, *The Lincoln Highway in California* (Dragon Crown Books, 2022), 4–6; Gertrude Montgomery, untitled manuscript, Local History LH.86, box 11, UDC, Emma Sansom Chapter Records; Jesee C. Anderson, "Dedicatory and Presentation Address, Jefferson Davis Highway, San Diego, CA," and Margaret P. Garfield, "President's Address," both in in Yearbook: Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Convention, 3, 27–28.

47. Poppenheim et al., *History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy*, 84–85; Howard Fischer, "Jefferson Davis Highway 'No Longer Exists' in Arizona—But Its Marker Will Stay," *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson), October 17, 2017; Associated Press, "Confederate Markers Removed from New Mexico Rest Areas," *Voice of America*, August 27, 2018.

48. Garfield, "President's Address," 1926, 27–28.

49. Waite, *West of Slavery*, 41–90.

50. UDC-CA, Yearbook: Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Convention, iii–iv.
51. “Plaza Tablet Is Explained,” San Diego Sun, July 30, 1926. The same language was prevalent when placing other markers as well. See, for example, “Markers for Highway to Capital,” Pasadena Star-News, May 1, 1930; Steven Mayer, “Local Museum Exiles Monument to Defender of Slavery Who Took Up Arms Against the US,” Bakersfield Californian, July 10, 2020, accessed March 12, 2026, https://www.bakersfield.com/news/local-museum-exiles-monument-to-defender-of-slavery-who-took-up-arms-against-the-us/article_62517ce6-c235-11ea-918b-7b8e8a6eabc7.html; Leigh, “Forty-Two Years with the California Division,” 24.
52. Garfield, “President’s Address,” 1926, 27; Carlos M. Larralde and Richard Griswold del Castillo, “San Diego’s Ku Klux Klan, 1920–1980,” *Journal of San Diego History* 46, nos. 2–3 (2000): 68–88; Kevin Starr, *Material Dreams: Southern California through the 1920s* (Oxford University Press, 1990), 138–39.
53. UDC-CA, Yearbook: Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Convention, 17–18; Garfield, “President’s Address,” 1926, 27; Charlie L. Montgomery, “Jefferson Davis Highway Report,” in UDC-CA, Yearbook: Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Convention, 51–52; “Busy Convention Day Opened by Confederate Daughters,” San Diego Sun, May 12, 1926.
54. “Davis Tablet Removal Hit,” San Diego Sun, October 9, 1926; UDC-CA, “Jefferson Davis Highway (JDH) Plaque, Horton Plaza Park, San Diego,” Mapping Confederate Monuments, accessed March 13, 2026, <https://demo4hist402a2020fall.omeka.net/items/show/62>; Betty B. Webb, “Report of Memorial Markers Committee,” in UDC-CA, Yearbook 1956–1957, 30; Betty B. Webb, “Report of Memorial Markers Committee,” in UDC-CA, Yearbook 1957–1958, 31.
55. Chris Heller, “Whatever Happened to the Wild Camels of the American West?” Smithsonian Magazine, August 6, 2015, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/whatever-happened-wild-camels-american-west-180956176/>; Waite, *West of Slavery*, 72–78.
56. Rachel Wasem, “Jefferson Davis National Highway,” in UDC-CA, Yearbook 1943–1944, 53–54.
57. “U.D.C. Leader Is Guest at Chapter Meet, Plans Project,” Bakersfield Californian, October 15, 1942; “U.D.C. Unveils Lebec Camel Trail Marker,” Bakersfield Californian, October 27, 1942; Webb, “Report of Memorial Markers Committee,” 1956.
58. Gertrude Montgomery, “Report of Markers Committee,” in UDC-CA, Yearbook 1947–1948, 29.
59. “Werdel Would Name U.S. Highway 99 for Jefferson Davis,” Bakersfield Californian, February 2, 1946; Rachel Wassem, “Jefferson Davis Highway Committee,” in UDC-CA, Yearbook 1946–1947, 34–35; Gertrude Montgomery, “Markers Committee” in UDC-CA, Yearbook 1947–1948, 34. In 1956, Werdel would run as vice presidential nominee for the States Rights Party; see Alex Vassar and Shane Meyers, “Thomas H. Werdel,” JoinCalifornia.com, accessed March 17, 2026, <https://www.joincalifornia.com/candidate/344>.
60. Georgia Sanders to Mr. Drury, June 14, 1951, Fort Tejon CSP, CSPA-351, General Correspondence 1950, box 1:03, California State Parks Archive, Marye S. Harrington McClellan, “President’s Report,” in UDC-CA, Yearbook 1941–1942, 69; Betty B. Webb,

"Report of Memorial Markers," in UDC-CA, Yearbook 1955–1956, 29; Marguerite Black James, President's Report in UDC-CA, Yearbook 1956–1957, 21; Betty B. Webb, "Memorial Markers Committee" in UDC-CA, Yearbook 1958–1959, 33; Betty B. Webb, "Memorial Markers Committee" in UDC-CA, Yearbook 1964–1965, 40.

61. Elizabeth Klingberg, Report of Markers Committee in UDC-CA, Yearbook 1950–1951, 29; Betty Ball Webb, "Report on Memorial Markers," 1957; Webb, "Report on Memorial Markers," 1958; Edna H. Fowler, "Report on Names for Californian Schools," in UDC-CA, Yearbook 1959–1960, 32; Webb, "Memorial Markers Committee," in UDC-CA, Yearbook 1964–1965, 40; Webb, "Memorial Markers," in UDC-CA, Yearbook 1965–1966, 31; Leigh, "Forty-Two Years with the California Division," 2, 30, 31. In the aftermath of the Charlottesville riots in 2017 and the George Floyd protests in 2020, fourteen of California's Confederate memorials were removed or renamed. Still, the names of Alabama Hills, an outcropping in Owens Valley, in the southeastern part of the state, and one of the sequoias named after Robert E Lee in Kings Canyon National Park remain today. The monument at Hollywood Forever Cemetery was removed in 2017 but reinstalled in 2022 without its bronze plaque. Chelcey Adami, "Salinas' Confederate Corners Renamed Springtown," *Californian* (Fresno), June 18, 2018; Alexander, "National Park Service Removes Robert E. Lee's Name from Giant Sequoia," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 24, 2020; Elizabeth Castillo, "What's Left of Confederate Monuments in California," *CalMatters*, May 24, 2023, <http://calmatters.org/politics/2020/07/whats-left-of-confederate-monuments-in-california/>; US "Alabama Hills National Scenic Area," Bureau of Land Management website, <https://www.blm.gov/programs/national-conservation-lands/california/alabama-hills-national-scenic-area>; Scott Rodd, "Some Controversial Monuments Come Down Overnight, but Others—Like a Mountain Peak—Take Years to Rename," *CapRadio*, June 24, 2020, <https://www.capradio.org/articles/2020/06/24/some-controversial-monuments-come-down-overnight-but-others-like-a-mountain-peak-take-years-to-rename/>; Richard Stickney and Cassia Pollock, "Plaque in Honor of Confederate President Jefferson Davis Removed from San Diego Park," *NBC 7 San Diego*, August 16, 2017; City News Service, "Robert E. Lee Elementary Gets New Name," *KPBS*, May 25, 2016; Keeley Smith, "Robert E. Lee Elementary Renamed After Long Beach Activist with Ties to Cesar Chavez," *Long Beach Post*, November 3, 2016; Marie Edinger, "Confederate Monument Vandalized at Sanger Cemetery," *KMPH Fox 26 News*, July 22, 2020; Dan Searle, "Robert Selden Garnett Marker, Monterey, California," *Mapping Confederate Monuments*, <https://demo4hist402a2020fall.omeka.net/items/show/70>; Alene Tchekmedyian and Veronica Rocha, "Hollywood Forever Cemetery Removes Confederate Monument After Calls from Activists and Threats of Vandalism," *Los Angeles Times*, August 16, 2017; Daniel P. Faigin, "Trails and Roads," *California Highways*, last modified August 13, 2024, <https://www.cahighways.org/trailroads.html>

62. Webb, "Report on Memorial Markers in California," 1957, 31; Betty Ball Webb, "Memorial Markers," in: UDC-CA, Yearbook 1968–1969, 21; Leigh, "Forty-Two Years with the California Division," 28; "War Foes Place Flowers on Graves of Hero Dead," *Los Angeles Times*, May 30, 1936.

63. Alice Quinn, "Report of Division President," in UDC-CA, Yearbook 1964–1965, 32.

APPENDIX

A. Key features of California UDC records

Archive	Year	Convention location	Membership rolls pages	Division president	Presidential address pages	Financial report page
California State University, Fullerton	1906	Riverside	no membership rolls	Charlie Louise Montgomery	20–25	
	1914	Long Beach	no membership rolls	Carroll Stewart	35–40	42–43, 48–50, 53
	1915	San Diego	no membership rolls	Carroll Stewart	40–46	50, 52, 59–62, 66–67
	1916	Stockton	no membership rolls	Annie Clay	48–52	
	1917	Bakersfield	no membership rolls	Annie Clay	46–52	
	1918	Riverside	no membership rolls	Georgie M. Davis	40–44	
	1919	Oakland	no membership rolls	Georgie M. Davis	31–33	
	1920	Los Angeles	70–96	Emma Douglass	62–30	32, 40–45, 48, 55
	1921	Bakersfield	no membership rolls	Emma Douglass	31–36	
	1922	Fresno	no membership rolls	Harriett A. W. Trabert	39–42	
	1923	Berkeley	76–102	Florence B. Ross	26–34	
	1924	Los Angeles	83–109	Florence B. Ross	25–32	

A. Key features of California UDC records (con't)

<i>Archive</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Convention location</i>	<i>Membership rolls pages</i>	<i>Division president</i>	<i>Presidential address pages</i>	<i>Financial report page</i>
University of the Pacific, Stockton, CA	1925	San Jose	75–103	Margaret P. Garfield	27–29	33, 40, 44, 48
	1926	San Diego	75–109	Margaret P. Garfield	26–31	32, 35, 54
	1927	San Francisco	77–83	Kathryn C. Blankenburg	25–28	29, 31–32, 44, 52
	1928	Pasadena	48–84	Kathryn C. Blankenburg	16–18	22, 33–36, 39
	1929	Fresno	56–96	Stella Stannard	18–21	23, 24, 26, 36, 37, 38, 40, 42
	1930	Oakland	57–98	Stella Stannard	20–22	25, 27–28, 40–43, 54
	1931	Bakersfield	70–111	Ella P. Johnson	31	33, 36, 53, 55–56, 58, 60, 66
	1932	Los Angeles	59–101	Ella P. Johnson	25	28, 30, 49, 50, 53, 57
	1933	Proceedings not available				
	1934	Proceedings not available				
	1935	Proceedings not available				
	1936	Proceedings not available				

A. Key features of California UDC records (con't)

<i>Archive</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Convention location</i>	<i>Membership rolls pages</i>	<i>Division president</i>	<i>Presidential address pages</i>	<i>Financial report page</i>
University of the Pacific, Stockton, CA	1937	Proceedings not available				
	1938	Proceedings not available				
	1939	Proceedings not available				
	1940	Los Angeles	83–117	Marye S. Harrington	47–53	
	1941	San Diego	106–138	Marye S. Harrington	66–72	56, 65, 74, 78–79, 87
	1942	Santa Monica	79–113	Vivian K. Bullock	32–34	32, 46, 47, 54
	1943	Los Angeles	63–83	Vivian K. Bullock	46–51	34, 40, 56
	1944	Proceedings not available				
	1945	Los Angeles	76–112	Gertrude Montgomery	44–47	47, 124
	1946	Santa Monica	49–81	Gertrude Montgomery	25–28	31, 34
	1947	Sacramento	48–76	Dorothy W. Tappan	20–22	26, 28, 31
	1948	Hollywood	55–88	Dorothy W. Tappan	23–25	26, 28, 34, 112
	1949	Berkeley	49–82	Edna Howard Fowler	19–22	24, 25, 27, 33
	1950	San Bernadino	49–81	Edna Howard Fowler	21–23	

B. Membership numbers of UDC state divisions, in thousands

Rank	1903	1906	1909	1912	1917	1921	1926	1929
1	TX 7	VA 3.6	VA 5.9	VA 9	VA 9	VA 8.1	VA 8.9	VA 8.8
2	VA 3.9	TX 3.5	TX 4.6	GA 4.6	GA 4.6	GA 7.5	GA 7.2	GA 7.1
3	GA 3.4	TN 2.8	GA 4.5	TX 2.4	SC 4.3	SC 3.6	NC 6.7	NM 6.5
4	TN 2.3	GA 2.2	TN 4.2	TN 3.3	TN 3.3	NC 3.1	SC 6.4	SC 6.3
5	AL 2.2	MS 2.2	MS 2.8	NC 2.9	NC 2.9	TX 2.7	AL 4.5	TX 4.5
6	NC 2.2	AL 2	SC 2.6	MS 1.7	TX 2.4	AL 2.5	TX 4.4	AL 4.3
7	MS 2.1	KY 1.9	NC 2.5	SC 4.3	AL 2.3	MS 2.4	TN 4.1	TN 4
8	SC 2	SC 1.9	AL 2.4	AL 2.3	MO 1.8	TN 2.4	AR 2.3	AZ 2.6
9	KY 2	NC 1.5	KY 2.3	KY 1.7	KY 1.7	AR 1.9	MO 2.3	MO 2.2
10	LA 1.7	CA 1.5	MO 1.7	MO 1.8	MS 1.7	KY 1.6	FL 2.3	FL 2.2
11	AR 1.3	LA 1.4	AR 1.5	AR 1.4	FL 1.6	FL 1.5	MS 2.2	MS 2

B. Membership numbers of UDC state divisions, in thousands (con't)

Rank	1903	1906	1909	1912	1917	1921	1926	1929
12	MO 1.3	FL 0.9	FL 1.4	FL 1.6	AR 1.4	CA 1.3	WV 2	WV 2
13	WV 1	MO 0.9	CA 1.3	LA 1.2	LA 1.2	WV 1.3	OK 1.7	CA 1.4
14	MD 1	WV 0.9	LA 1.2	WV 1.1	CA 1.2	OK 1.2	LA 1.4	KY 1.3
15	CA 0.8	MD 0.8	WV 1.1	MD 0.8	WV 1.1	LA 1.2	CA 1.4	LA 1.3
16	FL 0.8	AR 0.7	MD 0.7	CA 1.2	MD 0.8	DC 1	KY 1.3	OK 1.3
17	OK 0.4	NY 0.5	NY 0.5	OK 0.7	OK 0.7	MN 0.9	MD 0.8	MA 0.9
18	NY 0.4	OK 0.3	DC 0.4	NY 0.5	NY 0.5	MD 0.7	DC 0.7	DC 0.7
19	DC 0.1	DC 0.3	OK 0.4	DC 0.5	DC 0.5	NY 0.4	NY 0.5	NJ 0.4
20	OH 0.1	OH 0.1	IL 0.1	IL 0.1	CO 0.2	OH 0.2	OH 0.2	OH 0.3

Note: California Division numbers are in bold, for simple reference.

C. Sources for Membership Numbers

Year	National convention location	Membership numbers—page number(s)	Financial data—page number(s)
1898	Hot Springs, AR	106	
1899	Richmond, VA	106	
1900	Montgomery, AL	153	
1901	Wilmington, NC	188	
1902	New Orleans, LA	206	
1903	Charleston, SC	252, 307	
1904	St. Louis, MO	292	
1905	San Francisco, CA	appendix, 11–12	
1906	Gulfport, MS	203, appendix, 11–13	
1907	Norfolk, VA	appendix, 13–15	
1908	Atlanta, GA	appendix, 13–15	
1909	Houston, TX	241, appendix, 15–18	
1910	Little Rock, AR	appendix, 13–19	
1911	Richmond, VA	160–162	
1912	Washington, DC	250, appendix, 17–20,	
1913	New Orleans, LA	appendix, 19–22	
1914	Savannah, GA	appendix, 18–20	
1915	San Francisco, CA	appendix, 21–26	
1916	Dallas, TX	appendix, 22–27	
1917	Chattanooga, TN	247–49	
1919	Louisville, KY	appendix, 21–22	428
1921	St. Louis, MO	appendix, 37	
1922	Birmingham, AL		253
1923	Washington DC		247
1926	Richmond, VA	107	
1929	Biloxi, MS	415	

Note: California membership numbers (though not full rolls) for the years 1900–1913, as well as comparison figures to other divisions, were found in the proceedings of national UDC annual conventions, available via HathiTrust. *United Daughters of the Confederacy. Minutes of the . . . Annual Meeting* (United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1895–1932), <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/oo8696825>.

The proceedings of national conventions also include financial data reported by the California Division president, making these proceedings a good supplement to the records of the division conventions.

D. Census data

<i>Census year</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Section / Table</i>	<i>Pages</i>
1860	<i>Population of the United States: California</i>	California population tables	34
1870	<i>A Compendium of the Ninth Census (June 1, 1870)</i>	Table 9: Native and Foreign-born Population by Place of Birth, by County	378–82
1880	Volume 1: <i>Statistics of the Population</i>	Statistics of Place of Birth	484–95
1900	Volume 1: <i>Population</i> , part 1	State or Territory of Birth—Tables 25–32	686–97
1910	Volume 2: <i>Population: Reports by States</i>	California section	157
1920	Volume 2: <i>Population: General Report and Analytical Tables</i>	Chapter 5: State of Birth of the Native Population	618–19
1930	Volume 2: <i>Population: General Report, Statistics by Subjects</i>	Chapter 4: State of Birth of the Native Population	144
1940	<i>Census of Population: State of Birth of the Native Population</i>	National tables	15–20
1960	Volume 1: <i>Characteristics of the Population</i> , part 6: <i>California</i>	Chapter D: Detailed Characteristics (Tables 1–103)	486–88
1970	<i>Census of Population, Subject Reports: State of Birth</i>	National tables	25

Note: The share of Californians born in the North, South or Pacific regions was drawn from the sources given in this table. Titles refer to volumes published by the US Census Bureau.