Before the New Deal

Social Welfare in the South,

1830–1930

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We Take Care of Our Womenfolk

The Home for Needy Confederate Women

in Richmond, Virginia, 1898–1990

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Concern for the welfare of Civil War veterans and their dependents manifested itself in pensions and group homes for former soldiers and their widows. However the North and South approached such assistance differently. Theda Skocpol states that federal pensions were viewed politically and morally as a just repayment for sacrifice rather than as the European socioeconomic conception of old-age pensions benefiting those with diminished finances. Preventing a veteran who had honorably served the Union from experiencing the shame and degradation of becoming an almshouse inmate or charity case justified pensions, soldiers’ relief, and veterans’ homes. Megan J. McClintock argues that the promise of federal veterans’ pensions not only encouraged enlistment during the war but also controlled the private lives of pensioners and widows by passing judgment on their worthiness to collect by investigating living arrangements and familial relationships. Southerners, on the other hand, could not partake of federal pensions or veterans’ homes and relied instead on each state to allocate pension funds and on state governments and private organizations to operate homes. The fate of widows, mothers, and daughters rested in the hands of the social welfare administrators who decided the worthiness of these women to be accepted into the old-age homes.

As southern women had found an acceptable public outlet through nursing and writing during the Civil War, they applied their managerial and caregiving talents to alleviating social welfare problems in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As Sandra Gioia Treadway notes,
“Both black and white women worked through traditional church societies and ladies’ guilds but also established new vehicles for their efforts: associations to aid the poor, the sick, and the veterans, widows, and orphans of the war; reform organizations; self-help and recreation societies for working women; and pioneering day-care programs for the children of working mothers.”

The Home for Needy Confederate Women in Richmond, Virginia, an early “old-age home,” served to assist the women whose lives the Civil War disrupted through the death of their male providers. It also provided an opportunity for socially conscious women to contribute to their community at a time when “a passion for the Lost Cause became the vogue for white residents.” The soldiers’ relief and ladies’ aid societies during the war predated the Confederate memorial associations that brought women together to work toward a common goal as mourners and cultural guardians at the grassroots level during a time when they “struggled with the desire of many men to forget” the war. The history of the Home for Needy Confederate Women exemplifies the determination of a group of Virginia women not only to provide comfortable housing for a specific class of “deserving,” destitute white women but also to make the building a permanent memorial to their sacrifices.

By the 1880s both the North and the South recognized the need to care for poor, disabled, and unemployable elderly soldiers, their wives, widows, and orphans. Some states constructed facilities only for men, some allowed men to bring their wives, others specialized in caring for widows and/or orphans. Homes that restricted themselves to veterans and/or widows closed when the last residents died; others changed their mission to accommodate the needs of different retirees, such as when the Indiana Veterans’ Home included veterans of other wars in 1976. The Widow’s Home for women with children in Augusta, Georgia, became a way-station for the industrial working class and no longer housed permanent residents.

In Richmond, Virginia, on February 22, 1885, the Lee Camp Soldiers’ Home, a community of buildings located on the thirty-six-acre former farm and homestead of Channing Robinson, opened its doors to Confederate veterans to much fanfare. The needy and indigent women of Virginia would have their own champions and supporters a decade later.

The Ladies’ Auxiliary of George E. Pickett Camp, Confederate Veterans, Richmond, concerned about the dire straits of numerous female relatives
of dead and disabled Confederate soldiers, sought to relieve their suffering. In a March 29, 1897, broadside, the auxiliary appealed to the people of the Commonwealth of Virginia for practical aid in founding a home for aged, feeble, and dependent women of the Confederacy. Led by Pres. Mrs. Robert N. Northen and committee chair Mrs. M. A. Burgess, the auxiliary organized a Confederate Festival from May 19 to 29 at the regimental armory to raise money for a home. With the one-thousand-dollar profit the auxiliary planned to buy the house at Ninth and Leigh Streets where several nearly destitute Confederate women lived.

Before the auxiliary could legally purchase property or receive public funds for the project, the Commonwealth required them to organize formally and obtain a charter from the Virginia General Assembly. On March 3, 1898, the legislature approved "[a]n act to incorporate the Home for Needy Confederate Women" to allow the corporation to establish and conduct a home for the needy widows, wives, sisters, and daughters of Confederate soldiers. The directors, headed by LaSalle Corbell Pickett, the wife of Confederate general George E. Pickett, as honorary president, consisted of prominent middle-class Richmond women including Alice A. (Mrs. Augustus I.) Pyle and Sarah J. (Mrs. Peyton) Carrington.

While the day-to-day management of the home resided with an executive committee of the all-female board of directors, a five-member advisory board, a treasurer, and three trustees (all men) handled the business affairs and held "the legal title to all bonds, stocks, and securities, donated to or purchased by the Home." Richmond mayor Carleton McCarthy, three ex-military men, two judges, and two civilians constituted the initial members of the advisory board and trustees.

Selecting a suitable location became a primary concern. In 1900 new officers of the auxiliary collected five hundred dollars at a second fund-raising bazaar. With the fifteen hundred dollars plus one thousand dollars appropriated by the state legislature, the board of directors bought a house for seventy-five hundred dollars at 1726 Grove Avenue. The board designated October 15 as the first of many "Donation Days" established to collect merchandise and furnishings to outfit the home; they received many contributions of various kinds and requested a Confederate flag. Northern as well as southern supporters sent checks for the new charity.

Ten inmates moved into the home on October 15, 1900. The establishment and opening of the home brought support and encouragement from
Gov. James Hoge Tyler, former governor Fitzhugh Lee, the Rev. Dr. Moses Drury Hoge, and other prominent Richmonders. At the formal ceremony on October 30, Mayor McCarthy, who spoke on behalf of the women board members, presented the home to the Commonwealth. Governor Tyler accepted the institution and returned it to McCarthy for the board to manage. When news of the home spread, even before it opened, letters of application for admittance arrived from all over the state.\(^{38}\)

The home prospered until the 1902 depression reduced donations and financial support; the inmates sought employment to support themselves. Board member Alice Pyle, a local businesswoman, visited the markets after hours in her carriage to ask for the bruised and damaged produce to feed the women.\(^{39}\) On the verge of bankruptcy, the board turned to Elizabeth "Betsie" Lyne Hoskins Montague. She had moved from Danville to Richmond in 1898 with her husband, Andrew Jackson Montague, the newly elected attorney general for the Commonwealth. Jack Montague, the son of the secessionist Civil War lieutenant governor of Virginia, developed into a moralistic, idealistic progressive reformer who, as governor (1902–6) supported judicial streamlining, strengthening education, and improving mental hospitals, but he also appealed for a "return to the ideals of other days."\(^{40}\) Because of her husband's political positions, Mrs. Montague had access to a wide variety of influential people. Betsie Montague fit Anne Firor Scott's description of the new southern woman who "maintained the graciousness and charm which had been the sound part of the chivalric ideal and, without losing her femininity or abandoning her responsibility for the propagation of the species, became an important force in public as well as in private life."\(^{41}\) Approached by the board of directors to become a member in 1899, Betsie Montague considered the request. Her husband agreed that the home represented one of the outstanding needs of the time, and she accepted.\(^{42}\) The board then offered her the presidency, but she declined in favor of giving the position to Miss Mary Custis Lee, daughter of Confederate general Robert E. Lee. The two worked out an agreement whereby Montague would be the acting president when Lee traveled out of town. This arrangement lasted until Lee died in November 1918, and Montague assumed the presidency until her own death thirty-three years later. While raising three children, this daughter of a Civil War veteran single-mindedly devoted her life's work to one cause—providing a home for needy Confederate women.\(^{43}\)
Betsie Montague realized that the home needed to establish a stable financial policy and counter the indifference and apathy of potential supporters whom she hoped to enlist in her cause. The board members made house-to-house visits to solicit money, food, furniture, and clothing for the home; they regularly visited the bakery and market to collect donations of unsold fruits, vegetables, and bread to feed the inmates. They spoke before women’s organizations and church groups to make them aware of the home and its needs and sought their support.24

Montague gave speeches to chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy throughout Virginia and at the national convention. She reminded them of past generosity and noted that “our reliance on the public, already greatly burdened, makes our income precarious and uncertain. We are debarred from State help by the new Constitution [of 1902]; therefore, you see the necessity of my begging that you will each take to your respective chapters the message from these helpless women.” The chapters responded with barrels of fruits and vegetables, furniture, clothing, and money. She spoke to Richmond schoolchildren who donated their lunches to feed the inmates.25 Other fund-raising techniques included Flag Days, Button Days, Tag Days, card parties, and dramatic presentations to provide money for the upkeep of the home.26 Before enacting the new constitution, the legislature appropriated five thousand dollars in 1902, in addition to one thousand dollars previously allocated, for the home. The city of Richmond donated a burial lot in Riverview Cemetery and included $150 in its 1901 budget and $300 in its 1902 budget for the home’s operating expenses.27

The small home on Grove Avenue did not contain enough room for all the applicants and soon sheltered thirty-two women in space designed to accommodate ten. Sarah Frances (Mrs. William) Grady, one of the first women to move into the home and its first superintendent at age sixty-five, recalled that “there were five small beds crowded into one small chamber, hardly space enough to get between them. In those days all of us women did the work of the home, took care of it and even had to take our market baskets and go out and get our own food supplies.”28 Montague, realizing they needed to move to more expansive quarters, began planning a large fund-raising bazaar. As the first lady of Virginia, Montague could broadcast the home’s needs beyond state lines. She received support and contributions from Madame Shen of the Chinese legation in Washington, President Theodore Roosevelt’s daughter Alice, and from forty-one chapters of the
United Daughters of the Confederacy and fourteen Confederate camps. The Confederate fair, held March 16–26, 1903, raised between $7,000 and $10,000 for the home; although considerable, it was still insufficient to meet the $16,500 asking price of the house Montague planned to buy.  

Montague traveled to New York to solicit the aid of Richmond native Arabella Yarrington Huntington, widow of railroad magnate Collis Potter Huntington, and other sympathetic philanthropists to secure the balance of the purchase price plus additional renovation money. She complained that, while "in a small way several had responded to our appeal," the various chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in the Commonwealth failed to give their hearty cooperation to raising money for the home because they had pledged themselves to build the Jefferson Davis monument (erected in 1907) in Richmond. More concerned with the living than the dead, Montague, also president of the Lee Chapter of the U.D.C., pointedly commented, "We would not under-estimate the noble work of the Daughters of the Confederacy in preserving our history in tablets of marble, but we would direct their attention to the perfecting of this Home for the wives, sisters, and daughters of our valiant dead. We must help them now or not at all." She asked each U.D.C. chapter and veteran's camp to pledge ten dollars annually to the home.

On April 25, 1904, the board completed the purchase of the new home at 3 East Grace Street from the estate of Robert S. Bosher and opened the doors on June 27. One resident, a cousin of Chief Justice John Marshall, described the new home as "a nice boarding-house for ladies." Capt. Sallie Tompkins, who became a resident in 1906, expressed her gratitude for the home the next year, writing that she felt "not only perfectly comfortable but entirely satisfied with my surroundings." For meals three times a day, the inmates who could go up and down the stairs dined together at the family-sized tables in the basement; those unable to negotiate the three flights of stairs ate in their rooms. The new facility could house forty to fifty inmates. To buy an elevator for the home in 1921, Montague recruited Mrs. James A. Ridgely, president of the women's Democratic organization of Hamilton County, Ohio, to organize Pencil Day. In September one hundred Richmond women captained teams of ten to sell pencils to raise the money.

The two most prominent and visible organizations devoted to the memory of the Confederacy, the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the
Confederate veterans' camps, took different approaches toward the Home. The U.D.C. members came from the middle and upper classes. They championed the Lost Cause in newspapers and schools and before the legislature. In shaping public opinion throughout the South for many years, they successfully kept the Confederacy's presence alive. While the Richmond chapters actively donated their time, energy, and funds to help the Home for Needy Confederate Women, the primary focus of the organization concentrated on propaganda, education, and building monuments. The sole relief fund in which the general organization participated benefited women who lived in states without a U.D.C. chapter and who did not receive a Confederate pension. They looked backward rather than forward.

By way of contrast, the Confederate veterans involved themselves directly with the home. The Lee Camp Soldiers' Home provided an annual appropriation to the home for years until 1914 when they could no longer afford it, and the organization also furnished a room specifically for widows of Lee Camp members. Controversy arose in 1911 over the expulsion of a Lee Camp widow, Mrs. Minerva L. Hutchins, for "insubordination." The camp resolved in 1909 that the quartermaster would be in charge of the endowed room, and two members of the auxiliary would serve on the Home's board of directors. Contrary to the rules of the board in which all furnishings become the property of the home, the camp believed it retained ownership. However they failed to negotiate these conditions with the board, nor did they notify the board of the resolutions until 1911 when the furor over Mrs. Hutchins' behavior erupted. Hutchins believed herself exempt from the home's authority and behelden only to the camp; she refused to perform her assigned duties and in so doing encouraged other inmates to rebel. Not simply a local matter, the power struggle between the two organizations for control and autonomy involved the state attorney general who served as chairman of the Lee Camp committee. The women held their ground and passed a resolution requesting the Lee Camp to withdraw Hutchins and to secure the resignations of their two representatives on the board. The relationship eventually improved between the board and the camp, and they again worked together amicably.

Betsy Montague dreamed of building a permanent memorial to the women of the Confederacy and set out to accomplish this formidable task with all the resources she could command. She gathered letters of endorsement from Carlton McCarthy, former Richmond mayor and now Virginia's
state accountant, and Gov. William Hodges Mann in 1910. In 1912 the board of directors proposed deeding the home to the United Daughters of the Confederacy. On behalf of the Committee on the Home for Needy Confederate Women Proposition, Miss Mildred Rutherford visited the home and prepared her report and assessment. She agreed with Montague’s argument that a living monument for the needy women would most benefit the memory of slain Confederate soldiers: "When their needs cry out to us for bread, shall we give them a stone?" While she recommended accepting the offer, the final report to the annual convention did not include Rutherford’s recommendation and left it up to the chapters to decide, which apparently they did unfavorably. Montague appealed to the General Assembly in 1914 for a state appropriation to meet operating costs, and the legislature responded by passing an act appropriating five thousand dollars for 1914 and 1915 for the home; regular state aid then continued until 1982. The State Corporation Commission also amended the charter in 1916 to allow the home to include female descendants of Confederate soldiers.  

Commonwealth financial, executive, and legislative support during the progressive era almost guaranteed the success of Montague’s cause.

As if proving that the home needed a new building, a fire burned much of the roof and gutted most of the interior on December 24, 1916, of the home’s current location. Montague, now living in Washington, D.C., where her husband served as U.S. Representative for the Third District of Virginia from 1913 to 1937, returned to restore order and find temporary homes for the inmates during the two months the building underwent repairs. The catastrophe only strengthened her resolve to build a fireproof home for the Confederate women.  

While most of the social welfare accomplishments in Virginia’s progressive period occurred between 1900 and 1910, the 1920s saw the emphasis on special interest projects, exemplified by the success of Montague’s lobbying efforts for the home.

Montague decided the most appropriate location for a permanent home should be on the Lee Camp Soldiers’ Home property owned by the Commonwealth, and she worked diligently with camp and state officials to obtain the property. The Lee Camp, on November 21, 1924, designated a two-and-one-half-acre tract facing North Sheppard Street for the home. While state senator William Wickham sponsored a bill to give the site to the home, Gov. Elbert Lee Trinkle vetoed it. In a January 26, 1926, letter to the senate, Trinkle opposed certain provisions in the bill, which included expand-
ing eligibility to "lineal female descendants and collateral female kindred" and making the home a "perpetual" memorial. Trinkle stipulated that the building must cost at least $250,000, and if the board failed to build it within eight years from the date of the deed, the property would revert to the state. On March 4, 1926, the General Assembly ratified a compromise with Senate Bill No. 19 that included Trinkle's changes. 87

Montague immediately organized a fund-raising committee of influential citizens to meet the conditions of the bill. She used her personal contacts to the home's advantage as well. Residents of Atlanta and Washington, D.C., pledged money. In Washington, Montague sponsored a costume event entitled "Ball of the Sixties," netting fifteen hundred dollars for the home. Through her solicitations, financiers and philanthropists George Foster Peabody and Robert Fulton Cutten donated money, and John Barton Payne, American Red Cross president, gave ten thousand dollars. Montague's friend Jessie Ball (Mrs. Alfred I.) du Pont and Mary Curtis Lee contributed generously throughout their lives. First Lady Grace Coolidge sold a counterpane pattern Montague had taught her to McCull's magazine and donated the $250 to the home fund. Montague also enlisted the assistance of Jewish citizens of Richmond. 4 The board received $250,000 from the estate of Dr. Alexander Spiers George, a Richmond physician, which it used as the nucleus for a $1 million endowment. 46

Construction began on February 15 and was completed by October 1, 1931. Leo, Smith & Vanderwouw, architects and engineers in Richmond, modeled the building after the White House; it contained eighty-two bedrooms and an infirmary with ten beds. The matron, nurses, and employees occupied six bedrooms. Inmates, friends, and benefactors donated the furnishings. Forty-two residents moved into their new home at 301 North Sheppard Street on May 23, 1932. 44

The Virginia General Assembly increased the state appropriation to twenty-five thousand dollars per year. Despite Gov. John Garland Pollard's hearty endorsement of the new building in 1931, in December 1932 he notified Montague of the regrettable but necessary 10 percent reduction in general fund appropriations. Although Virginia was less hard hit than most states during the depression because of its diversified economy, Pollard responded to the crisis by reducing expenditures. 47 The home lost a critical $1,250 for the first half of 1933 because the state sustained revenue shortfalls and higher costs for prisons. 48
The Commonwealth did not fund the home without opposition. The board received criticism for its handling of finances and admission procedures. A vocal minority persistently complained that the board relied on the state appropriations for operating expenses rather than using inmates' initial contributions and other monetary donations. Montague wanted to build the endowment to make the home self-supporting and to free it from state funding.

Critics questioned the admission procedures, which appeared to favor candidates with five thousand dollars to add to the endowment over those who were truly indigent. The admission criteria did not specify a dollar amount but required an inmate to turn over all of her real and personal property upon entry. A 1943 audit of the previous six years revealed that 54 percent of the inmates contributed various amounts ranging from $100 to $7,550 (from one woman) while the remaining 46 percent contributed nothing. In 1946 a seven-member statewide study commission headed by delegate Ceylon Grey Quesenbery investigated the allegations, visited the home, and inspected the accounts. A public meeting on October 18, 1946, heard complaints from several witnesses about priority admittance for the five-thousand-dollar donors. Mrs. W. G. Tyler, chair of the applications committee, denied preferential treatment, claiming that they balanced paying and nonpaying admissions. Montague testified that "[w]e want to build our endowment as fast as we can and we want to relieve the State before the State relieves us." "Faced with the possibility of the withdrawal of State aid for our running expenses," she appealed to Bernard M. Baruch in 1947 for assistance "to become independent of State politics." She complained that "the public feels less responsibility for its former good citizens than for its criminals, insane persons, and chronically 'indigent.'"

The Quesenbery Commission report in 1947 recommended limiting the home's operation to the lifetime of the daughters as originally specified, thereby nullifying the "and female descendants" emendation. It also recommended limiting the appropriation to a per diem for the genuinely needy and to the closest kin of Confederate soldiers but not their descendants.

These limitations rang the death knell for the home. With the decline in the number of the original class of inmates specified in the charter, the home would no longer receive state funding for lineal female descendants and would have to rely on income from endowments and donations. Gov-
error Trinkle's removal of "permanent" memorial from the act granting the Soldiers' Home land to build the new home also predicted a time when the few remaining Confederate daughters would make operation of the eighty-two-bedroom home economically unfeasible.

The limitations also indicate the prevailing attitude toward charity. The Queensberry Commission recognized the state's obligation to "continue its support of those in the original group in the institution," but "other than the duty the State owes to its citizens generally it owes no obligation to [later female descendants]. . . . So long as the human race exists there will undoubtedly be persons in the enlarged class eligible to enter the Home. Aside from the question of policy, the continuance of State support for those in this enlarged class would lead to never-ending conflict and dispute." While lawmakers and funding agencies felt a responsibility to those directly affected by the Civil War, they did not see it as the state's obligation to provide this kind of social service ad infinitum, adhering to the long-held belief that charity is a matter for private agencies. The home as a permanent institution would satisfy the desires of U.D.C. women to erect a "monument" to the Confederacy and also, in practical terms, provide an ongoing old-age home for a select group of women. As recently as 1928, Richmond had no state institutions for aged and infirm women, and it had only five other places that cared for aged women, three sectarian and two public poorhouses. Pragmatic choices by men generations removed from the war—men whose interests lay in the economic impact on Virginia at the end of World War II—overruled the concerns for a dwindling number of living reminders of another time.

When Betsy Montague wrote that "it is a sacred duty of the United Daughters of the Confederacy to care for these women" and "it should be an honor for the Sons of the Confederacy to do their manly part in this great work," she relied on the nineteenth-century notion of charity, which included relieving "the suffering of the deserving poor." The bylaws of the home included as one of the criteria for admittance a judgment of the candidate's worthiness. Class, never explicitly written in the guidelines, determined a woman's worthiness from lineage (part of the documentation accompanying the application to prove a relationship to a deceased soldier) and recommendations from and interviews with character references. The application committee contacted an applicant's pastor and friends "regarding her worthiness," behavior, health, and demeanor." While there were
women of color whose male relatives died serving the Confederacy, the home implicitly excluded them.39

The home continued to accept applicants without, and with, money to add to the endowment and to seek financial contributions. In 1951 the board passed a resolution to sell for fifty thousand dollars the Grace Street property still owned by the home. The board attempted in 1956 to convince the legislature to amend the charter to include granddaughters, with no success.39

On April 13, 1989, the board reluctantly voted to close the facility. Janet R. (Mrs. Robert D.) Burhans, elected to the board in 1959 and the third generation of Montague women to preside over the home, succeeded her mother, Janet Roy Montague (Mrs. William Josiah) Nunnally, whom the board voted in as president at the meeting following Betsy Montague's death in 1951. Burhans said, "[E]conomics was the sole reason for closing the building . . . our money plain ran out. All the times we asked for donations, they were never forthcoming. We found that too many wars had intervened since the Civil War for people to take an overwhelming interest." She recognized that "this type of charity is more of a nineteenth century concept than twentieth century. These days you just don't have purely charitable things."40

Of the hundreds of women cared for in the home, seven remained in 1989. The building needed a new roof, new plumbing, and a new heating system, which would cost an estimated $1.5 million. Rather than deplete the endowment, the board in July 1989 moved the seven daughters of Confederate soldiers to the Brandermill Woods Active Retirement Center south of the Richmond city limits, despite protests from some of the inmates and irate supporters in the U.D.C. The Commonwealth agreed to support financially the last seven women if they vacated the home. The building reverted to the Commonwealth for the use of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.41

The vision of a handful of women doggedly brought to fruition by one woman, Betsy Montague, the building provided a home for needy Confederate women for almost eighty-nine years. Using her considerable political acumen, Montague convinced state government to appropriate funds at a time when the dominant male power base in Virginia politics was committed to "spending as little as possible on social programs."41 The idea of the home and the building itself became anachronistic reminders of the
Lost Cause. A tangible reminder of Virginia's loss, a reverential monument to women's sacrifices, a place to honor and care for the daughters of the Confederacy, a physical manifestation of stubborn refusal to forget the war, a social residence for the right class of deserving white women, and a means to express the duty to take care of the womenfolk were embodied in the Home for Needy Confederate Women.

NOTES


9. "The Story of the First Permanent Memorial to the Women of the Confederacy;" 1-2, typescript, history folder, box 12, HNCW.
13. Burnham, "A Brief History," 2. In addition to McCarthy, the members were Colonel Catahou, Gen. A. L. Phillips, Mr. S. H. Hues, Mr. A. Bull, Maj. Robert Selles, Judge George L. Christian, and Judge Castleton.
17. McCarthy, "An Historical Sketch," 41; "Home for Needy Women," 4. The first residents consisted of Mrs. Maria L. Brooks, Mrs. E. M. Cook, Mrs. Amelia S. Babcock, Sarah Frances "Fanny" (Mrs. W. F.) Grady, Mrs. Lucy F. Hurt, Mrs. Martha F. Johnson, Mrs. Mary Johnson, Mrs. Fielding B. Lewis, Miss Sallie Monroe, and Mrs. Lizzie (Mrs. A. E.) Onahundro who was elected matron.
22. "The Home for Confederate Women in Richmond," typescript, HNCW.
25. Elizabeth Montague, Speech to U.D.C. Convention, 3, unmarked, HNCW; "The Story of the First Permanent Memorial," 4; Burnham, "A Brief History," 2; Ralph Chipman Mc-
Daniel, The Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1901–1902 (New York: DaCapo Press, 1972), 95–96. The constitution prohibited the General Assembly or authorities of any city, town, county, or district from appropriating money to any charitable institution not owned or controlled by the state or locality.


35. Resolution, July 17, 1914, copied from Minute Book 9, p. 35, R. E. Lee Camp, No. 1, VHS. The camp was rapidly losing its membership because of deaths of its members, experienced a decrease in its income, and its own expenses were increasing as members aged and became infirm.


38. Mrs. Andrew Jackson Montague to Col. John W. Gordon, May 5, 1911, R. E. Lee Camp, No. 1 Records, VHS.


42. Folley, Old Virginia Restored, 150–51.


46. Bushman, "A Brief History," 6; architect's drawing, HNCW.

47. Virginia Dabney, Virginia, the New Domination (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1971), 488, 491.
48. Burkhart, "A Brief History," 6; John Garland Pollard to Mrs. Andrew Jackson Monroe, January 10, 1931, and December 17, 1932, HNCW.


50. Margaret Elliott, "Confederate Home Asks Turnover of Property," Richmond Times-Dispatch, undated clipping (c. 1946), HNCW.


52. Mrs. A. J. Montague to Bernard M. Baruch, December 12, 1947, carbon typescript, HNCW.


55. "Data on the Various Homes for Aged Women in Richmond," report accompanying April 26, 1928, letter from John Kemble, HNCW.

56. Elizabeth L. H. Montague, typescript speech, c. 1915, HNCW.


59. Home for Needy Confederate Women Board Meeting Minutes, November 5, 1951, and June 7, 1956, HNCW.

