National Park Service

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historic Site; Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial; Lincoln Home National Historic Site

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Presented by the National Park Service and the Organization of American Historians

Hosted by

Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historic Site

Hodgenville, Kentucky
May 22- 23, 2007

Lincoln Home National Historic Site

Springfield, Illinois
June 4- 5, 2007

Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial

Lincoln City, Indiana
June 7- 8, 2007

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Agenda-Day 1

8:30 a.m. Welcome/Introductions

8:40 a.m. ***Interpreting Lincoln Within the Context of the Civil War*** - MT- M & DTP

Challenges of talking about Lincoln and slavery at historic sites
Centennial and South Carolina (1961)
Lincoln Statue in Richmond (2003)
Ft. Sumter Brochure - before and after
Appomattox Handbook - before and after

10:00 Break

10:15 – ***Slavery and the Coming of the War*** - MT- M

Origins and expansion of slavery in the British North American colonies
Slavery in the United States Constitution
Slavery's Southern expansion and Northern extinction, 1790- 1820
Failed compromises and fatal clashes: the frontier as the focus in the struggle over slavery, 1820- 1860
The rise and fall of political parties

12:00 Lunch

1:30 – ***Lincoln and the Republican Party in the Context of the 1850s*** - MT- M

Public opinion in the first era of courting public opinion
The popular culture of political rallies, newspapers, novels, religious tracts, and oratory
Rise of abolitionism and pro- slavery factions
Their arguments – emotional, "scientific," political, moral.
Election of 1860

4:30 End of Day

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Suggested Readings for Day 1

8:30 ***Interpreting Lincoln Within the Context of the Civil War***

Suggested readings for this section:

John Latschar. "Coming to Terms with the Civil War at Gettysburg National Military Park." National Council on Public History, Houston, Texas, April 24, 2003. <http://www.nps.gov/civic/casestudies/gettysburg.html>

Cynthia MacLeod. "Crossing Boundaries: Interpreting Resource- Related Issues." *George Wright Forum*, vol. 19, no. 3 (2002), pp. 34- 39. <http://www.georgewright.org>

Dwight T. Pitcaithley, "The American Civil War and the Preservation of Memory." *CRM*, vol. 25, no. 4 (2002), pp. 5- 9. <http://crm.cr.nps.gov/archive/25- 04/25- 04- 2.pdf>

"'A Cosmic Threat': The National Park Service Address the Causes of the American Civil War." *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*. Edited by James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton. New York: The New Press, 2006, pp. 169- 186.

Robert Sutton, "Introduction." *Rally on the High Ground: The National Park Service Symposium on the Civil War*. Eastern National, 2001, pp. xi- xvi.

John Tucker, "Interpreting Slavery and Civil Rights at Fort Sumter National Monument." *The George Wright Forum*, vol. 19, no. 4 (2002), pp. 15- 31. <http://www.georgewright.org>

Marie Tyler- McGraw, "Southern Comfort Levels: Race, Heritage Tourism, and the Civil War in Richmond." *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*. Edited by James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton. New York: The New Press, 2006, pp. 151- 167.

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Agenda-Day 2

8:30 ***Secession, Lincoln, and War*** - MT- M & DTP

- Secession and the Constitution
  - Why secession?
  - Constitutional secession?
  - Compromise Attempts - Crittenden, et al.
- Lincoln's Choices after Ft. Sumter
- Emancipation
  - Antietam - September 17, 1862
  - Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation - September 22, 1862
  - Emancipation Proclamation - January 1, 1863
  - Gettysburg Address - November 19, 1863
- USCT and Black Confederates
- Second Inaugural - March 4, 1865

10:00 Break

10:15 ***Aftermath of the War, Reconstruction, and the Rise of Jim Crow*** - DTP

- Assassination - April 14, 1865
- Thirteenth Amendment - December 18, 1865
- Fourteenth Amendment - July 28, 1868
- Fifteenth Amendment - March 30, 1870
- Reconstruction
- Lynching as National Pastime

12:00 Lunch

1:30 ***The National Memory of the War*** - DTP

- Organizations
- Players
- Publications
- Monuments
  - U.S. Capitol
  - Arlington Cemetery
- Reconciliation vs. Emancipation memory of the war

3:30 Final Thoughts - DTP & MT- M & Participants

4:30 End of Day

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Suggested Readings for Day 2

8:30 ***Secession, Lincoln, and War***

Suggested readings for this section:

Ira Berlin, "Slavery in American Life: Past, Present, and Future." *Rally on the High Ground: The National Park Service Symposium on the Civil War*. Eastern National, 2001, pp. 11-21.

James O. Horton, "Slavery and the Coming of the Civil War: A Matter of Interpretation. *Rally on the High Ground: The National Park Service Symposium on the Civil War*. Eastern National, 2001, pp. 67- 79.

1:30 ***The National Memory of the War***

Suggested readings for this section:

John M. Coski. "Historians Under Fire: The Public and the Memory of the Civil War." *CRM*, vol. 25, no. 4 (2002), pp. 13- 15. <http://crm.cr.nps.gov/archive/25- 04/25- 04- 4.pdf>

Eric Foner. "The Civil War and a New Birth of American Freedom." *Rally on the High Ground: The National Park Service Symposium on the Civil War*. Eastern National, 2001, pp. 91- 101.

James O. Horton. "Confronting Slavery and Revealing the 'Lost Cause.'" *CRM*, vol. 21, no. 4 (1998), pp. 14- 20. <http://crm.cr.nps.gov/archive/21- 4/21- 4- 5.pdf>

Edward T. Linenthal. "Epilogue: Reflections." *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*. Edited by James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton. New York: The New Press, 2006, pp. 213- 224.

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Presenters*

Dwight T. Pitcaithley is College Professor of History at New Mexico State University. In 2005 he retired as Chief Historian of the National Park Service, a position he held for ten years. During his thirty- year career with the National Park Service, he worked in Santa Fe, Boston, and Washington, D.C. He has published articles related to historic preservation and the interpretation of historic sites and visited 220 of the 388 natural and cultural places that comprise the National Park System.

Marie Tyler- McGraw is an independent scholar currently working as a consultant and contractor for public history projects. She was a historian at the National Park Service and the Valentine Richmond History Center. She worked for the National Endowment for the Humanities, taught American history and American studies in several colleges and universities, and held a postdoctoral fellowship at the Smithsonian Institution. She has recently completed a book manuscript on the American Colonization Society, *Crossing Over: Virginia and Liberia*.

*biographical information is taken from, James O. Horton and Lois Horton, eds. *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*. New York: The New Press, 2006.

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Notes

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Notes

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Notes

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Notes

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Bibliography

LINCOLN: A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Donald, David Herbert. *Lincoln*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995.

Lincoln Reconsidered: Essays on the Civil War Era. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980. (First published in 1956.)

Goodwin, Doris Kearns. *Team of Rivals: The Political Genius of Abraham Lincoln*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005.

Harrison, Lowell H. *Lincoln of Kentucky*. Lexington: University of Kentucky, 2000.

Jaffa, Harry V. *A New Birth of Freedom: Abraham Lincoln and the Coming of the Civil War*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield, Publishers, 2000.

Oates, Stephen B. *Abraham Lincoln: The Man Behind the Myths*. New York: Harper & Row, 1984.

With Malice Toward None: The Life of Abraham Lincoln. New York: Harper & Row, 1977.

Peterson, Merrill D. *Lincoln in American Memory*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Wilson, Douglas L. *Lincoln Before Washington: New Perspectives on the Illinois* Years. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997.

Honor's Voice: The Transformation of Abraham Lincoln. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998.

Writings and Speeches:

Holzer, Harold. *Lincoln at Cooper Union: The Speech That Made Abraham Lincoln President*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004.

Johnson, Michael P., ed. *Abraham Lincoln, Slavery, and the Civil War: Selected Writings and Speeches*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2001.

White, Ronald C., Jr. *Lincoln's Greatest Speech: The Second Inaugural*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002.

Wills, Garry. *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992.

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Bibliography

SECESSION BIBLIOGRAPHY: SELECT PRIMARY SOURCES

Chittenden, L.E. *A Report of the Debates and Proceedings in the Secret Sessions of the Conference Convention, for Proposing Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, Held at Washington, D.C., in February, A.D. 1861.* New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1864.

Congressional Globe, 36th Cong., 2nd Sess.

Journal of the Convention of the People of North Carolina Held on the 20th Day of May, A. D. 1861. Raleigh: Jno. W. Syme, Printer to the Convention, 1862.

Journal of the Convention of the People, South Carolina, Held in 1860- '61, Together with the Reports, Resolutions, Etc. Charleston: Evans & Cogswell, Printers to the Convention, 1861.

Journal of the Convention of the State of Arkansas, Which was begun and held in the Capitol, in the City of Little Rock, on Monday, the Fourth Day of March, One Thousand, Eight Hundred and Sixty- one. Little Rock: Johnson & Yerkes, State Printers, 1861.

Journal of the Mississippi Secession Convention, January 1861. Jackson: The Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States, 1862. First published in 1861.

Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention of the People of Florida, Begun and Held at the Capitol in the City of Tallassee [sic], on Thursday, January 3, A.D. 1861. Tallahassee: Office of the Floridian and Journal, 1861.

Journal of the Public and Secret Proceedings of the Convention of the People of Georgia, Held in Milledgeville and Savannah in 1861. Together with the Ordinances Adopted. Milledgeville, Georgia: Boughton, Nisbet & Barnes, State Printers, 1861.

Official Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention of the State of Louisiana. New Orleans: J. O. Nixon, Printer to the State Convention, 1861.

Reese, George H., ed. *Proceedings of the Virginia State Convention of 1861: February 13- May 1.* Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1865.

Smith, William R. ed. *The History and Debates of the Convention of the People of Alabama, Begun and Held in the City of Montgomery, on the Seventh Day of January, 1861, in which is Preserved the Speeches of the Secret Sessions and many Valuable State Papers.* Spartanburg, South Carolina: The Reprint Company, Publishers, 1975.

White, Robert H. *Messages of the Governors of Tennessee, 1857- 1869.* Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission, 1959.

Winkler, William. *Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas, 1861.* Austin: Austin Printing Company, 1912.

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Bibliography

ROAD TO DISUNION: SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

Abrahamson, James L. *The Men of Secession and Civil War, 1859- 1861.* Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 2000.

Boritt, Gabor S., ed. *Why the Civil War Came*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Daly, John Patrick. *When Slavery was Called Freedom: Evangelicalism, Proslavery, and the Causes of the Civil War*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002.

Dew, Charles B. *Apostles of Disunion: Southern Secession Commissioners and the Causes of the Civil War*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001.

Faust, Drew Gilpin. *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988.

Foner, Eric. *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. (First published in 1970.)

Freehling, William W. *The Reintegration of American History: Slavery and the Civil War*. New York: Oxford University, 1994.

The Road to Disunion: Secessionists at Bay, 1776- 1854. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

The Road to Disunion: Secessionists Triumphant, 1854- 1861. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Klein, Maury. *Days of Defiance: Sumter, Secession, and the Coming of the Civil War*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997.

Levine, Bruce. *Half Slave and Half Free: The Roots of the Civil War*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1992.

Link, William A. *Roots of Secession: Slavery and Politics in Antebellum Virginia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Morrison, Michael A. *Slavery and the American West: The Eclipse of Manifest Destiny and the Coming of the Civil War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Silbey, Joel H. *Storm Over Texas: The Annexation Controversy and the Road to the Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Wakelyn, Jon L., ed. *Southern Pamphlets on Secession, November 1860- April 1861*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Causes of the Civil War, <http://users.aol.com/jfepperson/causes.html>. [Primary documents.]

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Bibliography

BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR CENTENNIAL OF THE CIVIL WAR

Abroe, Mary Munsell. "Observing the Civil War Centennial: Rhetoric, Reality, and the Bounds of Selective Memory." *CRM*, vol. 21, no. 11 (1998), pp. 22- 25.

Bodnar, John. *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992; pp. 206- 226.

Catton, Bruce. "The End of the Centennial." In *Prefaces to History*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1970; pp. 71- 80.

Cook, Robert. "(Un)furl that Banner: The Response of White Southerners to the Civil War Centennial of 1961- 1865." *Journal of Southern History*, vol. 68, no. 4 (November 2002), pp. 879- 913.

Franklin, John Hope. "A Century of Civil War Observance." *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. 47 (April 1962), pp. 97- 107.

Geary, James J. "'When Dedication was Fierce and from the Heart:' Planning Virginia's Civil War Centennial, 1958- 1965." *Virginia Cavalcade*, vol. 50, no. 2 (Spring 2001), pp. 77- 87.

Handlin, Oscar. "The Civil War as Symbol and as Actuality." *The Massachusetts Review*, vol. III (Autumn 1961), pp. 133- 143.

Kammen, Michael. *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991; pp. 590- 610.

Larson, Norman C. "The Confederate Centennial: A Report." *The North Carolina Historical Review*, vol. 42, (1965), pp. 216- 223.

Pitcaithley, Dwight T. "The American Civil War and the Preservation of Memory." CRM, vol. 25, no. 4 (2002), pp. 5- 9.

Shackel, Paul A. *Memory in Black and White: Race, Commemoration, and the Post- Bellum Landscape*. Walnut Creek, California: AltaMira Press, 2003; pp. 42- 48.

Warren, Robert Penn. *The Legacy of the Civil War*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998. (First published in 1961.)

Wiener, Jon. "Civil War, Cold War, Civil Rights: The Civil War Centennial in Context, 1960- 1965." In *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture*, eds. Alice Fahs and Joan Waugh. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004; pp. 237- 257.

Woodward, C. Vann. "Reflections on a Centennial: The American Civil War." *The Yale Review*, vol. L (June 1961), pp. 481- 490.

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Bibliography

CIVIL WAR MEMORY: A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY (page 1 of 2)

Blight, David W. *Beyond the Battlefield: Race, Memory, and the American Civil War*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002.

Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Brundage, W. Fitzhugh. *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 2005.

Case, Sarah H. "The Historical Ideology of Mildred Lewis Rutherford: A Confederate Historian's New South Creed." *Journal of Southern History*, vol. LXVIII, no. 3 (August 2002), pp. 599- 628.

Cimprich, John. *Fort Pillow: A Civil War Massacre, and Public Memory*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005.

Coski, John M. *The Confederate Battle Flag: America's Most Embattled Emblem*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005.

Cox, Karen L. *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003.

Fahs, Alice and Joan Waugh. *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Foner, Eric. *Who Owns History?: Rethinking the Past in a Changing World*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2002. Pp. 149- 204.

Foster, Gaines. "Coming to Terms with Defeat: Post- Vietnam America and the Post- Civil War South." *Virginia Quarterly Review*, 66 (Winter 1990), pp. 19- 35.

Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Gallagher, Gary W. And Alan T. Nolan, eds. *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000.

Goldfield, David. *Still Fighting the Civil War: The American South and Southern History*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004.

Horwitz, Tony. *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches from the Unfinished Civil War*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1998.

Mills, Cynthia, and Pamela H. Simpson. *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003.

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Bibliography

CIVIL WAR MEMORY: A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY (page 2 of 2)

Neff, John R. *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005.

Novick, Peter. *That Noble Dream: The 'Objectivity Question' and the American Historical Profession*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Piehler, G. Kurt. "The Divided Legacy of the Civil War," in *Remembering War the American Way*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995, pp. 47- 91.

Pressley, Thomas J. *Americans Interpret Their Civil War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954.

Reardon, Carol. *Pickett's Charge in History & Memory*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Silber, Nina. *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865- 1900*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Waldrep, Christopher. *Vicksburg's Long Shadow: The Civil War Legacy of Race and Remembrance*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005.

Warren, Robert Penn. *The Legacy of the Civil War*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998. (Originally published in 1961.)

Wilson, Charles Reagan. *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865- 1920*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1980.

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Notes

John Latschar, Superintendent
Gettysburg National Military Park
National Council on Public History
Houston, Texas
April 24, 2003

Coming to Terms with the Civil War at Gettysburg National Military Park

In order to understand the interpretive challenges we are facing at Gettysburg NMP and our other Civil War sites, we must first understand the historical struggle for the memory of the Civil War era in the United States. The first 100 years of that struggle for memory - from the end of the war in 1865 to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1965- can be aptly summed up by the adage that "The North may have won the war, but the South won the history." This version of memory - classically labeled "The Myth of the Lost Cause" - proclaimed that the Civil War was caused exclusively by a struggle over "state's rights" (slavery was not a cause of the war), that the Confederacy was defeated because of the overwhelming industrial and manpower advantages of the North (thus, defeat did not mean dishonor), and that slavery was a benign institution necessary to protect the well-being of an inferior race.

Over the last 35 years, the "Myth of the Lost Cause" has been systematically challenged and thoroughly discredited within the academic world. But not so in the general memory of our nation, where it persistently remains. For example, the Immigration and Naturalization Service exam for prospective citizenship includes the question "The Civil War was fought over what important issue?" There are two correct answers: "Slavery, or, states rights."[1] And the popular debate continues. In the month preceding our meeting here in Houston, newspapers both North and South covered arguments and debates dealing with the contested history of the Civil War, such as the pros and cons of a statue of Abraham and Tad Lincoln in Richmond, the pending referendum over a new state flag in Georgia, the "Lost Cause" overtones of the movie *Gods and Generals*, and, as always, NPS interpretation at Civil War parks.

David Blight's remarkable book, Race and Reunion:The Civil War in American History, is a remarkable account of how America's memory of the Civil War era was shaped between the years 1865 and 1915. He describes how "Three overall visions of Civil War memory" - emancipation, white supremacy, and reconciliation - "collided and combined over time" and how "In the end…a segregated memory…of reconciliation overwhelmed the emancipationist vision in the national culture…"[2] Reading David's book was both an intellectual and an emotional experience for me, because what he wrote rings so true in those parts that touched upon my youth and in those that touched upon the development of Gettysburg as a symbol of commemoration and reconciliation. His work speaks directly to our current interpretive challenges at Gettysburg NMP, for there is no doubt that at Gettysburg, we are dealing with some of the problems of the history of memory of which he writes so eloquently.

Shortly after I arrived at Gettysburg NMP, the park celebrated the 100th anniversary of its creation in 1895 as a National Military Park. We celebrated with a symposium dedicated to the topic of "Gettysburg - The First 100 Years," wherein scholars examined the history and development of the park. Being relatively new and relatively naïve, I accepted an invitation to speak on the topic of "Gettysburg - The Next 100 Years."

[1] Charles B. Dew, Apostles of Disunion: Southern Secession Commissioners and the Causes of the Civil War. University Press of Virginia, 2001.
[2] David W. Blight, Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory. Harvard University Press, 2001.

In my remarks, I suggested that it might be a mistake to assume that Gettysburg NMP would still exist 100 years hence, and that it might be a mistake to assume that anyone would care about the battle of Gettysburg, or the Civil War, in the year 2095. It wasn't meant to be a doomsday prediction, but I did feel it was worth using the occasion to question the presumption that Gettysburg or the Civil War would always be relevant to the American public. Indeed, all one had to do to question that relevance was to look at the profile of the American public that visits Gettysburg.

Our visitors are predominantly adult white males. Males far outnumber females and whites far, far outnumber blacks and all other minorities. If we're going to survive, I suggested, we might want to reverse that trend.

Our Civil War parks, I suggested, have failed to appeal to the black population of America. Theoretically, blacks should be intensely interested in the Civil War, but they are not. I speculated part of this might be due to their understandable reluctance to dwell upon a historical period in which they were considered sub-human by a majority of the white population, both north and south.

But a portion of this failure, I suggested, may be our own fault. In our efforts to honor both the Union and the Confederate forces that fought on our battlefields, our interpretive programs had been avoiding discussions of what they were fighting about. For blacks, I suggested, it has always been abundantly clear what the Civil War was all about. In their view, the primary purpose behind the creation of the Confederate States of America was to protect and preserve the institution of slavery (a view largely endorsed by the academic community). Until we started talking about issues such as this, I concluded, we could not hope to make Civil War battlefields relevant to them.

Excerpts from this speech were picked up and reprinted in *The Civil War News*, and you could probably predict what happened next. The Secretary of the Interior received 1,100 postcards from the Southern Heritage Coalition, condemning my plans to "modify and alter historical events to make them more 'palatable' to a greater number of park visitors." The postcards demanded that the Park Service "return to its unaligned and apolitical policies of the past, presenting history, not opinions."

I was surprised by this reaction. After all, I was only stating the obvious: that slavery had something to do with the Civil War and we ought to talk about that. But I shouldn't have been surprised - I had just forgotten what I had been taught 30 years before.

I was raised in Virginia and South Carolina. I grew up in a completely segregated society that taught segregation as the natural condition of the races. As a product of the educational systems of Virginia and South Carolina, I was thoroughly indoctrinated into "Myth of the Lost Cause." I grew up in the Douglas Southall Freeman era, at a time when Freeman's credibility was just slightly below the King James Version of the Bible, and slightly above the Revised Standard Version (which was still considered somewhat suspect). I shouldn't have been surprised that the "myth" still has a powerful hold upon the minds and emotions of my fellow graduates of Southern school systems of that time. (59% of the visitors to Gettysburg graduated from high school before the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1965; 24% are from Southern states.)

With a new awareness, I started to look at Gettysburg and what we were presenting to the public. The battlefield itself - our teaching tool - is a perfect example of what David Blight has described as commemoration through reconciliation. We have over 1,400 monuments, memorials, tablets and markers at Gettysburg, primarily erected between the 1870s and the 1920s. These 1,400 monuments describe the order of battle, disposition and movements of troops, and (almost invariably) their casualty lists. The majority of the monuments, particularly those installed by the veterans themselves, call particular attention to the bravery, the courage, the valor and the

manliness of the soldiers. A few commemorate the preservation of the Union. None commemorate the ending of slavery.

In other words, the monumentation of Gettysburg is a physical manifestation of the reconciliationist memory of the Civil War. As a somewhat natural consequence, our interpretive programs traditionally emphasized (safe) reconciliationist topics. We discussed battle and tactics, the decisions of generals, the moving of regiments and batteries, the engagements of opposing units, and tales of heroism and valor. All of this was central to our mission, and seemed to be what the majority of visitors wanted to hear about. (Internally, we call this type of interpretation "who shot whom, where.")

And, of course, there are those veterans' reunions for which Gettysburg is so renowned. The story of the famous "hands across the wall" at the 50th anniversary of the battle at Gettysburg in 1913, which symbolizes the reconciliation of the veterans themselves, is guaranteed to bring tears to visitors' eyes. We tell that story. Stories related to the consequences of that reconciliation - Woodrow Wilson's forced segregation of the Federal bureaucracy in 1913, or the 70 lynchings that took place that year - might also bring tears to visitors' eyes if we told them. But we don't.

In 1996, we started to move towards a more contextual interpretation of the battle, and began to offer programs addressing slavery and the impact of war upon civilians. In 1988, through the cooperative agreement between the NPS and the Organization of American Historians, Professors Jim McPherson (Princeton), Eric Foner (Columbia), and Nina Silber (Boston University) came to spend a few days with us. We asked their advice on our programs and how to put the Gettysburg campaign into the context of the political, social, and economic environment of the mid-nineteenth-century United States; in short, how to present the story of Gettysburg within the larger story of the causes and consequences of the Civil War.

Their advice was invaluable. One of their most insightful observations was that, because we had traditionally related the reconciliationist version of the Civil War to our visitors, our interpretive programs had a pervasive (although unintended) southern sympathy. After all, they pointed out, Gettysburg was most commonly known as being the site of Pickett's Charge (rather than Hancock's defense), and as the "High Water Mark of the Confederacy."

We instantly knew they were right. By primarily emphasizing the heroism and sacrifices of the soldiers, without discussing why they were fighting, we were presenting the reconciliationist memory of the Civil War to our visitors, to the exclusion of the emancipationist vision.

Taking their advice, we have revised our themes. Now, instead of emphasizing only the battle itself, we also stress the meaning of the battle. That meaning, of course, was eloquently captured by President Lincoln in the Gettysburg Address. Our new interpretive themes are designed to emphasize Gettysburg as the place of "A New Birth of Freedom."

Also in 1998, a conference of all the superintendents of NPS Civil War sites was held in Nashville. One purpose of the conference was to discuss our mutual "recognition that our interpretive efforts do not convey the full range and context of the stories our sites can tell." On the subject of "Interpreting Civil War Battlefields" the superintendents unanimously concluded that we should all broaden our interpretive stories to

> …establish the site's particular place in the continuum of war; illuminate the social, economic, and cultural issues that caused or were affected by the war; illustrate the breadth of human experience during the period, and establish the relevance of the war to people today.[3]

In other words, on an agency-wide basis, the NPS made the decision to ground our stories of battles and tactics in the larger issue of "causes and consequences."

In 1999, the new General Management Plan for Gettysburg NMP stated that:

> "The enduring legacy of Gettysburg and its place in the nation's history provide a rare opportunity to discuss the social, cultural and political changes that brought about the Civil War and that were occasioned by it. The Civil War was a dramatic national struggle that touched the lives of every American alive then. The war, this battle, and the Gettysburg Address helped define the ideals of freedom that we, as a nation, still strive to achieve today."[4]

The same year, Congress gave the NPS additional encouragement to broaden our interpretive scope, when it declared that;

> The Service does an outstanding job of documenting and describing the particular battle at any given site, but …it does not always do a similarly good job of documenting and describing the historical social, economic, legal, cultural and political forces and events that…led to the…war…. In particular, the Civil War battlefields are often weak or missing vital information about the role that the institution of slavery played in causing the American Civil War.

As a result, Congress directed the NPS "to encourage Civil War battle sites to recognize and include in all of their public displays and multi-media educational presentations the unique role that the institution of slavery played in causing the Civil War…"[5]

Constituency Concerns

As we move in this direction, we will continue to tell the stories of battles and tactics, illustrated by the experiences of military leaders and individual soldiers. These will always be fascinating subjects. (Stories of how people react under stress always make good literature and good drama.)

But we are now presenting these stories of "who shot whom, where" within the important historical issues of "why were they shooting?" and "why did it matter?" By whatever method you choose to measure - the events of September 11th notwithstanding - the Civil War was the greatest disaster in the history of our country.[6] And the outcome of the war, its consequences, was the greatest factor in the subsequent development of our country. As we introduce our visitors to the story of what the war was all about, we hope it can provide a deeper meaning concerning why those men fought and died on the fields at Gettysburg.

---

[3] "Holding the High Ground: Principles and Strategies for Managing and Interpreting Civil War Battlefield Landscapes," p. 11. NPS, 1998.
[4] "Final General Management Plan/Environmental Impact Statement: Gettysburg National Military Park," p. 6. NPS, 1999.
[5] "Department of the Interior FY2000 Appropriations: Joint Explanatory Statement of the Committee of the Conference," Title I, p. 96. U.S. Congress, 1999.
[6] In 1860, the population of the US was 43.3 million; 3.8 million were enrolled in military service and 620,000 died. If the Civil War was fought today and the same percentages held, 29.8 million would be enrolled in military service and 4.8 million would die.

But as we introduce these issues of "contextual history" we are making some folks nervous. Some "military buffs" are concerned that any time spent talking about causes and consequences would be time taken away from the true purpose of battlefields, which they define (in unconscious reconciliationist terms) as "commemorating the battle and honoring the men who fought there." They argue that battlefields were not established to interpret the Civil War, but only to commemorate and interpret individual battles. "Interpreting the broader scope of Civil War history" wrote one critic, "was NOT in the 'mission statement' of the battlefields." That kind of stuff should be left to the academic historians.

To these critics, we reply that it is not our intent to downplay the military history of the campaign, but to make that military history more meaningful and understandable to our visitors, by providing an understanding of the social, political and economic influences that produced the soldiers and the armies in which they fought. After all, as Sir John Keegan, the most acclaimed military historian of our time, wrote:

> …an army is…an expression of the society from which it issues. The purposes for which it fights and the way it does so will therefore be determined in large measure by what a society wants from a war and how far it expects its army to go in delivering that outcome.[7]

In other words, in order to understand armies, good military historians must first understand the societies that produced those armies. In order to understand the battle-front, you must first understand the home front. In order to understand the significance of Gettysburg, you must first understand what was at stake as the armies prepared for battle.

Other constituents have a more personal concern, which is how the memory and honor of their ancestors will be treated in this type of "contextual" history. In the words of one correspondent from North Carolina, "…I see the political climate as becoming very dangerous for anything Southern and white. I have never condoned discrimination, I have never denied slavery was a cause of the War. But, slavery was NOT the ONLY cause. And I'll be damned if I will sit idly by and let revisionist historians tell me MY ancestors, who owned NOT one slave…fought to keep them in bondage."

This question of "honor" is still incredibly important to these constituents. How we can approach this subject without bringing "dishonor" upon their ancestors? The question has two answers, both of which are part and parcel of doing "good history." The first is that interpretation of 19th century events through the lens of 21st century values is "bad history," which we shall not do. The participants of this mid-19th century struggle must be understood within the context of the values of the times and the societies in which they lived.

Secondly, as Jim McPherson has so ably pointed out, the reasons that nations go to war, and the reasons that men go to war, are often two different sets of reasons. It is perfectly understandable, in the context of the 1860s, why a citizen of North Carolina or Pennsylvania chose to enlist under the banner of their state. Indeed, it would be unusual had they not done so. To conclude that those soldiers who did enlist, thus automatically supported the reasons that their governments went to war, is bad history. Some did, and some did not. There are hundreds of reasons why men go to war.

As personal example, I "volunteered" to join the Army and thus went to Vietnam. I hope that does not mean that my descendants (or future historians) will presume that I believed in the Domino Theory, or that I had any intention of sacrificing my life (or honor) to save the world from the evils of communist domination. But in the context of the times in which I lived, I had four choices: to be drafted and go as an enlisted person, to volunteer and go as an officer, to go to jail, or to flee my

[7] John Keegan, The Mask of Command, p. 2. Penguin Books, 1987.

country. I took the choice that seemed best for me and my family. That choice was influenced by the social, economic, and political context of American life of the 1960s. How many choices did typical 22-year-olds have in the 1860s, and how were those choices effected by the context of their times?

In summary, if we can explain why the North and South went to war, introduce the myriad of personal reasons which caused the citizens of both the North and South to support that war, and talk about the consequences of those decisions - both individual and collective - then we shall have succeeded in doing "good history" which should dishonor no one.

And, perhaps, we will have taken a small step forward in reconnecting our cultural memories of the Civil War era in America, including memories of both reconciliation and emancipation.

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Notes

Cynthia MacLeod

Crossing Boundaries: Interpreting Resource-Related Issues

National Park Service (NPS) interpretation of resource-related issues has made a necessary and notable expansion at Richmond National Battlefield Park in the twenty-first century, as we strive for better understanding of the Civil War by a diverse audience.

During the American Civil War, from the first battle of Manassas until the guns fell silent four years later, the cry of the Union armies was "On to Richmond." Richmond's battlefields and related resources have a myriad of deep and abiding stories to tell visitors.

NPS involvement in the history of the preservation and interpretation of Richmond's Civil War battlefields began in 1936 when battlefield land that had been saved privately was given to the Commonwealth of Virginia, which in turn gave it to the federal government. Congressional legislation authorized a huge boundary for donation of land to commemorate the more than 30 battles in the vicinity of Richmond. Only about 500 acres constituted the land that was actually preserved at that time, however, in a still-rural landscape.

The first visitor center was built in the 1940s on an 1864 battlefield, in a small building, with sons of veterans offering their interpretations of the military actions and soldier valor. In 1959, the main visitor center was moved to the city of Richmond in anticipation of the centennial anniversary of the Civil War. The emphasis of the interpretation was still on the military tactics and strategy and the well-known names of the war.

From 1992-1996, the park struggled with formulating a new general management plan (GMP). A central concept in the new GMP was that at Richmond National Battlefield Park, there is an opportunity and an *obligation* to convey to visitors at least an introduction to the full and deep meaning of the Civil War. Not only are there strategic explanations for the battles at Richmond, but also the battlefield stories merge with the Confederate capital's industrial, economic, political, and social fabric. The concentration of diverse Civil War resources in the Richmond area is unparalleled. Understanding why the battles occurred at Richmond and who was involved contributes to a visitor's grasp of the complexity of the American past and provides a means to appreciate strengths and shortcomings in our collective heritage. Richmond National Battlefield Park is a prime place for helping visitors to understand specific earthworks and tactics as well as individual tragedies. Richmond National Battlefield Park is also a prime place for helping visitors to understand why the Civil War happened, and so why more than 620,000

Figure 1. Tredagar Visitor Center, Richmond National Battlefield Park. *(National Park Service photo.)*

men died, and what the legacy of the war means to us today. The interpretation was planned to be expanded not to substitute social history for military history but to relate each to the other when possible.

Richmond's identity as the former capital of the Confederacy has over time variously been celebrated, excoriated, and ignored by its residents. The same has been true for many battlefields around Richmond. In planning the twenty-first-century visitor center, we wanted all people to be invited in, to be able to find something of relevance to them in this facility and also in the battlefield resources. Key to the success of the project are: (1) its location on the James River waterfront, which is part of a multi-million-dollar renovation project with an emphasis on history, and (2) its location in the famous Tredegar Iron Works, the "iron maker" to the Confederacy, with a rich legacy itself of industrial, social, labor, and political history.

In 2000, our planning and our partnership with the private sector came to fruition with the dedication of the new Richmond National Battlefield Park visitor center at Tredegar Iron Works. We had spent $3 million and two years on the exhibits. We had started with formulating interpretive themes and objectives. First, we wanted to have visitors begin to acknowledge or affirm in their minds the watershed nature of the legacy of the Civil War. Also, we wanted them to register that Richmond was at the heart of the Civil War and that the related resources are overwhelming. We didn't want visitors actually overwhelmed, so we crafted an orientation to be seen soon after they enter the building.

A visitor has a variety of options for orientation and introduction to resources in the map room. He or she can engage a ranger or volunteer in discussion or can immerse him- or herself in the two large wall maps that identify separately the 1862 and 1864 battles. The 1862 Seven Days Battle

and the 1864 battles occurred on much of the same acreage; each has a number of complex stories and are easily confused by the first-time visitor. Individual battles and troop movements are illustrated by a digital, moving map that has proven to be a favorite of visitors young and not-so-young. Significantly, there are six more large wall maps that orient a visitor to the political sites of the capital of the Confederacy, wartime homes and neighborhoods, churches and cemeteries, hospitals and prisons, monuments and other sites, and Civil War-related museums and collections. Our hope is that by this point, we have achieved the orientation and motivation objectives for the visitor, particularly for Richmond's battlefields but including a wide range of related interests.

A motivated visitor may explore the rest of the Tredegar visitor center, moving to the lower level, dubbed the "War Room." A 27-minute film there in an open auditorium offers more orientation and specifics on Richmond's battlefields and their context, although by means of media different from those of the middle level. The auditorium also contains somewhat unusual museum objects displayed to provoke different ways of thinking about the inventions and horrors of war. For instance, a case of shells and bullets, some embedded in pieces of trees, are captioned with a *video label*: "While some men made their living making artillery, guns, and ammunition, those same products cost other men their lives." There are dice, cards, a drum, and a Bible displayed together, the celebratory, profane, and the sacred, utilized as necessary on the battlefield. Soldiers had lots of down-time on their hands as well as moments of crisis and action. Unusual artifacts are displayed here to give visitors a clue about instruments of war and the genius of their invention. For instance, pontoon boats were lashed together to create the base of floating bridges across the many rivers in Virginia, and were used extensively by Union and Confederate forces. Another display case that intrigues visitors contains flag staffs, without the flags, captured at Appomattox Courthouse. Flags were extremely important to armies and regiments: medals of honor were earned for their rescue and capture, and their symbolism took many forms in the Civil War as in other wars. Tredegar made over 1,100 cannon for the Confederacy, and the park displays eight of them, including one of the largest and the smallest, a rare bronze tube, displayed side-by-side. When the movie is not showing, casualty statistics run on the film screen to remind visitors of the cost of war. Grim images reinforce the tragic drama that played out on the battlefields.

The third floor of the visitor center was designed to be the most museum-like section of the facility as well as the greatest work-horse for carrying the multiple themes and reaching the emotional objectives. Called "Richmond Speaks," the exhibits are divided into the military stories and the home front or civilian stories, but we hope the interrelationship is apparent through the duplicative timelines and the meat of "April Essays" for each side. History is a continuum and its threads are not easily confined to sep-

arate spools. Military strategy, political leadership, industrial strength, scientific innovation, home front conditions, and individual motivation and personalities all affected what happened on the battlefields.

It was imperative that we set the stage for the exhibits by framing the war in the "why" and the "so what." So, there are almost literal bookends to the exhibits that explicate the causative issues, the larger war aims, effects, and accomplishments and failures. Other important interpretive objectives were to provide an opportunity to understand political and military chronologies as well as the interrelationship among the political and military victories and defeats and home front struggles and perceptions.

Particularly in light of racial strife and distrust in Richmond and recent history involving media hype over the public display of an image of Robert E. Lee among other historic visages, the prologue was especially difficult to craft. We did not want to pull punches but we did not want to exaggerate or oversimplify the reasons for the war. The prologue as written seems to have hit the mark properly and crosses a necessary boundary in connecting

Figure 2. Dressed in mourning black, two war widows make their way through the devastation that befell Richmond during the Civil War. *(National Park Service photo.)*

resources with greater meaning:

> The Civil War (1861-1865) remains the central event in American history. Richmond was at the heart of the conflict. More than seventy years after the adoption of the Constitution, a nation founded on principles of liberty and equality still allowed human enslavement and quarreled over the balance between state and federal powers. These interrelated issues led to Constitutional crises that were merely patched over, satisfying neither North nor South. The growing nation became increasingly divided over the existence and expansion of slavery.
>
> Lincoln's election to the Presidency in 1860 convinced many southern leaders that their slave-based economy and social order would soon be threatened by federal restrictions. Seven states quickly passed articles of secession and created the Confederate States of America. After the new Confederacy fired on a federal fort in Charleston harbor and Lincoln called for troops to preserve the Union, Virginia joined the Confederacy and prepared to resist invasion.
>
> Richmond, the Confederate capital and industrial center of the South, was a major objective of Union strategy for four years. As war began, neither side anticipated the brutal clashes, long sieges, and home front destruction that brought death or injury to more than one million Americans and devastation to a broad landscape, much of it in Virginia.

Within the bookends, we bring the interpretation back to the resources, the battlefields of Richmond, Virginia. And then, we focus closer, on the individual soldiers.

As the visitor approaches the military side of the exhibits adjacent to the prologue, he or she reads that soldiers joined the armies for a myriad of reasons, often unconnected with the overt racial issues and rather related to the more theoretical reason of either preserving the Union or preserving states' rights. The dense texts, April Essays, timelines, variety of artifacts, and photographs all layer together, but separate with concentration to provide visitors with a smorgasbord and a relatively complete introduction to the Civil War history of the area. The reaction has been tremendously positive. People spend hours in the Tredegar visitor center. We did not have to stretch to have something for everyone; there really is more than plenty for everyone's particular interest in Richmond's Civil War history once you can get past the traditional "Lost Cause" filter for the past. My favorite part of the visitor center is the "voices" component, which reflects the larger themes through individual stories conveyed by a selection of letters, diaries, remembrances, and newspaper correspondence.

The other bookend, the "Epilogue," brings the visitor back out to the overarching theme of "so what," with the help of an enormous photograph of Richmond's turning basin, which was for ocean-going ships that transferred cargo between the canal and the James River. The Epilogue is somber in tone and factual in content but is designed to raise the consciousness of the reader to reflect on the state of the reunited nation in 1865 and today:

> Beginning as a war to determine the preservation or the division of the United States, the Civil War ended in emancipation of four

million Americans as well as preservation of the Union. Three Constitutional amendments—the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth—promised former slaves freedom and rights as citizens. The war decisively answered the question of whether states might leave the Union and shifted the balance of political power toward the federal level.

But much remained unresolved in Richmond and in the nation. The war did not solve issues of racial prejudices, nor did it establish final meanings for freedom and equality in the United States. These meanings began to evolve in law, practice, and history.

After April 1865, Richmond witnessed both commemorations and celebrations of the Civil War. Many white Richmonders tended graves and erected memorials, while blacks celebrated emancipation with parades and religious services. How well Richmonders, and the rest of America, could overcome their divisions was a challenge for the future.

Civil War battles erupted around Richmond in 1862 and 1864, and the threat of them was ever-present from 1861 to 1865. The memory of them has been seared on the descendants of all involved and all who have heard the stories. How time and history have treated those memories has differed, evolved, been hidden, and been exaggerated depending on the audience as well as the particular era and storyteller. The National Park Service must tell all true stories, as well as provide thorough and honest frameworks and contexts for the history of Richmond's Civil War battles. Equally important, NPS must preserve the actual resources of the battlefields; and most important, we must provide a link between the stories and the resources in order to encourage the most thorough understanding of them, their time, and ourselves today. The more context we can provide for a diverse public to see themselves in the history, the more relevant the resources will be to them.

[Ed. note: this paper was originally given at the 2001 GWS Conference.]

Cynthia MacLeod, Richmond National Battlefield Park and Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site, 3215 East Broad Street, Richmond, Virginia 23223-7517; cynthia_macleod@nps.gov

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Notes

Dwight T. Pitcaithley

The American Civil War and the Preservation of Memory

The American Civil War, which raged from 1861 until 1865, was the United States' defining event. Anticipated for 40 years, from the time the United States Congress first limited the extension of slavery into the western territories, the war sealed the fate of the institution of slavery and ended forever the question of secession. And while the country was very different in, say 1870, than it had been a decade earlier, in some respects it had changed very little.

The war concluded with the passage of three constitutional amendments: the 13th (1865), which abolished the institution of slavery; the 14th (1868), which granted citizenship to 4 million freed slaves; and the 15th (1870), which gave them the right to vote. In 10 short years, the war had completely altered the social, political, and economic landscape of the country.

The suddenness of emancipation and the apparent reversal of African American fortunes can only be fully understood when one remembers that in 1857, a short 8 years before Congressional abolition of slavery, the Supreme Court determined in the *Dred Scott* case that African Americans, slave or free, could not attain full, or even partial, citizenship. "The unhappy black race," wrote Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, "were separated from the white by indelible marks, and laws long before established, and were never thought of or spoken of except as property....[blacks were deemed to be] beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect."[1]

Throughout the country and among Members of Congress, North and South, there existed no political support for the termination of the institution of slavery. In early 1861, Congress, in an effort to forestall the secession movement, passed the first 13th Amendment which guaranteed African American slavery wherever it then existed against Federal interference. (It must be noted that while the amendment was ratified by three States, the ratification process was soon overtaken by the war. The amendment was quickly abandoned and replaced 4 years later with the 1865 amendment that abolished slavery.)[2] Moreover, had the war ended within the first 18 months after the firing on Fort Sumter, prior to the preliminary issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, slavery would have continued throughout the United States.

When the war began in 1861, the abolition of slavery, although the dream of William Lloyd Garrison, the country's leading abolitionist, and a small minority of northerners, was not a goal of the United States Government. In 1861, President Lincoln raised large numbers of volunteer troops to preserve the Union, not rid the country of the "peculiar institution." While possessing a moral aversion to slavery, Lincoln nevertheless feared the racial consequences of wholesale emancipation and was unsure about the constitutionality of abolition. One of the wonders and truly noteworthy aspects of the war years was how steadily and relatively quickly—by January 1863—the abolition of slavery joined preserving the Union as a war aim.

As much as the country had changed during the decade of the 1860s, in some very important respects it remained the same. As noted above, the war ended forever the question of secession and constitutionally abolished the institution of slavery. Achieving political equity for

This issue of CRM follows several others that have explored the Civil War era and its echoes to the present time. "Connections: African American History and CRM" 19:2, (1996); "Altogether Fitting and Proper: Saving America's Battlefields" 20:5 (1997); "African American History and Culture" 20:2 (1997); and "Slavery and Resistance" 21:4 (1998) contain articles on slavery, the Underground Railroad, causes of the Civil War, African Americans in the Civil War, preserving battlefields, and the modern Civil Rights movement. All past issues can be located online at <http://www.cr.nps.gov/crm>.

the former slaves, as envisioned in the 14th and 15th Amendments, proved to be more challenging.

The institution of slavery had been built on deep and imbedded racism toward African Americans and on the concomitant presumption of white supremacy. Indeed, the Confederacy and its Constitution were founded on, as Alexander Stephens, Vice President of the Confederacy would put it, these cornerstones, these articles of faith. "Our new government is founded …," he lectured in 1861, "upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery...is his natural and normal condition." And presumptions of white supremacy could not be legislated away.

Although the Reconstruction Era, 1865 to 1877, attempted to institute political equality upon the former states of the Confederacy, whatever successes were attained, were achieved on the strength of the United States military occupation of the South. Racism remained following Reconstruction and successfully undermined the spirit and intent of the just-ratified 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution. The failure to enforce these changes to the Constitution, it must be said, was not solely a southern failure, but a failure of the United States Government in all three branches: executive, judicial, and legislative. It was a failure of the nation.

Over the next several decades, the rights of black Americans slowly eroded throughout the American South with the enactment of Jim Crow laws which segregated blacks socially and marginalized them politically and economically. Indeed, the white supremacy evident before the war was, by 1900, just as evident throughout the South. It is not a stretch to observe that black Americans for 100 years following Appomattox were systematically deprived of those Jeffersonian ideals of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Between 1890 and 1920, three black Americans were lynched every week somewhere in the American South.[3] While obligated to pay taxes, black Americans were denied even basic benefits enjoyed by white Americans. Grossly inferior public schools; segregated and, again, inferior public transportation facilities and restrooms; segregated seating in theaters; and physical intimidation characterized the black southern experience for a century following the war.

As much of the white South was turning back the clock for its former slaves, it was also revising the memory of the war. Stunned by the devastating losses incurred during the 4-year struggle, southerners hoped to regain their equilibrium by rewriting the history of the war. The creation and defense of the Lost Cause philosophy dominated southern literary and historical production well into the 20th century. Under this interpretation, the South did not as much lose the war as it was overwhelmed by superior military might. Under this interpretation, slavery was a benign institution wherein slaves were content, even happy, and more importantly, faithful and devoted to their masters. Under this interpretation, the war had its origins not in disputes over the institution of slavery, but in the loftier ideals of States rights and constitutional authority.

So successful was this campaign to correct the memory of the war that Lost Cause ideology was endorsed not only in the South, but in many regions of the United States. A country eager to move ahead into the Industrial Age and the Progressive Era preferred to remember the glory of combat and the romance of an idealized war over an institution based on human servitude. Gaines Foster, Nina Silber, Gary Gallagher, and David Blight have all contributed brilliant insights into the development of this post-Civil War phenomenon.[4]

By the centennial of the war in 1961, the principles of the Lost Cause were so deeply ingrained in the American psyche that the 4-year celebration (emphasis on celebration!) rarely considered the role of slavery in prompting the war and rarely considered the legacy of slavery in contemporary society. Two who dared to think beyond the conventions of the deeply segregated country the United States had become by 1960 were Robert Penn Warren and Oscar Handlin.

Warren — son of the South, writer and historian — produced " The Legacy of the Civil War" in 1961 and accurately commented upon the myths, North and South, that had developed over the 100 years since the war and how those myths prevented the country from seeing the war for what it was and productively addressing the legacies of it. The psychological costs of the war, argued Warren, were more subtle, pervasive, and continuing than the economic costs. The South developed the "Great Alibi" wherein defeat was turned into victory and defects became virtues. The North, on the other hand, developed the "Treasury of Virtue" which made it the great redeemer, the savior of the nation, assigning to the North a morality and a clarity of purpose it never

possessed. "When one is happy in forgetfulness," Warren wrote, "facts get forgotten."[5]

Oscar Handlin, a professor of history at Harvard University, also commented upon the limitations of the Centennial celebration.

> An anniversary is an occasion for retrospective reconsideration. It affords an opportunity for analysis of what happened and why and for an estimate of the consequences that extend down to the present. But it is precisely in this respect that both the scholarly and the popular treatments of the Civil War touched off by the centennial fail us most seriously....the men of the North and of the South seized upon the war as a symbol. But in doing so, they grotesquely distorted the actuality of the war as it had been. And the continued preservation of that symbol also obscures the surviving problems left by the war.[6]

In spite of dozens of recent scholarly works on the war, its causes and its consequences, popular discussions of the war rarely engage the role arguments over the institution of slavery played in prompting the war, or consider how quickly the constitutional rights of black Americans were ignored in the rush toward sectional reconciliation. Indeed, in the opinion of Columbia University scholar Eric Foner, the popular 1990 television production "The Civil War," produced by Ken Burns, bore "more resemblance to turn-of-century romantic nationalism than to modern understandings of the war's complex and ambiguous consequences."[7] The miniseries, according to Foner, chose to remember the war as a family quarrel among white Americans and to celebrate the road to reunion "without considering the price paid for national reunification — the abandonment of the ideal of racial justice."

Foner's critique elaborated upon comments made a few years earlier by a prominent southern historian. At the conclusion of his analysis of the Confederacy and the development of the New South, Gaines Foster observed that,

> The rapid healing of national divisions and damaged southern self-image, however, came at the cost of deriving little insight or wisdom from the past. Rather than looking at the war as a tragic failure and trying to understand it, or even condemn it, Americans, North and South, chose to view it as a glorious time to be celebrated. Most ignored the fact that the nation had failed to resolve the debate over the nature of the Union and to eliminate the contradictions between its equalitarian ideals and the institution of slavery without resort to a bloody civil war. Instead, they celebrated the war's triumphant nationalism and martial glory.[8]

Much of the public conversation today about the Civil War and its meaning for contemporary society is shaped by structured forgetting and wishful thinking. As popular as the war is today, there is little interest — outside academic circles — in exploring the causes of the war and considering its profound legacies. Suggestions that slavery really was at the core of mid-19th-century

Almost a century after the ratification of the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, President Lyndon B. Johnson, with Martin Luther King, Jr., looking on, signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This photo is part of an online travel itinerary, "Historic Places of the Civil Rights Movement" created by the National Register of Historic Places at <www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/civilrights/>. Photo by Cecil Stoughton, courtesy National Archives and Records Administration.

disagreements between the Northern and Southern States are met with a charge of being "politically correct," a charge designed to shut down conversation on the subject rather than examine the documented links between the institution of slavery, westward expansion, and the balance of power in Congress.

Recognizing the truth in Robert Penn Warren and Oscar Handlin's assessment of the war and realizing that descriptions of battles alone do not lead to an understanding of war, the managers of the National Park Service's Civil War battlefields have decided to add to the military history in their interpretive programs an assessment of the war's causes and consequences. Interpreting historic sites in the context of the times in which they gained national prominence is fundamental to National Park Service educational programs. Presenting that context occurs at sites as diverse as Women's Rights National Historical Park in Seneca Falls, NY, site of the 1848 Women's Rights Convention; Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller National Historical Park in Woodstock, VT, which commemorates the conservation movement in the United States; and the USS *Arizona* Memorial in Honolulu, HI, which remembers the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. But interpreting the causes of the Civil War at battlefield sites turns out to be highly controversial. A portion of the American public is adamantly opposed to it.[9]

Some believe, and believe strongly, that only military events should be discussed at battlefield sites; others believe that a discussion about the causes of the Civil War might lead to a discussion about slavery. This group, in spite of scholarly evidence to the contrary, denies that slavery was a cause of the Civil War. In short, they argue, military history is good; any attempt to explain why these armies were at each others' throats is bad. The editorials and letters attacking the National Park Service for its expanded interpretive programs demonstrate how emotionally Americans feel about their history, particularly the history of the Civil War. For its part, the National Park Service is being guided by the philosophy that organized killing requires an explanation; and organized killing on the scale of the American Civil War demands it. What the Service is confronting are the effects of over 100 years of many white southerners trying to find meaning, vindication, and perhaps redemption in a war that dealt them a crushing defeat, not only militarily, but also socially and economically.[10]

The purpose of the study of history is not to determine the heroes and the villains in the past, but to gain an understanding of how a society got from then to now, to understand what decisions and actions of the past affect current conditions, and to provide the basic tools of citizenship for more informed decisionmaking in our own time. Alexander Stille, author of "The Future of the Past," puts it very simply, "knowing where you have come from is important in forming an idea of where you want to go."[11] An understanding of the American Civil War must involve a broad view. While the shooting began in 1861, the differences between Northern and Southern States began during Jefferson's time with the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the abolition of slavery in the North. And while the shooting stopped in 1865, the legacy of the war continues to resound throughout our society today.

As this country approaches the sesquicentennial of the Civil War in a few short years, it is the hope of the National Park Service that the 150th anniversary of that event will spark a national discussion about the meaning of the war in the 21st century. Such a discussion would logically and responsibly explore the war's causes and consequences, look unblinkingly at the issue of slavery as the principle dividing issue in 19th-century America, and consider the legacy of racism which prevented the country from experiencing Lincoln's "new birth of freedom" for a century following Appomattox. Such a discussion would, it is hoped, prompt a deeper and more thoughtful consideration of how the echoes of the war continue to resound throughout our society. Such a discussion could only benefit the country as it makes decisions about the kind of future it wants to create for its children and grandchildren.

Notes

1 Roger B. Taney, *Dred Scott* v. *Sandford* (1857). Reprinted in *The Annals of America, vol. 8, 1850-1857: The House Dividing* (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1976), 440-449.

2 Alfred H. Kelly and Winfred A. Harbison, *The American Constitution: Its Origins and Development* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1970), 399-400.

3 This anguished chapter in American history is graphically and grimly portrayed in a photographic exhibit currently on display at Martin Luther King, Jr., National Historic Site in Atlanta, GA. The exhibit can also be found on the Internet at <http://www.journale.com/withoutsanctuary>.

4 See Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001); Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); and Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, editors, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000).

5 Robert Penn Warren, *The Legacy of the Civil War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 54, 59-60. First published in 1961.

6 Oscar Handlin, "The Civil War as Symbol and as Actuality," *The Massachusetts Review,* Vol. III (Autumn 1961): 133-143.

7 Eric Foner, "Ken Burns and the Romance of Reunion," in *Who Owns History?: Rethinking the Past in a Changing World* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2002), 190. This critique was originally published in Ken Burn's *The Civil War: Historians Respond*, Robert Brent Toplin, editor (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

8 Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 196.

9 Following the announcement that the National Park Service was planning to expand its interpretive programs to include information on the causes of the war, the Secretary of the Interior and the National Park Service received 2,500 cards and letters from the Sons of Confederate Veterans and Civil War Round Tables protesting the decision.

10 For an assessment of this country's, especially the South's, preoccupation with the Civil War, see David Goldfield, *Still Fighting the Civil War: The American South and Southern History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002); and Tony Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches from the Unfinished Civil War* (New York: Random House/Pantheon, 1998).

11 Alexander Stille, *The Future of the Past* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002), 325.

Dwight T. Pitcaithley is chief historian of the National Park Service.

The Civil War in Cyberspace

There are literally thousands of Web sites that relate to America's Civil War. As with everything on the Internet, some sites are soapboxes for their authors and fans, while others provide a wealth of information for interested searchers. For classroom instruction, teachers recommend or provide hot links for students to sites that have <.edu> (education), <.gov> (government), or <.mus> (museum), domain names because information on these sites is deemed more reliable and less likely to have an agenda that the author is promoting. With that said, however, there are individual sites that provide excellent information for studying the Civil War. James F. Epperson, a math professor, maintains three such Web sites. One discusses the causes of the Civil War and includes copies of, or links to, many primary documents from the period and can be found at <http://www.hometown.aol.com/jfepperson/civil.html>.

One of the most important benefits of the Internet for students of history is the accessibility to primary source documents. Rather than traveling to a library or museum, researchers are able to view these documents online through the collections of the Smithsonian Institution <http://www.si.edu>, the Library of Congress <http://www.loc.gov>, and the National Archives and Records Administration <http://www.nara.gov>, to name just three. An excellent study of the Civil War in the Shenandoah Valley area that includes an extensive amount of primary source material is the "Valley of the Shadow" project through the University of Virginia's Center for Digital History, authored by Dr. Edward L. Ayers <http://jefferson.village.virginia.edu/vshadow2/>. The site is updated frequently, and educational lesson plans and a CD-ROM version are also offered.

Finally, the National Park Service Web site <www.nps.gov> provides links to each Civil War park (as well as all national parks), many of which have informational and educational materials online. In addition, the site's "Links to the Past" section <www.cr.nps.gov> has a wealth of material, including information about ongoing efforts to preserve battle sites and a searchable database of military records as well as online exhibits featuring objects from the National Park Service's museum collections.

Pamela K. Sanfilippo

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Notes

John Tucker

Interpreting Slavery and Civil Rights at Fort Sumter National Monument

As we waited for Congressman Jesse Jackson, Jr., to arrive late one fall day in 1997, we wondered aloud as to the real purpose of his visit. To my knowledge, never before had a twentieth-century African American congressman representing a Northern state set foot on Fort Sumter—much less any congressman from Illinois. As with any good bureaucratic system, the park received calls from other Civil War battlefield superintendents as Jackson traveled through Georgia following the trail of General William Tecumseh Sherman traveled some 133 years past. As he moved about the South, we heard about his impression of the battlefields and the ongoing interpretive efforts. Was Jackson planning to lay waste to these park interpretive efforts and the park managers? What would be his impression of Fort Sumter and the interpretive efforts underway? Would he be impressed with Fort Sumter and the story surrounding its important role in American history? Would the congressman chastise the staff for not accomplishing his agenda items? As is the case for most VIP tours, the congressman was running late.

Fort Sumter National Monument was authorized in April 1948 by a simple act of Congress. The legislation states that the monument "shall be a public national memorial commemorating historical events at or near Fort Sumter." Without further direction from Congress, the National Park Service (NPS) relied upon its staff to clarify the interpretive purposes for Fort Sumter National Monument. Interpretation consisted of guides leading small groups to interesting spots within the fort.

During this period, the NPS interpretive focus for battlefields was on the "slice of time commemorative experience." In all likelihood, this approach to interpretation came out of the battlefield commemorations conducted by veteran's groups such as the Sons of Confederate Veterans and the Grand Army of the Republic in the post-Civil War period. Most efforts by these patriotic and civic organizations focused on healing the division between North and South. Reuniting the country was a top priority. Military parks were authorized to commemorate the heroic events and deeds that occurred on the hallowed grounds where blood was spilled by both Northern and Southern soldiers. Congress had abandoned efforts at Reconstruction in the South and lacked the resolve necessary to guarantee the rights of citizenship to newly freed slaves. The country was not ready for the social revolution reflected in the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution. The role of slavery and the rights promised to black Americans were forgotten in the rush to reunify the country and memorial-

ize a brothers' war. The nation's military parks reflected this atmosphere.

Mid-twentieth century America was fraught with civil unrest as the freedoms promised 100 years ago began to emerge. It was during this era of emerging civil rights that Fort Sumter's interpretive program began to take shape. When NPS published the first master plan for Fort Sumter in the 1950s, the fort's interpretive program was based on the 1860 election of President Abraham Lincoln, the secession of South Carolina, and the subsequent movement of Major Robert Anderson from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter. The major focus was on the initial Confederate attack of 1861 and the Federal bombardments of 1863 and 1864, known as the Siege of Charleston. These components made up the interpretive programs offered at the fort.

During the following decade, once the archeology was completed, permanent exhibit facilities were needed to enhance the visitor experience at Fort Sumter. A new museum was constructed with Mission 66 funding in the disappearing gun position of Battery Huger—an Endicott Battery completed in 1899. But the focus of interpretation did not appreciably expand with the museum exhibits. The events of 1861 and the bombardments of 1863-64 remained the central interpretive themes. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, interpretation changed little at Fort Sumter.

Clearly, two major influences were at work during the early years of Fort Sumter National Monument. First, as articulated by Thomas J. Pressly, was a "climate of opinion." Immediately after Fort Sumter was authorized, the nation was again struggling in a very public fashion with questions of race and equality. From the adoption of the Constitution in 1787 to the 1950s, questions of citizenship and equality were enmeshed in the power of politics. Although the Civil War had freed the slaves and for a short time visited certain rights on them, by the turn of the twentieth century freedom was still very limited for African Americans.

As the nation entered the 1960s, Fort Sumter was preparing for the Civil War Centennial in 1961. Fort Sumter was sitting in Charleston Harbor, surrounded by one of the most conservative communities in the nation, as slave descendants began demonstrating for their rights across America. The seriousness of segregation was highlighted by events of the Civil War Centennial Commission in Charleston:

> The manner in which those controversies and disputes could generate an atmosphere bearing at least some resemblance to a century earlier was illustrated at Charleston, South Carolina, in April of 1961, at the commemoration of the centennial of the beginning of hostilities at Fort Sumter. For that occasion, the Civil War Centennial Commission, an official body established by act of Congress, had arranged a "national assembly" of centennial organizations of the various States. When a Negro woman member of the New Jersey Centennial Commission reported that she had been denied a room at the headquarters hotel in Charleston because of her race, the Commissions of several "Northern" States announced that they would not take part in the assembly at Charleston. At the insistence of the President of the United States, the

Figure 1. Mission 66 exhibit at Fort Sumter. *National Park Service photo*.

> place of meeting was transferred to the nearby non-segregated United States naval base. Thereupon, the members of the South Carolina Centennial Commission, almost as if they had read the stage directions from a script written in 1860-1861, seceded from the national Commission. Ultimately, two commemoration meetings were held, one under the auspices of the national Commission at the naval base, and a second meeting at the original headquarters hotel sponsored by "The Confederate States Centennial Conference." It thus seemed possible to re-create in the United States of the 1960's a recognizable facsimile of the climate of opinion of the 1860's, even if the occasion itself was momentous only as a symbol.[1]

It was in this climate that Fort Sumter began forming its interpretative program.

The second major influence originated with the commemorative activities of both North and South after the war. Efforts to honor family heroes and comrades-in-arms led the nation to view battles as important events representing gallant behavior. It would have been far more difficult for America to discuss the causes of the war and the still-unfulfilled guarantees of citizenship. Similarly, the National Park Service followed this course throughout most of the 20th century. Park rangers preferred to discuss battlefield strategy and gallant actions by fallen heroes rather than discuss the actions and events that truly led to the opening shot at Fort Sumter.

To further confound the issue, in the 1970s NPS issued a new master plan for Fort Sumter. In this plan much of the emphasis was on Fort

Moultrie to ready it for the bicentennial of the nation. It is interesting that Fort Moultrie was to be developed much as an outdoor museum depicting seacoast defenses from 1776 to 1947. However, "Fort Sumter on the other hand, will be maintained and interpreted for public use and enjoyment as a 'slice of time'— [a] singularly significant period during the 200 years of coastal fortifications that is found in the history of the Civil War at Charleston."[2] Still the fundamental question of why the war started in Charleston was not answered.

Fort Sumter and Charleston's re-evaluation of the Civil War could not wait any longer. With the election of Mayor Joseph P. Riley in 1975, Charleston would soon recognize that its early economy was actually based on rice, not "King Cotton." From this understanding, Charlestonians have begun to realize that highly skilled slaves were imported from the Gold Coast of Africa to cultivate the many rice fields of the Lowcountry, making large profits for the planter class. The revelation that African slaves were not imported just for their laboring ability but for their intellect as well has made a significant difference in presenting the story of the Atlantic slave trade. What has long been obvious in academia and confirmed by oral traditions is finally making its way into the streets. Now we all can learn about the contributions of our ancestors.

By the 1990s, NPS interpretive rangers were beginning to make a re-evaluation of the role of holistic interpretation in programming within the national parks. Those responsible for interpretation began this re-evaluation long before Congress or the NPS Washington office identified it as a need. Interpretive efforts such as those begun at Fort Sumter in the early 1990s were reflected in many Civil War sites around the country. Washington supported these individual park efforts. NPS regional offices helped formalize the efforts with a multi-regional conference of battlefield superintendents, held in Nashville during the summer of 1997.

In this new environment, the interpretation at Fort Sumter began to change. At the beginning of the last decade, the park interpretive program consisted of Lincoln's election and the Civil War era. Interpretive staffing was marginally sufficient to keep the visitor use sites open on a day-to-day basis. The park did not have a historian on staff. When the question "Why did the nation separate?" was asked, it could not be adequately answered.

Another of the driving forces in the Fort Sumter interpretive plan was a need to change the vintage Mission 66 exhibits that had served the park since 1961. The exhibit space did not meet the basic Life Safety Code, nor was it fully accessible. In addition, it was recognized that "the exhibits have a very narrow focus on Civil War events 1861-65, with little information on the constitutional issues of the preceding decades that led to the conflict. In the same manner, the significance of antebellum Charleston as a powerful and independent social, economic, and political force is not emphasized."[3] The objective outlined in the interpretive plan was to "enhance public understanding of the social, economic, and political events leading up to

the Civil War."[4] From this exercise, three basic questions arose: Why did the nation separate? What role did Fort Sumter play in the Civil War? What will the visitor see at Fort Sumter today?

The 1960s-era museum at Fort Sumter was redone by park staff in the early 1990s. Completed in 1995, the new museum retained many of the treasured artifacts that were a part of the old museum, exhibited in fresh surroundings with a more sweeping story line. Blocking out damaging sunlight and providing handicap accessibility were important priorities designed to safeguard artifacts and improve the visitor experience. Another high priority was bringing the text in line with current scholarship. New exhibit text and graphics includes an introductory section that deals with the growth of sectionalism, antebellum politics, and slavery as the causes of secession and war. Most of the exhibit remains site-specific, dealing with topics such as the fort's construction, people and events leading to the firing of the first shot of the Civil War, and what happened to the fort during the ensuing war. A section was added on the participation of African Americans in the war, highlighting the role of the 54th Massachusetts on nearby Morris Island.

An even more ambitious exhibit project began in the fall of 1999 with exhibit planning for the new Fort Sumter tour boat facility at Liberty Square. The new building was sched-

Figure 2. 1990s renovation of exhibits. *National Park Service photo.*

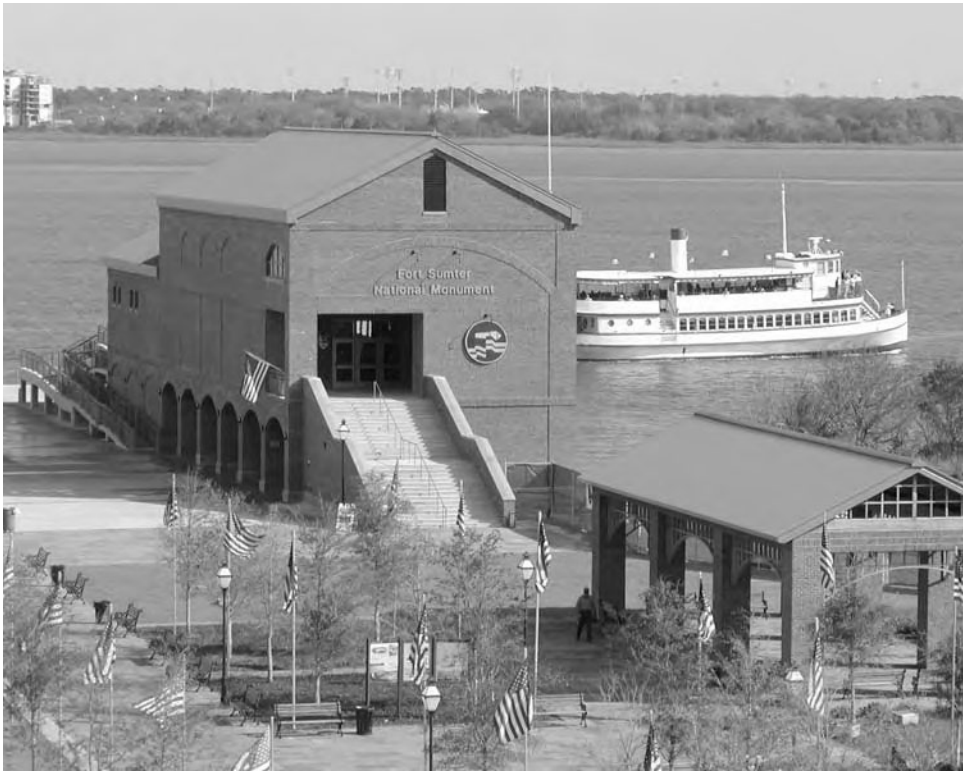


Figure 3. Liberty Square ferry terminal. *National Park Service photo.*

uled to open in June 2001. Here was the opportunity to prepare the visitor for the Fort Sumter experience on the mainland before boarding the ferry. Decades earlier, planning had begun to locate a new Fort Sumter departure site in downtown Charleston. First conceived in 1961, it was not to be a reality until 40 years later. Two major objectives were included at the outset of the 1990s planning effort. One, the original garrison flag would be displayed in the new facility. The garrison flag that flew over Fort Sumter from December 26, 1860, until April 11, 1861, had been on display at the fort from 1961 until 1980. It was removed and sent to the NPS conservation center in Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. Prior to the planned opening of the new tour boat facility, the flag would be treated and placed in a permanent container for exhibit. Secondly, the new dock facility exhibit would emphasize the causes leading to the outbreak of the Civil War. The exhibits at Fort Sumter would continue to provide interpretation regarding the events of the war in Charleston Harbor.

About the same time, NPS directors such as Roger Kennedy began to challenge the field ranger to do a better job of relating sites to the changing demographics in America. Director Kennedy wanted the parks to better meet the needs of the American population by the year 2000. We were

encouraged to not repeat the mistakes of 1970s environmental education by preparing "stand-alone" programs but rather to fully integrate interpretive efforts with professional scholarship. The parks were encouraged to step into the professional community to discuss interpretive ideas and approaches taken in the parks to provide visitor understanding.

Parks were looking for ways to ensure full implementation of a new interpretive effort centered around the concept of holistic interpretation. After the 1994 reorganization of the national park management system, parks were aligned within geographic groups called "clusters." Fort Sumter was a park of the Atlantic Coast Cluster. During a meeting of park managers representing the twenty-four parks in the cluster, the managers realized that, thematically, these parks could not be easily linked because of the multitude and variety of interpretive themes arrayed among them—themes that were themselves representative of a geographic diversity that ranges from Cape Hatteras south to Cape Canaveral and inland to Tuskegee, Alabama. However, the parks could be linked through honest and forthright interpretation at each site that included all people and all themes appropriate to each park. So in May of 1998 each superintendent in the Atlantic Coast Cluster agreed to five principles:

1. We will enlighten our visitors with a holistic interpretive experience, well told and rooted in the park's compelling story.
2. We will not be deterred by controversy in presenting the park's compelling story.
3. We will seek to make the story interesting to the visitor.
4. We will seek to share with all visitors the exclusiveness and plurality that the park's story represents.
5. We will ensure that the story is factual and based upon the highest-quality research available.[5]

One of the first major efforts to begin implementing a broader approach to Civil War interpretation in parks began with a conference in Nashville originally intended to discuss external land issues surrounding parks. However, the managers represented there chose to include proposals for interpreting Civil War battlefields in the conference proceedings and recommendations. The published findings captured the basis for most Civil War interpretation. "We have replaced the reminiscences of returning veterans with the interpretation stressing military tactics and strategy they so loved. In so doing, we have forgotten that the audience of the veterans knew the context of the war. We often do not provide adequate context for the site-related stories we tell."[6] As a result of this thoughtful observation, a guiding principle was developed to help with interpreting the Civil War:

> Battlefield interpretation must establish the site's particular place in the continuum of war, illuminate the social, economic, and cultural issues that caused or were affected by the war, illustrate the breadth of human experience during the period, and establish the relevance of the war to people today.... They [museum, historic sites, and classrooms] should spark or encourage or provide a personal journey of historical inquiry.... Changing perceptions about the past, broadening our understanding of what history is and how it is construct-

ed, is at the core of our profession.[7]

Soon following the Nashville conference, several major events happened in the National Park Service that would have a lasting impact on the way Civil War history is interpreted. With Congressman Jackson's visit and subsequent legislation, the efforts of many in the National Park System to change interpretation came to the forefront. In an NPS report to Congress, *Interpretation at Civil War Sites* (published in 2000), an overview of current NPS Civil War site interpretation was included.

> A review of the survey reveals that there is room for improvement in all categories including exhibits, waysides, films, web sites, publications and personal service programs. Some Civil War sites clearly are covering the causes of the Civil War better that others. In general there is a desire on the part of battlefield managers to improve all areas of interpretation. This desire is thwarted primarily by limited staff and resources in relationship to the amount of media that needs to be made current both technically and academically.[8]

The next major step in battlefield interpretation was "Rally on the High Ground," a conference held in Washington, D.C., on May 8 and 9, 2000. In the introduction, Congressman Jackson's legislative language was noted. It directed the Secretary of the Interior "*to encourage Civil War battle sites to recognize and include in all of their public displays and multimedia educational presentations the unique role that the institution of slavery played in causing the Civil War.*" Although simple in content, it has raised a public debate regarding proper interpretation at Civil War battlefields. Some still believe that the war was about glory and battle tactics and should remain a "slice of time" commemorating the events and men who played them out on the battlefield. Others "begged to differ" on the causes of the war, referring to "states' rights" versus "slavery" as the real cause. This is illustrated in a letter from Dwight Pitcaithley, chief historian of the National Park Service, to a concerned citizen who had objected to NPS's interpretation at Civil War battlefields and raised two points often debated in the public arena. "Your letter," Pitcaithley wrote, "raises two concerns."

> The first is that Civil War battlefields were established so that future generations could learn about military actions and remember and honor the men who fought in these special places.... Your second concern is that the National Park Service should not address causes of the war at these places and that, in any event, slavery was not the immediate cause of the war.[9]

Pitcaithley went on to point out that NPS will continue to provide the history of Civil War battles. This is a fundamental part of the need for battlefield interpretation. In reference to the second concern, he went on to say:

> National Park Service interpretive programs throughout the country are designed to explain what happened at a particular park, discuss why it happened, and assess its significance. We do this at parks as diverse as presidential birthplaces, the site of the battle of the Little Bighorn and at the U.S.S. ARIZONA in Pearl Harbor. Understanding why an event happened is essential to making meaningful an event as tragic as the

> American Civil War. It is also important to distinguish between the causes of the war and the reasons why individuals, North and South, fought. The first has to do with political interest and leadership while the second stems from varied political, personal, and individual responses to the unfolding secession crisis.[10]

Last year, the National Park System Advisory Board's report *Rethinking the National Parks for the 21st Century* made these observations of the National Park Service:

> The public looks upon national parks almost as a metaphor for America itself. But there is another image emerging here, a picture of a National Park Service as a sleeping giant—beloved and respected, yes, but perhaps too cautious, too resistant to change, too reluctant to engage the challenges that must be addressed in the 21st century.[11]

In other words, it is time for the Park Service to move out of the "box." To do this, the Advisory Board recommended two specific items very pertinent to battlefield interpretation. NPS should:

- Embrace its mission, as educator, to become a more significant part of America's educational system by providing formal and informal programs for students and learners of all ages inside and outside park boundaries.
- Encourage the study of the American past, developing programs based on current scholarship, linking specific places to the narrative of our history, and encouraging a public exploration and discussion of America's experience.[12]

It was in this context that Fort Sumter National Monument was rethinking its overall management efforts as well. Long-range planning within NPS had evolved since the park's 1974 master plan was issued. By the early 1990s it became apparent that development pressures surrounding the park and a dramatic increase in visitation necessitated changing park management. No longer could Fort Sumter sit on the sidelines with a limited presence in Charleston. Following a management objective workshop in November 1994, the park began real planning that would lead to a new general management plan (GMP) for Fort Sumter. More than twenty-five organizations and individuals were invited to participate in this workshop and subsequent public planning efforts.

The new GMP provides guidance to establish and direct the overall management, development, and uses in ways that will best serve visitors while preserving the historic resources contained within the park. In addition to planning elements, the document contains a statement of the park's mission and of its compelling story. The mission statement reads:

> Fort Sumter National Monument commemorates defining moments in American history within a military continuum spanning more than a century and a half. Two seacoast fortifications preserve and interpret these stories. At Fort Moultrie, the first American naval victory over the British in 1776 galvanized the patriot's cause for independence. Less than a century later, America's most tragic conflict ignited with the first shots of the Civil War at Fort Sumter.[13]

The GMP is not an action plan. Action plans emanate from the GMP. For interpretive actions, the comprehensive interpretive plan is prepared and a long-range interpretive plan is

developed. During the GMP effort, the park staff also prepared the park's compelling story. The compelling story is used to succinctly tell the importance of the resources protected and is at the heart of the interpretive effort. It is used to train rangers regarding the importance of site-specific resources and is a significant part of the foundation for defining the park's interpretive themes. It focuses the park's message on the essential, most relevant stories the site has to tell and how these stories fit into a larger scientific, historic, social, and economic context. Every visitor should receive the compelling story prior to his or her departure from the park. This is Fort Sumter's compelling story:

Figure 4. Panorama of Liberty Square. *National Park Service photo.*

History provides us with defining moments from which we judge where we are with where we have been. The Civil War provides the United States with one of its critical defining moments that continues to play a vital role in defining ourselves as a Nation. Fort Sumter is the place where it began.

America's most tragic conflict ignited at Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861, when a chain reaction of social, economic, and political events exploded into civil war. At the heart of these events was the issue of states' rights versus federal authority.

Fueled by decades of fire and confrontation, South Carolina seceded in protest of Lincoln's election and the social and economic changes sure to follow. With Fort Sumter as an unyielding bastion of Federal authority, the war became inevitable.

A powerful symbol to both the

> South and the North, Fort Sumter remains a memorial to all who fought to hold it.[14]

With these documents underway or completed, the park embarked on a mission to answer the burning question, Why did the nation separate?

As work began on the exhibits, the question of what to name the new facility arose. Since the site was developed in partnership with the city of Charleston, applying a name by either organization would likely have resulted in "Aquarium Park" or "Fort Sumter Park." However, Mayor Joseph Riley and the author agreed at the outset to eliminate either of these extremes and look for something in the middle ground. Out of these joint efforts came the name "Liberty" as suggested by Robert Rosen, a Charleston historian and lawyer. "Square" was added to the name to differentiate between terms used within NPS (such as "Park") that might confuse the general public as to the role the site plays in Fort Sumter National Monument. Today the development site is known as "Liberty Square."

As it turned out, this choice of name was fortunate since the word "Liberty" became a unifying concept that finally brought into focus the interpretive themes of Charles Pinckney National Historic Site, Fort Moultrie, and Fort Sumter National Monument under a single umbrella. A main objective for the new development site was to provide a gateway for the NPS in Charleston as well as to other NPS sites in the area. Liberty Square was able to do just that.

The word "Liberty" also provided a platform that allowed the staff to explore the advancements of this ideal from our birth as a nation through the Civil Rights movement in the twentieth century. This idea was developed when Mayor Riley suggested the central fountain in the Liberty Square complex be dedicated to Septima Clark (1898-1987), a lifelong educator and civil rights activist. Clark lived in Charleston and worked closely with Dr. Martin Luther King to extend real voting rights to the African American populations in the South. One of the quotes to be used at the fountain is from Clark: "Hating people, bearing hate in your heart, even though you may feel that you have been ill-treated, never accomplishes anything good.... Hate is only a canker that destroys."[15]

From this, a draft long-range interpretive plan was completed for Liberty Square and work began to implement its recommendations.

> Liberty Square is also important as an appropriate location for the interpretation of liberty, a broad, regional theme in terms of Charleston's people, geography, and nearly four centuries of European and African settlement. Here, visitors will learn about people and events associated with the liberty theme expressed at any number of locations, including Fort Sumter National Monument, Fort Moultrie, and Charles Pinckney National Historic Site.[16]

With this charge the staff chose to use fixed media in the landscaped area to highlight contributions to America's liberties from the Constitution era to modern times. With the basic understanding that generally only white male property-owners over 21 years of age had any real liberties in 1787, the staff began to look at other moments in history to identify those who made

significant contributions to expanding the cause of liberty. Thirteen quotations from authors such as Harriet Tubman, Benjamin Franklin, W.E.B. Du Bois, Pearl S. Buck, and others are found on bronze markers scattered throughout outdoor garden rooms of Liberty Square. Each marker invites the visitor to reflect on the meanings of liberty. An introductory marker by NPS Chief Historian Pitcaithley reads:

> In 1776 this nation embarked on a great experiment, an experiment based on the self-evident truth that "all men are created equal." It has not been a steady progression, there have been many bumps in the road, but along the way this country's sense of equality and liberty and justice have been expanded to include a broad range of people, people not originally envisioned in that original Declaration of Independence. The past, like the present, was filled with choices. We are not accountable for decisions made by those who came before. We do have a responsibility to study those decisions and learn from them, to understand them in context of those times, and to apply the lessons learned to better nurture this experiment in democracy we call the United States.

The exhibit plan for the new Fort Sumter visitor education center and dock facility at Liberty Square evolved out of a fall 1999 meeting between park staff and NPS personnel from the Denver Service Center and Harpers Ferry Design Center. The interior exhibits would provide orientation and enticement to visit the fort, exhibit and interpret the Garrison flag, and interpret the causes of the Civil War, with a special emphasis on the role of slavery in America and the role of Charleston in particular.

The next planning meeting at the park was in February 2000. Park staff met with exhibit designer Krister Olmon from California; Anita Smith, the contracting officer and exhibit designer from the NPS Harpers Ferry Interpretive Center; NPS staff from the Denver Service Center; and historian Marie Tyler-McGraw of the NPS History Office in Washington, D.C. An outline and major themes came out of this meeting. Tyler-McGraw completed the initial research and writing for content development. Park staff also submitted research materials and potential graphics to Olmon that were incorporated in his concept package. Exactly two years later, in February 2002, the exhibits were finally installed. The interim period was filled with five major text revisions and numerous editorial changes, graphic selection and acquisition, and peer review as park staff writing exhibit text grappled with sensitive topics in a politically charged atmosphere.

Assigning both a military historian and a social historian to editing and writing the text meant that while it would be a cumbersome and at times contentious process, the end product would satisfy diverse interests. And this has happened. The use of language and graphics has been painfully examined. Terms such as "enslaved Africans," "slaves," "free persons of color," and "African Americans" were used with the knowledge that the exhibits will date themselves to 2001. The staff has used images of scarred backs as well as an enslaved body servant armed to fight for the Confederacy; they have incorporated

women's voices and used first-person quotes to flesh out the narrative. The voices calling for secession were very open about what institution they felt was threatened.

The final product closely resembled the original outline. Entitled "The First Shot: What Brought the Nation to Civil War at Fort Sumter?", the exhibit contains six sections, progressing from the wide Atlantic world of colonial times to the specific site of Fort Sumter in 1861. The sections are titled "Colonial Roots of the Conflict," "Ambiguities of the Constitution," "Antebellum United States," "Charleston in 1860," "South Carolina Declares its Independence," and "Fort Sumter: Countdown to Conflict." The introductory text reads:

> When the Civil War finally exploded in Charleston Harbor, it was the result of a half-century of growing sectionalism. Escalating crises over property rights, human rights, states rights and constitutional rights divided the country as it expanded westward. Underlying all the economic, social and political rhetoric was the volatile question of slavery. Because its economic life had long depended on enslaved labor, South Carolina was the first state to secede when this way of life was threatened. Confederate forces fired the first shot in South Carolina. The federal government responded with force. Decades of compromise were over. The very nature of the Union was at stake.[17]

The input of Walter Edgar of the University of South Carolina and Bernard Powers of the College of Charleston was invaluable. They both reviewed the text over their semester breaks during Christmas 2000 and offered insightful suggestions to improve the content. Tyler-McGraw and Pitcaithley were also instrumental in refining the text. Everyone on the park staff had an opportunity to critique the drafts. The problem with getting park historians to write exhibit text is that they tend to be wordy and nitpicky. Further, writing by committee can end up destroying any flow in the material. After all the agonizing and creative work, a product has been produced that will engage the visiting public.

As the draft progressed, the project attracted the interest of local politicians who wanted to review the park's federal viewpoint of the "Recent Unpleasantness." So far, the perception has passed muster. But there are rumblings. A week after the opening of the exhibits in mid-August 2001, a young woman darted into the exhibit hall and took a photograph of the large 20x36 replica of Major Anderson's 33-star garrison flag. The large flag hangs above the fragile original lying in a protective case to illustrate the size of the flag as it flew over Fort Sumter in 1861. The woman told the ranger on duty: "We will be back to protest the size of that flag." Since the September 11th attacks, no one has complained about the size of that U.S. flag.

Interpretation at Liberty Square has taken on a "shakedown" mode as operations begin to approach 100%. Ferries began departing the site on August 15, 2001. Permanent exhibit installation was completed on February 22, 2002. During the intervening months, between the time the facility opened and the permanent exhibits were installed, full-scale vinyl color prints of each permanent exhibit were hung on temporary plywood frames.

Figure 5. The 33-Star Garrison Flag. *National Park Service photo.*

This gave visitors a chance to see and comment on the exhibit program prior to its production. Several comments were received, ranging from glowing to condemning. Most were positive, appreciative, and constructive. But then there was the indignant professor from an unnamed university "from off" who also resides in the fair city of Charleston. He wrote a blistering critique in a letter to the editor of the local newspaper, referring to the "tendentious text," "single-visioned interpretation," and "biased political agenda."[18] The lack of Confederate flags on exhibit caused him to urge readers to send letters of protest to Interior Secretary Gale Norton. On the other hand, an elderly black man asked for a copy of the text dealing with the Constitution's treatment of slavery, and of a Library of Congress photograph of an enslaved family. He wanted to take the documents home and show his grandchildren.

Historian Gaines Foster is quoted in *Interpretation at Civil War Sites,* the 2000 NPS report to Congress:

> The rapid healing of national divisions and damaged southern self-image ... came at the cost of deriving little insight or wisdom from the past. Rather than looking at the war as a tragic failure and trying to understand it or even condemn it, Americans, North and South, chose to view it as a glorious time to be celebrated. Most ignored the fact that the nation failed to resolve the debate over the nature of the Union and to eliminate the con-

tradictions between its egalitarian ideals and the institution of slavery without resort to a bloody civil war. Instead, they celebrated the War's triumphant nationalism and martial glory.[19]

Change is difficult. Even for the dedicated staff assembled at Fort Sumter, changing Civil War interpretation was difficult. Each of us brings to the table a particular set of experiences, differing education, and varied cultural backgrounds depending on to whom we were born, where we lived, and how we were educated. Much has been done over the past ten years to implement an expanded interpretive program. It has involved increasing staff understanding and perception and broadening our community partnerships. The staff has participated in conferences, training programs, dedications, special resource studies, sensitivity sessions, and diverse cultural events to help with the transition. Today the staff sits on the "point of the sword" for the National Park Service doing its job. They are prepared to tell the story faithfully, completely, and accurately.

In 1997, as Congressman Jackson walked through the Fort Sumter museum exhibit, he noted the introductory panel outlining slavery and the war. He smiled and said, "Good." Then followed three hours of debate and discussion as we stood on the Fort Sumter parade ground. Our thoughts, beliefs, and opinions were challenged time and time again. It was obvious: Jackson had done his homework.

The Civil War still molds and shapes opinions about people and sections of the country. Its influence reigns over the country as an unseen spirit. The war was not an isolated event that occurred 140 years ago and is now forgotten. The politics of the war and its repercussions remain with us and influence us every day, from the president to the homeless drug addict sleeping on a park bench. It is time for us to understand and place in perspective the American Civil War.

National Park Service interpretation began at Fort Sumter during a period of major civil strife and demonstration. Fifty years hence, that interpretation is clearly articulating the causes of the war in an open forum never before seen in the NPS. Times have changed, staff have changed, and understanding and appreciation have changed as well. Maybe 50 years from now we will finally grasp the importance of the Civil War in American life.

Today, the park has made many changes to expand its interpretive programming. Revisions have occurred with the introductory program for the visitor to Fort Sumter, exhibits in the Fort Sumter Museum, the NPS handbook for Fort Sumter, the Fort Sumter brochure, as well as the production of many site bulletins. Minority visitation has increased from two to seven percent. But much remains to be done.

[Ed. note: this paper was originally presented at the Organization of American Historians / National Council on Public History annual meeting, April 2002, Washington, D.C.]

Endnotes

1. Pressly, *Americans Interpret,* p. 8.
2 National Park Service, *Master Plan,* Fort Sumter National Monument, 1974, p. 2.
3. National Park Service, *Interpretive Prospectus, 1990: Fort Sumter National Monument, Fort Moultrie and Charles Pinckney National Historic Site,* p. 5.
4. Ibid., p. 9.
5. National Park Service, Atlantic Coast Cluster agreement, July 15, 1998.
6. National Park Service, draft Nashville Cconference summary, "Holding the High Ground," August 1998, p. 8.
7. Ibid., p. 8. Draft Nashville conference summary, "Holding the High Ground," August 1998, p. 8
8. National Park Service, *Interpretation at Civil War Sites: A Report to Congress,* March 2000, p. 5.
9. Official correspondence from Dwight Pitcaithley to Ms. Lee, October 24, 2000.
10. Ibid.
11. National Park System Advisory Board, *Rethinking the National Parks for the 21st Century* (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society), p. 8.
12. Ibid., p. 65.
13. National Park Service, *General Management Plan,* 1998, p. 17.
14. *Ibid.,* p. 40.
15. Fort Sumter National Monument park files.
16. National Park Service, "Draft Long-Range Interpretive Plan," p. 3.
17. Fort Sumter Visitor Education Center Exhibit text, Liberty Square, 2001.
18. Letter to the editor, *Charleston Post & Courier*, Charleston, S.C., September 7, 2001.
19. *Interpretation at Civil War Sites,* p. 44.

References

Beck, Larry, and Ted Cable. *Interpretation for the 21st Century.* Champaign, Ill.: Sagamore Publishing, 1998.

Causey, M. Lander, and Beth G. Causey. *Fort Sumter—Fort Moultrie.* Mt. Pleasant: Holt Publishing, 1966.

Comstock, Rock L., Jr. "Short History, Fort Sumter." Unpublished paper, 1956. Fort Sumter National Monument library.

Catton, Bruce. *America Goes to War: The Civil War and its Meaning in American Culture.* Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press, 1958.

———. *The American Heritage Short History of the Civil War.* New York: Dell, 1967.

Donald, David. *Divided We Fought.* New York: Macmillan, 1952.

Edgar, Walter B. *South Carolina: A History.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998.

Everhart, William C. *The National Park Service.* Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1983.

Foner, Eric. *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877.* New York: Harper & Row, 1988.

Fort Sumter National Monument. *Interpretive Tour, Master Plan.* NM-SMM 2007C. Charleston, S.C.: Fort Sumter National Monument, 1959.

———. *The Master Plan, Revised.* NM-SUM 3001A. Charleston, S.C.: Fort Sumter National Monument, 1965.

———. *Master Plan.* Charleston, S.C.: Fort Sumter National Monument, 1974.

———. *Interpretive Prospectus, 1990: Fort Sumter National Monument, Fort Moultrie and Charles Pinckney National Historic Site.* Charleston, S.C.: Fort Sumter National Monument, 1990.

———. Fort Sumter Museum exhibit text, 1995.

———. *General Management Plan.* Charleston, S.C.: Fort Sumter National Monument, 1998.

———. *Long Range Interpretive Plan, Liberty Square.* Charleston, S.C.: Fort Sumter National Monument, 1999.

———. Fort Sumter Visitor Education Center exhibit text, 2001.

National Park Service. Atlantic Coast Cluster agreement, July 15, 1998.

———. Draft Nashville Conference, "Holding the High Ground," August 1998.

———. *Interpretation at Civil War Sites: A Report to Congress.* Washington, D.C.: NPS, March 2000.

———. Washington History Office correspondence, various dates.

National Park System Advisory Board. *Rethinking the National Parks for the 21st Century.* Washington, D.C. National Geographic Society, 2001.

Pressly, Thomas J. *Americans Interpret Their Civil War.* New York: Free Press, 1962.

Pollard, Edward A. *Southern History of the War.* 1977 facsimile of 1866 edition, Fort Sumter National

Monument library.
Robertson, James I., Jr. *The Concise History: Illustrated History of the Civil War.* Harrisburg, Pa.: Telegraph Press, 1972.
Tilden, Freeman. *Interpreting Our Heritage.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967.

John Tucker, Fort Sumter National Monument, 1214 Middle Street, Sullivans Island, South Carolina 29482-9748; john_tucker@nps.gov

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Notes

John M. Coski

Historians Under Fire

The Public and the Memory of the Civil War

A few years ago, I participated in a symposium on "southern symbols" at a southern university. After my presentation on the Confederate battle flag, an undergraduate student beckoned me out of the room and explained with startling candor his own feelings about the flag. He explained he was from rural Mississippi, ashamed of the virulent racism of his father, and now recognized why the flag offended African Americans. But, he insisted, he still did not abide the growing tendency to vilify all things Confederate and wanted to know why he should be ashamed of his ancestors. We had a long chat and returned to the room for the next presentation — which was about the latent, even subconscious, racism of some Civil War reenactors. The same student felt emboldened enough to stand up during the question and answer period and essentially repeat the story he had told me. The reaction of the session moderator was swift and unequivocal. She told him that he was out of line and, in so many words, to sit down and shut up. I'm ashamed to say that I did not intervene and insist that he and his question be treated with due respect.

There is an unfortunate dynamic that exists between professional historians and the millions of Americans who sympathize with the Confederacy in the Civil War. These neo-Confederates whom Tony Horwitz depicted — accurately, I believe — in his book "Confederates in the Attic"[1] are proud of their Confederate ancestors, conservative in their politics, and increasingly sensitive to what they believe are unfair attacks upon their ancestors and their values. Confederate sympathizers ascribe, consciously or unconsciously, to what many historians generally consider an erroneous and distorted interpretation of the Civil War that dates back to the Lost Cause era.[2] There is a large and easily-identified body of neo-Confederate literature that competes with academic scholarship, but the neo-Confederate viewpoint is more evident and oft-expressed in the frequent public disputes over Confederate flags, monuments, and other symbols and over the names of streets, bridges, or public buildings.

I confess that my perspective may be skewed. I have worked for nearly 14 years in an institution — the Museum of the Confederacy – that has had to find and maintain balance between sensitivity to the views of a core pro-Confederate constituency and scrupulous attention to scholarship and inclusiveness. Also affecting my viewpoint is the recent collapse of that balance. The museum is now explicitly courting the financial support of those individuals and groups who insist that it must be a museum for (not of) the Confederacy, a result that would threaten the institution's scholarly integrity and credibility.

The museum's fate is caught up in a strong backlash among white southerners and white Americans in general against a perceived political correctness running amok in America today. As we know from many other celebrated incidents, a large segment of the American population believes that politically correct or "revisionist" historians have hijacked history and have distorted truth with "context." The contested memory of the Civil War is just one example of the ongoing "history wars."

Resentment over political correctness and the ongoing campaign by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People against the publicly-sponsored or -endorsed display of Confederate symbols explains much about the gulf between scholars and the pro-Confederate public, but there are other contributing factors. The most important and consistent factor is ancestry. Perhaps more than any other avocational historians, many pro-Confederate Civil War buffs perceive the subject as synonymous with the honor and reputation of their ancestors. Discussions of slavery as the cause and issue of the war are considered an implicit condemnation of their ancestors. They are quick to fire back with arguments that have prima facie validity — but which historians dismiss as simplistic or irrelevant — that the vast

Editor's Note. This article is based on Dr. Coski's presentation at the Organization of American Historians annual meeting held in Washington, DC, April 13, 2002.

majority of white southerners and Confederate soldiers in particular did not own slaves and that Abraham Lincoln was, by modern definition, a "racist" (as were most people of his generation by today's standards) for whom the emancipation of the slaves was not a primary objective and who tried mightily to colonize African Americans out of the country.

How should professional historians respond to such arguments? According to a recent trend within the profession, historians should encourage people to study their personal pasts and help create a "participatory historical culture." The most common personal pasts are built upon a foundation of family history.[3] When you add to this tendency an emphasis on the need for public historians to consult with and listen to their stakeholders, it would seem that historians ought to respect the arguments of Confederate descendants.[4]

Furthermore, the history profession has for decades encouraged the study and celebration of distinct racial, ethnic, and life-style-based subcultures, in what some within our ranks denounce as therapeutic, feel-good, or compensatory history.[5] Should not the study and celebration of Confederate American history also receive the blessing of the profession?

My experience suggests that most professional historians hold Confederate Americans and their brand of history in great contempt. Rarely do historians discuss neo-Confederate thought without expressing either incredulity that anyone ascribes to it or fear of its persistence and apparent influence. Where then is the respect for the opinions of people who are stakeholders in their Confederate/Civil War past? Is there a double standard at work? I believe there is.

The lack of respect extends even deeper. Professional historians who share the conservative faith of neo-Confederates have felt so unwelcome in the profession that they have formed their own organizations. At mainstream historical conferences, I have heard respected Civil War historians criticized because they are too soft on Robert E. Lee and other Confederate leaders. These historians frequently address popular audiences and emphasize the centrality of slavery in the coming of the war. Civil War historians in academia — especially those writing military history — face an uphill battle to prove the legitimacy of their subject, even though — probably because — it is so popular with the wider public. Is it any wonder that there is a gulf between historians and the public?

Many elements of neo-Confederate orthodoxy are interpretations familiar in academic circles. For instance, the South was as much American as the North in the antebellum era; the constitutionality of secession was open to debate in 1861; Abraham Lincoln maneuvered the Confederacy into firing the first shot of the war; Lincoln violated the Constitution in his successful effort to preserve the Union; Lincoln was not committed to emancipation at the beginning of the war; and northern victory in the war fundamentally changed the nature of the Union and was an important step in the creation of modern American capitalism and the "imperial presidency."

Why is it that these and other familiar arguments seem less valid, less acceptable when espoused by neo-Confederates? The answer, it seems, is the belief that neo-Confederate thought is more akin to religious dogma and propaganda than inquiry — received truth rather than the process of trying to determine truths. And, most importantly, neo-Confederate thought amasses and arranges facts and interpretations with the express objective of vindicating Confederates and the Confederacy and of disassociating the Confederacy and the war from slavery. Believing that the preservation of slavery was the Confederacy's cornerstone and that slavery was the indispensable cause of the war, professional historians are determined not to let neo-Confederates get away with this denial.

Historians are afraid of giving aid and encouragement to the neo-Confederates and seeming soft on people and ideas that in the modern era we find prudent to condemn. We are afraid of being party to an unholy bargain of the kind that David Blight describes in his book "Race and Reunion" and, yes, afraid of offending African Americans whose beliefs and feelings now figure prominently — as they should — in how we understand and present our history.[6] The result of these fears is being painted into corners when engaging in debates over Confederate symbols. Perhaps it is time to change the terms and the nature of these debates.

What I have come to believe is the desirability and necessity of giving serious attention to the neo-Confederate presentation of history — a policy of "constructive engagement." Won't this

give credibility to arguments that could be dismissed as the voice of a "lunatic fringe"? These views have credibility with untold numbers of Americans — numbers that swell when Confederate symbols come under attack. We must do a better job of presenting compelling explanations to non-academic audiences of what we must admit are complex conundrums — how, for example, slavery could have been the root cause of the Civil War even though 75 percent of white southerners and perhaps 90 percent of Confederate soldiers didn't own slaves. We must be more straightforward in acknowledging fundamental agreement with some of the neo-Confederate points about Lincoln's equivocation over emancipation and his abuses of power. Failure to acknowledge this lends credibility to the neo-Confederate's argument that these are suppressed truths. The case for the watershed importance of slavery to the Confederacy and the Civil War can be made while avoiding the perception that it is a condemnation of Confederate ancestors or the promotion of a neo-Reconstructionist agenda.

Historians should seek opportunities to address Civil War Round Tables and Sons of Confederate Veterans camps and engage members in serious dialogue. Many academic historians are already doing just that and are using the pages of North & South magazine, a publication that within a few years has established itself as the best of the popular Civil War magazines and has tackled sensitive issues and encouraged serious dialogue between academics and laymen. As others would quickly point out, however, North & South also offers sobering evidence of the limits of constructive engagement. The months-long dialogue over James McPherson's article on the causes of the war reveal that even deliberate and reasoned explanation cannot overcome some peoples' devotion to dogma.[7]

I am not proposing some kind of centrally organized campaign of scholarly propaganda; Confederate sympathizers can spot truth squads as easily as we can. What I am recommending is a genuine effort by academic historians to engage with a segment of our stakeholders and the historically aware public that have often been treated as pariahs. They, of course, have come to regard us as pariahs. We should not only talk; we must also listen. Like it or not, their understanding of the Civil War is persistent and influential. If historians of the Civil War are under fire, it is both logical and prudent that we seek to understand more about the people who are doing the firing.

Notes

1 Tony Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches from the Unfinished Civil War* (New York: Random House/Pantheon, 1998).

2 Originating with the book, *The Lost Cause* (1866) by Richmond editor and historian Edward A. Pollard, the South's Lost Cause ideology stressed that the North's greater numbers had destined the South to lose on the battlefield. Even more so, the war was not fought over slavery, an institution deemed beneficial to the happy and devoted slaves, but over States rights. Between the 1880s and the 1910s, Confederate veterans' and descendants' organizations elaborated upon this ideology and lobbied heavily and successfully to make it orthodoxy among white southerners; see also Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980); Rollin G. Osterweis, *The Myth of the Lost Cause, 1865-1900* (Hamden, CT: Anchor Books, 1973).

3 Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

4 Edward T. Linenthal and Tom Englehardt, editors, *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1995); "Museum Exhibit Standards Society for History in the Federal Government," *OAH Newsletter*, May 2000, 29; Gary B. Nash, Charlotte Crabtree, and Ross E. Dunn, *History on Trial: Culture Wars and the Teaching of the American Past* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998).

5 Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society* (New York: Norton, 1992).

6 David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001). Blight argues that postwar Americans chose "healing" over "justice" and that white northerners and white southerners fashioned a memory of the war that emphasized soldierly valor over the war's issues and neglected the contributions of African Americans.

7 James M. McPherson, "What Caused the Civil War?" *North & South* 4:1 (November 2000): 12-22; "Special Crossfire," *North & South* 4:3 (March 2001): 5-7+; 4:4 (April 2001): 5-6+; 4:5 (June 2001),: 5-6+; 4:7 (September 2001):5-7+.

Dr. John M. Coski is historian for the Museum of the Confederacy in Richmond, VA.

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Notes

James Oliver Horton

Confronting Slavery and Revealing the "Lost Cause"

National Park Service Civil War sites draw millions of visitors each year. Manassas National Battlefield attracts more than a million and Gettysburg National Battlefield attracts almost two million. Clearly, these are important places for Americans. American heritage is bound up in the history told at these sites and visitors often have very definite ideas about the story they expect and want to hear. One of the most sensitive and controversial issues that any Civil War site interpreter will confront is the role of slavery in the South's decision to secede from and take up arms against the United States. Although an argument that slavery played an important role in the coming of the Civil War would raise few eyebrows among academic scholars, for public historians faced with a popular audience unfamiliar with the latest scholarship on the subject such an assertion can be very controversial. Whenever I speak to groups of Civil War re-enactors, to Civil War Round Tables or at public gatherings about the Civil War, I am reminded that slavery and the war are often separated in the public mind. The Sons of the Confederate Veterans have argued that the Ken Burns PBS series on the Civil War had too much material on slavery. Indeed, in Gettysburg's permanent exhibition, neither slavery nor slaves are mentioned in regard to the war. After the *Civil War News* published a portion of a lecture given by John Latschar, the superintendent at Gettysburg, that suggested that the war may have been fought over slavery, the Southern Heritage Coalition condemned his words and 1,100 post cards calling for his immediate removal flooded the Office of the Secretary of the Interior.

Obviously, most would not be moved to this response, nor are the majority of visitors to Civil War battlefields so acutely sensitive on this issue. Yet, there is no doubt that Latschar's comments struck a nerve among many who wished to minimize or deny the connection between slavery and the Civil War. As historian James McPherson explained in a recent article, it is especially difficult for southern whites "to admit—that the noble Cause for which their ancestors fought might have included the defense of slavery." Yet, the best historical scholars over the last generation or more have argued convincingly for the centrality of slavery among the causes of the Civil War.[1] The evidence for such arguments provided in the letters, speeches, and articles written by those who established and supported the Confederacy is overwhelming and difficult to deny. While slavery was not the only cause for which the South fought during the Civil War, the testimony of Confederate leaders and their supporters makes it very clear that slavery was central to the motivation for secession and war. When southern whites in the 19th century spoke of the "southern way of life" for which they fought, they referred to a way of life founded on white supremacy and supported by the institution of slavery. Even a cursory exploration of the primary sources they left makes this point.[2]

In mid-January of 1861, delegates gathered in Milledgeville in central Georgia to consider a course of action in response to the recent election of a Republican President. For more than a decade political debate had raged throughout the South about the threat posed by what Joseph E. Brown, "the ploughboy" governor from Northern Georgia, termed, the northern "fanatical abolitionist sentiment." To Brown, the election was not simply about a new President taking office. It was about something far more threatening to the future of the South's fundamental economic institution that had shaped southern culture and the social relations in that region for more than 200 years. In the *Federal Union*, a Milledgeville weekly, Brown argued that Lincoln was "the mere instrument of a great triumphant party, the principles of which are deadly hostile to the institution of slavery."[3] The convention vote went convincingly for secession (208 to 89 with six delegates refusing to sign the secession ordinance), and the decision turned on the need to protect slavery. One Georgia editor confirmed what most white Georgians and most white southerners believed when he wrote in 1862, "[N]egro slavery is the South, and the South is [N]egro slavery."[4]

Georgia was not the first slaveholding state to secede from the United States in the wake of Lincoln's election. South Carolina had led the way almost a month before when its Charleston convention, held just before Christmas in 1860, declared that the "Union heretofore existing between the State of South Carolina and the other States of North America is dissolved..." The reason for this

drastic action, South Carolina delegates explained in their "Declaration of the Causes which Induced the Secession of South Carolina," was what they termed a broken compact between the federal government and "the slaveholding states." It was the actions of what delegates referred to as "the non-slaveholding states" who refused to enforce the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 that was the specific example used as evidence for this argument. "In many of these States the fugitive [slave] is discharged from the service of labor claimed...[and] In the State of New York even the right of transit for a slave has been denied...." The delegation made clear that the election of Abraham Lincoln in the fall of 1860 as "President of the United States whose opinions and purposes are hostile to Slavery" was the final straw. In the South Carolinian mind the coming of Republican political power signaled, in the words of the convention, "that a war [would] be waged against slavery until it shall cease throughout the United States."[5]

The editors at the *Charleston Mercury* agreed. They had anticipated the threat that a Republican victory would pose when in early November they warned South Carolinians and the entire South that "[t]he issue before the country is the extinction of slavery." "No man of common sense, who has observed the progress of events, and is not prepared to surrender the institution," they charged, "can doubt that the time for action has come—now or never." The newspaper editors, like most southerners saw Lincoln's election as lifting abolitionists to power, and like most southerners they understood, as they plainly stated, that "[t]he existence of slavery is at stake."[6] They called for a convention to consider secession because they saw such action as the only way to protect slavery. When the South Carolina convention did meet little more than a month later, it dealt almost entirely with issues related directly to slavery. It did not complain about tariff rates, competing economic systems or mistreatment at the hands of northern industrialists. The South was not leaving the United States because of the power of northern economic elites who in reality, as historian Bruce Levine observed, "feared alienating the slave owners more than they disliked slavery."[7] The secession of South Carolina, approved by the convention 169 votes to none, was about the preservation of slavery.

At the time of secession virtually everyone understood that slavery was the major factor in the coming hostilities. Alabama's Robert Hardy Smith, elected to the Provisional Confederate States Congress, understood this only too well and said so publicly. The *Mobile Daily Register* printed the speech he gave at Temperance Hall in March of 1861. "The question of [N]egro slavery has been the apple of discord in the government of the United States since its foundation," he told his audience. Slavery remained the central divisive issue, he believed, the issue over which the Union had been broken. "We have dissolved the late Union," he argued, "chiefly because of the [N]egro quarrel."[8]

Alexander Stephens of Georgia also understood what the South was fighting for. A decade before secession, in reaction to the debate over the Compromise of 1850, he wrote to his brother Linton citing "the great question of the permanence of slavery in the Southern States" as crucial for maintaining the union. "[T]he crisis of that question," he predicted, "is not far ahead."[9] After the war he would become more equivocal, but in the heat of the secession debate in the spring of 1861 Stephens spoke as directly as he had in 1850. On March 21, 1861 in Savannah, Stephens, then Vice President of the Confederacy, drew applause when he proclaimed that "our new government" was founded on slavery, "its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth, that the [N]egro is not equal to the white man; that slavery—submission to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government, is the first in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth."[10]

Mississippi's Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy, was more cautious about declaring slavery as the pivotal issue. When he did address the issue, he generally did so within the context of constitutional guarantees of property rights. Yet, there was not doubt that the property rights he sought most to guarantee in 1861 protected slavery. He was sure that under Republican rule "property in slaves [would become] so insecure as to be comparatively worthless..."[11] A large slaveholder, Davis was concerned about the economics of abolition, but as an experienced politician he also worried that an overtly pro-slavery stand might alienate potential European allies and split the southern population. After all, by 1861 only about one third of southern families in the 11 seceding states held slaves and the non-slaveholders always posed a potential problem for Confederate unity. Even some historians who see slavery as the major cause of southern secession are not completely convinced that the one million southern men who fought for the Confederacy, the vast majority of whom had never owned even one slave, would have been willing to die for slavery.[12] Significantly, secession sentiment was strongest in states, and in regions within states, where slaveholding was concentrated. Conversely, union loyalty was strongest in Piedmont regions and other areas of the South where non-slaveholders held sway. The *Charleston*

Mercury charged that the upper South, less dependent on slave labor, was suspect on the question of slavery because "with them [the upper South states] slavery, or its abolition, is a question of mere expediency.... To us the institution is vital and indispensable. We must maintain ourselves in this struggle or be utterly destroyed."[13]

Many slaveholders were equally skeptical that non-slaveholders would support slaveholding with their lives. Thus, secessionists mounted a formidable campaign to convince non-slaveholders that they had a critical stake in the slave system. Jabez Lamar Monroe Curry, secessionist from Alabama who served in the Confederate Congress and helped to draft the Confederate Constitution, spoke directly to the non-slaveholding majority in the South when he argued that those who contended that "non-slaveholders are not interested in the institution of slavery," were absolutely wrong. "No greater or more mischievous mistake could be made," he claimed and then set about to prove his point by arguing that slavery encouraged a society that privileged all white people, non-slaveholders and slaveholders alike. Indeed, he argued that abolition would place poor whites at the bottom of southern society, on a level with black southerners. Under these circumstances Curry believed "the poor whites of the South are more interested in the institution than any other portion of the community."[14]

The *Kentucky Statesman* in Lexington warned its readers about the dangers of allowing a split between slaveholders and non-slaveholders that the newspaper contended was "[t]he great lever by which abolitionists hoped to extirpate slavery in the States...." Southerners must be careful not to fall victim to propaganda that sought to raise suspicions that non-slaveholders would not stand for slavery, for as the newspaper argued, "[t]he strongest pro-slavery men in this State are those who do not own one dollar of slave property." Doubters were urged to travel to the mountainous regions of the state where, the newspaper argued, they would find "thousands of as true Southern men as tread the soil of the cotton States, yet comparatively few own slaves." Significantly, "pro-slavery men" were equated with "true Southern men," for slavery was the essence of the southern society and the newspaper contended that slaveowners and non-slaveowners alike "believe that slavery to be right and socially beneficial." "The interest felt by the non-slaveholders of the South in this question is not prompted by dollars and cents, but by a loyalty to the foundation of the southern way of life."[15]

A special edition of the *Louisville Daily Courier* was more detailed and more direct in its message to non-slaveholders. The abolition of slavery would raise African Americans to "the level of the white race," and the poorest whites would be closest to the former slaves in both social and physical distance. Then came the most penetrating questions that cut to the core of racial fears. "Do they wish to send their children to schools in which the [N]egro children of the vicinity are taught? Do they wish to give the [N]egro the right to appear in the witness box to testify against them?" Then the article moved to the final and most emotionally-charged question of all. Would the non-slaveholders of the South be content to live with what the writer contended was the ultimate end of abolition, to "AMALGAMATE TOGETHER THE TWO RACES IN VIOLATION OF GOD'S WILL." The conclusion was inevitable the article argued; non-slaveholders had much at stake in the maintenance of slavery and everything to lose by its abolition. African-American slavery was the only thing that stood between poor whites and the bottom of southern society where they would be forced to compete with and live among black people.[16]

These arguments were extremely effective as even the poorest white southerners got the message. Their interest in slavery was far more important than simple economics. As one southern prisoner explained to his Wisconsin-born guard "you Yanks want us to marry our daughters to niggers."[17] This fear of a loss of racial status was common. A poor white farmer from North Carolina explained that he would never stop fighting because what he considered to be an abolitionist federal government was "trying to force us to live as the colored race." Although he had grown tired of the war, a Confederate artilleryman from Louisiana agreed that he must continue to fight. An end to slavery would bring what he considered horrific consequences, for he would "never want to see the day when a [N]egro is put on an equality with a white person." These non-slaveholders surely recognized their stake in the institution of slavery and thus in the war. Most Confederates would have agreed with the assessment of the southern cause set forth by a U.S. soldier in 1863, shortly after the passage of the Emancipation Proclamation. "I know enough about the southern spirit," he said, "that I think they will fight for the institution of slavery even to extermination."[18]

James McPherson's study of letters and diaries written by Civil War soldiers provides many examples of white yeoman farmers turned soldiers who were determined to fight rather than "see the day when a [N]egro is put on an equality with a white person." Although McPherson found that most Confederate soldiers wrote little about slavery, he argued that the defense of slavery was a

Continued on p. 18

major part of their motivation. After a close analysis of hundreds of letters he concluded that virtually all southern soldiers "took slavery for granted as part of the southern way of life for which they fought and did not feel compelled to discuss it." Apparently, Jefferson Davis had little to worry about, at least in the early years of the war. White southerners at all economic levels saw their fight as for their own liberty and place in southern society and for slavery "one and inseparable." As one infantryman put it, "[w]e are fighting for our liberty, against the North...who are determined to destroy slavery." Fears of the consequences of abolition fostered white solidarity, forming the load-bearing pillar in the foundation of Confederate nationhood.[19]

Although the defense of slavery was central to the Confederacy, the abolition of slavery was not initially the official goal of the United States or the primary concern of most of the American people. As the most respected historians of our generation have shown, Lincoln and the vast majority of Republicans sought only to limit the expansion of slavery. Most who supported this "free soil" program that would maintain the western territories for free labor, did so out of self-interest. To urban or farm workers or to northern small farmer owners, Republicans offered the possibility of cheap land devoid of competition from slave labor or even from free blacks, who faced restriction in western settlement. "Vote yourself a Farm," was the not-so-subtle Republican message to white laboring men with the understanding that the western territories, having undergone Indian removal in the 1830s and 1840s, would be racially homogeneous.[20]

Abolitionists, black and white, sincerely sought the end to slavery and accepted its geographical limitation as a step toward its inevitable demise. But although most whites in the North wanted to restrict slavery's spread, they would not have gone to war in 1861 to end it. President Lincoln understood his constituency very well and his statements on slavery were calculated to reassure white northerners as well as southern slaveholders that the U.S. government had, in his words, "no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with slavery in the States where it exists."[21] Indeed, Lincoln even reluctantly agreed to accept an amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would have protected slavery in those states where it existed. Ohio, Maryland, and Illinois actually ratified this measure that, ironically, would have been the 13th Amendment.[22] Although this may have played well among northerners who were willing to concede protection to slavery so long as it remained in the South, slaveholders understood only too well it was not that simple.

Since most Americans saw the West as the place that would provide the vitality of national progress, to deny slaveholders access to that territory was to deny them access to America's future. Southerners took such restrictions as a direct affront to their regional honor and a threat to their social and economic survival. Georgia secessionist Robert Toombs put it succinctly: "we must expand or perish."[23] Lincoln did not have to explain that slavery had no place in the nation's future, the South was well aware that in order to save their institution of bondage they must leave the United States and that is precisely what their secession movement was calculated to do.

Thus, while northerners claimed that they meant only to restrict slavery's expansion, southerners were convinced that to restrict slavery was to constrict its life blood. This war was not about tariffs or differences in economic systems or even about state's rights, except for the right of southern states to protect slavery. Had the South been truly committed to the doctrine of state's rights they could never have supported the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. This federal law invalidated state Personal Liberty Laws in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere in the North that prohibited state officials or property from being used in the capture and return of a fugitive slave. Clearly the South was selective in its state's rights advocacy. It was not willing to stand for state's rights except to preserve its institution of slavery where it existed and where it must expand. Some southerners had argued in the 1850s for the annexation of Cuba, one of only two other remaining slave societies in the western hemisphere, as one plan for slavery's expansion. Others looked to Mexico and Latin America, but always it was about saving and inflating slavery. And while the U.S. government may not have gone to war to abolish slavery in the South, it did go to war to save the union from what it increasingly came to believe was a "slave power conspiracy" to restrict citizen liberties and finally to destroy the United States to protect slavery. U.S. determination to contain slavery in the South and to prevent its spread into the western territories was a part of the effort to preserve civil rights and free labor in the nation's future. The South was willing to destroy the union to protect slavery. It could not allow slavery's containment for, from the slaveholder's point of view, to disallow slavery's expansion was to ultimately bring about its extinction.

Lincoln's issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 transformed the war into a holy crusade, but there was always disagreement among U.S. troops about outright abolition. Yet, increasingly after 1863, "pro-emancipation conviction did predominate among the leaders and fight-

ing soldiers of the Union Army."[24] Regardless of whether U.S. troops fought to limit or to abolish it, however, slavery was the issue that focused their fight, just as it did for the Confederacy. A half-century after serving the Confederate cause, John Singleton Mosby, legendary leader of Mosby's Rangers, offered no apologies for his southern loyalties. He was quite candid about his reason for fighting. "The South went to war on account of slavery," he said. "South Carolina went to war—as she said in her secession proclamation—because slavery w[oul]d not be secure under Lincoln." Then he added as if to dispel all doubt, "South Carolina ought to know what was the cause of her seceding."[25]

Of course, Mosby was right. South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, and the other states that seceded from the United States did know the reason for their action and they stated it clearly, time and time again. They named the preservation of slavery as foremost among their motivations. When such a wide variety of southerners—from private citizens, to top governmental officials, from low ranking enlisted men to Confederate military leaders at the highest levels, from local politicians to regional newspaper editors—all agree, what more evidence do we need? The question for Americans at the end of the 20th century is, "when will we accept their explanation?"

Notes

1 James McPherson, "The Heart of the Matter," *New York Review of Books,* (October 23, 1997), 35-36, 46-47. In addition to the books reviewed by McPherson, see Bruce Levine, *Half Slave and Half Free: The Roots of the Civil War* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992) and David Blight, "They Knew What Time It Was," in Gabor S. Boritt, ed., *Why the Civil War Came* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 51-77.

2 The interesting question for the serious scholar of American social and cultural history is why, in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, some Americans continue to believe that slavery was not an important cause of the war.

3 "Joseph E. Brown's Secessionist Public Letter, December 7, from Milledgeville," William W. Freehling and Craig M. Simpson, eds., *Secession Debated: Georgia's Showdown in 1860,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 147. Reprinted from, *(The Milledgeville Weekly) Federal Union,* December 11, 1860.

4 Quoted in Drew Gilpin Faust, *The Creation of Confederate Nationalism: Ideology and Identity in the Civil War South* (Baton Rouge; Louisiana State University Press, 1988), 60.

5 "Declaration of the Causes Which Induced the Secession of South Carolina," reprinted in Edwin C. Rozwenc and Wanye A. Frederick, *Slavery and the Breakdown of the American Consensus* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Co., 1964), 42-47.

6 "What Shall the South Carolina Legislature Do?," *The Charleston Mercury,* November 3, 1860.

7 Levine, *Half Slave and Half Free,* 229.

8 "An Address to the Citizens of Alabama, on the Constitution and Laws of the Confederate States of America,...at Temperance Hall, on the 30th of March, 1861," *Mobile Daily Register,* 1861, reprinted in Jon L. Wakelyn, ed., *Southern Pamphlets on Secession, November 1860-April 1861* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 207-209.

9 William L. Barney, *The Road to Secession: A New Perspective on the Old South* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), 121.

10 *Augusta Daily Constitutionalist,* March 30, 1861, in the Gilder Lehrman Collection, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, NY.

11 Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Jefferson Davis: Constitutionalist; His Letters, Papers and Speeches* 10 Vols, (Jackson, Miss.: Little & Ives Company, 1923), IV, 357.

12 William C. Davis, *The Cause Lost: Myths and Realities of the Confederacy* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1996). William Davis is convinced that slavery was the cause of secession but was not the thing for which Confederates fought.

13 Barney, *The Road to Secession,* 185.

14 Wakelyn, ed., *Southern Pamphlets, Jabez Lamar Monroe Curry,* "The Perils and Duty of the South" Speech Delivered in Talladega, Alabama, November 26, 1860,44.

15 *The Kentucky Statesman,* October 5, 1869.

16 *Louisville Daily Courier,* July 27, 1861, in the Gilder Lehrman Collection, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, NY.

17 quoted in James M. McPherson, *What They Fought For, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994) 53.

18 quoted in James M. McPherson, *For Cause and Comrades: Why Men Fought In The Civil War,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 108-109. This study provides overwhelming testimony from Confederate soldiers who cited the preservation of slavery as a primary concern of their service to the South.

19 McPherson, *What They Fought For,* 54; 51.

20 See for example, Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), or James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community and*

Protest Among Northern Free Blacks, 1700-1860 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

21 quoted in James McPherson, *Drawn With the Sword: Reflections on the American Civil War* (Oxford University Press: New York, 1996), 62.

22 This amendment was passed in the U.S. Congress. Events of March 1861 had moved too far and were advancing too fast for such an amendment to move to completion.

23 Speech delivered by Robert Toombs, November 13, 1860, Milledgeville, Georgia, reprinted in Freehling and Simpson, eds., *Secession Debate,* 40.

24 McPherson, *What They Fought For,* 64

25 "John Singleton Mosby to Samuel Chapman," Washington, D.C., June 20, 1907 (Gilder Lehrman Collection, New York, New York).

James Oliver Horton is the Benjamin Banneker Professor of American Studies at George Washington University and Director of the African American Communities Project of the National Museum of American History, Smithsonian. He is the chair of the National Park Service Advisory Board.

I would like to thank David Blight, James McPherson, and John Latschar for reading and commenting on this article; Denise Meringolo and Michele Gates-Moresi for their assistance in its preparation; and Paul Romaine and Sandra Trenholm of the Gilder Lehrman Collection for their archival guidance.

Karen Byrne

The Remarkable Legacy of Selina Gray

Emma Gray Syphax, left and Sarah Gray Wilson, Selina Gray's daughters, assisted the U.S. Army with the restoration of Arlington House.

Among early preservationists, Selina Gray stands out as a unique and remarkable individual; yet, her name is nowhere to be found in the annals of the historic preservation movement. That Selina did not fit the prototype of the early stewards of the nation's past in no way diminishes the importance of her contributions. In fact, it is her very dissimilarity from traditional 19th-century preservationists that makes Selina's story so compelling.

Selina Gray was one of the many slaves owned by George Washington Parke Custis. Raised at Mount Vernon, Custis was Martha Washington's grandson and the adopted son of George Washington. When Washington died in 1799, Custis inherited and purchased many of the President's possessions. After he left Mount Vernon, Custis needed a proper place to exhibit his "Washington treasury." In 1802, he finished the first wing of his new home, Arlington House.

Construction continued for another 16 years. Custis intended the house to be far more than a private home for his family. The building served as a shrine to George Washington, which made Arlington House one of the nation's earliest memorials. On display was the "Washington treasury," which included portraits, china, furniture, and even the President's war tents. Custis welcomed all visitors who wanted to view his collection of memorabilia, and thus Arlington also functioned as an early American museum.

Much of the day-to-day care of Custis' "treasury" fell to his slaves. The first generation of Arlington slaves belonged to Martha Washington and had come from Mount Vernon. They remembered and took pride in their service to and affiliation with the Washingtons. This heritage, as well as the daily responsibility for the upkeep of the Washington relics, made a significant impression on the succeeding generation of slaves, particularly Selina Gray.

The daughter of Sally and Leonard Norris, Selina was born and raised on the Arlington estate. She, as well as the other slaves, received a rudimentary education from the Custis family. From the time she was old enough to work, Selina probably trained as a house servant. Thus, from an early age, Selina was steeped in Washington apotheosis.

At least some of Custis' slaves attended one of the most important events ever to occur at Arlington. In 1831, Custis' only child, Mary Anna Randolph Custis, married Robert E. Lee, a young army lieutenant. Although no one knew it at the time, Lee's connection to the family would one day cost them their ancestral home as well as the Washington treasury.

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Notes

American Historical Association
THE PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR ALL HISTORIANS

From the **Public History** column in the March 1998 **Perspectives**

Interpreting Slavery in the Classroom and at Historic Sites

By Jeffrey J. Crow

Editor's Note: We reprint below the text of a speech delivered at the conclusion of a two-day conference on interpretations of slavery, held at the Somerset Place State Historic Site (October 31–November 1, 1997), because it touches on important issues of public history and pedagogic practice.

This conference comes at a propitious moment in the history of the nation and in the development of the historical profession. It follows more than a generation after the struggles of the civil rights movement. It also has at its disposal the collective wisdom of pathbreaking studies in African American history that began at the turn of the century with pioneering works by George Washington Williams, W.E.B. Du Bois, and Carter G. Woodson, continued with John Hope Franklin, and reached a crescendo during the past quarter century. Many of the legal and cultural barriers that once divided the races have broken down. Except at academic conferences and in ivory-cloistered seminar rooms, frank exchanges about race, slavery, segregation, and interracial sexuality would have been unheard of or at least unusual until as recently as a decade ago. Provocative books such as Alex Haley's *Roots* and Dot Redford's *Somerset Homecoming* helped spark a dialogue about slavery in the African American community where once silence and indifference seemed to prevail.

Meanwhile, sometimes unknowingly, the white community became more sensitized to issues of race and the legacy of slavery. Perhaps some of you experienced reactions similar to those that I received when I wrote and published *Black Experience in Revolutionary North America* during the 1970s. Some people wondered why I had a "thing" about black history. Presentations to civic groups or patriotic societies literally met with disbelief. "I've never heard of that before" and "Where did you find that?" were among the more polite responses to my remarks. Other skeptics,

embarrassed or uneasy, suddenly found their place settings and uneaten food fascinating objects of contemplation.

By the early 1990s much of that covert antagonism to African American history had disappeared or at least had been redirected, sometimes with salutary results. The dramatic growth of heritage tourism, the popularity of Civil War reenactment groups, and even the spurt in membership of the Sons of Confederate Veterans reinforced what I believe is a principle fundamental to this conference. History must be inclusive. The entire story must be told. When John Bell and I began planning and writing an eighth-grade North Carolina history textbook in 1992, the integration of African American history was never an issue. I devoted an entire chapter to antebellum slavery, but even earlier in the textbook, African Americans figured prominently in my discussions of colonial society, immigration, and the American Revolution. Likewise, when Paul Escott, Flora Hatley, and I coauthored *A History of African Americans in North Carolina* in 1992, the public responded warmly and enthusiastically. No one questioned the book's usefulness and appropriateness.

So this conference provides a suitable forum to discuss how far we have come as academic but especially public historians, what we still need to overcome, and where we might go. Toward that end I wish to propound four basic principles to guide and inform the interpretation of slavery in particular and African American history in general. Most of my discussion is directed toward historic sites, but the same principles apply to textbooks, written materials, and other media as well. None of those educational materials is designed exclusively for historians. All aim to instruct, edify, and enlighten a broader audience.

I have already mentioned the first principle: **inclusiveness**. The so-called culture wars that have raged during the past decade have led to numerous misconceptions about the intent of professional historians. Each generation of historians asks different questions about the past. For too long, as we all know, history principally was about Great White Men, wars, and politics. Since the 1960s, influenced by the civil rights movement, opposition to the war in Vietnam, feminism, and a host of other social, cultural, and political changes, historians have attempted to expand the definitions of the discipline with astonishing energy, grace, and resourcefulness.

No longer is history just about the "Big House" and the white family that lived there. The slave quarters, African American culture, poor whites, and interracial tension, negotiation, and accommodation preoccupy historians and historic site interpreters alike. Consider Fort Fisher, North Carolina's most visited state historic site, near the mouth of the Cape Fear River. Most visitors doubtless come to see the fortifications that protected the Confederacy's lifeline until January 1865. That story alone is dramatic. But if one were to learn that enslaved African Americans and conscripted Lumbee Indians worked on building the fort and that African American Union soldiers helped capture it, the story expands in complexity and poignancy.

Perhaps no historic attraction has incorporated African American history so successfully into its overall program as Colonial Williamsburg. In 1775 almost half of Williamsburg's nearly 2,000 inhabitants were African or African American. But before the 1970s most visitors would not have seen any evidence of a black presence. The creation of the Department of African American Interpretation and Presentations in the early 1980s changed that painful omission. Living history presentations, exhibits, and special tours now tell the story of slaves, free blacks, and indentured servants within the context of a thriving colonial society and economy.1 I have interrogated the African American woman portraying a household slave at the Brush-Everard House and toured the reconstructed slave

quarter at Carter's Grove Plantation. I can attest to both sites' preparation, accuracy, and unflinching honesty, which bring me to my second principle: **truthfulness.**

Slaves were not servants. Although there is much to celebrate in African American folk beliefs, culture, tradition, and resilience, slavery was a cruel and bloody business. Even a general audience will not be fooled by attempts to depict slavery or its conditions as benign. Language is another important consideration. Not every slaveholding farmer was a planter, and not every farm was a plantation. Similarly, not every African American was a slave. Distinctions should be made and carefully explained. In the preface to *Roll, Jordan, Roll,* Eugene D. Genovese commented that "Some of the language in this book may disturb readers; it disturbs me." While we do not want to offend readers or visitors, neither do we want to anesthetize them to the daily toil, indignity, discipline, and even terror of slavery. When contrasted with the harsh realities of slavery, the efforts of the African American community to build a domestic life, protect families, and shield young and old alike from the worst atrocities of slavery appear all the more remarkable.

Interpreting slavery at sites not necessarily associated with African American history requires the same rigid adherence to truthfulness. Even a cursory examination of the racial attitudes of some of the most prominent leaders of the Union war effort reveals ambiguity and tepid support for emancipation. Abraham Lincoln's evolving attitudes are well documented. William Tecumseh Sherman's racism was as breathtaking as it was raw. The case of Ulysses S. Grant, however, offers intriguing possibilities. White Haven, the U. S. Grant National Historic Site near St. Louis, was the home of Grant's wife, Julia Dent. The daughter of a Missouri slaveholder, Julia Dent herself was also a slave owner. Grant farmed the land for his father-in-law from 1854 to 1859. He worked alongside the bondsmen to cultivate the land and to cut wood for his house and for sale in St. Louis, 12 miles distant. When Grant and his wife moved to Illinois in 1859, he bought one William Jones from his father-in-law but then emancipated him. Julia Dent Grant, on the other hand, hired out the four slaves that she owned.

Writing in 1863 in the midst of the Civil War, General Grant stated, "I never was an Abolitionist, [n]ot even what could be called anti slavery, but I try to judge farely & honestly and it became patent to my mind early in the rebellion that the North & South could never live at peace with each other except as one nation, and that without Slavery. As anxious as I am to see peace reestablished, I would not therefore be willing to see any settlement until this question is forever settled."

Through skillful interpretation, White Haven has shed important light on the African American presence at the site and on Grant's experience with slavery before the Civil War. A total of 18 slave cabins once stood on the Dent farm. Grant ordered them destroyed in 1867. Now only archaeological artifacts remain from the kitchens to document African American life at White Haven, but no visitor to White Haven can leave without understanding the connections between Grant, slavery, the Civil War, and the site.2

The way in which White Haven approached slavery points directly to my third principle: **research.** Research is the sine qua non of any historical enterprise. One cannot speak authoritatively about slavery at any site without conducting the requisite research. At Monticello, where the Thomas Jefferson--Sally Hemings legend has now penetrated the public consciousness as never before, historical interpreters are prepared to answer questions. Again, I speak from firsthand experience. More important, ongoing research has revealed much more about slave life at Monticello than was known even 10 years ago.

Not every historic site has a staff that can perform in-depth research. The National Park Service has turned to academic institutions and to the Organization of American Historians to assist at various sites. Another successful method for accomplishing research is through graduate students and internships. To be sure, a historic site needs to identify what "big themes" should be explored. But sometimes very basic research can provide the crucial evidence for interpreting a site.

A remarkable project that deserves mention is one being conducted by Loren Schweninger of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. Schweninger is compiling a documentary history titled *Race, Slavery, and Free Blacks: Petitions to Southern Legislatures and County Courts, 1776--1867*. For the past six years he has visited the state archives of all 15 slaveholding states as well as about 160 county courthouses in states where the county court records are not centralized.

The project consists of about 17,000 photocopied and microfilmed petitions from 268 counties and about 51,000 related documents (writs, answers, depositions, wills, court orders, decrees, reports, and the like). In all, Schweninger has collected roughly 200,000 pages of documentary evidence. Scattered in state repositories, research libraries, and county courthouses, and sprinkled with session records, chancery court proceedings, and county case files, petitions provide information heretofore difficult to identify, let alone find. The petitioners include blacks and whites, slaves and free blacks, men and women, slaveholders and nonslaveholders. According to Schweninger, the "documents represent the largest body of contemporary evidence of writings in behalf of, or by southern slaves, writings of southern free blacks, and writings of southern slaveholding women." The documents reveal new information "on state and local history, politics, economics, race relations, manumission, inheritance, property rights, class attitudes, cultural values, genealogy, violence, runaways, and slave revolts."

With initial funding from the National Historic Preservation and Records Commission and the National Endowment for the Humanities, Schweninger is creating a database for all the documents in the collection. Once the database is completed, a user will be able to enter in a computer a subject, name, county, state, date, or key word and receive a list of relevant Petition Analysis Records, known as PARs. Each PAR contains an abstract of a single petition and up to 100 pieces of information about the petition or related documents. Ultimately, a microfilm and selected two-volume letterpress edition of the documents will be published. Both the microfilm and the book editions will be connected to the database to permit even greater access to these rich sources. Just to complete the database will take another four years or more. Even so, when it is finished, Schweninger's project will offer an enormous amount of material for the study of free blacks in the South.

Similarly, the Department of the Navy, the National Park Service, and Howard University have formed a partnership to undertake the African American Sailors' Project. Led by Joseph P. Reidy, the project is establishing a basic demographic profile of the black sailors who served in the Union navy during the Civil War. Unlike the Union army, the navy did not segregate black sailors or create a separate administrative bureau. Personnel records list characteristics such as color of hair, eyes, and skin. As many as 25 percent of the Union enlisters, who served on more than 600 vessels, were black. As one might expect, the enlisters were young, usually in their early 20s, and the majority of them were born in the South. Perhaps four-fifths had escaped slavery before enlisting, whereas as many as 10 percent had served in the navy before the war. As the war progressed, the navy became darker in complexion. By the war's end, blacks made up one-fourth of a vessel's crew on average and in some instances more than one-half.

Informal segregation accounts for the high percentages on some ships. Blacks served disproportionately on supply ships and in low-paid and low-rated positions. But black sailors also held four petty officer ratings: boatswain's mate, captain of the hold, master at arms, and quartermaster. During the Civil War eight black sailors received medals of honor for their heroism.[3]

What the Schweninger and Reidy projects suggest, indeed what the experience of Monticello indicates, is that much basic research remains to be done on the African American past. Historic sites should avail themselves of these rich resources. Yet the question remains, how do they use that research and information? My fourth principle—**tailored interpretation**—addresses that issue.

Each historic site must fit its interpretation to its specific story. You will recall that Procrustes, the legendary ancient Greek robber, forced his victims to fit into a bed by either stretching or cleaving their legs. One size does not fit all at historic sites. What are the basic themes at the historic site? How do they relate to African American history? Architecture and landscape may be appropriate at one site but not at another. A tailored interpretation actually has the advantage of focusing on one or two major themes without trying to interpret them all. Instead of a broad interpretation that may or may not be pertinent to that site, the visitor receives sound information on some discrete aspect of African American history. The impact on the visitor becomes concentrated, sustained, and effective.

The Charlotte Hawkins Brown State Historic Site in Sedalia outside Greensboro is the only one in North Carolina devoted exclusively to African American history. Charlotte Hawkins Brown founded a preparatory school, Palmer Memorial Institute, for black youngsters at the turn of the century and guided it to the threshold of the civil rights movement. The site is still under development, but extensive research has been done on the school and its founder.[4] That story alone is worth telling, but Charlotte Hawkins Brown was more than a black schoolmarm. At a time when few black men could claim her prominence in North Carolina, she became a national leader in the drive for interracial cooperation and a champion of woman's suffrage.

Brown forged her racial strategies in an age of segregation and often had to work covertly and circumspectly. She insisted on being called "Miss," "Mrs.," or, after receiving honorary degrees, "Doctor." Brown resisted the Jim Crow system whenever possible. She said that she would willingly "separate" herself from whites but that she would never be "segregated." On her way to the interracial meeting of the Woman's Missionary Convention in Memphis in 1920, she was forcibly removed from a Pullman car and placed in a Jim Crow car. Undaunted, she asked the meeting to oppose lynching and help black women, and she later sued Pullman. Until the 1920s she portrayed the curriculum at Palmer Memorial Institute as vocational even though it was mostly academic from its inception. She wanted whites to believe that she was a disciple of Booker T. Washington's philosophy of industrial education at a time when few whites supported classical education and middle-class values for blacks. In a sense, Brown combined parts of Washington's accommodationism with W.E.B. Du Bois's "talented tenth" in her education of race leaders.

Over the course of her long career, Brown advocated "bringing the two races together under the highest cultural environment that will increase race pride, mutual respect, confidence, sympathetic understanding, and interracial goodwill." Brown emphasized civility in race relations and appealed to whites' better nature. Ultimately, however, she was a pragmatist who sought the support of powerful whites. Because of her, Palmer Memorial Institute had a national reputation, but she clearly was more than an educator. Brown was a reformer, a guardian of her race, and a

critic of the racial status quo. Her career demonstrates the complexities of the age of Jim Crow and offers a glimpse beyond the veil that separated the races in those years. Restricting the interpretation of the state historic site to the school alone would miss a valuable opportunity to educate visitors about the context of segregation and race relations before the civil rights movement.

Inclusiveness, truthfulness, research, and tailored interpretation thus are principles that can serve any historic site. In the context of African American history, they can provide a framework for reaching audiences uninformed and unexposed to what many historians believe is a central theme in this nation's past—race. In *The Souls of Back Folk*, published in 1903, W.E.B. Du Bois declared, "THE PROBLEM of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line—the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea. It was a phase of this problem that caused the Civil War; and however much they who marched South and North in 1861 may have fixed on the technical points of union and local autonomy as a shibboleth, all nevertheless knew, as we know, that the question of Negro slavery was the real cause of the conflict." As we approach the beginning of the 21st century, race remains a central issue in contemporary society and in how we interpret the past. Textbooks and historic sites have an opportunity to repair a breach between the races that has produced centuries of disaffection, suspicion, and misunderstanding. What will historians a century from now say about our strivings in the 21st century? If we are truthful, if we are faithful, if we are diligent, perhaps Du Bois's famous quote will have lost its prophetic power.

—Jeffrey J. Crow is director of the North Carolina Division of Archives and History.

Notes

1. Christopher O. Geist, "African American History at Colonial Williamsburg," *CMR* [Cultural Resource Management] 20: 2 (1997).

2. Pamela F. Sanfilippo, "Slaver at White Haven," ibid.

3. Joseph P. Reidy, "The African American Sailors' Project: The Hidden History of the Civil War," ibid.

4. I am grateful to Richard F. Knapp and Charles Waddington of the Historic Sites Section of the North Carolina Division of Archives and History for their painstaking research on Palmer Memorial Institute and its founder, and to Glenda Gilmore for her astute analysis of Charlotte Hawkins Brown in *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Notes

Southern Poverty Law Center

Intelligence Report

Confederates in the Museum

Activists from radical 'pro-South' groups are pressuring history professionals to adopt distorted views of American history

This August, the executive director of the Alabama Historical Commission, which owns and oversees major historic sites in the state, was forced to resign his position after what were described as conflicts with commissioners and Gov. Bob Riley over the director's support for civil rights preservation projects.

The episode was only the latest of the last several years in which museum professionals and preservation officials from around the South have come under sometimes severe pressure from neo-Confederate activists and their sympathizers, occasionally including harassment and various kinds of threats.

In case after case, members of groups like the League of the South and the Sons of Confederate Veterans have agitated against these professionals in a bid to push versions of history that mainstream curators and historians agree are bunk.

In North Carolina, the League of the South hate group attacked the Charlotte Museum of History because it was displaying a copy of the Declaration of Independence owned by television producer Norman Lear, saying that Lear had turned the declaration into "an instrument for liberal activism."

In Richmond, Va., a member of the board of the Museum of the Confederacy personally cut down a U. S. flag in the museum shop. And in Alabama, Lee Warner, the former Alabama Historical Commission executive director, told a reporter that many of Riley's appointees to the commission had opposed his plans to create a museum at the old Greyhound bus station, where Freedom Riders were badly beaten in 1961, and to memorialize the 1965 Selma-to-Montgomery civil rights march.

What follows are similar accounts from four others who have faced neo-Confederate activism.

Molly Hutton
Director of Schmucker Art Gallery, Gettysburg College // GETTYSBURG, Pa.

John Haley
Former Vice Chairman, Cape Fear Museum Board of Trustees // WILMINGTON, N.C.

Jean Martin
Curator of Old Depot Museum and Member, City Council // SELMA, Ala.

George Ewert

Director of Museum of Mobile // MOBILE, Ala.

Molly Hutton
Director of Schmucker Art Gallery
Gettysburg College · GETTYSBURG, Pa.

A planned 2004 art show, featuring criticism of the Confederate battle flag by a black artist, brought a deluge of neo-Confederate attacks on a small college gallery in Gettysburg, scene of a major Civil War battle. In the end, the show went forward, but not before the FBI and local police were called in because of death threats.

My situation was at least a year in the making. Late last year, I was planning an exhibition called "Art of the African Diaspora in the Age of Globalization," and my research led me to the artist John Sims. Although his work was not appropriate to a show on globalization, I showed John's work to the chairs of the college's Visual Arts and African-American Studies departments.

As I talked to more people about it, particularly the African-American community, it became clear that the Confederate [battle] flag was an issue for many people here.

Faculty members told me about being confronted by that flag when interviewing for their jobs — Gettysburg has tons of both Confederate flags and American flags. There are many, many tourist shops that sell memorabilia from both sides [in the Civil War]. The college does not have many students of color, and we're just north of the Mason-Dixon line.

It seemed like a really interesting environment to initiate a dialogue about some of the problematic issues that the Confederate flag brings up. And I still think that's important.

John Sims had an interesting story. He was a Detroit native, an artist and a filmmaker who took a job teaching in Sarasota [Fla.] and was struck by the ubiquity of the flag there. That's how he came up with the idea for the show we wanted to put on, called "Recoloration Proclamation: The Gettysburg Redress: A John Sims Project."

It involved recoloring the Confederate flag and enacting what he called "The Proper Way to Hang a Confederate Flag" — on a set of gallows. His idea was not so much about reconciliation as an exploration of the fact that this symbol is one of fear and oppression for many people.

As summer approached, John visited the campus and met with the PR department. In August, the department sent out a press release with a headline that said something like "Artist to Lynch Confederate Flag." Both the artist and I were a little worried that this was stressing this one piece in the exhibit too much. He called me right after that and said, "What are they trying to do, get me killed?"

Very quickly, groups like the SCV and others started responding. The Southern Poverty Law Center E-mailed me to give me a heads up on the widespread anger the exhibition was causing in neo-Confederate groups, including one E-mail that suggested blowing the gallery up.

We had just started to get E-mail on the show, and soon we were inundated. They got to everybody, the president, the provost, the pr department, John Sims, myself. They E-mailed the Gettysburg Chamber of Commerce and the merchants' organizations. And we got phone calls.

Ultimately, the SCV threatened to boycott the town of Gettysburg for a year. It was kind of misguided — the town had nothing to do with the gallery's decision to do this exhibition. Interestingly, early on we met with representatives of government and local merchants, and they seemed very supportive.

But once the boycott was threatened, we started hearing other things. From there, it just snowballed.

The pressure from the neo-Confederate groups was strong and threatening enough to make the college administration wonder if we should go ahead with it. The faculty for the most part was really supportive, and we got lots of letters of support.

But the threats did become more serious. Apparently, there were a couple of death threats against the college president, Katherine Will, and she has not even been inaugurated yet.

As our security became more and more involved, and then the FBI and the Borough of Gettysburg police, it became more and more clear that we potentially could have a major problem here. We heard about protests planned by the Council of Conservative Citizens [a white supremacist hate group], a Klan group, something called the Rebel Bikers and individuals, too. It was very scary. Multiple consulting firms were brought in, security and PR firms.

Ultimately, they suggested bringing what they called the "flash point" — the gallows — inside the gallery. But the artist said no. He had already agreed to leave the gallows up only for a few hours, rather than the three-week run of the exhibition that we'd planned. He did create an alternative piece that was an adaptation of the outdoor piece, and that was still quite effective. But he chose not to come to Gettysburg in protest.

This was all before the exhibition even opened. It was almost conceptual art in the making. On opening night, we had over 900 people in a 1,600-square-foot gallery. It was a huge crowd, an amazing crowd, of both locals and students. It was daily news in the local newspapers, and it spread to the Pittsburgh paper, Harrisburg — even the *Washington Post* did a story. It was quite a to-do.

The day before the opening there was a protest by about 30 people. On opening night, we were expecting hundreds, but only six or seven SCV members showed up. And for the most part, the people who have showed up have been very peaceful.

That was a very different tone from the E-mails. It's wearing to be called basically a piece of shit for two weeks straight. John got radically racist E-mails.

I collected all those E-mails and filled two huge binders with them. I thought part of this is about dialogue on the subject, and people should be able to read what was being said. Interestingly, the binders have really been the draw of the exhibition. The text that's been generated is almost like another work of art.

I came away surprised at the level of racism we'd seen in the E-mail responses. We know we live in a country with a history of racism, and that it's alive and well in many homes. But to see it and have it come directly at you was very surprising, as were the numbers. It was a shock to people. It was much more widespread than we had thought.

John Haley

Professor Emeritus, University of North Carolina at Wilmington;
Former Vice Chairman
Cape Fear Museum Board of Trustees · WILMINGTON, N.C.

John Haley, who served seven years on the Cape Fear Museum board, was the only professional historian on that body when it came under the sway of neo-Confederate activists or their sympathizers led by Bernhard Thuersam.

Thuersam, a native New Yorker who later rose to board chairman, joined the League of the South (LOS) hate group in 2001, becoming a local LOS leader and growing increasingly vocal on the board. Thuersam moderated a 2001 Lincoln-bashing forum at the museum that was addressed by LOS North Carolina chapter head Mike Tuggle; helped win board approval for a 2003 forum where a top LOS "scholar," Donald Livingston, spoke; and criticized efforts to investigate an 1898 race riot.

In the end, stymied by a move to rein in his board, Thuersam left. But so did a frustrated John Haley.

At the time that I was a member of the Cape Fear Museum Board of Trustees, there was a very vocal part of the board who were members of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, the League of the South, and even the United Daughters of the Confederacy. It seemed to me that there was an agenda to try to make the museum, a county-funded public museum, into an arm of these organizations, and also to make the museum's programming conform to the Southern version of the so-called Lost Cause.

While I was on the board [in 2001], there was an effort to actually erect a Confederate flag as part of a museum flag exhibit. It was supposed to go outside the building, on the main thoroughfare in Wilmington. This was in the aftermath of the flag struggle in South Carolina [where the NAACP boycotted the state because it flew the Confederate battle flag over its Capitol dome].

My question was, why did we as museum trustees want to use public money to erect something that obviously was going to be the source of controversy?

After the debate, I was the subject of several letters to the editor demanding that I apologize. But I decided not to get into a public debate. There were a lot of people who called expressing support, and I told them that the best thing to do was to quietly send letters or E-mails to the county commissioners [who, unlike the board, had managerial authority over the museum].

At around that time, somehow or other, a lot of museum "associates" — basically, financial supporters of the museum — were put on the E-mail list advertising activities and events of the League of the South, which was kind of strange. Evidently, someone on the board had taken it upon themselves to disseminate this information. A number of associates complained to me that they were going to withdraw their support from the museum entirely after reading this material.

Another incident occurred when the [Civil War] movie "Gods and Generals" was showing here in Wilmington. According to the local newspaper, the chairman of the board of trustees, Bernie Thuersam, was putting stickers on car windshields in the theater parking lot. Basically, they said if you want the real story, come to some of [the League of the South's] lectures and symposiums.

They have regular lectures. Of course, these people pass themselves off as historians, but I don't think any of them are really trained professionally. Basically, their tack is that the South went to war over values — not slavery — and to preserve a system of culture that the South felt was threatened.

Their history is grounded in the writings of the first wave of Southern historians after the war, who essentially said that the Civil War could be justified, that it was fought valiantly, that Reconstruction was an unacceptable thing. It's a history that among other things portrays all blacks in Reconstruction as crooks and incompetents. That's the version of history that they're frozen in.

There was another occasion where three members of the board, Bernie among them, made a trip to Raleigh to try to prevent the naming of a parkway here in Wilmington after Martin Luther King Jr. They announced in Raleigh that they were members of the board of trustees, which was right, but they also tried to lead some to believe that that was the museum's position. Of course, that was wrong.

It's hard to identify these people, but I think members of the League of the South have wormed their way into local government, boards and commissions, and I wouldn't be surprised if they're running for public office.

Here in Wilmington, I think those on the museum board were recognized as a potential problem for the county commissioners. Eventually, the commissioners changed the charter so that the board of trustees was reconstituted as a board of advisors, which is the right way.

Under the old system, the board wanted almost complete censorship over what was programmed and displayed at the museum. While technically it could not hire and fire, it could do almost everything else.

And if it wasn't about the Civil War, they were not enthused. They had to have major programming during Confederate History Month. And they used museum staff to work on these things. Now, since the charter change, Bernie has resigned — I guess the board could no longer be a platform for him.

As a professional historian, I have absolutely nothing against groups and individuals remembering history and heritage, as long as it's factual.

The greatest problem I had with the Sons of Confederate Veterans and the League of the South while on the museum board is they embraced a skewed and flawed version of history and they were attempting to use public facilities and public money to propagate the old Lost Cause.

In the end, I got tired of coming to meetings and not getting beyond the Civil War, or listening to Bernie giving some report about a Civil War museum he'd visited. It was like spinning my wheels. I felt I couldn't accomplish anything, and I decided not to continue. But now, the museum is doing great things. It's really beginning to realize its potential as a great county-owned museum.

Jean Martin
Curator of Old Depot Museum
Member, City Council · SELMA, Ala.

At age 81, long-time Selma resident Jean Martin was overwhelmingly reelected to the City Council this September. The vote was a moral victory for Martin, a white woman who came under bitter attack from neo-Confederate activists for providing the 2001 swing vote that resulted in moving a bust of Nathan Bedford Forrest — a slave trader and Confederate cavalry general who later became the first national leader of the Ku Klux Klan — away from the courtyard of a public building, where it had been erected by a group called Friends of Forrest a short time before, to a city cemetery. Two white and two black council members voted against her.

The first I recall hearing about the Forrest statue was at City Council. I was under the impression that it was going to be a finely done bust that would go on a pedestal inside the Smitherman Museum [a former Confederate hospital named after a long-time Selma mayor], which was all right with me.

I'm no admirer of Forrest's, but it is a museum and, of course, he was a part of Selma's history. [In 1865, Forrest led an unsuccessful defense of Selma, which was partly sacked.]

I really didn't think any more about it until the week [in October 2000] that Selma's first black mayor was to take office, when we learned that it would be placed outside the Smitherman building, which is in a predominantly black neighborhood. I felt that was wrong.

There was a lot of discussion at council meetings. It made all the newspapers. At one time, the council voted to leave the statue alone. But then all the disturbance began. There were attempts to topple it, attempts to protect it, and constant newspaper coverage, negative for the most part. And truly, Selma needs no negative newspaper coverage. It's had enough.

I began to think very deeply about it, because this is my town and I love it. I talked to a businessman I know very well, and he said, "Jeannie, put it in Old Live Oak Cemetery. If he has to be here, that's where he belongs."

Our cemetery is beautiful, a National Trust, and we have a Confederate Circle there. I thought that made sense. I contacted other people and began to talk to them about it.

During this time, my youngest sister died in Houston and I flew out for the funeral. And bless me if the headlines in the Houston papers were not all about that statue. Pat would have been so angry about all that mess!

I prayed about it, and I thought, "All right, no matter what it takes, this is what I have to do because it is the right thing to do." And I caught hell, although my mother would not have liked me to say that!

It took almost no time for Mrs. [Pat] Godwin and the Friends of Forrest to start. [Friends of Forrest, in which Godwin is a principal, owns the bust.] They came to council meetings. They wrote letters to the paper. She conducted an E-mail campaign, and I don't need to tell you what she said. I was shocked at the E-mails. It was very unpleasant. I received ugly phone calls — you know how they act. I received anonymous letters at home, too.

I also heard frequently from [neo-Confederate activist] Ellen Williams. It was mean, mean, I don't have to tell you. Still, I thought what's happening to me is nothing compared to what happened to the families of my Jewish friends.

But it got to me, and I talked to my rector several times. Sometimes, you begin to think you've lost your mind. To make such a fuss over the man who founded the Klan!

We have his portrait here in this museum [Martin is the curator of Selma's Old Depot Museum] and I will not deny that he had his place in history. But history is past. You don't try to live in the middle of it, at least I don't think you do.

This so-called romantic view of the Old South — if these people were suddenly picked up and placed in the Old South, they wouldn't find it so romantic. It [the Civil War] was a war that shouldn't have happened. But it did, and parts of the South have never recovered economically from that.

I also received an E-mail from someone I had grown up with, who was a very close friend in the years after my husband died. His E-mail said simply, "What are you going to do with your thirty pieces of silver?" I think that was the angriest I felt during the whole episode.

Also, after we moved the statue and we were being sued by Friends of Forrest, a complaint was made to the ethics commission saying that I received a pay raise from the city of Selma at the museum because I had helped the mayor move the statue. Now, that's ridiculous.

Some things got to be funny. For instance, I received a good deal of criticism because we had not placed the general facing north — so he could combat his enemies! That one got to me. I mean, really.

Pretty soon, it finally began to calm down. I had been assured that if and when he was placed in the cemetery, there would be no vandalism, and there has not been, not one bit. Life went on, and the old boy's still in the cemetery.

Now, I've just been reelected to the City Council. But on the weekend prior to the election I received a phone call from someone who told me that yard signs had been placed all over my ward saying, "Remember Forrest, Martin's Got To Go." There was a funny sidebar.

I later had an anonymous phone call from someone who said more than 40 signs had just disappeared from my ward. I said, "You mean my signs?" He said, "No, no, they were the signs saying 'Martin's Got To Go.'" I don't who it was, but wasn't that wonderful? I also received endorsements from ADC [Alabama Democratic Conference] and the New South Coalition [the state's two largest black political groups].

I am so delighted to tell you that in the end, I won by a very large margin, which tells you that a lot of people are finally beginning to grow up. I hope so. We need to all go together.

George Ewert
Director of Museum Of Mobile
MOBILE, Ala.

For several years, Mobile has been roiled by a small but very active group of neo-Confederate activists who have managed to push city officials into accepting a number of their demands. The conflict came to a head in 2003, when museum director George Ewert was attacked by these activists and threatened with firing.

In the last five years or so, there has been in Mobile, as in other parts of the South, an increase in political activism by the so-called heritage and neo-Confederate movements.

Locally, it's revolved around two issues. The first was the question of which of the Confederate flags was the appropriate one to fly on city property in Mobile. The second came about as a consequence of my writing a negative review of the movie "Gods and Generals."

Since the early 20th century, Mobile has used "the city of five flags" as one of its slogans and has flown flags including what is typically called the Confederate battle flag. A few years ago, after a complaint from an African-American gentleman about that flag, the mayor of Mobile, Michael Dow, appointed a blue-ribbon committee of concerned people and public and academic historians.

The committee ended up recommending that we fly the first national flag of the Confederacy. But members of the Sons of Confederate Veterans [SCV] and other activists took grave exception to that and recommended the third national flag instead, since it has a small battle flag in one corner and so would still be present. After a stirring debate on the City Council, it was that flag that was adopted.

This episode encouraged and emboldened the local SCV and neo-Confederates and helped to show them that they had political clout in the city of Mobile. That realization helped them decide to mount a political campaign against me last year, after I wrote a review of "Gods and Generals" [a major feature film about the Civil War] that was published in the *Intelligence Report* of the Southern Poverty Law Center. (See Whitewashing the Confederacy in *Intelligence Report* issue 110, Summer 2004.)

It was a very negative review and pointed out the fact that the movie was a rehashed version of praise for the myth of the Lost Cause, a view that is very well documented as a myth, but that is nonetheless very near and dear to these heritage organizations.

Their campaign took a variety of forms, including a great many E-mails to the mayor and council members and personal meetings with these officials as well. They wanted me terminated as a "cultural bigot" against Southern history and said that I was disqualified as caretaker of the city's history. They asked for time to denounce me in public City Council meetings, as well as before the Museum Board, which operates the Museum of Mobile.

There were also a variety of postings on neo-Confederate Web sites and blogs that very strongly denounced me and mischaracterized what I had done, primarily by claiming that I wrote the review as director of the museum, not as a private individual.

At the conclusion of one of the City Council meetings where I was denounced, the chairman of the council, Reggie Copeland, demanded that the mayor make me apologize. That afternoon, in a closed-door session, Mayor Dow asked me to write a formal apology or receive a written reprimand, and I

was threatened with termination if I wrote similar articles.

Naturally, I was distressed about this. I felt it was a violation of my rights and an unwarranted intrusion of politics into my personal and professional life, and also into what I did as director of the museum. I began to communicate with a variety of my colleagues, historians and museum professionals, who began an ardent campaign in support of me, sending E-mails and letters to the mayor and council defending my right to speak freely on a matter of history.

The mayor then changed his approach and asked that anything I might write personally that would be controversial be reviewed before publication by him or the chairman of the Museum Board for their pre-approval. This effort at political censorship was as egregious as the threat to terminate me if I didn't cease writing "controversial" articles. When this was communicated to my colleagues, an even greater flood of letters and E-mails began to flow in.

At this point, the mayor did not communicate with me any further for a number of weeks, nor did I hear anything from any City Council people. In the interim, I attended the Southern Historical Association's annual meeting in November of 2003 and was asked to give an impromptu session along with some other historians on the growing influence of the neo-Confederate movement. I was very gratified to receive an enormous amount of support from my colleagues.

Since that time, the mayor has acknowledged to me, no doubt as a result of the E-mails and other comments from historians from all across the United States and as far away as Japan, that had he the opportunity to do this all over again, he would do it very differently. Apparently, he felt the incident had been poorly managed, and I agree.

The whole affair reflected the fact that a small, energetic group of individuals can unduly influence political decisions. This movement is far more widespread than the public knows. It currently operates below the radar of national attention.

And you never know what you might say that will be seen as a neo-Confederate "heritage violation" that will bring you under attack and may quickly escalate into something that threatens your whole life.

Here in Mobile, some on the council and the mayor initially gave in to the "heritage violation" accusation because they sought, in part, to minimize a local controversy — it was seen as a distraction from other pressing matters. But this effort to silence or punish me for my views fortunately failed.

Until public officials, educators, and others in authority realize that efforts to hurt people for criticizing the myth of the Lost Cause are wrong, and that that myth does not represent mainstream scholarly history or broad public opinion, others will likely repeat the kind of episode I experienced.

Intelligence Report
Winter 2004

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Notes

From the OAH President

History Matters: Organizing for Mutual Support

James O. Horton

I recently received an email from a middle school teacher in Texas asking me to help her construct an argument on the causes of the Civil War. This is a seasoned teacher who has taught this subject for a number of years, emphasizing slavery as the central cause of the war. She has recently moved from an urban to a suburban school district, however, and has met resistance to her focus on slavery. Some of her students' parents have strongly objected, arguing that states' rights and perhaps tax policy are the only topics that should be explored as causes of the war.

My response to this request was two-fold. First, I sketched out an argument for her, using a great many primary sources, including statements from the Texas secession convention. Next, I sent her the text of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 with an argument that included a statement from Jefferson Davis about what proslavery southerners argued as the need for its enforcement, overriding the state personal liberty laws in Massachusetts and other northern states. All in all, I enjoyed lending assistance to this teacher in distress, but it was not a pleasant situation. Apparently, parent voices have grown loud enough to pose a potential threat to this teacher who, because of her school transfer, is currently without tenure. So far her administration has been supportive, but she is concerned about what might happen if the pressure from parents increases.

Unfortunately, this situation is not unique. The Civil War

remains a sensitive aspect of our history and some Americans feel strongly that there should be no hint of connection between the war and the issue of slavery. They take this stand despite the massive historical evidence to the contrary. To suggest that the war was fought over slavery, or to criticize Confederate actions or heroes, is to risk a substantial and highly organized response. A case last year involving George Ewert, the director of the Museum of Mobile, illustrates the pressures our fellow historians can sometimes face on this issue. Ewert wrote “Whitewashing the Confederacy,” a critical review of the film Gods and Generals, which appeared in the Southern Poverty Law Center’s Quarterly. The reaction from neo-Confederate groups was swift and direct. Ben George, leader of a group calling itself the Lee-Moses-Dixon Vindicator Camp #408, Sons of Confederate Veterans, publically condemned Ewert for his criticism of the movie, especially his remarks critical of Robert E. Lee, Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson, and the Confederacy. In his review Ewert had taken particular exception to one scene in which a free black man cheers the rebel soldiers as they march off to war. Ewert made his point directly. “Most important, the war was clearly, at base, about slavery.”

At the meeting of the Mobile Museum Board in late September of 2003, Mobile area resident Harry Teaford addressed the membership and called for Ewert’s dismissal. A month later, Teaford and Ben George addressed the Mobile City Council, demanding that Ewert be fired from the museum. Meanwhile, a number of Mobile citizens have taken a great interest in the museum’s Civil War exhibit. They have apparently pressed the museum board to have the exhibit refer to the Civil War as “The War Between the States” and the Confederacy as the “Second American Confederacy,” the first being that governed by the Articles of Confederation before the adoption of the U.S. Constitution. Some residents have demanded that the South and the Confederacy be portrayed more positively and that no reference be made to slavery in discussions of the Civil War.

There are similar instances of this kind of public reaction

from highly organized groups with their own special view of American history. Centered mainly in the South but with members throughout the nation, many neo-Confederate heritage groups view themselves as the watchdogs against what they call revisionist history, a label that often translates as any history that confronts their vision of America's past. These groups can react quickly, as when historian John Latschar, National Park Service superintendent at Gettysburg National Military Park, suggested in a public lecture that the war may have been fought over slavery. Almost immediately the Southern Heritage Coalition condemned his words. Soon after, 1,100 preprinted postcards calling for his resignation flooded the Office of the Secretary of the Interior. The controversy over the interpretation of slavery at National Park Service Civil War sites has heightened in the past few years. In 2000, Representative Jesse Jackson Jr., inserted language into a Department of the Interior's appropriation bill, commenting on the state of Civil War battlefield sites. The final provision directed the Secretary of the Interior "to encourage Civil War battle sites to recognize and include in all of their public displays and multimedia educational presentations, the unique role that the institution of slavery played in causing the Civil War." In reality, over a year before the congressional mandate, superintendents at National Park Service Civil War historic battlefields had decided to reevaluate the history presented at their sites on the question of slavery. Representative Jackson's call simply reinforced efforts already underway, yet reaction to it was predictably intense. At last count more than 2,400 protest communications, most in the form of pre-printed postcards and individual letters bearing the same language as the preprinted postcards, are on file at the office of the NPS Chief Historian.

Clearly, public historians and teachers of history face significant pressure when they attempt to present controversial history. This is true even when their interpretations are those generally accepted as the best scholarship available. Those of us who have urged that historians&emdash;no matter the conditions under which they teach&emdash;ground their presentations in the most solid scholarship have a responsibility to lend

maximum support when they face serious consequences for doing so. Many academic historians have gotten involved in aiding those who find themselves under attack or have their careers threatened. Michael Thomason and Richmond F. Brown, both of the University of South Alabama's history department, wrote letters to the Mayor of Mobile protesting the campaign to remove George Ewert from his position as museum director. They appealed for good history in the museum and urged that the mayor not allow "propagandists for a long discredited myth" to dictate the exhibition policy of this important educational facility in the city.

Wherever such controversies have arisen, our members have spoken out as individuals. It seems to me that one of the most important jobs of any professional association is to provide support for colleagues who face threats to their professional integrity. To this end, last spring the OAH established a Committee on Academic Freedom. Headed by David Montgomery (see p. 5 of this Newsletter), this committee is in the process of investigating cases of attacks on academic freedom wherever they occur. The job of this committee is to bring information about such situations before our membership so that we are aware of the pressures that our colleagues face in teaching or historical research. With this kind of information available to us, the OAH can and should play a vital role in supporting those under attack for attempting to bring sound history to the public.

Our colleagues working in public history are particularly vulnerable to popular reaction to what many indict as "revisionist history." The situation in which they find themselves is sometimes dire. National Park Service historians, for example, took considerable heat after Congress changed the name of the Custer Battlefield National Monument to Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument in 1991. Although this was a reinstatement of a place name that long preceded George Armstrong Custer and the infamous battle of 1876, detractors condemned the name change as revisionist history. This controversy became far more than academic when the first Native American to serve as superintendent of that site received death threats and was forced to carry a

bulletproof vest in his car. Obviously, to many, history is serious business, and although it is sometimes uncomfortable, it is always necessary that we stand for the best that our discipline can provide to our nation. I applaud the new committee and all those who have already offered their support. We all understand that history matters. Historians can matter too.

Table of Contents

</html

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Notes

Sons of Confederate Veterans
Georgia Division
http://www.georgiascv.com/
1-888-SCV IN GA (888-728-4642)

John K. McNeill SCV Camp #674
PO Box 1353
Moultrie, Georgia 31776
www.scv674.org

Presents

A Southern View of History
The War for Southern Independence -The Other Side of the Coin

TABLE OF CONTENTS:

ADDITIONAL COPIES

To cover costs a $10 donation per CD suggested. If you order 10 or more the donation suggested is $7.50 per CD.

If you order 1 CD from us and make your own copies to distribute to non-profit organizations such as schools, libraries, or SCV Members etc.; You will be on the honor system to send a donation of a minimum $1 per copy to the camp. No one may sell copies for profit without permission of the camp.

The donation covers our cost to buy materials and pay postage and also puts a little bit of funding back into the camp education program for future use. Send checks or money orders payable to:

Moultrie SCV CAMP #674
PO Box 1353
Moultrie, Georgia 31776

Sons of Confederate Veterans
Georgia Division
http://www.georgiascv.com/
1-888-SCV IN GA (888-728-4642)

John K. McNeill SCV Camp #674
PO Box 1353
Moultrie, Georgia 31776
www.scv674.org

Presents

A Southern View of History
The War for Southern Independence -The Other Side of the Coin

INTRODUCTION:

The Other Side of the Coin: Southern Perspectives on the War for Southern Independence

The members of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, Georgia Division presents this history course for primarily for its members and their family, but as time goes on, we see the need to educate not only ourselves and our family and friends, but also our neighbors and the community.

There are two sides to every story, two sides to a conflict, and while history is history, it has always been open to many interpretations. Somewhere along the line the Southern perspective has been obscured. It is said that the first casualty of war is truth and that the victors write the history. Our attempt here is to provide another perspective on the events leading up to, during, and after the forming of the Confederate States of America. Some may argue that this is not a balanced treatment. In response we would say that current history taught in most classrooms is not balanced. In fact it is biased and flawed in that only one perspective, the Northern Yankee perspective is presented to students. For years that Northern approach to teaching American History in that time frame has been slanted.

Here we present the "other side of the coin". Do not let others do your thinking. You have heard their side, now hear ours. Those who approach this with an open mind will be amazed at the facts left out of nearly all the textbooks. Students, parents, teachers, administrators, school boards, and citizens are encouraged to review our course, check out many of the referenced readings, read a few books from the late 19th and early 20th centuries for another view and then draw your own conclusions. For those with a closed, hateful minds, no amount of factual presentation will be sufficient. They who are out to destroy everything Southern and Confederate are not the audience for our efforts. Rather, our focus is on individuals willing to approach this conflict without prejudice. We believe if we are allowed to present the facts, the facts will speak for themselves.

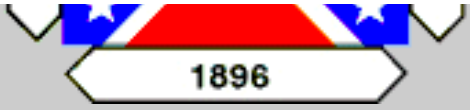
We would be remiss if we allowed the term American Civil War to be used. A "civil war" is a war within a country where two or more political factions do battle for control of the government. The War of 1861-65 was a War Between States, a War for Southern Independence or a Defensive War Against Northern Aggression. Why? Because the seceding states, who formed the Confederate States of America peacefully formed its own nation and then was invaded by the Federal Armies of the North. The war, started by the Northern aggression was a call, as in the First War for Independence, for men to defend their rights included in the Constitution and their homeland. Southerners rights and the US Constitution were being violated by Northern Federal monetary interests.

It was not just a one issue war, a war over slavery, as is so often poorly taught in schools today. Economics, power, politics, greed, a domination of the Northern interests over the Southern people, were the driving forces behind this conflict. These factors are often overlooked in today's politically correct history lessons.

This is our attempt to show you the other side of the coin. It could take a library full of volumes to get the entire perspective into the public. Sadly most do not have the time for such exhaustive research. We therefore have attempted to condense our lessons for a more timely presentation of the Southern perspective, with of course references noted for individuals who wish more background on a subject area. After you complete the course, you decide which history is closest to the truth.

ABOUT THE SONS OF CONFEDERATE VETERANS:

The citizen-soldiers who fought for the Confederacy personified the best qualities of America. The preservation of liberty and freedom was the motivating factor in the South's decision to fight the Second American Revolution. The tenacity with which Confederate soldiers



fought underscored their belief in the rights guaranteed by the Constitution. These attributes are the underpinning of our democratic society and represent the foundation on which this nation was built.

Today, the Sons of Confederate Veterans are preserving the history and legacy of these heroes, so future generations can understand the motives that animated the Southern Cause.

The SCV is the direct heir of the United Confederate Veterans, and the oldest hereditary organization for male descendants of Confederate soldiers. Organized at Richmond, Virginia in 1896, the SCV continues to serve as a historical, patriotic, and non-political organization dedicated to insuring that a true history of the 1861-1865 period is preserved.

Membership in the Sons of Confederate Veterans is open to all male descendants of any veteran who served honorably in the Confederate armed forces. Membership can be obtained through either direct or collateral family lines and kinship to a veteran must be documented genealogically. The minimum age for membership is 12.

Proof of kinship to a Confederate soldier can take many forms. The easiest method is to contact the archives of the state from which the soldier fought and obtain a copy of the veteran's military service record. All Southern state's archives have microfilm records of the soldiers who fought from that state, and a copy of the information can be obtained for a nominal fee. In addition, the former Confederate states awarded pensions to veterans and their widows. All of these records contain a wealth of information that can be used to document military service. The SCV has a network of genealogists to assist you in tracing you ancestor's Confederate service.

The SCV has ongoing programs at the local, state, and national levels, which offer members a wide range of activities. Preservation work, marking Confederate soldier's graves, historical re-enactments, scholarly publications, and regular meetings to discuss the military and political history of the War Between the States are only a few of the activities sponsored by local units, called camps.

The SCV works in conjunction with other historical groups to preserve Confederate history. However, it is not affiliated with any other group other than the Military Order of the Stars and Bars, composed of male descendants of the Southern Officers Corps. The SCV rejects any group whose actions tarnish or distort the image of the Confederate soldier or his reasons for fighting.

If you are interested in perpetuating the ideals that motivated your Confederate ancestor, the SCV needs you. The memory and reputation of the Confederate soldier, as well as the motives for his suffering and sacrifice, are being consciously distorted by some in an attempt to alter history. Unless the descendants of Southern soldiers resist those efforts, a unique part of our nations' cultural heritage will cease to exist.

If you would like more information about the Sons of Confederate Veterans in Georgia, call 1-888-SCV IN GA (888-728-4642) or visit the Division website at http://www.georgiascv.com/ or 1-800-MY-SOUTH, or 1-800-MY-DIXIE, visit the IHQ website http://www.scv.org, or write to:

International Headquarters
Sons of Confederate Veterans
P.O. Box 59
Columbia, Tennessee 38402-0059

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS:

We gratefully acknowledge all the authors citied in the recommended readings for their works through the years to keep the Southern perspective of history available to the public. With out their exhaustive work and dedication, our summary course would not have been possible. We also thank all of the men who have served on the SCV Georgia Division Education Committee over the years, especially Darren Wheeler and Marc Thayer who developed a similar history curriculum from which we have taken that framework and expanded this work. Images presented here in this work are to the best of our knowledge in the public domain, unless otherwise noted and credited. They are provided to help bring to life some of the words presented. Cited material for publications in and out of the public domain have been used. Some sent by committee members for inclusion. Copyright infringement, if identified in word or image was not intentional and we have tried to make every effort to receive permission for use of others work and to cite and reference the original works.

Sincerely,

John A. Griffin

History Education Project Coordinator
SCV Camp #674

Return to Table of Contents

ADDITIONAL COPIES

CREDITS
PLUG-INS
HELP
MAIL US
CONDITIONS OF USE

RAILTON HOMEPAGE

Uncle Tom's Cabin & American Culture

WELCOME! You can use this site in three different modes.

BROWSE MODE provides access to all the primary material in the archive -- texts, images, songs, 3-D objects, film clips, &c. -- one at a time.

SEARCH MODE allows you to search all the primary material at once. You can either use or cut across the site's organizational categories.

INTERPRET MODE includes an interactive timeline, virtual exhibits designed to suggest ways of exploring and understanding the primary material, as well as lesson plans for teachers and student projects.

Usually the best place to enter is the **BROWSE MODE**, which gives you the most direct access to the story of Stowe's story as an American cultural phenomenon. If you're new to the site, the best place to start is probably the **Timeline** in the **INTERPET MODE**, which provides a quick overview of both that story and the various kinds of resources the archive contains. Throughout the site you'll have constant access to the **SEARCH MODE**.

Uncle Tom's Cabin & American Culture

CREDITS | PLUG-INS | HELP

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Notes

National Park Service

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historic Site; Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial; Lincoln Home National Historic Site

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop



Supplemental Information

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Notes

TERRITORIAL ACQUISITIONS

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Bibliography

USEFUL AND CURRENT REFERENCES FOR THE HISTORY OF SLAVERY

Sandy Brue, Abraham Lincoln Birthplace NHS, loaned me a copy of the *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* (Fall 2005) and voila – there was a review essay by Shearer Davis Bowman that discussed several of the most important current overviews of the history of American slavery. Bowman's excellent list includes:

American Slavery, 1619- 1977 by Peter Kolchin. 10th anniversary edition with a new preface and afterword. (New York: Hill and Wang, 2003). $14.00 paper

Generations of Captivity: A History of African- American Slaves by Ira Berlin (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003) $16.95 paper

Slavery and the Making of America by James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005) $18.95 paper

The Slavery Debates, 1952- 1990: A Retrospective by Robert W. Engel (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003) $16.95 paper

I would add:
Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World by David Brion Davis
(New York: Oxford University Press, 2006)

The Radical and the Republican: Frederick Douglass, Abraham Lincoln and the Triumph of Antislavery Politics by James Oakes. (New York: Norton, 2007) $26.95 hardback

The first three are overviews of the history of slavery in America. Engel reviews our arguments about slavery since World War II. Davis has an important international perspective. Oakes' new book refutes all those tired arguments about Lincoln as a "racist" by tracing the efforts of Lincoln and Frederick Douglass to strengthen antislavery politics. Douglass's evolving opinion of Lincoln is the best argument to use with those who feel compelled to "prove" Lincoln was either a white supremacist or engaged in black deportation, or any of the many other spurious arguments.

This list is short, but these books will be of great help in the next few years.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM
ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, 1860

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican electors of the United States, in Convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

1. That the history of the nation, during the last four years, has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

2. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the Rights of the States, and the Union of the States, must and shall be preserved.

3. That to the Union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population, its surprising development of material resources, its rapid augmentation of wealth, its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for Disunion, come from whatever source they may: And we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced the threats of Disunion so often made by Democratic members without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of Disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendency, as denying the vital principles of a free government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant People sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

4. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

5. That the present Democratic Administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions, in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas; in construing the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement, everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the Federal Courts of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people.

6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensible to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans, while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruptions at the Federal metropolis, show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Republican National Platform Page 2 of 2

7. That the new dogma, that the Constitution, of its own force, carries Slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

8. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom; That as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished Slavery in all our national territory, ordained that "no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law," it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to Slavery in any Territory of the United States.

9. That we brand the recent re- opening of the African slave- trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

10. That in the recent vetoes, by their Federal Governors, of the acts of the Legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting Slavery in those Territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of Non- Intervention and Popular Sovereignty, embodied in the Kansas- Nebraska bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

11. That Kansas should, of right, be immediately admitted as a State under the Constitution recently formed and adopted by her people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.

12. That, while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interest of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the working men liberal wages, to agriculture renumerative prices, to mechanics and manufactures an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the Public Lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of he Homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory Homestead measure which has already passed the House.

14. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our Naturalization Laws or any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

15. That appropriations by Congress for River and Harbor improvements of a National character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution, and justified by the obligations of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

16. That a Railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interest of the whole country; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily Overland Mail should be promply established.

17. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the coöperation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support.

Transcribed and reverse- order proofread by T. Lloyd Benson from the *Tribune Almanac,* 1861, pp. 30- 31; (facsimile edition: *The Tribune Almanac for the Years 1838 to 1868, inclusive, comprehending the Politician's Register and the Whig Almanac,* [New York: Published by the New York *Tribune*, 1868].)

Buchanan's Fourth Annual Message

Washington City
December 3, 1860

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

Throughout the year since our last meeting the country has been eminently prosperous in all its material wants. The general health has been excellent, our harvests have been abundant, and plenty smiles throughout the land. Our commerce and manufactures have been prosecuted with energy and industry, and have yielded fair and ample returns. In short, no nation in the tide of time has ever presented a spectacle of greater material prosperity than we have done until within a very recent period.

Why is it, then, that discontent now so extensively prevails, and the Union of the States, which is the source of all these blessings, is threatened with destruction?

The long-continued and intemperate interference of the Northern people with the question of slavery in the Southern States has at length produced its natural effects. The different sections of the Union are now arrayed against each other, and the time has arrived, so much dreaded by the Father of his Country, when hostile geographic parties have been formed.

I have long foreseen and often forewarned my countrymen of the now impending danger. This does not proceed solely from the claim on the part of Congress or the Territorial legislatures to exclude slavery from the Territories, nor from the efforts of different States to defeat the execution of the fugitive-slave law. All or any of these evils might have been endured by the South without danger to the Union (as others have been) in the hope that time and reflection might apply the remedy. The immediate peril arises not so much from these causes as from the fact that the incessant and violent agitation of the slavery question throughout the North for the last quarter of a century has at length produced its malign influence on the slaves and inspired them with vague notions of freedom. Hence a sense of security no longer exists around the family altar. This feeling of peace at home has given place to apprehensions of servile insurrections. Many a matron throughout the South retires at night in dread of what may befall herself and children before the morning. Should this apprehension of domestic danger, whether real or imaginary, extend and intensify itself until it shall pervade the masses of the Southern people, then disunion will become inevitable. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and has been implanted in the heart of man by his Creator for the wisest purpose; and no political union, however fraught with blessings and benefits in all other respects, can long continue if the necessary consequence be to render the homes and firesides of nearly half the parties to it habitually and hopelessly insecure. Sooner or later the bonds of such a union must be severed. It is my conviction that this fatal period has not yet arrived, and my prayer to God is that He would preserve the Constitution and the Union throughout all generations.

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Buchanan's Message Page 2 of 2

But let us take warning in time and remove the cause of danger. It can not be denied that for five and twenty years the agitation at the North against slavery has been incessant. In 1835 pictorial handbills and inflammatory appeals were circulated extensively throughout the South of a character to excite the passions of the slaves, and, in the language of General Jackson, "to stimulate them to insurrection and produce all the horrors of a servile war." This agitation has ever since been continued by the public press, by the proceedings of State and county conventions and by abolition sermons and lectures. The time of Congress has been occupied in violent speeches on this never-ending subject, and appeals, in pamphlet and other forms, indorsed by distinguished names, have been sent forth from this central point and spread broadcast over the Union.

How easy it would be for the American people to settle the slavery question forever and to restore peace and harmony to this distracted country! They, and they alone, can do it. All that is necessary to accomplish the object, and all for which the slave States have ever contended, is to be let alone and permitted to manage their domestic institutions in their own way. As sovereign States, they, and they alone, are responsible before God and the world for slavery existing among them. For this the people of the North are not more responsible and have no more right to interfere than with similar institutions in Russia or in Brazil.

At this point in his Message, President Buchanan began to discuss the legality of secession and then moved on to other topics. The preceding material is everything in the message that pertains to the unfolding secession crisis, and so represents his view of the situation.

[Buchanan concludes]
This is the very course which I earnestly recommend in order to obtain an "explanatory amendment" of the Constitution on the subject of slavery. This might originate with Congress or the state legislatures, as may be deemed most advisable to attain the object. The explanatory amendment might be confined to the final settlement of the true construction of the Constitution on three special points:

1. An express recognition of the rights of property in slaves in the states where it now exists or may hereafter exist.

2. The duty of protecting this right in all the common territories throughout their territorial existence, and until they shall be admitted as states into the Union, with or without slavery, as their constitutions may prescribe.

3. A like recognition of the right of the master to have his slave who has escaped from one state to another restored and "delivered up" to him, and of the validity of the Fugitive Slave Law enacted for this purpose, together with a declaration that all state laws impairing or defeating this right are violations of the Constitution, and are consequently null and void.

It may be objected that this construction of the Constitution has already been settled by the Supreme Court of the United States, and what more ought to be required? The answer is that a very large proportion of the people of the United States still contest the correctness of this decision and never will cease from agitation and admit its binding force until clearly established by the people of the several states in their sovereign character. Such an explanatory amendment would, it is believed, forever terminate the existing dissensions and restore peace and harmony among the states.

It ought not to be doubted that such an appeal to the arbitrament established by the Constitution itself would be received with favor by all the states of the confederacy. In any event, it ought to be tried in a spirit of conciliation before any of these states shall separate themselves from the Union.

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

ILLINOIS
December 12, 1860

Proposal by Representative John A. McClernand (Democrat)

Resolved, That the committee of thirty- three be instructed to inquire and report whether Congress has constitutional power to make the people of any particular State, or municipal corporation therein, liable to indemnify any owner of any slave escaping into such State and who has been rescued from rightful custody by force or otherwise; and also, whether it is expedient to establish a *special* Federal police for the purpose of executing the laws of the United States, and promptly suppressing any unlawful resistance thereof; and also, whether any further legislation is requisite to secure a prompt, certain, and full enforcement of the guarantees of the Constitution, or whether an amendment of the Constitution is necessary for that purpose.

SOURCE: *Constitutional Globe*, 36th Cong., 2nd Sess., p. 78

ILLINOIS
December 24, 1860

Proposal by Senator Stephen A. Douglas (Democrat)
Joint Resolution
Proposing certain Amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two thirds of both houses concurring,) That the following articles be, and are hereby, proposed and submitted as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of said Constitution, when ratified by conventions of three fourths of the several States:

Article 13.

Section 1. Congress shall make no law in respect to slavery or servitude in any Territory of the United States, and the *status* of each Territory in respect to servitude, as the same now exists by law, shall remain unchanged until the Territory, with such boundaries as Congress may prescribe, shall have a population of fifty thousand white inhabitants, when the white male citizens thereof over the age of twenty- one may proceed to form a constitution and government for themselves and exercise all the rights of self government consistent with the Constitution of the United States; and when such new States shall contain the requisite population for a member of Congress, according to the then federal ratio of representation, it shall be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, with or without slavery, as the constitution of such new State shall provide at the time of admission; and in the meantime such new States shall be entitled to one delegate in the Senate, to be chosen by the legislature, and one delegate in the House of Representatives, to be chosen by the people having qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the legislature; and said delegates shall have all the rights and privileges of senators and representatives respectively, except that of voting.

Sec. 2. No more territory shall be acquired by the United States, except by treaty, or by the concurrent vote of two thirds of each house of Congress; and, when so acquired, the status thereof in respect to servitude, as it existed at the time of acquisition, shall remain unchanged until it shall contain the population aforesaid for the formation of new States, when it shall be subject to the terms, conditions, and privileges herein provided for the existing Territories.

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Sec. 3. The area of all new States shall be as nearly uniform in size as may be practicable, having due regard to convenient boundaries and natural capacities, and shall not be less than sixty nor more than eighty thousand square miles, except in case of islands, which may contain less than that amount.

Sec. 4. The second and third clauses of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution, which provides for delivering up fugitives from justice and fugitives from service or labor, shall have the same power in the Territories and new States as in the States of the Union; and the said clause, in respect to fugitives from justice, shall be construed to include all crimes committed within and against the laws of the State from which the fugitive fled, whether the acts charged be criminal or not in the State where the fugitive was found.

Sec. 5. The second section of the third article of the Constitution, in respect to the judicial power of the United States, shall be deemed applicable to the Territories and new States, as well as to the States of the Union.

Article 14.

Sec. 1. The elective franchise and the right to hold office, whether federal, state, territorial, or municipal, shall not be exercised by persons of the African race, in whole or in part.

Sec. 2. The United States shall have power to acquire from time to time, districts of country in Africa and South America, for the colonization, at expense of the federal Treasury, of such free negroes [sic] and mulattoes as the several States may wish to have removed from their limits, and from the District of Columbia, and such other places as may be under the jurisdiction of Congress.

Sec. 3. Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery in the places under its exclusive jurisdiction and situate within the limits of States that permit the holding of slaves.

Sec. 4. Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery within the District of Columbia so long as it exists in the adjoining States of Virginia and Maryland, or either, nor without the consent of the inhabitants, nor without just compensation first made to such owners of slaves as do not consent to such abolishment. Nor shall Congress at any time prohibit officers of the federal government, or members of Congress, whose duties require them to be in said District from bringing with them their slaves and holding them as such during the time their duties may require them to remain there, and afterwards taking them from the District.

Sec. 5.Congress shall have no power to prohibit or hinder the transportation of slaves from one State to another, or to a Territory in which slaves are permitted by law to be held, whether such transportation be by land, navigable rivers, or by sea; but the African slave trade shall be forever suppressed, and it shall be the duty of Congress to make such laws as shall be necessary and effectual to prevent the migration or importation of slaves or persons owing service or labor, into the United States from any foreign country, place, or jurisdiction whatever.

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Sec. 6. In addition to the provision of the third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution, Congress shall have power to provide by law, and it shall be its duty so to provide, that the United States shall pay to the owner who shall apply for it, the full value of his fugitive slave, in all cases when the marshal, or other officer whose duty it was to arrest said fugitive, was prevented from so doing by violence or intimidation; or when, after arrest, said fugitive was rescued by force, and the owner thereby prevented and obstructed in the pursuit of his remedy for the recovery of his fugitive slave, under the said clause of the Constitution, and the laws made in pursuance thereof; and in all such cases, when the United States shall pay for such fugitives, they shall have the right, in their own name, to sue the county in which said violence, intimidation, or rescue was committed, and to recover from it, with interest and damages, the amount paid by them for said fugitive slave.

Sec. 7. No future amendment of the Constitution shall effect this and the preceding article; nor the third paragraph of the second section of the first article of the Constitution; nor the third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of said Constitution; and no amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress any power to abolish or interfere with slavery in any of the States by whose laws it is or may be allowed or sanctioned.
SOURCE: 36th Cong., 2nd Sess., Joint Resolution (S.R. 52)

ILLINOIS
February 1, 1861

Proposal by Representative William Kellogg (Republican)

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two thirds of both Houses concurring,) That the following articles be, and are hereby, proposed and submitted as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of said Constitution, when ratified by conventions of three fourths of the several States:

Art. 13. That in all the Territory now held by the United States, situated north of latitude 36° 30', involuntary servitude, except in the punishment of crime, is prohibited, while such Territory shall remain under a territorial government. That in all the Territory now held south of said line, neither Congress nor any Territorial Legislature shall hinder or prevent the migration to said Territory of persons held to service from any States of this Union where that relation exists by virtue of any law or usage of such State, while it shall remain in a territorial condition; and when any Territory north or south of said line, within such boundaries as Congress may prescribe, shall contain the population requisite for a member of Congress, according to the then Federal ratio of representatives of the people of the United States, it may, if its form of government be republican, be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, with or without the relation of persons held to service and labor, as the constitution of such new State may provide.

Art. 14. That nothing in the Constitution of the United States, or any amendment thereto, shall be so construed as to authorize any department of the Government to, in any manner, interfere with the relation of persons held to service in any State where that relation exists, nor in any manner to establish or sustain in any State where it is prohibited by the laws or constitution of such State; and that this article shall not be altered or amended without the consent of every State in the Union.

Art. 15. The third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution shall be taken and construed to authorize and empower Congress to pass laws necessary to secure the return of persons held to service or labor under the laws of any State who may have escaped therefrom, to the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Art. 16. The migration or importation of persons held to service or involuntary servitude into any State, Territory, or place within the United States, from any place or country beyond the limits of the United States or Territories thereof, is forever prohibited.
SOURCE: *Congressional Globe*, 36th Cong. 2nd Sess., p. 690.

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

INDIANA
December 12, 1860

Proposal by Representative William H. English (Democrat)

Resolved, That for the purpose of doing justice, and securing peace and prosperity, the committee of thirty-three be instructed to inquire into the expediency of providing for the settlement of the present unfortunate and dangerous sectional controversy upon the following basis: 1. The Territories of the United States to be equitably divided between the slaveholding and non- slaveholding sections, slavery to be prohibited in that portion set apart for the non- slaveholding, and to be recognized in that portion set apart for the slaveholding section, the status of each upon the subject of slavery to remain unchanged during the territorial condition; but when the population in any portion of the territory set apart to either section shall equal or exceed the ratio required for a Representative in Congress, and the people shall have formed and ratified a constitution, and asked admission into the Union as a State, such State shall be admitted with or without slavery, as such constitution may prescribe. 2. The rights of property in slaves in the slaveholding States, and in the portion of the territories set apart for the slaveholding section, shall not be destroyed or impaired by legislation in Congress, in the Territories or in the non- slaveholding States; and whenever a fugitive slave shall be rescued from his master, or from the proper United States officers, by reason of mob violence or State legislation in conflict with the Constitution or laws of the United States, or whenever a slave shall, in like manner, be rescued from his master while in transit through any non- slaveholding State, the city, county, or township in which such rescue is made shall be liable to the master in double the value of the slave, recoverable in the United States courts.

SOURCE: *Congressional Globe*, 36th Cong., 2nd Sess., p. 78

INDIANA
December 12, 1860

Proposal by Representative David Kilgore (Republican)

Resolved, That the committee to whom was referred that part of the President's message which relates to the present distracted condition of the country, be requested to inquire into the expediency of so amending the law upon the subject of fugitives from labor, as to provide: 1. That the right of trial by jury shall be allowed in all cases where the alleged fugitive claims to be free, if demanded. 2. That an appeal, or writ of error, be allowed to either party upon just and reasonable terms. 3. That in all cases where the citizens of any free or non-slaveholding State shall aid or assist any fugitive in escaping, or where they shall forcibly prevent the claimant or any officer from arresting any fugitive, or shall forcibly rescue any fugitive from the custody of a claimant or any officer, either before or after trial, full payment shall be made by the United States to the person or persons to whom the fugitive owes service. 4. That any person or persons who shall forcibly hinder the arrest of any such fugitive, or shall forcibly rescue any such fugitive, shall be criminally prosecuted; and such other amendments made as may be thought necessary to give public satisfaction, without destroying the efficiency of such law, or in the least impairing the constitutional rights of any of our citizens or inhabitants of the United States.

SOURCE: *Congressional Globe*, 36th Cong., 2nd Sess., p. 78

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

INDIANA
December 12, 1860

Proposal by Representative William S. Holman (Democrat)

1. *Resolved*, That the Constitution of the United States by which the several States of the Union are organized into one Government, is a compact founded upon good faith between the States, of mutual and permanent obligations; and the right of a State to secede from the compact, and to resume the powers surrendered in its adoption, is wholly unwarranted by the letter and spirit of its provisions.

2. *Resolved*, That the mutual and common interest of the several States, in the obligations of the Constitution, renders it the imperative duty of the Federal Government to enforce, in good faith and with temperate firmness, the laws enacted in pursuance of its authority in all cases where their infringement would impair the constitutional rights of any State, of the common and reciprocal rights of the several States.

3. Resolved, That the select committee of thirty- three on the state of the Union be instructed to inquire whether the acts of Congress now in force are sufficient, in view of the present condition of public affairs, to protect the rights of the several States against attempts which have been made, and which may hereafter be made, by any State or States to nullify the laws necessary to the existence of the Confederacy, and to carry out the provisions of the Constitution; and if the laws now in force are insufficient, it shall be the duty of said committee to report the necessary bill or bills to provide for the emergency.

SOURCE: *Congressional Globe*, 36th Cong., 2nd Sess., p. 78

INDIANA
December 12, 1860

Proposal by Representative William E. Niblack (Democrat)

Resolved, That the select committee to which has been referred so much of the President's message as relates to the perilous condition of the country be instructed to inquire whether it be competent for Congress to provide by law for the payment of the value of fugitive slaves rescued by force or violence by the counties, cities, or municipal districts in which such fugitive slaves should be so rescued; and if it be found that Congress possesses the power so to enact, then that said committee inquire into the expediency of thus providing by law, and report by bill or otherwise.

SOURCE: *Congressional Globe*, 36th Cong., 2nd Sess., p. 78

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

KENTUCKY
December 18, 1860

Proposal by Senator John Crittenden (Whig/American/Know Nothing)

A joint resolution (S. No. 50) proposing certain amendments
to the Constitution of the United States

Whereas serious and alarming dissensions have arisen between the northern and southern States, concerning the rights and security of the rights of the slaveholding States, and especially their rights in the common territory of the United States; and whereas it is eminently desirable and proper that these dissensions, which now threaten the very existence of this Union, should be permanently quieted and settled by constitutional provisions, which shall do equal justice to all sections, and thereby restore to the people that peace and good- will which ought to prevail between all the citizens of the United States: Therefore,

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two thirds of both Houses concurring,) That the following articles be, and are hereby, proposed and submitted as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of said Constitution, when ratified by conventions of three-fourths of the several States:

Article 1: In all the territory of the United States now held, or hereafter acquired, situate north of 36 degrees 30 minutes, slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, is prohibited while such territory shall remain under territorial government. In all the territory south of said line of latitude, slavery of the African race is hereby recognized as existing, and shall not be interfered with by Congress, but shall be protected as property by all the departments of the territorial government during its continuance. And when any territory, north or south of said line, within such boundaries as Congress may prescribe, shall contain the population requisite for a member of Congress according to the then Federal ratio of representation of the people of the United States, it shall, if its form of government be republican, be admitted into the Union, on an equal footing with the original States, with or without slavery, as the constitution of such new State may provide.

Art. 2: Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery in places under its exclusive jurisdiction, and situate within the limits of States that permit the holding of slaves.

Art. 3: Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery within the District of Columbia, so long as it exists in the adjoining States of Virginia and Maryland, or either, nor without the consent of the inhabitants, nor without just compensation first made to such owners of slaves as do not consent to such abolishment. Nor shall Congress at any time prohibit officers of the Federal Government, or members of Congress, whose duties require them to be in said District, from bringing with them their slaves, and holding them as such during the time their duties may require them to remain there, and afterwards taking them from the District.

Art. 4: Congress shall have no power to prohibit or hinder the transportation of slaves from one State to another, or to a Territory, in which slaves are by law permitted to be held, whether that transportation be by land, navigable river, or by the sea.

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Kentucky Resolutions Page 2 of 2

Art. 5: That in addition to the provisions of the third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States, Congress shall have power to provide by law, and it shall be its duty so to provide, that the United States shall pay to the owner who shall apply for it, the full value of his fugitive slave in all cases where the marshal or other officer whose duty it was to arrest said fugitive was prevented from so doing by violence or intimidation, or when, after arrest, said fugitive was rescued by force, and the owner thereby prevented and obstructed in the pursuit of his remedy for the recovery of his fugitive slave under the said clause of the Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof. And in all such cases, when the United States shall pay for such fugitive, they shall have the right, in their own name, to sue the county in which said violence, intimidation, or rescue was committed, and to recover from it, with interest and damages, the amount paid by them for said fugitive slave. And the said county, after it has paid said amount to the United States, may, for its indemnity, sue and recover from the wrong-doers or rescuers by whom the owner was prevented from the recovery of his fugitive slave, in like manner as the owner himself might have sued and recovered.

Art. 6: No future amendment of the Constitution shall affect the five preceding articles; nor the third paragraph of the second section of the first article of the Constitution; nor the third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of said Constitution; and no amendment will be made to the Constitution which shall authorize or give to Congress any power to abolish or interfere with slavery in any of the States by whose laws it is, or may be, allowed or permitted.

SOURCE: *Congressional Globe*, 36th Cong., 2nd Sess., pp. 114 (Joint Resolution No. 50)

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

MISSISSIPPI

[Copied by Justin Sanders from "Journal of the State Convention", (Jackson, MS: E. Barksdale, State Printer, 1861), pp. 86-88]

A Declaration of the Immediate Causes which Induce and Justify the Secession of the State of Mississippi from the Federal Union.

In the momentous step which our State has taken of dissolving its connection with the government of which we so long formed a part, it is but just that we should declare the prominent reasons which have induced our course.

Our position is thoroughly identified with the institution of slavery-- the greatest material interest of the world. Its labor supplies the product which constitutes by far the largest and most important portions of commerce of the earth. These products are peculiar to the climate verging on the tropical regions, and by an imperious law of nature, none but the black race can bear exposure to the tropical sun. These products have become necessities of the world, and a blow at slavery is a blow at commerce and civilization. That blow has been long aimed at the institution, and was at the point of reaching its consummation. There was no choice left us but submission to the mandates of abolition, or a dissolution of the Union, whose principles had been subverted to work out our ruin.

That we do not overstate the dangers to our institution, a reference to a few facts will sufficiently prove.

The **hostility to this institution** commenced before the adoption of the Constitution, and was manifested in the well-known Ordinance of 1787, in regard to the Northwestern Territory.

The feeling increased, until, in 1819-20, it deprived the South of more than half the vast territory acquired from France.

The same hostility dismembered Texas and seized upon all the territory acquired from Mexico.

It has grown until **it denies the right of property in slaves**, and refuses protection to that right on the high seas, in the Territories, and wherever the government of the United States had jurisdiction.

It refuses the admission of new slave States into the Union, and seeks to extinguish it by confining it within its present limits, denying the power of expansion.

It tramples the original equality of the South under foot.

It has **nullified the Fugitive Slave Law** in almost every free State in the Union, and has utterly broken the compact which our fathers pledged their faith to maintain.

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

It advocates negro equality, socially and politically, and promotes insurrection and incendiarism in our midst.

It has enlisted its press, its pulpit and its schools against us, until the whole popular mind of the North is excited and inflamed with prejudice.

It has made combinations and formed associations to carry out its **schemes of emancipation** in the States and wherever else slavery exists.

It seeks not to elevate or to support the slave, but to destroy his present condition without providing a better.

It has invaded a State, and invested with the honors of martyrdom the wretch whose purpose was to apply flames to our dwellings, and the weapons of destruction to our lives.

It has broken every compact into which it has entered for our security.

It has given indubitable evidence of its design to ruin our agriculture, to prostrate our industrial pursuits and to destroy our social system.

It knows no relenting or hesitation in its purposes; it stops not in its march of aggression, and leaves us no room to hope for cessation or for pause.

It has recently obtained control of the Government, by the prosecution of its unhallowed schemes, and destroyed the last expectation of living together in friendship and brotherhood.

Utter subjugation awaits us in the Union, if we should consent longer to remain in it. It is not a matter of choice, but of necessity. We must either submit to degradation, and to the loss of property worth four billions of money, or we must secede from the Union framed by our fathers, to secure this as well as every other species of property. For far less cause than this, our fathers separated from the Crown of England.

Our decision is made. We follow their footsteps. We embrace the alternative of separation; and for the reasons here stated, we resolve to maintain our rights with the full consciousness of the justice of our course, and the undoubting belief of our ability to maintain it.

National Park Service

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historic Site; Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial; Lincoln Home National Historic Site

Lincoln Site Interpreter Training Workshop

Evaluation

Did this workshop meet your needs as an interpreter or volunteer who will be working with those who visit Lincoln sites?

NO **YES**

Why or why not?

What other topics would you like to see covered during future workshops?

Please rate the following:

	Best								Needs improvement
Location	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Speakers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Morning Refreshment	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Lunch	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I would attend another such workshop	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Please add any other comments – use the back of this sheet to continue your comments