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Civil War Sesquicentennial Working Group, NCPH--April 19, 2012

Case Study: Smithsonian Civil War 150
The Smithsonian Civil War 150 project is a collaborative, interdisciplinary, pan-Institutional

initiative coordinating the Civil War commemorative exhibitions, educational programs and

tours, symposia, publications, documentaries, podcasts, digitization initiatives, web and social

media projects, and app being produced by scholars and educators at Smithsonian museums and

research centers 2011-2015. The Smithsonian Civil War 150 steering committee was formed to

encourage open and active collaboration between the Smithsonian units currently planning

Sesquicentennial projects, including the Consortium for Understanding the American

Experience, National Museum of American History, National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian

American Art Museum, National Museum of African American History and Culture, National

Museum of the American Indian, National Museum of Natural History, National Air and Space

Museum, Anacostia Community Museum, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Smithsonian

Libraries, Smithsonian Folkways, Smithsonian Networks, Smithsonian Books, Smithsonian

Magazine, Smithsonian Journeys, and The Smithsonian Associates and Resident Associate

Program. Smithsonian Civil War 150 projects explore the unique Civil War collections held at

the Institution, the social, cultural, and technological impact of the war, and the history of

the Institution during the war. Smithsonian historians and educators are interested in building

new partnerships with national and international organizations, and developing innovative ways

to present and interpret collections, and archive projects during the Sesquicentennial.

During the American Civil War 1861-1865, the Smithsonian Castle stood as the only building representing the young Institution, and where history unfolded. Smithsonian Civil War 150 exhibitions, programs, websites and social media accounts will document the special history of the first Smithsonian building—the Smithsonian Castle, the first Secretary of the Smithsonian—Joseph Henry, and the Institution's staff working to continue operations in Washington, D.C., throughout the years of the Civil War 1861-1865, and also the broader social and technological impacts of the war on the nation. Secretary Henry was a northerner, but comfortable living and working in Washington, considered by many a southern city. His Board of Regents included many southern Congressmen who were forced to leave the governing body during the war years. Freed black men were employed in the Castle, including Solomon Brown, chief clerk to Secretary Henry and long-time employee of the Institution. Brown's letters of correspondence provide his perspective on the Institution during the Civil War years. Mary Henry, Joseph's daughter, lived with her family in the Castle, and kept a detailed diary throughout the war years. Twelve muskets and rounds of ammunition were delivered to the entrance of the Castle in April 1861, to protect the Institution. The building was considered for an army hospital. But, it was Henry's leadership in fostering scientific and technological advancements, and military reconnaissance from the tower of the Castle that was most significant. The Henrys became close to the Lincoln family, and Henry a trusted expert in the advancement of national science and technology as part of the war effort. And, the Castle amphitheater, later destroyed in a January 1865 fire, was the site of the Washington Lecture Association series of abolitionist speakers in 1861-1862.

The Smithsonian Institution's archival photographs, letters of correspondence, and vast collections related to the Civil War will provide a compelling and lesser-known history of the Smithsonian. The *Experience Civil War Photography* exhibition will open in the Smithsonian Castle's Schermer Hall Gallery July 2012-July 2013, and spotlight the activities of the Institution in the context of wartime Washington, D.C. Smithsonian staff experts, including Richard Kurin, Under Secretary for History, Art, and Culture; Pamela Henson, SI archivist for Institutional History; and, Rick Stamm, Keeper of the Castle Collection, will share their knowledge and insights into this early period of the Smithsonian's history, the impact of the war on the daily work of the Smithsonian, and the leadership provided to the White House and Congress by Smithsonian officials. The *Experience Civil War Photography* exhibition project has secured new external partnerships for the Smithsonian Civil War 150 with the History Channel and the Civil War Trust.

Smithsonian Civil War 150 programming across the Institution is planned to encompass the broadest possible historical interpretation of the war, its social and cultural, and technological impact on the nation and the world, emphasizing the extensive collections across museums. Smithsonian staff at the National Museum of American History has previously interpreted the wartime hostilities, military history, and related Smithsonian collection of material culture of the Civil War in the exhibition *Price of Freedom*, which opened in the early 2000s. Eleven new exhibitions are planned across the Smithsonian 2011 – 2015 to share with our visiting public and on the web the Institution's significant resources and staff expertise in the Civil War, including *Civil War Painting; Experience Civil War Photograph;, Promises and Dreams: The 1863 Emancipation Proclamation to the 1963 March on Washington; Portraits of the African*

American Experience during the Civil War, the Death of Ellsworth; Civil War Sketches by

Volck; Grant and Lee; Brady Portraits of Civil War Generals; Alexander Gardner Photography

Retrospective; the Journal of a Civil War Army Nurse; and, *Civil War Washington.* The National

Portrait Gallery staff has established a new collaboration with editors at *The Atlantic* magazine,

to feature historic Civil War portraits and NPG exhibitions during the Sesquicentennial.

Many early successes have been achieved since launching Smithsonian Civil War 150 in

February 2011. The Consortium for Understanding the American Experience organized the

Smithsonian Civil War 150 steering committee to strategically coordinate outreach and engage

scholars and educators at all of the Institution's history, art, and science museums, to share

related collections, programming, and resources during the Sesquicentennial, to explore new

external partnerships for the Institution, and plan for the legacy of Civil War studies at the

Smithsonian well beyond 2015. While many of the Smithsonian museums and research centers

were planning individual programs, exhibitions, and increased collections digitization, little

collaboration was actively planned. The steering committee mobilized Smithsonian staff to form

a new pan-Institutional cross-disciplinary research team for Civil War 150, which has already

been awarded two Smithsonian Grand Challenges grant awards for the production of a

Smithsonian Civil War Reader focused on poetry and photography (based on the original 1864

Sanitary Commission Reader held by the Political History Division, National Museum of

American History), a Civil War art symposium, a Civil War technology symposium, and

research for a possible Smithsonian Civil War 150 app. To reach an even wider possible

audience with Smithsonian Civil War 150, the steering committee also formed a web and social

media subcommittee. A Facebook account was launched,

http://www.facebook.com/SmithsonianCivilWar150, to share posts on Smithsonian exhibitions, programs, collections, and also to forward links on news from across the nation related to Civil War 150. The steering committee joined forces with the twitter team at The Smithsonian Associates to push new Smithsonian content to the twitter account http://twitter.com.SmithsonianCW, already in existence for four years but previously not working closely with Smithsonian researchers and educators developing new information on the Civil War collections at Smithsonian. In-kind resources were secured to launch a modest, and initial, Smithsonian Civil War 150 website at www.civilwar150.si.edu, providing a portal to pan-Smithsonian programs and collections, and archiving web materials developed during the Sesquicentennial. Funding has yet been secured to update the decade old www.civilwar.si.edu administered by the National Portrait Gallery, which remains an online source for pan-Institution content. Steering committee collaboration with iTunesU has resulted in a collaborative Smithsonian Civil War page on iTunes for April 2011, and increased Smithsonian materials available for free on iTunes and iTunesU, especially Civil War music from Smithsonian Folkways, podcasts from the National Portrait Gallery, and books from Smithsonian Libraries. Smithsonian Magazine has organized pan-Smithsonian content for trip planning at www.gosmithsonian.com/civilwar, and providing design support for coordinated pan-Smithsonian advertising online, and in the *Washington Post* and *The Atlantic*. Smithsonian Networks is considering a steering committee proposal for a series of Civil War documentaries related to the history of the Smithsonian during the war, Smithsonian collections and new exhibitions, and Smithsonian Books/Random House is working with the new Civil War 150 research team to publish a book on the 150 most treasured Civil War objects at the Institution.

In December 2011, a first brainstorming session for Smithsonian staff was conducted to explore and discuss Smithsonian Civil War 150 initiatives and leadership for the Institution in Civil War studies. External participants included author Adam Goodheart and Civil War Times editor Dan Shoaf.

The Civil War 150 Historical Marker Project
Case Study
Georgia Historical Society

Project Overview
As a part of the national sesquicentennial commemorating the 150th anniversary of the Civil War, the Georgia Historical Society and the Georgia Department of Economic Development collaborated on a project to use historical markers to promote tourism and create better access to Georgia's Civil War history. A 2008 survey of Georgia's 920 Civil War historical markers revealed that 15 percent of historical markers relating to the Civil War were either missing or damaged, including those along General Sherman's March to the Sea, and that over 90 percent of the existing markers dealt strictly with military topics, leaving vast segments of the Civil War story untold.

Following the survey, GHS worked in collaboration with organizations like the Georgia Battlefields Association and with historians and community groups across the state to identify topics for new historical markers that would broaden the story of the Civil War in Georgia. Eventually 20 new markers will be installed across the state. Many of these relate events connected to African Americans, Unionists, and women, weaving these Georgians into the larger story of the war. Other new markers are on traditional topics such as the state's secession convention and the burning of Atlanta, but telling those events using the latest scholarship and dispelling the popular myths surrounding them (for instance, the marker on the burning of Atlanta explains that only the industrial and business districts, rather than the entire city, were burned by Sherman). The project has further expanded the reach of roadside markers through the creation of an innovative, online mapping resource that enables users to create custom-designed driving tours based on markers geared to their personal interests. Finally, a mobile phone application was developed to allow users to view all markers within a given radius of their location, providing driving and/or walking directions to each marker along with images and marker text.

Impact and Response
Response to the project has been overwhelmingly positive. Dedication ceremonies have drawn national media attention (articles in the *New York Times, Washington Post, Miami Herald*, to name a few newspapers) and large crowds at the dedication ceremonies (the dedication of the marker in Dalton for the only battle in which African American soldier fought in Georgia featured Andrew Young as the keynote speaker and was attended by approximately 400 people, including students from local schools). In many cases individual markers have sparked conversations at many levels about the lasting impact of the Civil War. For example, some topics addressed in new markers have encouraged local communities to explore forgotten or little-known stories from the past, such as a failed slave uprising in south Georgia. Alternatively, a marker on the burning and destruction of Atlanta drew criticism from the state chapter of the NAACP because of its location on Atlanta's Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard, which the NAACP considered offensive to the legacy of the slain civil rights leader. This presented an opportunity to change perceptions on the meaning of the war, shifting the discussion from a celebration of the Lost Cause to a commemoration of the preservation of the United States and

the destruction of slavery. This discussion was carried out in the Atlanta media and led to a symposium sponsored by the Atlanta Public Library on the meaning of the Civil War to African Americans that included GHS President and CEO, W. Todd Groce. The marker on the secession convention, which was installed in front of the old state house in Milledgeville (the antebellum capital) and dedicated on the 150th anniversary of the state's withdrawal from the United States, attributed secession to the defense of slavery. According to the *New York Times* this was the first time that a Deep South state had publicly acknowledged, especially in such a permanent way, the link between slavery and secession.

Research in the archives of the Georgia Historical Society about the centennial of the Civil War led to concerns about the preservation of documents related to the Civil War 150 and the marker project in particular. Accordingly records related to the markers—their selection, research, and text composition—as well as the creation of the online tools have been preserved. Hard copies of reports, speeches, letters, correspondence, and emails associated with the marker project (including the development of the markers themselves) and all relevant publicity are being kept. These documents trace the development and implementation of the project and the public reaction to it. Eventually an archival collection on the topic will be created and all of the hard copies (plus anything electronically that can only be stored on a CD) will be placed in the collection for future reference and study.

Civil War Sesquicentennial Working Group

Case Study #2
Camp Lawton, Bo Ginn National Fish Hatchery & Magnolia Springs State Park, Jenkins County, Georgia

Richard S. Kanaski
U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Southeast Region

Brigadier General John H. Winder described the Confederate-run Camp Lawton as the "world's largest prison". The 42-acre prison was constructed in 1864 to alleviate the overcrowding at Andersonville. It was located in a shallow valley along the Augusta and Savannah Railroad and five miles north of Millen Junction. Magnolia Springs and its outlet channel flowed through the camp. A 15-foot-high stockade wall surrounded it, broken only by "pigeon roosts" manned by guards. Surrounding the prison were support facilities that included a sutler's cabin, at least three earthworks, a guards' camp and hospital, log buildings for administrative purposes, a POW hospital, and two burial grounds for POWs.

In October 1864, the first of the 10,299 POWs arrived at Camp Lawton. The POWs built "shebangs" from materials scavenged from construction debris, bricks from the brick ovens, blankets, pieces of clothing, and shelter halves. Meals were cooked individually or in small messes and not in the brick ovens.

In mid-November of 1864, an exchange of several thousand Union and Confederate POWs occurred in Savannah, Geogia. Included in the exchange was a number of sick Camp Lawton POWs. Records indicate that at least 725 Union soldiers died at the camp prior to its abandonment in late November.

Sherman's approach forced the evacuation of the Camp by November 22, 1864, barely six weeks after the first POWs had arrived. The hastily evacuated prisoners were shipped to Savannah initially and then to South Carolina or a temporary prison near Blackshear, Georgia.

Camp Lawton faded from the local memory following the Civil War, particularly as the physical remains of the camp disappeared. Civilian Conservation Corps crews began construction of Magnolia Springs State Park in 1939; the park encompassed much of the archaeological site, specifically the Confederate administrative and ancillary facilities. The FWS established Bo Ginn National Fish Hatchery in 1950. The hatchery, which at its height of operation consisted of 27 ponds, raceways, an aquarium, two residences, and a maintenance shop, raised warm water fish utilizing the nearly nine million gallons of water per day from the adjacent springs. The northern part of the stockade camp that housed the Union POWs was left largely undisturbed and allowed to return to forest as a way to protect the springs and its outlet channel.

Camp Lawton was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1975; additional research forced the re-definition of the site's boundaries to include the southern portion of the Hatchery in 1978. Carolina Archaeological Services conducted archaeological testing of this area for the FWS in 1981. Their testing methodology consisted of a pedestrian walkover and limited systematic shovel and auger testing. These investigations did not identify any subsurface features or artifact scatters that could be associated with the Civil War prison. Drucker (1981: 40) recommended the use of mechanical stripping as "a more productive and more intensive means of assessing the archaeological and historical potential" and to "expose intact historic features" such as the stockade wall trench, brick oven bases, and footings of the shebangs.   The failure to locate archaeological features and clusters of Civil War period artifacts helped protect this portion of the archaeological site from Civil War artifact hunters. It reinforced this community's notion that Camp Lawton had virtually vanished from the landscape and possessed no potential for collecting.

Beginning in 2009, Georgia Southern University's Department of Sociology and Anthropology initiated an archaeological program aimed at examining the Camp Lawton archaeological site using remote sensing technology, such as ground penetrating radar, soil resistivity, metal detecting, LiDAR [Light Detecting and Ranging System]. The investigations were a collaborative effort involving the university, the Georgia Historic Preservation Division, the Georgia Department of Natural Resources, the FWS, and LAMAR Institute. Dr. Sue Moore and her graduate students utilized Dr. John K. Derden's extensive historic research of Camp Lawton, as well as the nearly contemporary illustration of Robert Knox Sneden, a former POW first at Andersonville and later at Camp Lawton. The Sneden Civil War Collection is held by the Virginia Historical Society, who has kindly permitted the university and the FWS to use selected images in our publications and websites.

J. Kevin Chapman, as part of his Master's thesis research, conducted a metal detecting survey with follow-up shovel testing on the hatchery in 2010. Reports of intact archaeological features at or near the base of the plowzone and the recovery of a large number of personal artifacts set off a flurry of activities. The FWS, the University, Georgia Department of Natural Resources, and the other partners discussed techniques on protecting the archaeological site, research priorities, and, finally, effective methods for engaging the public and the local community. Bo Ginn National Fish Hatchery, whose operations had been transferred to Georgia in 1996, had been re-claimed by the FWS in 2009 and slated to re-open in 2011-2012. A number of the security measurements, such as fencing, cameras, and other sensors, were temporarily masked by the FWS's announcement of its intent to re-open the hatchery. On August 16, 2010, the FWS, Georgia Southern University, and the Georgia Department of Natural Resources formally announced the site's discovery at an open house held at Magnolia Springs State Park. Over a thousand people came to hear about the discovery and to see selected artifacts. Two booklets or brochures were generated as part of this effort – "*The Archeology of Camp Lawton: A*

Confederate Prison" and "*The Camp Lawton Archaeological Site, Bo Ginn National Fish Hatchery*". The

Georgia Southern University opened "*The Archaeology of Camp Lawton Exhibit*" October 10, 2010. This

exhibit will be open to the public through December, 2012.

Research continues on the archaeological site and will result in at least three Master's theses that focus

on the history and archaeological research at Camp Lawton, the use of remote sensing techniques at

ephemeral sites or site with short-term or brief occupations, and the use of handheld X Ray

Fluorescence technology to examine the "corrosion environment" at Camp Lawton in order to make

informed artifact conservation decisions in the field and the laboratory. Dr. Derden's *The World's*

Largest Prison: The Story of Camp Lawton is scheduled for publication by Mercer University Press in

the fall of 2012. Time Team America has expressed interest in filming on-going fieldwork as one of

"targeted" sites presented as part of the PBS program's Series 2.   The fieldwork, as envisioned by Dr.

Moore and the other partners, will focus on identifying the footprint of the main gate and examining

one or more of the brick oven used by the POWs.

The local community's sense of ownership of the Camp Lawton is, perhaps, the best long-term

protection that this fragile archaeological site can possess. As part of the efforts to engender this sense

and to educate the broader public about the site's history and archaeology, Georgia Southern has and

continues to host "archaeology day events". This outreach is enhanced by websites, such as the Society

for Georgia Archaeology's, bearing the Camp Lawton tag, as well as presentations at annual meetings of

the Southeastern Archaeological Conference and the Society for Historical Archaeology. Dr. Sue Moore

will present "Sacred Ground: Archeology at Camp Lawton" at a free event on February 18, 2012

sponsored by the UGA Student Association for Archaeological Sciences in Athens.

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Civil War Sesquicentennial 2.0 and the Search for Black Confederates

Fifty years ago Americans emerged from the Civil War Centennial with a collective

narrative that fit neatly into a pervasive Cold War culture. Though slightly bloodied

and bruised this narrative retained strong Lost Cause and reconciliationist themes

even as the civil rights movement reminded the nation on a daily basis of the war's

"unfinished business". The limited number of voices that were heard during the

centennial years as well as the influence of relatively few historical and cultural

institutions explains much of this. This lent itself to a narrative that emphasized

consensus surrounding the fundamental questions of Civil War remembrance.

Now, fifty years later as we make our way through the Civil War's 150th

anniversary we are confronted by a very different reality. The Internet and the

introduction of social media and digital tools have shattered the ability of any one

institution or even a select few to speak for the nation. The democratization of the

web allows all Americans to engage in individual acts of remembrance through

participation in popular sites such as Facebook, Twitter as well as wikis, listservs

and blogs and the creation of ever more sophisticated digital projects. We have yet

to fully grasp the implications of how this technology is now shaping how

Americans remember and commemorate the past as well as what it means for our

understanding of the concept of collective memory itself. Americans have always

had the ability as individuals and as groups to create cultural forms of historical

memory, but what has changed is the potential visibility of digital artifacts through

their publication and sharing on the Internet. What is clear is that artificial consensus building through the control of a limited supply of resources is dead. This has profound implications for those of us in the historical community who are engaged in the ongoing commemoration of the American Civil War.

The growing popularity of social media presents academic and public historians as well as educators with a host of opportunities and challenges related to the consumption and sharing of history. The professional historical community now has the ability to utilize this technology to more effectively engage and interact with a general public that continues to become more and more diverse. While the democratization of the Internet may be something to celebrate we have yet to come to terms with the vast amounts of misinformation and outright distortions that an untrained public not only consumes, but in many cases help to spread and legitimize.

Consider the recent controversy in Virginia over the content of a fourth grade history textbook titled, "Our Virginia: Past and Present" by Joy Masoff. In the chapter on the Civil War, Masoff writes that, "Thousands of Southerner blacks fought in Confederate ranks, including two battalions under the command of Stonewall Jackson." This brief passage raises one of the most controversial and misunderstood topics in Civil War history. According to a relatively small group of people anywhere between 1,000 and 100,000 free and enslaved blacks fought willingly in the Confederate army during the war. These men supposedly fought willingly and openly supported the Confederate cause for independence. The arguments rest on very little understanding of the history of the slaveholding South

and faulty analysis of wartime evidence. You will be hard pressed to find a single academic historian who will confirm such an interpretation. Professional historians do agree that the Confederate army employed thousands of slaves and free blacks to do various support roles; given their percentage of the population of the South they were essential to the Confederate war effort. Servants of officers often donned uniforms and on occasion may have picked up a rifle to shoot at Union soldiers. Other than a small handful, who may have passed as white, no black men served in Confederate units until the very end of the war when the Confederate Congress passed a measure in March 1865 allowing for the limited recruitment of slaves. Up until this point the Confederate government explicitly refused calls to recruit slaves as well as those free blacks that volunteered for service. None of this is controversial within the historical community.

The inclusion of this passage in a history textbook used state wide is made worse by the fact that the author gathered her information by doing an Online keyword search. Take a second to search for "Black Confederates" and the number of websites generated will overwhelm you. These websites have no affiliation with any historical or educational institutions and they tend to repeat the same narrative to such an extent that it is highly likely that many of these sites are simply cut and pasted from one another. There is no shortage of wartime illustrations, postwar photographs of Confederate veterans that include black men in uniform as well as finely edited observations that seem to suggest that the Confederate army included black soldiers. What is almost entirely lacking is any attempt to properly identify and analyze the sources included. All of this is framed around the assumption that

academic historians and others are intentionally ignoring this information and suppressing the truth that slaves overwhelmingly supported the Confederacy. Those of you familiar with the historiography of Southern history will, no doubt, be reminded of the "faithful slave" narrative that was so common during the antebellum period and through much of the twentieth century.

In my own research on the evolution of this particular narrative I have found very little discussion about black Confederate soldiers before the mid-1970s. In short, the Black Confederate narrative is an Internet phenomenon. And yet, somehow this information made it passed reviewers and into a textbook used by thousands of students across Virginia. I also came across the narrative in two National Park Service exhibits, though the suspect references were removed after having been notified.

These websites dominate the Internet, many of which are simply cut and pasted from one another, but for those who passively surf the Internet they speak with authority. Questions of an individual site's validity, even for a textbook author, rarely surface. Of course, the black Confederate myth is one among many that continues to hold sway in our collective memory of the Civil War. Its continued popularity, however, begs for a response from the historical community. While the continue creation of Online content based on the best scholarship is a necessity, it is important to acknowledge that the days when a small community of professional historians functioned as gatekeepers is over. In the world of Web 2.0 every man is a historian. What is needed at every level of history education is a renewed focus on basic digital literacy skills.

Over the past few years I have worked hard to integrate Online databases and social media into my classroom, both of which have forced me to rethink what it means to teach history as well as what it means for my students to do history. The creative possibilities are endless, but our work is of little value if we fail to teach our students how to search for reliable content and assess the information that they have accessed. In the end, our Online searches are only as good as the search strategies employed.

Even the most rudimentary tips can help to avoid some of the most egregious interpretive mistakes. Is the site associated with an institution such as a museum, historical society or university? Can you identify the individual or organization responsible for the site and are the proper credentials displayed so as to ensure that the information is reliable? Anything less is equivalent to inquiring into the topic at hand with a random individual on the street. Is the information provided on the website, including text and images properly cited? What can you discern from both the incoming and outgoing links to the site?

The ease with which we can access and contribute to the Web makes it possible for everyone to be his or her own historian. That is both a blessing and a curse. The Internet is both a goldmine of information as well as a minefield of misinformation and distortion. As we continue to move through the Civil War Sesquicentennial we would do well to be cautious as we look to deepen our understanding of this crucial moment in American history.

Commemorating the Civil War in the Pacific Northwest
Lorraine McConaghy

Lecturers on Washington history customarily skip the war, claiming that settlers were too preoccupied with the day-to-day – Indians, mining, farming, fishing - to care about its issues. I don't agree.

If the Civil War is a regional one of battlefields, then Washington plays no part. But if we frame the war as a national one of disputed convictions about race and slavery, secession and treason, and civil liberties, Washington Territory easily enters the picture. Territorial settlers couldn't vote for their governor or for the president, but their newspapers were fiercely partisan and avidly read. Westward expansion of slavery was the antebellum era's irresolvable issue, and Puget Sound lumber mills were the target of slavery advocates, arguing that slavery was not confined to southern rice plantations. During the clash of conviction in the election of 1860, Democratic patronage appointees of Pierce and Buchanan worried about the loss of their jobs in the territory, soon to be replaced by Lincoln's appointees. However, Washington Territory's third governor, Richard Gholson, resigned on his own, hastening home to work for Kentucky's secession. He ultimately gathered up a cavalry unit, his slaves and his family, and headed to Tennessee to spend the rest of his life as a Confederate guerrilla fighter. The territory's first governor, Isaac Stevens, led Breckenridge's campaign, but – after Sumter – joined the U.S. Army to punish rebellion. During the secession winter, two dozen U.S. Army officers left their territorial posts, resigned their commissions and followed Gholson south. Nearly every settler had friends and family fighting back east, on one side or the other.

The last fugitive slave to flee Washington stowed away in Olympia – the territorial capital – on board the Victoria mail steamer in September 1860. Racial issues in the territory revolved around Native people, Hawaiians, and Africans from the Cape Verde Islands, as well as

African-Americans. White settler racial tactics ranged from paternalism to eradication, but they nearly unanimously believed in white supremacy. The Knights of the Golden Circle organized a well-armed pro-secession movement in Washington Territory, scheming to form the Pacific Republic and align it with the Confederacy. Confederate sympathizers sent money to support agents in Victoria to outfit coastwise war steamers as Confederate privateers. Military authorities dispensed with *habeas corpus* and due process to suppress Oregon newspapers that ranged from pacifist to pro-Confederate, all of which circulated by mail in Washington Territory. In fact, it's in the Territory that written complaints originated, to censor those papers.

Men and women on Puget Sound reported spotting CSS *Alabama* or *Shenandoah* in the fog. Not every Confederate sympathizer went South. An anonymous woman of conviction set a cake on the dessert table at Olympia's Fourth of July picnic, with the Dixie Stars and Bars piped onto it. Territorial partisans burned flags, fired gunshot rounds through one another's windows, argued and fought with their fists. Under the Republican administration, the federal embrace of the far West tightened, as Congress passed the Morrill Act, the Homestead Act and the Northern Pacific Railroad charter, and the telegraph reached Washington Territory in 1864. The point is: settlers brought the Civil War with them when they traveled west. As a public historian, I think it is vital that we not forget the territory's participation in the war, and that we discuss the war's enduring issues.

All of that being said, I must report that compared with our plans over the years, little is likely to happen in Washington State during the Civil War sesquicentennial. We have worked hard toward an exhibition to travel the state in two editions for large and small venues, a statewide Read-In of primary documents held at hundreds of sites, and a wide range of public and school programs. However, we face a state budget shortfall of fearsome proportions, and

deep cuts have been made to vital services. There simply is no state money to support

commemorative activities for the Civil War in Washington and – so far - we have not made a

convincing argument to federal funders that their investment in our commemoration would be a

wise use of their own limited funds. For Washington State to commemorate the territorial

experience of the Civil War, we will have to rely on our creativity. I am coming to this working

group to gather good ideas about how to do a lot with a little.

Here are four approaches that are part of a strategy of resourcefulness.

The American Library Association offered the opportunity for a grant to discuss the ideas

of the Civil War: "Let's Talk About It: Making Sense of the American Civil War." Our

proposal was successful. In this series of five meetings, participants read Geraldine Brooks'

March and James McPherson's *Antietam*, as well as an anthology of primary source documents

edited by Edward L. Ayers, *America's War.* We were delighted that the program filled at 65

people, the capacity of the library's meeting room. There is a waiting list so long that we may

(as of February) develop an entire second program – and that is just in the metropolitan Seattle

area. Yes, the ALA conversation concerns the whole war but I can tell you from experience that

participants are vitally interested in the territorial war. Is there time for us to frame more grant

proposals to ALA? For Spokane, Olympia, and Walla Walla?

Second, National Park Service sites in Washington are well-positioned to offer place-

based re-enactments and other public programs. At both Fort Vancouver and San Juan Island,

programs interpret the wartime decisions of U.S. Army officers from Grant to Pickett, as well as

the reassignment of regular Army troops from the territory to battlefields in the east, and the

assignment of hastily-trained volunteers to territorial forts. The state's Civil War Roundtables

and the chapters of the Sons of Confederate Veterans and Daughters of the Confederacy have

worked hard as volunteers to enact the antebellum, wartime and postwar experiences of veterans. These presentations draw substantial crowds – can the interpretations be broadened to deal with issues, not just biography and narrative?

Third, Humanities Washington offers a statewide speakers' program, "Inquiring Mind." I proposed a program entitled "The Civil War in Washington Territory," and the response has been gratifying. Since December 2011, I've made three presentations to groups in Seattle, Kelso and Auburn, and I have nine additional presentations on my calendar, and am in conversation about three more. The discussions about the issues I sketched above in my rationale have been exhilarating – everything one hopes for as a public historian. But this Inquiring Mind presentation is essentially the only statewide outreach available concerning the Pacific Northwest in the Civil War.

The fourth program hasn't started yet because I can't figure out how to do it. This would be a Read-In of primary source documents scattered in historical societies and museums, public and university libraries, and national, state, country and town archives throughout the state. Literally, there are hundreds of such collections containing correspondence, journals and reminiscences about the territory, from 1857 to 1871, from the Dred Scott decision to the first publication of the Ku Klux Klan oath in northern Oregon. The repositories range from that of the Black Heritage Society of Washington State to the Daughters of the Confederacy. We'd like to train hundreds of researchers to read and funnel their findings into an on-line database of evidence, a digital legacy for the Civil War bicentennial. It seems fitting to crowd-source this research, which no one scholar could ever accomplish.

Washington State has a smug sense of itself as a progressive place, very "new," very not-eastern, and that smugness has made comforting generalizations about the distant Civil War easy

to accept. But commemoration offers public historians the opportunity to go beyond our own research and give away the skills that we have learned - that is the very heart of public history. Through the Read-In, we can seize the opportunity to challenge the status quo through good history – to suggest interpretive frameworks, recommend scholarship, provide access to primary resources, share skills of inquiry and of evidence evaluation, and help researchers to create a public product. This research program places the custody of Civil War history where it belongs: in the whole society, not just universities and museums. The Read-In's strength lies in a confidence that the hard work of ordinary people reading microfilm, combing archival collections, conducting statistical analysis of public records, reading collections of correspondence, and doing genealogical research is truly significant to the field. This project trusts ordinary people to share the responsibility of making meaning of this war in Washington Territory with historians who have, after all, largely ignored the topic.

There are risks to the Read-In. This history is dangerous; will untrained people be civil with one another? Will they descend into triviality and filiopietism? What if they don't find anything extraordinary? What if they're bored? What if they can't read the cursive writing? Can ordinary people make sophisticated meaning from their research? Yes, I believe that they can, but not if the public historian delivers a lecture, orchestrates a discussion, bows and walks away. This public history work requires the same ongoing conversation among researchers, and between instructor and researchers, that any seminar would. We may begin face-to-face and end on-line but I still think it's worth trying. If we're successful, we will meet and exceed the expectations of the four principles of the Civil War 150. Can you help me figure out how to accomplish the Read-In for, say, $6000, which is likely to be its budget?

The Public use of a series of cards celebrating the Centennial of the US Civil war: now and then.

Serge Noiret (*European University Institute*, serge.noiret@eui.eu)

Working Group on *Civil War Sesquicentennial*, NCPH Milwaukee Meeting (2012)

Some preliminary remarks:

I'm a "foreigner" not involved with any specific local American communities and wishing to learn more about the complex local public history activities in the USA. So, I will try to integrate the four selected *best practices for public historians to deal with commemorating the US Civil War Sesquicentennial* suggested by Bob Beatty, W. Eric Emerson and Dwight Pitcaithley, into a more comparative and transnational perspective.

I will focus on the use of web digital contents dealing with forms of remembrance and/or commemoration. Thanks to the internet, new ways to communicate renewed the collective public reflection about how to deal with the Civil War 150th anniversary, introducing new contemporary policy issues which revitalized the public debates on this tragic past. The pioneering project by Edward L. Ayers, *The Valley of the Shadow* started as a Ph.D. at the University of Virginia in 1991 to nowadays consolidated web site,[1] is teaching us many things about how the web evolved between 1993 and today and how a digital public history project was leading and opening the road to a better interaction between academic scholarship and popular culture.

It is evident that the Centenary of the War and the Sesquicentennial anniversary are not only different because of the political and social context they were/are engaged in, but because of the revolution in the communication process which happened between the two celebrations: the irresistible ascension of new mass-media like public broadcasting which channeled historical debates in first instance, and today, the advent of internet which "cannibalized" all the other media and of web 2.0 facilities also in the field of Digital History.

I'm a *Digital Historian* myself, or more precisely, I'm studying the impact of the web on the craft of historians, a field which acquired its own epistemological existence as a stand-alone discipline within the boarder of the Digital Humanities. To do so, I have followed the transformation of the web in the USA[2] and in Europe after 1993, when the browser Mosaic was introduced by the NASA; I studied which new interdisciplinary skills and methods are required to produce and manage these new digital contents and what this does imply for the history profession as a whole.[3]

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[1] William G. Thomas III et Edward L. Ayers: "An Overview: The Differences Slavery Made: A Close Analysis of Two American Communities.", in *American Historical Review*, 5, 2003, pp.1299–1307, URL: [http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/108.5/thomas.html] and also William G. Thomas III: "*Writing a Digital History Journal Article from Scratch: An Account,*", in *Digital History* (August 2007), URL: [http://digitalhistory.unl.edu/essays/thomasessay.html

[2] Serge Noiret: "La "nuova storiografia digitale" negli Stati Uniti (1999-2004), in *Memoria e Ricerca*, n.18, 2005, p.169-, URL: [http://www.fondazionecasadioriani.it/modules.php?name=MR&op=body&id=339].

[3] Serge Noiret: "The Historian's new Workshop" in Ilaria Porciani and Lutz Raphael (eds.): *Atlas of European historiography: the making of a profession 1800-2005.*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan/European Science Foundation, 2010, p.69. Some of my recent publications in the field are: "Public History" e "storia pubblica" nella rete", [*PH and Digital PH*] in Ricerche storiche, a.39, N.2-3, May-December 2009, pp.275-327. [Pre-paper available in Academia.Edu]; "New portals for new sources and new historians: European History Primary Sources, EHPS" in Dan Cohen & Tom Scheinfeldt (eds.): *Hacking The Academy, A Book Crowdsourced In One*

Because of the recent overwhelming presence during the annual meeting of the *American Historical Association* in Chicago this January 2012 of digital history panels,[4] I would have liked to look at how the web 2.0 itself was taking care of the US Civil War and, possibly, of the 150th anniversary and its celebrations. But because such a survey would require an enormous team work investment, I decided to opt here to describe one very personal case which, thanks to the web, is connecting the 100th anniversary with the 150th anniversary. In this way my approach to our working group perspective will be to answer mainly to the following query: "*How has the Web changed our ability to engage audiences (in ways good and bad)?*"

But because of my more "external" and comparative reflection about how and what to commemorate in public history contexts within a Euro-centered public discussion about the use of history,[5] what would help me very much, would be to integrate your eventual question and suggestion as comments to my somehow naïve notes on the most studied event in the history of the USA. This would help me to connect better and shape further, my participation to our debate, anticipating our Workshop in Milwaukee.

Celebrating the US Civil War: a personal case study.

My case-study will try to focus on the role of the web to address specific communities in Europe and in the US about the history of the Civil War. It will deal with a series of ephemera's, a series of Civil War Cards collected by young children's at the time of the 100th anniversary. I scanned 84 of the whole 88 cards of the series I will write now about and they are available online. These are the ones for which I still possess an original copy today.[6]

In 1961, Len Brown, an American journalist and writer, [7] was working for the *Topps Bubble Gum Company* in New York City. He published a series of 88 miniature cards commemorating the Centennial of the US Civil War. Brown wrote the text of the "*Civil War News*" cards –the history of the Civil war presented like a daily newspaper would do with contemporary news- without any support from professional historians. He imagined

[4] *Perspectives on History – February 2012*, URL:
 [http://blog.historians.org/publications/1561/perspectives-on-history--february-2012]. Many panels of the 2012 meeting were dealing with Digital History issues.

[5] The 150th anniversary of the birth of the Italian national state (*Risorgimento*) happened also in 2011. Reflections about the 1860-1861 inclusion of the Southern area of the country (Meridione) into the new State, was a debated issue in the "polis" by contemporary political actors and not only by public or academic historians.

[6] 84 of the 88 cards are available in my own Picasa web area or Google Photo area, using the following URL: [https://plus.google.com/photos/111882418766622379212/albums/5598348741366448561?authkey=CIHDz YGQ-8LsZw].

[7] "An Interview with Len Brown - April 1998", in *Bob Heffner's Civil War News Home Page*, URL:
[http://www.bobheffner.com/cwn/a_french.shtml].

extremely violent scenes to illustrate the War. These cruel illustrations used deep colors and a lot of blood to catch the imagination of very young Americans. Their commercial success influenced and defined most probably an early popular vision of the War and young children's first knowledge of the US Civil War.

Brown asked to three different artists to illustrate the war with violent scenes that he himself imagined together with the owner of the *Topps* corporation. This happened without any suggestion from professional historians. So we may say today that their 1961 vision of the War which was "passed" to a wide public of young American, was, at that time, maybe a relatively correct and standard perception of the interpretation of the war: the ambition was not to sell the cards only in New York but everywhere in the country.

One of the most famous 20th century American designer, Norman Saunders,[8] was one of these three designers but he imprinted his own style (colors, movements, adventure, violence), to all the cards, retouching the rest of the set.

A 1963 Spanish version offered completely different illustrations avoiding any sign of cruelty and strong colors.[9] In 1965, French[10] and English versions of the same cards were printed in England by the *A&BC Limited* company.[11] Each single package included a pink *bubble gum* and a confederate banknote from a series of 17 different confederate banknotes.[12] Each box like the one I reproduce here, were containing 24 single packages.[13]

Civil War News Box, Topps Bubble Gum Company, 1961-1962 (Reproduced here from *Topps Display Boxes*, URL: [http://www.normansaunders.com/ToppsBoxes-01.html])

In Europe, young children my age –I was eight years old in 1965- collected these cards directly reprinted from the 1961 *Topps Bubble Gum Company* cards. The texts, available in Belgium, were written in English, so nobody was able to understand what this was about and

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[8] David Saunders: *Norman Saunders*, Saint Louis, Missouri: The Illustrated Press, 2008. The series *Civil War News* is partially published and described pp. 274-279. The web site about *Norman Saunders*, URL: [http://www.normansaunders.com/] publish a digital version of the series of 88 cards first pubkished in 1961, URL:
[http://www.normansaunders.com/CvlWar%2C01.html].
[9] Cf. Oral interview with a collector, Brian Pendreigh, in *Civil War News - The Spanish Set*, URL: [http://www.bobheffner.com/cwn/a_spanish.shtml]
[10] "French and English versions were printed in England and are somewhat smaller than the American cards.", "Civil War News - The French Set", in *Bob Heffner's Civil War News Home Page*, URL:
[http://www.bobheffner.com/cwn/a_french.shtml].
[11] *Civil War News: Card Fronts Index Page*, URL: [http://www.bobheffner.com/cwn/front13.shtml].
[12] "*Civil War News: Confederate Currency Index Page*", URL:
[http://www.bobheffner.com/cwn/a_indexmoney.shtml].
[13] Original US 1962 cards were sold at 1,20 $, twelve times the price of their fabrication. (*An Interview with Len Brown - April 1998*, URL: [http://www.bobheffner.com/cwn/a_interview.shtml], cit..

especially that these cards were celebrating, in the USA, between 1961 and 1962, the 100th anniversary of the Civil war. In a way, even de-contextualized, these cards celebrated also in Europe, during the Cold War, a cruel but epic and heroic American Civil War. Like other schoolfellows, I was fascinated by the violent nature of the cards published at a time when visual illustrations of wars for children –mainly WWI & WWII illustrations- were to be found only in other card series, in comics and illustrated fiction.

These same cards are today digitized, publicized and discussed online by people who collected them in 1961-1965. These people are now remembering their juvenile discovery of the CW cards and are dialoguing with a new generation, a new public today. Entire websites reproduces these cards and comments are flourishing, offering new life –and commercial value like you may understand going to the e-bay web site- to these 50 year old cards which are now documenting a popular vision of the Civil War around the 100th anniversary. Thanks to new web discussions and blogs, these same documents are today again part of the reflection on the Civil war on its Sesquicentennial.

"My brother and I loved those cards […] Those images have stayed with me my whole life and, uncannily, especially one of the first one, 'A Painful Death'. That bloke being impaled on wooden stakes was not what you would expect to find in a pack of bubble gum.…".[14]

Civil War News, Carta n.21 A & BC, United Kingdom, 1965 from the American original,
Topps Bubble Gum Company, 1961-1962.[15]

Len Brown was interviewed by somebody who collected the cards in 1961: "*you know, the cards were very graphic and violent for their day. My mom made me throw a couple of them away. The memory of certain ones still haunts various people even today. Was the violent nature of the cards intentional (to evoke a reaction) or was it just a couple of young guys looking to make the set "action packed"*? , Len Brown said that "[the] *editor … had a good feel for what was commercial…. He had a great instinct for what kids liked. And [he] felt that a straight educational series of cards based on The Civil War would not "turn on" the kids…. You had, then, an idea of the indelible impression the set was going to have. Obviously to the point that 35 years later the images still are vividly remembered by those who collected the set*".[16]

Could it be argued that the main card illustrator, Norman Saunders, influenced young children's (6 to 12 years old ?) perception of the war? Is this popular celebration of the 100th anniversary of the war, still questioning today the Sesquicentennial Celebrations? Were they
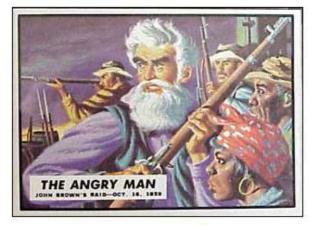
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[14] Blog called: *Spaghetti Western Database* Forum, URL:
[http://www.spaghetti-western.net/forum/index.php?topic=1180.0].
[15] Plastic miniature models were also created like for this card, the "Painful Death". *Civil War News. Miniature Models*, URL: [http://www.bobheffner.com/cwn/a_models.shtml].
[16] "An Interview with Len Brown - April 1998", URL: [http://www.bobheffner.com/cwn/a_interview.shtml].

engaging the feelings and the popular perception about the causes/consequences of the War ? Why, after more than 50 years, these cards are remembered actively by who collected them like me: were they such a powerful mean to communicate history ?

When Saunders illustrated the *Civil War News* cards, it was certainly a biased representation of the war which used deeply evocative violent battlefields scenes involving only male figures. Slavery was illustrated only within the first card and no "black people" were depicted although the "horrors" of a war between white people was certainly communicated extremely well.

1 - "THE ANGRY MAN"

We may ask ourselves today which history and which memory of the CW was shown in these cards at the time of the 100th anniversary ? [17] Were they part of their time: the Cold war era and the fights for Civil Rights ? Or where they following a natural inclination and passion of a large part of the American public for the Civil War battles ?[18] *The Angry Man* (John Brown's raid of the 16th of October 1859 in Harpers' Ferry)[19] was the only card illustrating the origin of the war: slavery; but this was the *first one* and the connection with the rest of the series was easy to imagine. So they deliberatively started the war with John Brown, not a "black angry man" but an "angry man".

Len Brown and Norman Saunders depicted the war as being essentially a succession of battles between two heroic armies: the same people wearing only different colored uniforms. Doing so, were they encouraging the popular vision and interest of young children for the military phases of the war at the time of the Centennial Anniversary or follow commercial goals -or both- without any connection with the way public historians would have liked to communicate the history of the war ? And could this vision be compared to some of the ongoing popular *Civil War Sesquicentennial* celebrations in popular culture ?

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[17] Kevin Allen: "The Second Battle of Fort Sumter: the Debate over the Politics of Race and Historical Memory at the Opening of America's Civil War Centennial, 1961.", in *The Public Historian*, 33, n.2, May 2011,pp.94-109.

[18] Robert J. Cook: *Troubled Commemoration: the American Civil War centennial, 1961-1965*. Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press.

[19] *Harper's Ferry, Va. - Oct. 16, 1859, John Brown Raids U. S. Arsenal*, A violent raid by a Northern band, led by John Brown, shocked the nation today. […] High officials in the government had hoped to negotiate the serious slavery issue but tension between the north and south reached its highest peak today." In *Civil War News, Card n.1 The Angry Man* come viene riprodotta da Bob Heffner in *Civil War News - Card Fronts* URL [http://www.bobheffner.com/cwn/a_story.shtml#anchor01] C f. Robert E.McGlone: *John Brown's War against Slavery*, Cambridge: Cambridge: University Press 2009.

A series of possible issues to discuss between us.

I would like to list here and develop shortly some questions which could also be interesting to discuss during our future conversations before and in Milwaukee..

1. A Heroic Civil War or a Cataclysm for Common People?[20]

Stonewall Jackson's Street, Mobile, AL, (11 April 2011).

The American Civil War seems to be perceived publically as a heroic step in the construction of the Nation, a second American revolution or, in the South, a non-less heroic fight for the maintenance of social-economic and political autonomy and cultural difference (*Lost cause*). But in both sides, political and military actors are today celebrated heroes of the nation's past and memory.

Looking in 2006 at how the American Civil war was represented on the web, a young Greek scholar repeated what Jay Winter had suggested in his famous book about commemorating WWI:[21] there is an official lecture of past conflicts which is used to cement the nation in the present and, alternative counter-memories, celebrations and narrations available in the public realm and identifying local communities with their past. Today, the Internet and the web is the best place for spreading both the official interpretation of commemoration and alternative memories to it. *"The American Civil War, writes Paschaloudi, as any other civil war, was extremely violent, divisive and negative. However, it is really astonishing that Americans refer to it as an event that finally contributed to the nation's unification, part of its heroic 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. In the case of the American Civil War, the Internet constitutes a field of primary interest. Besides the official collective memory, cyberspace allows to groups and individuals to construct and maintain their own particular view of what the War really meant. As the internet public sphere allows anything to anyone, contributes to the democratization of memory and commemoration. There are literally thousands of sites and millions of pages that relate to the American Civil War. In terms of memory […] they can be separated in two vast*

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[20] David Williams in his popular history of the Civil war following Howard Zinn's approach to American History from below and the viewpoint of the lower classes, looks at the Civil War misery, death, suffering, imprisonment, illness, gender differences, racism, etc., *A people's history of the Civil war. Struggles for the meaning of Freedom.*, New York, The New Press, 2005.

[21] Jay Winter: *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*, Cambridge University Press, 1995.

categories: those that function as vehicles for the official public memory and the ones that differentiate and project different views....”[22]

2. Slavery, the Civil War and the *Lost Cause* ideology

Fresh yellow flowers for the Monument to the Confederate Dead in Pensacola, FL, USA. (9 Aprile 201). I took this picture three days before the 150th anniversary of the bombing of Fort Sumter.

The capacity to live in the past by memory also emancipates the individual from the tyranny of the present writes David W.Blight quoting from Reinhold Niebuhr, *Faith and History*, 1949 in his work on the Civil War memory.[23] “The Lost Cause […] became a natural extension of evangelical piety, a civil religion that helped [Southerners] link their sense of loss to a Christian conception of history. Like all great mythologies, the Lost Cause changed with succeeding generations and shifting political circumstances.” [24]

Dwight Pitcaithley pointed out in a talk addressing the causes of the Civil War ,[25] the important difference -still existing- between the professional world of academic historians for

[22] The contemporary history Italian journal *Memoria e Ricerca*, n.21, 2006, edited by Giorgios Antoniou and Luisa Passerini was dealing with a “public history” of different European Civil Wars: *Commemorando le guerre civili. Memorie pubbliche e politiche del ricordo nell’Europa del Novecento*, URL:
[http://www.fondazionecasadioriani.it/modules.php?name=MR&op=showfascicolo&id=36]; the issue included an essay about the US Civil War on the web by Eleni Paschaloudi quoted here: *Websites of Memory: The American Civil War and the Advent of the Internet*, p. 177- (See English abstract here:
 [http://www.fondazionecasadioriani.it/modules.php?name=MR&op=abstract&id=372].

[23] David W. Blight: *Race and reunion: the Civil War in American memory*., Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003, pp.255-256. “The Relics were ready; over the doorway of elegant rooms the names of states were emblazoned in gold. Swords, epaulets, field glasses, Bibles, spurs, bits, saddles, blankets, uniforms, letters, even a pair of slippers made from the original carpet were all in position. The windows were curtained with Confederate flags; a platform stood in the main room beneath portraits of Jefferson Davis, Stonewall Jackson, and Joseph E. Johnston. On the platform stood a table draped with a tattered Confederate battle flag. On Saturday afternoon, February 22, 1896, the Ladies Memorial Association was ready for the formal exercises that dedicated the White House of the Confederacy in Richmond, Jefferson Davis's executive mansion in 1861-65, as the "treasure house of Confederate history and relics."

[24] Blight, *Race and reunion: the Civil War in American memory*, p.258.

[25] Video from the conference, “Dwight T. Pitcaithley on Florida and Southern Secession”, 11 January 2012, in *Civil War Memory. Where History, Heritage, and Education Intersect*, URL:
[http://cwmemory.com/2012/01/11/dwight-t-pitcaithley-on-florida-and-southern-secession/].

which they are no doubt from decades, about the origins of the war: emancipation and the fight to maintain slavery in the South. Also Edward J. Ayers wrote that "*nearly half of Americans identify states' rights as the primary cause of the Civil War*", when "*all American textbooks and prominent historians emphasize[d] slavery, ... for decades*"?[26]

The ideology of the *Lost Cause* is a clear example of how the past is used in the present and how, today, the past an specific interpretation and statements about it, together with biased memories and a fetishistic presentation of artifacts and ephemera's, create constantly new arguments for keeping alive false memories and fighting new battles in the name of the past.

What amazed me during my trip to Pensacola in West-Florida for attending the NCPH meeting last year, was not the evident existence of such a gap between history and commonly accepted biased memories against the lessons of academic scholarship and textbooks on the cause of the Civil war, but the passionate discourses surrounding everything which would have been referred to the Confederacy and the so-called "cause" of the South.

In Italy, you won't find such passionate public commitment to the cause of the *Risorgimento* which is celebrated also in 2011, Italy's own Sesquicentennial anniversary.[27] Instead the American Civil War was able to create lively debates and mystical beliefs about the past within most common people. Poor Garibaldi and poor Garibaldi Red Shirts: they'll never gain such a popular support today ! But one may ask itself: is it good or bad ? In Southern States it seems that single memories are embedded in a collective civil memory following a process described by the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs who defined the field of social and collective memory.[28] This is often less about how history did really happen but more about beliefs and feelings in local communities. [29]

This way to present the Southern past as "objective" against academic publications and research, is similar to how the *negationist* movement in Europe is telling about the Nazi past and the Holocaust. So, the "true cause of the secession" may be compared with ideological discourses about the true causes of the Second World War as it is presented in some web sites like the *Hitler Historical Museum* web site created in 1996.[30] The author's of the web site are

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[26] Edward J.Ayers: "The Causes of the Civil War, 2.0", in "Opiniator, exclusive online commentary from the Times",in *The New York Times*, 28 Aprile 2011, URL: [http://tinyurl.com/6btagf7] e *What Caused the Civil War? Reflections on the South and Southern History*., New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006.

[27] *1861-2011, 150° anniversario dell'Unità d'Italia*, URL: [http://www.italiaunita150.it/].

[28] Maurice Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, Paris, F. Alcan, 1925 and the book review by Marc Bloch, *Mémoire collective, tradition et costume. A propos d'un livre récent*, in «Revue de Synthèse Historique», december 1925, T. 40 (14 n.s.), pp. 73-83, Paris, 1900-1930», in *Gallica*, URL: [http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb34414149d/date].

[29] "At the beginning was the war against the rebels, only after the war the term "civil war" was mostly used or the " war between the states". Popular culture is another matter. It is funny when 'Granny' on the television show *The Beverly Hillbillies* is outraged when she hears the words 'Civil War' – 'that was when the Yankees invaded the USA', she insists. But it is less amusing that nostalgia for the Confederacy and its symbols has not only persevered, but is increasing in the twenty-First century and is linked with not-so subtle forms of racism masquerading as 'heritage appreciation'. (William Pencak, The Pennsylvania State University: "The American Civil War Did Not Take Place. With apologies to Baudrillard", in *Rethinking History*, 6:2 (2002), pp. 217–22, here pp.218-219.).

[30] After his creation in 1996, the *Hitler Historical Museum* web site was last time updated in July 2008 and the last time it was found to be online, was in August 2011. Source: the *Internet Archive's Wayback machine*, URL: [http://wayback.archive.org/web/20110726151757*/http://www.hitler.org/]. *"The Museum's chief concern is to provide documents and information that shed light on Adolf Hitler and the National Socialist Party. Because of the numerous contradicting, disjoint, biased, confused, and deficient interpretations that exist, few scholars are able to gather the facts and to understand and explain them coherently. Whether this failure is from a lack of information, scholarship ability, or honesty is unimportant. What is important is that historical information be made freely available and gathered into exhibits that allow researchers to derive independent conclusions from the relatively well preserved writings of this time period...."*

also using the concept of objectivity against the "ideological and propagandist" way, scholarship is produced and taught in schools and universities without documenting so-called "facts and statements" with the use of primary sources: *"The teaching of history should convey only facts and be free from political motives, personal opinions, biases, propaganda, and other common tactics of distortion. Every claim that is made about history should also be accompanied by documentation proving its basis. Only responsible scholarship and teaching should be permitted. Those who intend to support particular political interests and agendas should have their biased historical interpretations criticized for lacking proof."*

So it is not true, and not only for historians, that both sides were equals: slavery made the difference and slavery is a transnational central issue in the Nineteenth century world.

3. The Flag as "realm of memory" for the Confederacy and the Union

(Wall Painting of the American Flag with two visitors commenting, 3 January 2012, MOMA, NYC.)

Visitors are admiring a painting of the Union flag today in the MOMA in New York. Copies of this symbol are everywhere in the USA: the American flag is ubiquitous. Arnaldo Testi reveals the central importance of the flag to the creation of the nation, the evolution of the US national character, and the spread of American culture and power across the globe.[31] "It was only with the Civil War that the flag truly changed into a symbol of liberation and that its red color became a symbol of the blood not of black victims but, rather, of black heroes, those heroes who had sacrificed their lives on the altar of freedom" he said.[32] In Brussels when I was a young boy, my family memories were all about the two world war of the 20th century. So how could you explain such a fact: that from when I was 7 or 8 years old, I was playing with miniature plastic models of soldiers in Grey and Blue -*sudistes* and *nordistes* they

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[31] Arnaldo Testi: *Capture the Flag: The Stars and Stripes in American History*., New York: New York University Press, 2010, (see note 2 p.153 for quoted texts about the American flag).The flag is a symbol, a real of memory of the nation write Arundhati Virmani, *A national flag for India: rituals, nationalism and the politics of sentiment.*, Ranikhet/Bangalore: Permanent Black/Orient Longman, 2008.

[32] Arnaldo Testi, p.58.

were called in French- with both flags, the Confederate Battle Flag[33] and the Union flag, those two important symbols of two different conception of the American "Heimat".

4.The US Civil war as a transnational event: reenactment in Germany

Photo of Germans reenacting the US civil war (Image by Caitlan Carroll), (see note 32)

""There were about 200,000 who had German roots that fought in the Civil War, I think it is important for our history." said a German re-enactor of the First Battle of Bull Run trying to re-live near Berlin what is not, up to him, only about US history.[34] "It's not about why they acted in the 1860's but more about fantasies" declares Ute Frevert, director of the Max Planck Institute in Berlin during an interview to *Public Radio International* in Minneapolis: "life needs fantasies," she said. So it is more a question of being part of it, belonging to a common social memory and culture, because of the forefathers and because of direct filiations with people who fought the war. Causes and consequences, articulated and controversial narratives of the US Civil War, aren't that important but the way to connect to history and with a past which is also considered as part of the German's own past. Reenacting wars are not part of the German post-WWII culture for very obvious reasons so the fact that the Civil War happened in a foreign country is appealing for who wants to play with arms. Few Germans are choosing to reenact the activities of the confederate troops and the South. Public Radio International "invite listeners to hear a different voice with content that provides unique perspectives on our interdependent world […]". Recreating history through the reenactment of Civil War battles is not only about military history, but is a serious way of addressing communities through public history activities: *Public Historians* together with *re-enactors*, or PH *as re-enactors*.[35]

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[33] John M.Coski: *The Confederate Battle Flag: America's Most Embattled emblem*., Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005 and Robert E.Bonner: *Colors and Blood: Flag Passions of the Confederate South*., Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002.

[34] From the Audio file of *Public Radio International* [http://media.theworld.org/audio/053020113.mp3] in Caitlan Carroll: "Germans love reenacting the American Civil War", URL:
 [http://www.pri.org/stories/world/germans-love-reenacting-the-american-civil-war4157.html]. *Public Radio International* sais its mission is "to serve audiences as a distinctive content source for information, insights and cultural experiences essential to living in our diverse, interconnected world" and saying so PRI is engaging other communities connected to American Culture and History and making a comparative and transnational history of cultures and memories in order to de-provincialise the Civil War.

[35] Different forms of reenactment are analyzed by James Oscar Farmer: *Playing Rebels: Reenactment as Nostalgia and Defense of the Confederacy in the Battle of Aiken* in Southern Cultures, 11:1, 2005, pp. 46-73. Recreating

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5. About the legitimacy of Italian (1943-1945) and American (1861-1865) "Lost Causes.

In Italy the *Lost Cause* is the one of the Italian Social Republic of Salò, (*Repubblica Sociale Italiana, RSI*, 1943-1945) the little Northern republic on the lake of Garda, which seceded from the country at the end of 1943 and continued the war with the Nazis. The Salò militia's memory was banned from the post-war reconstruction cultural debates. Now that, after Claudio Pavone's research, academic historians are calling the partisan's war against Salò, a "Civil War[36], confronted memories of who fought the fascist and who still was defending Mussolini, are present on the public scene and especially in the web.[37]

Only the collapse of the first Italian Republic in 1992 and the beginning of the Berlusconi's era permitted to enlarge the political majority including the post-fascists. From then, individual and collective memories were, for the first time, freely part of the cultural debate as legitimate historical legacy of the 1943-1945 Civil War. Ex and post-fascists and their families -like Mussolini's granddaughter Alessandra- query for historical and political legitimacy, walked together with condemning the partisan's war in 1943-45 and its aftermath in the immediate post-war era. This cultural debate on Italy's recent past, became central also in a political debates where history is used by contemporary politics. Of course, constitutional parties and the academic and public historian's cultural heritage derived from the partisan's war against the Nazi-fascists troops, were strongly committed not to accept the equivalency of both camps fighters in 1943-1945. Who suffered, died and fought to liberate the country from the Salò regime were not belonging to a same collective memory of the Civil War nor were fighting for the same legitimate cause: history –and historical research- was able to say who was wrong, who not.

These opposing memories not yet publically expressed, benefitted a lot of the birth of the internet and the web. Many Italian digital public history web sites were built during the second half of the Nineties and during the first years of the 21st century to support the *Lost Cause* of the RSI. They preserved their own constructed collective memory opposed to the one of the resistance to the Nazi-fascist regime and the birth of the Italian Republic in the post-civil war years. Public debates in newspapers, the television and the internet focused on the worst aspects of this proliferation of uncontrolled and biased vision of history: neglecting the Holocaust –"we knew nothing about"- and justifying the continuity of the fight and all the horrors and torture of the Italian Social Republic only because Mussolini gave his word to the German, his allies in 1940. This new "flat" vision of the Civil war was arguing against what was called the "official history" of the Italian Civil War which –from their point of view- took only care of the partisan's tradition in post-war Italy. The refusal to admit the historical role

History is one of the activity of Public Historians which raise enormous conceptual and methological questions especially when evaluating the accuracy of these live reconstructions. See the monograph issue of *Rethinking History* on reenactment published in 2007 and especially these essays: Vanessa Agnew: 'History's affective turn: Historical reenactment and its work in the present', in *Rethinking History*, Vol.11, n.3,2007, pp.299–312 e Alun Munslow: 'Presenting and/or re-presenting the past', in *Rethinking History*, Vol.11, n.4,2007, pp.517-524; Stephen Gapps, 'Mobile monuments: A view of historical reenactment and authenticity from inside the costume cupboard of history', *Rethinking History*, Vol.13, n. 3, 2009, pp.395-409. L'interesse della rivista per la ricostruzione della storia è costante e si veda anche di Daria Radtchenko, 'Simulating the past: Reenactment and the quest for truth in Russia', in *Rethinking History*, Vol.10, n.1, 2006, pp. 127-148.

[36] Claudio Pavone: *Una guerra civile : saggio storico sulla moralità nella Resistenza.*, Torino: Bollati Boringhieri, 1991.

[37] Antonino Criscione, Serge Noiret, Carlo Spagnolo, Stefano Vitali (eds.): *La storia a(l) tempo di Internet : indagine sui siti italiani di storia contemporanea (2001-2003).*, Bologna : Pàtron, 2004.

the fascists played in backing up the Nazi, let to open public demands to recognize officially all Civil War fighters equal rights to celebrate their "deaths" in public spaces.

Looking at the public celebration and public commemorations, in Italy today (150th anniversary of the birth of the Italian State) and in the USA, for the Sesquicentennial of the Second American revolution,[38] the US Civil War, which consolidated the Nation and the State after what seems now to have been the real end of the war, the reconstruction's era,[39] public and academic historians may want to understand the profound reasons and motivations which were underpinning the participation of both Grey and Blue soldiers to the War.

Describing and celebrating only single events like the battles and, in general, military history issues, is sometimes a way to avoid a discussion on the motivation of the Civil War; it is also easier for academic and public historians not express any moral judgment nor interpretation of broader transnational issues of the war like slavery. But such a flat history, the heroism of great commanders and their soldiers in both side, (a classical interpretation in the US public discourse about the Civil War), is impossible in Italy. How not to elaborate publically on the enormous differences between who fought the "second Italian Civil War" between 1943 and 1945, together with the Nazi and deported the Jews in the concentration camps and who, instead, resisted to the Nazi-fascists and fought to liberate the country from totalitarianism? It is not possible to legitimate publically and commemorate both causes but both cause may be studied in a professional way by historians. And if we do study such events we become also interpreters of the past and of the main reasons why both sides fought their own war.

In Italy, like in the USA, the role of historians and public historians, within their own communities and in the media, is to shape the meaning and the reasons of the "causes" which were fought with no fear to apply moral hierarchies to historical events.

In Italy, it is of course possible to reconstruct why some Italians fought with Hitler against other Italians and, in the USA, why, during the Civil War, a central issue, was indeed the inhuman exploitation of the African-American slaves. Slavery as such in the US and the fight against the tyranny of the Nazi-fascist regimes and against the Shoah, are enough motivations for today's narration and public commemoration of both Civil Wars. These are the main reason of the war the one who legitimated the Union's cause against the South and the partisan's war against the defenders of the fascist republic of Salò.

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[38] During a recent international conference at the University of Jena in Germany about the transnational significance of the US Civil war, it was "alluded to the famous lecture "What is, and to what end do we study, universal history" by the German philosoph Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller, the question of why, and to what end do we study, the global history of the American Civil War, naturally had to be raised […] seeing the civil war in a global context and [..] responding to the tendency of some historians to "deprovincialise" the war and its implications. […] Heightened attention has to be paid to networks of people and ideas that came to shape the outcome and perception of the American Civil War." Katharina Wagner, Universität Jena (E-Mail: Katharina.Wagner@uni-jena.de): *The Transnational Significance of the American Civil War: A Global History*, URL: [http://geschichte-transnational.clio-online.net/tagungsberichte/id=4038].

[39] Paul A.Cimbala and Randall M. Miller. *The Great Task Remaining before Us: Reconstruction as America's Continuing Civil War.* New York, N.Y.: Fordham University Press, 2010.

CIVIL WAR TRUST CASE STUDY: CIVIL WAR SESQUICENTENNIAL WORKING GROUP
Nicholas Redding, Deputy Director for Advocacy, Civil War Trust

Campaign 150: Our Time, Our Legacy

From the outset of this commemoration, the Civil War Trust, America's largest battlefield preservation organization, has promoted the idea that land preservation could be a lasting, permanent and enduring way to mark this anniversary and remember the sacrifices of our forbearers. While lectures, exhibits, books and discussions all have an important role to play over the next four years, the land we save over that short period will allow for the commemoration to continue ad infinitum. It was on these battlefields that the war was ultimately decided, and for many Americans it was on these battlefields that they gained an appreciation and interest in our collective past. Thus, battlefield preservation plays a pivotal role in our understanding of this conflict and is an important aspect of this commemoration.

To that end, the Trust has been engaged in an unprecedented goal for the sesquicentennial: in the next four years, we will permanently protect 20,000 acres of battlefield land. If we are successful, we will have saved a grand total of 50,000 acres of hallowed ground at battlefields across the nation.

While the majority of funds raised as part of Campaign 150 will be directed toward the purchase and permanent protection of threatened battlefield land across the nation, the initiative will also be used to enhance and promote the Civil War Trust's education and interpretation efforts.

Whether through, landscape restoration, providing cutting edge resources to classroom teachers at minimal cost or helping tens of thousands of visitors explore new battlefields with free, multi-

media smartphone tours, we are committed to helping the public understand and appreciate the Civil War.

Thus, while we are acutely focused on land protection, we are recognizing the broader mandate and beginning to make serious contributions to the understanding and appreciation of Civil War history in K-12 education and beyond. The cutting edge iPhone and Droid battlefield apps are but one example of this broader mandate – and an example of our ability to reach out to new and previously under-engaged groups.

Islands in the Sea of Sprawl

The difference between a battle that is written about and taught to our children and one that is largely forgotten can be summed up in one word – preservation. —Trace Adkins

A central question for the evaluation of preservation strategy at the sesquicentennial is how to determine what remaining land should be protected since, with an average of 30 acres lost per day, we must act swiftly and decisively. Since protecting every remaining acre is financially infeasible and logistically impractical, reflection must be given to what properties are most crucial. While every historic site has its own unique attributes and intrinsic value, an appropriate barometer is to consider what landscapes will be vital for scholars of the next century to gain a full understanding of the war.

Often, this translates into filling in the gaps at a battlefield where patches of critical land have been set aside, but they are not enough to tell the story of what happened on that site and the surrounding landscape. Correcting this situation can be particularly rewarding, as at Glendale, where the Civil War Trust has, in the words of historian Robert Krick, "preserved a major battlefield virtually from scratch." The transformation from a single acre preserved as a national cemetery to a true interpretive destination has been dramatic. But even in this instance, preservation is more a matter of reaching a critical mass than of total completion.

Glendale National Cemetery, Glendale Battlefield

Sadly, such a nearly miraculous transformation is often all but impossible. The destruction of the Chantilly Battlefield — today reduced to the 4.8-acre Ox Hill Battlefield Park in place of the 300-acre combat area — was the direct impetus for the modern preservation movement. Near Atlanta, 14.5 acres inside Tanyard Creek Park is all that remains of the bloody Battle of the Peachtree Creek. Minor portions of the Williamsburg Battlefield have been protected, but development — some of it decades old built to support the heritage tourism industry surrounding

the region's more well-known colonial pedigree — has already destroyed a great deal. Nonetheless, in 2010, the Trust had the opportunity to secure an undisturbed one-acre parcel and jumped at the chance. Likewise, at just one-acre, Tupelo National Battlefield is the smallest battlefield unit of the National Park Service, but in 2009, the Trust was able to help the Brices Crossroads National Battlefield Commission, which administers another nearby park site, purchase 12 acres of historic land well-outside the current federal boundary.

The process may come more often in small acquisitions — a handful of acres at a time rather than vast swaths of land — but steady progress can be made with persistence and conviction. Take, for example, the case of Franklin, Tenn., where, parcel by parcel, a determined local organization is reclaiming battlefield land that conventional wisdom would deem lost forever. By purchasing fast food restaurants and strip malls, removing modern structures and returning the land to its wartime appearance, they are encouraging tourism and scholarship, allowing the battle to earn a more appropriate level of public recognition.

Understanding that good preservation = good jobs is also an argument we continue to make. Utilizing the latest economic studies, we are able to make the case for preservation as an economic tool – and alternatively argue against inappropriate development and its ability to destroy heritage tourism, as we did during the latest Gettysburg casino fight and Wilderness Walmart controversy. In the simplest terms, heritage tourists stay longer and spend more than average tourists – and that's a tourist worth courting. In addition, sites with more acreage generally tend to receive more visitors, and thus experience a greater economic impact. It's no wonder then that Gettysburg felt the greatest impact of the NPS battlefield sites. In 2010, for Gettysburg that amounted to:

>All visitor spending: $63,573,000
>Non-local spending: $63,066,000
>Non-local impact jobs: 1,051
>Park Payroll jobs: 90
>Total jobs: 1,141

Measuring our Success

With more than 32,000 acres saved, we are well on our way to meeting our principal goal for the sesquicentennial. But, beyond that, we are also seeing tremendous and growing interest in our smart-phone battle apps, with more than 30,000 downloads to date.

But, it's not just about numbers – it's also about quality. In terms of quality, we are delivering on our goals by saving some of the premiere, unprotected acreage left

A portion of the 285-acre Gaines Mill Acquisition

in the United States. Our most recent acquisition effort at Gaines Mill speaks to the quality acres we are going after.

Gaines' Mill, Virginia, part of the Seven Days' Battles of 1862 and Robert E. Lee's first major victory as the commander of the Army of Northern Virginia, where to date only about 67 acres of this 3,000+-acre crucial battlefield have been saved. In 2011, the Trust signed a contract to acquire 285 acres of the core battlefield, an acquisition which will transform future historians' ability to study the terrain and the clash and an excellent example of a sesquicentennial legacy acquisition.

Bringing the 19th century into the 21st: The Civil War on the Web

The Trust has engaged in an ambitious effort to take our message to the web in a big way over the four years of the sesquicentennial. Fortunately, statistics are easy to come by in the online-world, and 2011 was a banner year for the Trust: 1.3 million page hits, a 105% increase over 2010. Statistics also mark significant spikes of interest corresponding with major battle anniversaries (i.e. Ft. Sumter, Manassas), providing us with an opportunity to "get the preservation message out" during those key dates. Web data also provides us an interesting look at what battlefields are most often searched, allowing us to better understand the preservation "consumer."

2011 was also the year of Civil War social media – on Facebook alone the Trust has added nearly 70,000 followers as of February 2012, all who get our daily preservation and history blasts – and who participate in many of our expanding advocacy and outreach efforts.

What will be OUR legacy?

What will be your legacy? It was the signature question we used during the fight to prevent a casino from being constructed on the edge of the Gettysburg battlefield and it's a question we've begun to ask our members and supporters and is a key refrain for our ongoing capital campaign. For us, the sesquicentennial is all about legacy. And for us, it is our sincere hope that legacy will consist of several thousand more key acres preserved for the benefit of future generations to appreciate.

The Commemoration of the Centralia Massacre:

A Personal Perspective from Inside and Outside the Classroom

Paper by Gregory Ruth for the NCPH Working Group "Civil War Sesquicentennial"

"You Federals have just killed six of my soldiers, scalped them, and left them on the prairie. I am too honorable a man to permit any man to be scalped, but I will show you that I can kill men…You are all to be killed and sent to hell." After uttering these words, Bill Anderson and a company of his confederate guerilla fighters executed twenty four unarmed Union soldiers on their way to Iowa to enjoy a furlough with their families. With a burning train, dead throughout the streets, buildings conflagrated, and citizens robbed of their possessions by Anderson and his bushwhackers, the moniker "Centralia Massacre" came immediately to mind.[1] The death continued that late September day, however, as a company of roughly 130 men from the 39th Missouri Infantry engaged several hundred guerillas on a sloping farm field some three miles Southeast of the small Missouri town. In only a few minutes, nearly all of the Union soldiers lay dead—their bodies mutilated, counted by a guerilla who jumped up and down on them, and finally protected from rooting hogs by Mrs. J. H. McBride.[2]

Today, most of the country remains unaware that Missouri ranked third amongst states for total number of military engagements fought during the War.[3] While armed struggle is far from the only and probably not the best metric for measuring contributions of a specific state to our Civil War narrative, Missouri's unique history of violence during the war cries out for further

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[1] "The Centralia Massacre More of the Centralia Affair—Statement of an Eye Witness—Horrible Details" ,"*Sandusky Register*, 11 Oct. 1864; "A Raid on the Central—Bill Anderson in Command," *Columbia Missouri Statesman*, 30 Sept. 1864.

[2] Edgar Rodemyre, *History of Centralia Missouri* (Centralia: Centralia Historical Society, 1936).

[3] Frederich Dyer *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion*: *Compiled and Arranged from Official Records of the Federal and Confederate Armies* (Des Moines The Dyer Pub Co., 1908), part II, pg. 582.

attention and recognition.[4] Most recently, public historians, like those at Missouri State Museum,

the Missouri Historical Society, the Missouri History Museum, and the Missouri Civil War

Heritage Foundation, professionals and antiquarians alike interested in Missouri's complicated

Civil War history, have prepared and are preparing work highlighting less well known stories for

the CWS. And in thinking about these larger efforts geared towards scholarly and public

audiences, I wanted to develop a small project specific to the teacher and student in the counties

near Centralia.

<div align="center">***</div>

As the history teacher at a military academy, the responsibility for the popular elective

"Military History" fell to me. My lack of military background made the fifty minutes I spent

with a dozen or so of the schools best seniors—many had waited years to take the course—the

most challenging period of the day. As early as chariot warfare and the Peloponnesian War, I

found myself fielding questions along the lines of: You did not serve in the army, how do you

know they fought that way? Always resisting my urge to show the students sarcastic words are

weapons too, they nonetheless elucidated a certain degree of self-reflection: Should I, who had

received no military training, teach the course?

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[4] Major synthetic works such as James McPherson's classic *Battle Cry of Freedom*: *The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) and David Goldfield's recent *America Aflame: How the Civil War Created a Nation* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2011) devote scant attention to Missouri, and the canonical treatment of the memory of the war, David Blight's *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001) also leaves out the contentious postwar decades in Missouri. Is Missouri is not a stop on the journey Tony Horowitz chronicles in *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches from the Unfinished Civil War* (New York: Vintage, 1999). The three major works on the armed struggle in Missouri are Richard Brownlee's *Grey Ghosts of the Confederacy*: *Guerilla Warfare in the West*, *1861-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958), Michel Fellman's *Inside War: The Guerilla Conflict in Missouri During the American Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), and Thomas Goodrich's *Guerilla Warfare on the Western Border, 1861-1865* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995) —though each of these works feel somewhat dated. Two more recent books that spend significant time on Missouri are Daniel Sutherland's *A Savage Conflict: The Decisive Role of Guerrillas in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009) and Mark Geiger's innovative economic interpretation of bushwhacking found in his *Financial Fraud and Guerilla Violence*, *1861-1865* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

I answered yes to the question, in part, because my training in urban and environmental history meant I was attuned to wringing the meaning out of spaces and landscapes. But how to best play to these strengths? As both a boarding and an Independent School, the academy's curriculum gave teachers a great deal of flexibility to find their own path. I decided to do this literally by taking my military history students to about a dozen historical museums and sites throughout urban and rural IL. and Mo.—some of which had little to no interpretation by professional public historians. One place stuck out to the students and thus to me: Centralia Missouri and the farm a few miles from town.

<div align="center">***</div>

Centralia today does bear marks of the guerilla violence and terror nearly 150 years ago, but one needs to look close. A small plaque dedicating the site of the executions stands alongside the same train tracks. A mural painted on the side of a building bordering the train tracks stylizes the bushwhacker robbery of a stage coach just before the massacre of the train passengers. Out on the field, through the efforts of the Friends of Centralia Battlefield organization, a Union monument and a Confederate monument state the essentials of the fight. One sees the squat obelisks after walking along the tree line where the hundreds of guerillas waited for the 39th to arrive, dismount, fire, and die in one of the most one sided battles West of the Mississippi. The field slants upward at roughly a ten degree angle, just enough so that anyone shooting a long weapon from a standing position would fire over the heads of troops advancing on foot or even on horseback. The Civil war stereotype split-rail wooden fence borders the battlefield on two sides. There is nearly no interpretation; the place is serene.

A beatific first impression quickly proved jarring. My students grew incredibly restless, and I realized that without more interpretation my Wikipedia prepared staff-ride was not going to

go very far. I talked for a while, the students asked some solid questions, we made it back to school early, and this might have been the end of my thoughts about Centralia had two African American students in my summer school course—one from St. Louis and one from Kansas City (both cities I might add have rich Civil War histories)—told me one day that they did not think there was anything important in and around our school. I named a restaurant or two, Senator Kit Bond's house, and then the Centralia Massacre. They asked me about what happened there, and I spent a couple minutes talking about Anderson, Frank and Jesse James, and the flaming train— foremost to prove them wrong but also because I realized the compressed course meant no time for local history. But that reality actually bothered me to the point that I hit the books, planned a lesson, and drove the students out to Centralia for a much improved site-walk.

The fieldtrip went better because I prepared more, knew more, and cared more. But the visit still was not great, in large part because: the interpretive work on Centralia lacked the 'eye value' found in other Civil War sites; the historical texts the students read and their teacher taught emphasized a master narrative focused on the usual suspects like the Army of Northern Virginia, Sherman, Antietam, slavery—the canonical characters, events, and causes; sometimes in poorer areas of the Midwest, nearby historical sites seemed less important because of proximity; the students had already visited professional, dramatic, engaging, and comparatively well funded historical presentations at the National World War I Museum, The Museum of Westward Expansion, and Cahokia Mounds. Shortly thereafter, and a great deal more in the last couple months, I thought about ways the visit could have gone better and the pragmatic steps necessary to encourage other teachers to take advantage of their nearby heritage.

A thorough knowledge of the massacre and the battlefield seemed the obvious answer as teaching a historical site like Centralia exposes the educator by removing classroom aids.

Finding nothing in textbooks and surprisingly little in historical monographs and document collections seemed a challenge to locate and make available transcriptions of a wide variety of historical documents relating to Centralia. In transcribing some thirty primary sources from the State Historical Society of Missouri in Columbia, the Missouri History Museum Library in St. Louis, the Missouri Civil War Museum at Historic Jefferson Barracks, and the Boone County Historical Society to name the major archives consulted, my intention was to produce a classroom sized documentary record of Centralia that a high school teacher could quickly use to get students reading primary sources, making inferences from these sources, and synthesizing across these sources. While chiefly newspapers, these sources exemplify a rich opportunity for nuanced historical analysis as their details often contradict one another, some sources mention and openly criticize and even claim to be a response to specific other accounts, and the wide swath of geographical and temporal contexts the sources are drawn from help foster a variety of perspectives constitutive of an ongoing dialogue addressing the complexity of the war, its aftermath, and its various commemorations.

Realistic in audience (local schools in Audrain and Boone County), in workload (all materials provided to the teacher), in pedagogical vogue (document based assignments), and in budget (free of charge), I intend to share the documents with teachers after I have completed sample lesson plans and a short narrative account of the Massacre and subsequent battle. In addition, the packet will include acknowledgments of the institutions that currently hold the original documents, the contact information for and listing of special exhibits produced by various Missouri historical institutions, quality websites detailing the Civil War in Missouri, an annotated bibliography of secondary sources with suggestions for access, and contact

information of local historians in Centralia willing to share their expertise of the Centralia site with teachers and student groups.

Promoting the efforts of this last group seemed especially important because they are the ones most responsible for developing the Centralia site and shepherding it through the Sesquicentennial. I had the opportunity to interview Jack Chance, the President of the Friends of Centralia Battlefield about the donation of the farmland on which the battle was fought, the efforts of local residents to promote the Battlefield by linking it to other organizations such as the Missouri Civil War Heritage Foundation and Missouri Civil War Traveler who have produced and promoted The Grey Ghosts Driving trail through Central Missouri, as well as the struggles to improve a site without help from state organizations or grant money. In addition to struggles over funding, Chance went on to speak of a perceived widespread frustration many Missourians have with Civil War narratives—mainly, the inapplicableness of the slavery, "states-rights," or union preservation arguments to help explain the later years of the War in counties affected by General Order 11 and guerilla violence.[5] After our conversation, I was left wondering as to whether or not these beliefs constituted a hybridized "Lost Cause" mindset and were, at least in part, responsible for funding problems and lack of coordination both across and between state-government and private organizations preparing CWS events.[6] Such news further reinforced a notion that even little projects could help.

This case study is of a small site in a state whose Civil War history is often obscured. For me at least, this is okay. Missourians no longer bushwhack each other; however, it is important

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[5] Oral History Interview of Jack Chance, 26 Nov 2011, in author's possession. General Thomas Ewing Jr.'s General Order No. 11 is found in *The War of the Rebellion*: *A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1888), ser. 1, vol. 22, pt. 2, pg. 473.
[6] Personal email correspondence, Linda Endersby, Director of the Missouri State Museum to Gregory Ruth, 3 Jan. 2012, in author's possession.

to remember they once did. I look forward to suggestions from members of the group and I encourage all involved with the CWS to not shy away from including small and unconventional moments from the War era in our national conversations and memorialization efforts.

Since its creation in 2006, the Virginia Sesquicentennial of the American Civil War Commission (the

Commission) has partnered with numerous organizations to coordinate a statewide commemoration of

the 150th anniversary of the American Civil War. Its partnership with the Virginia Historical Society (VHS)

resulted in an ambitious $3.9 million project, *An American Turning Point: The Civil War in Virginia*, as a

way to increase public dialogue about the Civil War and encourage visitors to consider how that event,

separated from us by 150 years, influences American society and politics today.

An American Turning Point is, in part, a 3,000-square-foot traveling gallery exhibition featuring more

than 200 objects and seventeen audiovisual programs. The exhibition opened on February 4, 2011, at

the VHS and is currently on display at the Museum of the Shenandoah Valley (Winchester, Va.) and the

Hampton History Museum (Hampton, Va.). It will ultimately be displayed at seven Virginia museums

through September 2015. Thanks to generous funding from the Commission, the National Endowment

for the Humanities, and various donors, *An American Turning Point* is offered free of charge to

participating venues.

An American Turning Point differs from past treatments of the Civil War by giving equal time to the

conflict as a social upheaval, experienced by far more than just soldiers; by giving voice to heretofore

marginalized participants; by ignoring the strict chronology of the war imposed afterwards and handed

down in secondary schools for generations; and by organizing the project through a series of questions

that often challenge conventional wisdom. This interpretation does not present a top-down approach of

battles and leaders but aspires to engage visitors in the experiences of a representative group of

individuals and situations to promote an understanding of the wartime experiences of Virginians, and

those who served in Virginia, during the war. By presenting *real* stories about *real* people, visitors are

given opportunities to empathize with individuals representing multiple perspectives.

An American Turning Point asks why the war happened and challenges visitors to consider who was a traitor and who a patriot, why there is a *West* Virginia, and who freed the slaves. It questions why many Americans expected a short war, whether the Civil War was the first modern war, and describes the conflict on both sides about the arming of black men. Lastly, it asks visitors to consider ways in which the Civil War did not end at Appomattox. Throughout, Virginia serves as a "case study" of *American* experiences during the Civil War era. Virginia seceded from the Union and was occupied by federal troops, but Confederate troops also occupied Unionist counties in the western portion of the state. With nearly half the major battles fought in Virginia, many of its residents—black as well as white—became refugees. Virginia was where slavery first broke down under the proximity of Union forces and where African Americans serving in the Union army helped create a nation free from slavery. Unlike America's foreign wars, the Virginia home front often became the battlefront. Some women struggled while others flourished in the absence of men. Some worked outside the home as nurses, government clerks, or in the making of munitions. In the end, the war in Virginia transcends geography and is part of our *national* memory. John Brown's insurrection and Robert E. Lee's surrender at Appomattox are rarely remembered as *Virginia* history but as *American* history.

Based on the gallery exhibition, the project also includes a low-security, 1,000-square-foot panel exhibition specifically designed for display in schools, libraries, and other non-traditional venues. In addition to images and text, the panel exhibition is complemented by a companion website (www.vahistorical.org/cw150) designed specifically for use on mobile devices and accessible through a QR-Code available only in the exhibition. The panel exhibition began touring in April 2011 and has been viewed by approximately 14,300 visitors at ten venues in seven Virginia counties and three independent cities.

After the gallery and panel exhibition tours conclude in 2015, the project's website (www.vahistorical.org /civilwar/main.htm) will serve as the its lasting legacy. Launched in February 2010 the site includes travel schedules for the panel and gallery exhibitions, an online exhibition, media produced for the gallery exhibition, articles related to the VHS's collection of Civil War objects and manuscripts, and links to the VHS weblog.

The fact that the *American Turning Point* project team inadvertently embraced many of the principles endorsed by the AASLH suggests that the historical community and the public are interested in perspectives neglected during the past 150 years and a portrayal of the war as a political and social revolution as well as a military event. By providing communities throughout Virginia—and beyond—with a place to reflect upon the many complex issues surrounding the war, the Commission and its partners are attempting to elicit a positive and constructive dialogue.

Although public response to *An American Turning Point* has been generally positive, it is unclear whether the project is part of a *new* dialogue. The VHS recorded a 25 percent increase in visitation during the display of the gallery exhibition, and visitor surveys suggest that 60 percent of visitors came specifically to see the Civil War exhibition, and approximately nearly half had not been to the museum before. Although the membership of the VHS is overwhelmingly Caucasian, African Americans represented 30 percent of survey respondents. This is particularly surprising given the popular conception among public historians that African Americans typically avoid Civil War programming.

There has, of course, been some criticism of the Commission and its support for a more inclusive interpretation of the war. Taking its message to the internet, a group calling itself the *Virginia War Between the States Sesquicentennial* emerged on Facebook as a "direct response to what the admins see as an attempt by the Virginia Civil War Sequicentennial [sic] Commission to exclude the Confederacy and it's descendants from the upcoming celebration." *An American Turning Point* was, for a time, a

popular topic. Ironically, one visitor to the gallery exhibition wrote in a comment book that it was "Another [illegible] of glorifying war and making a case of how noble the South's killer war to protect their God-given right to enslave black folks." Clearly the answer lies somewhere in the middle—or does it?

In an article that appeared in the *New York Times,* "The South Reinterprets its Lost Cause" (December 5, 2011), Edward Rothstein expressed his resistance to *An American Turning Point*'s interpretation of the war. He noted that our approach offers reassurance to white Virginians' "reasons to suspend judgment of ancestors, or to find righteousness in rebellion. The result is a kind of exculpatory relativism though the sentiments here lean decidedly Southward, supplemented by examples of Southern virtue and Union perfidy." The struggle over the interpretation of the war began as soon as the war ended and, in fact, we ask our viewers "what was lost, what was gained, and what was left undecided." In our attempt to offer multiple viewpoints, one questions whether we simply avoid saying anything at all about the true meaning of the war?

We did not expect that *An American Turning Point* answers every question or resolves lingering debates that continue even after the passage of 150 years, but we do encourage visitors to empathize with individuals who represent multiple perspectives of the time and challenges they faced. In time we shall see whether the sesquicentennial commemoration has affected any change in the dialogue.