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ECHOES OF THE LOST CAUSE:
CIVIL WAR REVERBERATIONS IN MISSISSIPPI FROM 1865 TO 2001

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctorate of Philosophy
Degree
University of Mississippi

Sally Leigh McWhite
May 2003

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Sally Leigh McWhite entitled "Echoes of the Lost Cause: Civil War Reverberations in Mississippi from 1865 to 2001." I have examined the final coy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy, with a major in History.

Charles Reagan Wilson, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:

Dean of the Graduate School

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Abstract

Scholars of the Lost Cause have tended to end their examinations of the Confederate commemorative movement before the 1920s. Citing a variety of indicators that range from veterans' mortality rates to national reconciliation, these historians have assumed that the Lost Cause became increasingly irrelevant in southern society. Yet, veterans organizations and their auxiliaries put a great deal of energy into constructing an historical interpretation that would vindicate their actions to future generations. This dissertation therefore extends the examination of the Lost Cause movement throughout the twentieth century.

Limiting the geographical scope of the research to a state study of Mississippi also highlights the extent to which the political system granted legitimacy to the Lost Cause through legal statutes and appropriations. From placenames and textbook censorship to funding memorials, the state, county, and municipal governments in Mississippi have assisted in the preservation and interpretation of Confederate memory.

Despite this official endorsement which began immediately upon the war's conclusion, other historical interpretations existed within the state. In fact, the U.S. Army and Reconstruction Republicans attempted to leave their own Unionist marks on Mississippi during the late 1860s and 1870s. By the 1890s when the federal government again began to play an occasional role in commemorating the Civil War within Mississippi's borders, a tone of national reconciliation stressed the honor and skill of combatants on both sides. Meanwhile, the black community managed to preserve its own memories of slavery, the war, and Reconstruction.

As the Civil Rights Movement began to escalate, segregationists used the white South's loyalty to the Lost Cause as a means of rallying support. While the federal Civil War Centennial Commission urged a program of national reconciliation, the Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States attempted to manipulate the anniversary to assist the cause of white supremacy. For both segregationists and civil rights activists, the identity of similar actors and lkjh

agendas evoked rhetorical parallels between the past and the present, particularly after the 1962 riot at the University of Mississippi. During the 1966 Meredith March, blacks began to publicly challenge Confederate monuments and flags as symbols of white supremacy.

By the 1980s when civil rights advances had granted African Americans access to political power, their own long-held memory of the past no longer remained isolated within the black community. Indeed, controversy over Confederate symbols sparked extensive dialogue across Mississippi on the interpretation of the antebellum and Civil War past. The Lost Cause continued to influence many within the state, but its adherents could no longer prevent alternative memories from entering the public realm.

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Introduction

In a 1964 essay entitled "Mythology: A New Frontier in Southern History," George B. Tindall suggested that the field might benefit from an examination of the region's mythology, because: ". . . myths may become the ground for belief, for either loyalty and defense on the one hand or hostility and opposition on the other. In such circumstances a myth itself becomes one of the realities of history, significantly influencing the course of human action, for good or ill."[1] Since the publication of this essay, a number of scholars have focused on the development of one particular myth that Tindall mentions only in passing -- the Confederate South -- except that these scholars have used the phrase the "Lost Cause" to define the Civil War commemorative movement they examine.

Edward O. Pollard originated or at least popularized the term in his 1866 history The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederacy.[2] At the time, the expression referred strictly to the defeat of southern nationalism, and former Confederates quickly adopted the reference. In 1951, however, C. Vann Woodward applied the phrase to the postbellum Confederate commemorative activities that he briefly described in Origins of the New South, 1877-1913.[3] Although Woodward dismissed the memorial expressions as inconsequential displays of nostalgia, other historians who took the movement more seriously utilized the reference.

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[1]George B. Tindal, "Mythology: A New Frontier in Southern History," in The Idea of the South: Pursuit of a Central Theme, ed. Frank E. Vandiver (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 2.
[2]Edward A. Pollard, The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederacy (New York: E. B. Treat, 1866). By 1868, Pollard redefined the South's "Cause" as white supremacy and thus titled his next work The Lost Cause Regained (New York: G. W. Carleton & Co., 1868), pp. 13-14. The general population, however, continued to use the reference for its original intent. For a more lengthy discussion of the term's usage, see Thomas L. Connelly and Barbara L. Bellows, God and General Longstreet: The Lost Cause and the Southern Mind (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), pp. 1-5.
[3]C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, 1877-1913 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), pp. 155-57.

Since the 1970s, the Lost Cause has become the subject of intense study.[4] Scholars have analyzed postbellum writings, both nonfiction and fiction, about the war. They have examined the growth of Confederate-oriented organizations, studied the rituals that evolved, and documented the monuments and other memorials that proliferated across the southern landscape; and, more generally, they have highlighted how the war generation and their descendants constructed an historical interpretation to validate Confederate actions. In this version of the past, the antebellum South existed as a utopian agrarian society; the South seceded to protect states' constitutional rights; the North managed to defeat the Confederate's superior military ability because of overwhelming numbers and resources; and Reconstruction was a period of corrupt administration by revengeful Northerners, ignorant freedmen, and traitorous scalawags -- ultimately corrected when white southerners redeemed control of their state governments from federal intervention.

Over the decades, scholars of the Lost Cause have differed in the theoretical constructs they have employed. In the 1970s, three different works that sought to provide general overviews utilized Tindall's concept of mythology.[5] In 1980, Charles Reagan Wilson applied the framework of civil religion to the postbellum movement in Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920.[6] When Gaines Foster's Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913 appeared in 1987, the author announced his

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[4]Gaines M. Foster has examined Lost Cause literature as well as suggesting new fields of study in "The Lost Cause Found: Reflections on a Burgeoning Historical Literature," unpublished manuscript read at the 2000 Graduate Student Conference on Southern History at the University of Mississippi, in author's possession.

[5]Susan Speare Durant, "The Gently Furled Banner: The Development of the Myth of the Lost Cause" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1972); Rollin G. Osterweis, The Myth of the Lost Cause, 1865-1900 (Hamden, CN: Archon Books, 1973); Lloyd Arthur Hunter, "The Sacred South: Postwar Confederates and the Sacralization of Southern Culture" (Ph.D. dissertation, St. Louis University, 1978).

[6]Charles Reagan Wilson, Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980); idem, "The Religion of the Lost Cause," Journal of Southern History 46 (May 1980): 220-238.

dissatisfaction with both "myth" and "civil religion," favoring instead the term "tradition."[7] More recently, scholars have adapted the theory of historical memory in their examinations of the Lost Cause.[8]

Whatever their theoretical underpinning, these studies have increased the knowledge of the chronology and components of the commemorative movement. Yet despite the assumed relevance of the Lost Cause granted by the very existence of this scholarship, few works have moved beyond the time of its supposed decline to assess its impact on mid- and late-twentieth century southern society. Pointing to the mortality of the veterans, the diminished membership of Confederate organizations, and national reunion, most scholars end their studies by the 1920s. This contention that the Lost Cause lost relevance before the mid-twentieth century illustrates one of the weaknesses of institutional histories. Just because the organizations and publications that originally served to promulgate a vindication of the Old South and the Confederacy diminished in size or disappeared altogether, it does not necessarily follow that the Lost Cause itself had become insignificant. The assumption is all the more curious because most of the scholarship on the Lost Cause dwells extensively on the efforts of these groups to control the interpretation of Southern history. After describing all the energy put into building memorials and censoring textbooks in order to influence future generations, historians have forgotten to examine the impact of these efforts on their intended audience.

And yet, many of the autobiographical memoirs published in the mid-twentieth century by white southerners describe the impressions the postbellum Confederate activities made upon young minds. In her book, The Making of a Southerner, Katharine Du Pre Lumpkin includes a

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[7]Gaines M. Foster, Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 7-8. Foster complained that both terms carried mulitiple meanings in scholarly discourse and both implied the movement had a more lasting effect on southern identity than he perceived. In more recent years, Foster has acknowledged the need to examine the continued influence of the movement in the decades leading up to the Civil Rights Movement and beyond. "Lost Cause Found," pp. 24-31.
[8]See for example, David W. Blight, Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

chapter entitled "A Child Inherits a Lost Cause." In it, she describes her family's participation in a 1903 veterans reunion and her own membership in the Children of the Confederacy. From the perspective of mature hindsight, Lumpkin viewed these and other Lost Cause initiatives as efforts to condition future generations to preserve a Southern way of life founded on the cornerstone of white supremacy.[9] In Southern Legacy , Hodding Carter also dwells on Civil War lessons learned at a young age, writing:

> I was born forty-two years ago, just midway between the close of the War Between the States and the present. Similarly located in meaningful time are hundreds of thousands, even millions, of white Southerners of my age and older. . . . Almost every one of us, farmer, city man, mountaineer, teacher, preacher, poor white or so-called "Bourbon," was close to some fabulous father or grandfather, some remembering grandmother, to whom, in our childhood and even our young manhood, the war and its aftermath was a personal, bitter, and sacred reality. And if, in their declining years, they embroidered fact with fancy, our inheritance was no less real, our conviction of wrongful treatment no less strong, our resultant idealization no less significant.[10]

During the 1930s, sociologist John Dollard spent five months in Indianola, Mississippi researching his classic Caste and Class in a Southern Town. There, he noted,

> The force of historical influence as a present fact struck me. . . . I raised with various friends the question whether most white southerners know the history of the Civil War, the humiliations of reconstruction days, "carpet-baggism," and Negro rule. They felt that this knowledge is general and has not dimmed with time. The possible recurrence of Negro supremacy is an ever-present threat and a dominating consideration in southern social life. Southern society is no less active than ours in transmitting its version of history.[11]

These three samples alone suggest that the Lost Cause and its interpretation of history retained a considerable degree of influence over white southerners that far exceeded the chronology as

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[9]Katharine Du Pre Lumpkin, The Making of a Southerner (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), pp. 111-147.

[10]Hodding Carter, Southern Legacy (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950), pp.18-19.

[11]John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town (London: Yale University Press, 1937), p. 50.

outlined by scholars of the movement. This dissertation examines the impact of the Lost Cause on southern society throughout the twentieth century.

It is also a state study of Mississippi, which permits exploration of details while limiting the geographical boundaries of the research to a more manageable scope. In his classic Southern Politics in State and Nation, V. O. Key, Jr. remarks,

> Northerners, provincials that they are, regard the South as one large Mississippi. Southerners, with their eye for distinction, place Mississippi in a class by itself. . . . every other southern state finds some reason to fall back on the soul-satisfying exclamation, 'Thank God for Mississippi!' Yet Mississippi only manifests in accentuated form the darker political strains that run throughout the South[12]

This study claims no uniqueness for the state with regards to Civil War memory. Most of the trends that appear in Mississippi exist elsewhere in the region as well. Yet in some areas, differences among the former Confederate states will not become apparent until more state studies make comparative analysis possible.

One group of previously underutilized sources particularly apt for analysis on a state level are legal statutes and governmental appropriations. Historians have not completely ignored the role of states in promoting the agenda of veterans organizations and their affiliates, but neither have scholars thoroughly explored the extent to which the political system granted legitimacy to the Lost Cause. From placenames and textbook censorship to funding memorials and other projects, the state, county, and municipal governments in Mississippi have assisted in the preservation and interpretation of Confederate memory. In other words, the Lost Cause was not just a grassroots phenomenon. It had official endorsement.

The Italian philosopher Antonio Gramsci would describe the resulting dominance a "cultural hegemony" established by the southern white elite.[13] John Bodnar would label it an

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[12]V. O. Key, Jr. Southern Politics in State and Nation (New York: Vintage Books, 1949), p. 229.
[13]Joseph V. Femia, Gramsci's Political Thought: Hegemony, Consciousness, and the Revolutionary Process (Oxford, Great Britain: Clarendon Press, 1981).

example of "official memory."[14] Both would presuppose the existence of one or more competing interpretations, and such indeed was the case. As Chapter One will demonstrate, the U.S. army, the federal government, and Republican legislators made several attempts to leave a Unionist mark on Mississippi during the period of the war itself through to 1876. That year, white southerners regained control of state politics, and the next time the federal government played a prominent a role in commemorating the Civil War within the state, it adopted the more amenable tone of national reconciliation. With both the 1899 preservation of the Vicksburg battlefield as a national military park and the 1917 reunion of the Vicksburg battle survivors, participants on both sides of the conflict were honored for their courage and devotion to conviction, a stance much more agreeable to former Confederates. The federal government's promotion of national reconciliation would persist into the 1960s with the Civil War Centennial, as discussed in Chapter Three.

Even as the rest of the nation appeared to forget the causality of slavery and the role of black soldiers in emancipating those still in chains, the African American community remembered -- a memory quite at odds with the image of happy slaves and loyal black Confederates treasured by adherents of the Lost Cause. With no assistance from the state government, Mississippi blacks recalled the horrors of enslavement, the joy of freedom, and the pride in political participation during Reconstruction. Chapter Two traces the scattered evidence of this historical interpretation in oral tradition, holiday commemorations, Grand Army of the Republic posts, and the written word.

Thus, despite the dominant role of the Lost Cause within Mississippi, other versions of the same era existed within the state. Chapters One and Two explore the construction of all these various memories. None became completely submerged or engulfed by Confederate commemoration. And national reunion never completely overwhelmed the Lost Cause. Most

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[14]John Bodnar, Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).

white southerners would maintain an allegiance to both their Confederate past and their present citizenship in the United States. Belief in the vindication of their secessionist cause would ease this dual fidelity, but tensions between the two would escalate as sectional conflict arose yet again in the 1960s.

Chapters Three and Four examine how segregationists in the mid-twentieth century utilized the allure of the Lost Cause to rally white southerners in a contemporary battle against civil rights. Chapter Three focuses on the Civil War Centennial. While the federal Civil War Centennial Commission urged a program of national reconciliation, the Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States attempted to manipulate the anniversary to assist the cause of white supremacy. In addition to boosting state revenues with tourist dollars, the commission viewed the commemoration as an opportunity to improve its image with the rest of the nation while also bolstering regional loyalty among the state's white inhabitants. Whether or not it accomplished those last two goals, the officials did prevent any alternative interpretation from co-opting the centennial within the state, and it also acted to deter the federal commission from granting a national stage to proponents of civil rights.

Chapter Four concentrates on rhetorical allusions to the Civil War and Reconstruction used in the mid-twentieth century conflict over civil rights. For both sides, the parallels between the past and the present, the identity of similar actors and agendas, evoked these historical analogies. Segregationists in particular tended to recall the haunting trauma of Reconstruction as both a warning about "Negro rule" and an object lesson in white perseverance. References to the Civil War came to the fore primarily during the integration crisis at the University of Mississippi in 1962. With its perceived federal-state clash, its "invasion" of the state by federal troops, and the "battle" between those same forces and the rioters on the night of September thirtieth, the metaphor seemed apt to all concerned.

Since the Dixiecrat bolt from the Democratic party in 1948, segregationists had used the Confederate battle flag and the tune "Dixie" to rally supporters. The appearance of these and

other Lost Cause icons would not remain unchallenged. The first public confrontation over Confederate symbols occurred during the 1966 Meredith March from Memphis to Jackson. As described in Chapter Five, civil rights leaders rallied their own supporters by challenging Confederate monuments and rebel flags under the watchful eye of the national media. In a march most often remembered for the first public appearance of the "Black Power" slogan, the general air of increased militancy within the entire Civil Rights Movement facilitated actions that in the past would have incurred violent reprisals from the white community.

As the socio-political strength of African Americans grew within the state, further contests over Lost Cause emblems occurred. Chapter Five documents these challenges in Fayette after the 1969 election of its first black mayor and at the University of Mississippi during the 1970s as the number of registered black students increased. In the 1980s, an extended debate began at the university over its use of Confederate symbols and their meaning. Chapter Six analyzes the arguments used by both sides and chronicles the controversy throughout the rest of the twentieth century. During that same period other disputes emerged within the state over official endorsements of Lost Cause symbols, the most noteworthy being the appearance of the Confederate battle standard on the Mississippi flag. The 2001 special election on the issue may have preserved this flag and demonstrated continued adherence to the Lost Cause interpretation among many of the state's inhabitants, but the contest over such symbols also verified the resilience of an alternative memory. Moreover, the very fact that a public debate took place was a significant departure from the past.

Chapter 1

Vindicating the South

Is it right, is it wise, for the people of the South to commemorate the part which they took in the war between the States? . . . What the influence upon us of that past may be, and whether for good or evil, must depend largely upon our own attitude toward it, the conception we form of it, and the sentiments with which we and our children after us shall come to regard it. -- W. M. Cox at the unveiling of the Confederate monument in Carroll County, Mississippi on December 1, 1905.[1]

In 1869, Robert E. Lee received an invitation to attend a veterans' reunion in Pennsylvania where Union and Confederate officers would walk the Gettysburg battlefield marking the positions held by their troops on those three fateful days six years earlier. Currently serving as the president of Washington College in Virginia, Lee declined the request, replying that he believed it "wiser . . . not to keep open the sores of war, but to follow the examples of those nations who endeavored to obliterate the marks of civil strife & to commit to oblivion the feelings it engendered."[2] Needless to say, Lee's sentiments are replete with historical irony. Only a few white southerners of his generation and those that followed would have agreed with their idol's remarks, and by the turn of the century, the white South's enthusiastic adoption of Civil War commemorative measures had insured that the conflict would remain extant on the mental and physical landscape of their region for a long time to come.

What exactly lay behind this compulsion of white southerners to form associations of veterans and auxiliaries comprised of sons and daughters, to erect monuments, to preserve battlefields and relics, to set aside certain dates as holidays with specified ritual enactments, to compose histories and poems and other fictional endeavors on the subject, and to share

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[1]Unveiling Ceremonies of Carroll County's Confederate Monument at Carrollton, Mississippi, December 1st, 1905 (Carrollton, MS: Conservative Print, 1905), p. 31, Carroll County Public Library.

[2]Mary Munsell Abroe "All the Profound Scenes: Federal Preservation of Civil War Battlefields, 1861-1990" (Ph.D. dissertation, Loyola University (Chicago), 1996), pp. 74-75, quoting Robert E. Lee to David McConaughy, 5 August 1869, David McConaughy Collection, Gettysburg College Library.

recollections, anecdotes, and family legends whenever two or more should gather? What explains this southern cultural movement that twentieth-century historians have entitled the "Lost Cause"? As the champion in this internal conflict, the North demonstrated a natural tendency to hail its triumphant achievement in song, story, and stones at home and even within the newly reincorporated region of its former enemy. According to historical tenet, after all, the victor writes the history, establishing his motivations and showcasing the glory of his battle prowess. Logic would seemingly dictate that the losing side would have neither the opportunity nor the desire to commemorate its defeat. And yet, former Confederates proceeded to do just that -- not to celebrate their loss but to establish the mnemonic tools required to ingrain habits of thought which would justify actions and instill pride in themselves and their descendants. This chapter explores the various methods used to accomplish that goal in Mississippi during the first half-century after the boys in Gray returned home in defeat.

In many ways, the urge to permanently commemorate war is a common phenomenon. The ancient world, after all, built obelisks and memorial columns, while early modern Europe fired equestrian statues in bronze and constructed triumphal arches modeled on those of Imperial Rome. Throughout time and across cultures, society's devotion to military heroes has remained pandemic. Eighteenth-century Americans, too, dedicated memorials honoring the patriots who had participated in the revolution against Mother England.[3] Almost inevitably then, the northern champions in the internecine struggle not quite a century later between the Union and the Confederacy would follow this celebratory pattern by erecting monuments to their triumph, their

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[3]James Mayo, War Memorials as Political Landscape (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1988), pp. 1-3. The effort to preserve part of the Bunker Hill battlefield and to raise a commemorative obelisk began in 1823, and although the Continental Congress resolved to build a column at Yorktown back in 1781, funds did not become available until the centennial in 1881 when other revolutionary battlefields also received monuments. Barry MacKintosh, The National Park Service: Shaping the Scenery (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1985), p. 28; Ronald F. Lee, The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea (Washington, DC: Office of Park Historic Preservation, 1973), pp. 3-6.

heroes, and their dead. In fact, the Civil War would generate an extraordinary number of such memorials.

One of the first indications that this particular war would result in commemoration of an unprecedented scope was the creation of the National Cemetery System. The combination of devastatingly high casualty rates and the Victorian fascination with death destined the American Civil War to become the first modern conflict in which authorities tried to provide proper burial and recognition to the dead of all ranks. Contributing to this inclination was the necessity of maintaining national morale by respecting the deaths of common soldiers in a largely volunteer and conscripted army -- a citizens army performing its duty rather than a professional force earning a living. Thus, for five years after the last soldier had fallen in combat, the United States government requisitioned acreage scattered across the country to create the national cemeteries wherein the reinterred bodies of Union soldiers received individual burial plots and markers -- even those bodies which remained unidentified. This democratic treatment was particularly suited to a republic, and the simple, repetitive markers laid out in formal geometric grids composed a solemn picture of sacrifice that enhanced the hallowed nature of the grounds. And as a composite of these individual memorials, a national cemetery represented a powerful commemorative tool in its own right -- especially as expediency determined that several of these grounds rested on the sites of major battles where many of those buried had lost their life's blood.[4]

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[4]Many scholars grant this precedence in burial procedure to the Civil War. A similar respect for the dead arose in Europe after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, but the habit became truly established on the continent after World War I. Previously, those who cleaned up battlefields typically had tossed corpses into trenches that became mass graves or simply buried the dead where they had fallen. Only heroes and officers might hope that their remains would receive more respectful treatment. See, James Stevens Curl, A Celebration of Death: An Introduction to Some of the Buildings, Monuments, and Settings of Funerary Architecture in the Western European Tradition (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980), pp. 317-18; David G. Troyansky, "Monumental Politics: National History and Local Memory in French Monuments aux Morts in the Department of Ainse since 1870," French Historical Studies 15 (Spring 1987): 121-41. For discussions about the National Cemetery system and the Civil War, see Edward Steere, "Genesis of American Graves Registration 1861-1879," Military Affairs 12 (Fall 1948): 149-61; Idem, Shrines of the Honored Dead: A Study of the National Cemetery System (Washington DC: Department of the Army, 1953-1954), pp. 1-22; John R. Neff, "Heroic Eminent Death: The Redefinition of American Nationality in the Commemoration of Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War Soldier Dead" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California (Riverside), 1998); Dean W. Holt,

Three of the four national cemeteries located within the borders of the state of Mississippi began as part of this postbellum burial project. In the northeast quadrant of the state, the twenty acres of the Corinth National Cemetery occupy a portion of the field upon which Union forces had conducted the siege and battle for that strategic railway crossroads. Its 5,688 Civil War interments include not only those casualties of the fight for Corinth but also the dead from approximately twenty other battles and skirmishes in the surrounding area, many connected to the Confederate retreat that followed Shiloh.[5] The U.S. Army established an even larger cemetery -- 117.85 acres containing 16,586 Civil War dead -- on the bluffs alongside Vicksburg where rebel artillery had once rained fire upon the Union gunboats that had threatened the Confederacy's river stronghold. At that site, the military reinterred the remains of the Union soldiers and sailors initially buried up and down the Mississippi and on both banks of the river.[6] Although Natchez had fallen

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American Military Cemeteries: A Comprehensive Guide to the Hallowed Grounds of the United States Including Cemeteries Overseas (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 1992); Abroe, "All the Profound Scenes," chapter 1; John S. Patterson, "A Patriotic Landscape: Gettysburg, 1863-1913," Prospects: The Annual of American Culture Studies 7 (1982): 315-333; Amy J. Kinsel, "'From These Honored Dead': Gettysburg in American Culture, 1863-1938" (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1992), chapter 3; Kelsey R. Cass, "None Else of Name: The Origin and Early Development of the United States National Cemetery System" (Ph.D. dissertation, Claremont Graduate University, 2001); David Charles Sloane, The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1991), pp. 114-15; G. Kurt Piehler, Remembering War the American Way (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1995), pp. 49-52; One other factor in the development of the national cemeteries was the early nineteenth-century trend towards scenic rural cemeteries, see Barbara Rotundo, "The Rural Cemetery Movement," Essex Institute Historical Collections 109 (July 1973): 231-40; Blanche Linden-Ward, "Putting the Past Under Grass: History as Death and Cemetery Commemoration," Prospects 10 (1985): 279-314. Initially the graves in national cemeteries received no more than simple wooden headboards, but deterioration caused Congress to provide funding for more permanent headstones in 1873, adopting two standard designs: one for the known and the other for the unknown. Holt, pp. 471-2.

[5]Ibid., pp. 77-9; Alcorn County Historical Association, The History of Alcorn County, Mississippi (Dallas, TX: National ShareGraphics, 1983), p. 57. Three Confederates also lay buried in the National Cemetery at Corinth. See also, Claude Gentry, Private John Allen: Gentleman--Statesman--Sage--Prophet (Decatur, GA: Bowen Press, 1957), pp. 63-64. For a list of Union soldiers buried in Mississippi, see Irene S. Gillis, Grave Registrations of Union Soldiers Buried in the Mississippi National Cemeteries of Corinth, Natchez, and Vicksburg (N.p., 1983).

[6]Holt, American Military Cemeteries, pp. 444-46; See also, Richard Meyers, The Vicksburg National Cemetery: Vicksburg National Military Park, An Administrative History ([Washington, DC]: National Park Service, 1968), p. 74. Meyers gives the 1875 count of Civil War dead as 16,588. Two Confederate soldiers lie buried on the grounds. "Out of Place: Lone Rebels Standout in National Cemetery," Vicksburg Evening Post, 22 June 1986, Subject File: "Vicksburg National Military Cemetery," Mississippi Department of Archives and History (hereafter cited as MDAH);

without a struggle to Federal troops early in the war, that port, too, would eventually possess an 11.7 acre cemetery of 3,086 Civil War dead which would consolidate the bodies of Union soldiers and sailors originally interred on the levees further south of Vicksburg. The site was a logical choice considering that a Federal hospital in Natchez with its inevitable loss of life had already provided for a substantial number of Union burials in that city.[7]

By no means were all of the original national cemeteries situated in the South -- Gettysburg obviously boasted one, as did several other northern communities which had hosted training camps and troop concentration points during the conflict. Even a few frontier garrisons became part of the system. Yet, most of the fighting had occurred in the South, and for practical reasons the federal government established a large number of these burial grounds in that region. Indeed, the presence of all those federal soldiers interred far afield in southern soil contributed to the system's very existence, as the northern public soon became aware that the Union dead required protection from the callousness of a hostile community which saw nothing wrong with desecrating the resting places of Yankee heroes.[8] In Mississippi, for instance, authorities received reports that a planter named Jones had plowed under the graveyard at Milliken's Bend in order to enlarge his cotton field and that another landowner had built a race track in the vicinity of Vicksburg without regard to the Union soldiers that had lain beneath the surface.[9] Human hands, however, did not pose the only threat to burial sites, for the Mississippi River committed its own brand of vandalism when annual floods eroded the grave soil of those buried atop levees,

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Associated Press, "The Only Confederate Soldiers in Cemetery Get New Headstones," Memphis Commercial Appeal,12 September 1993, Subject File: "Vicksburg National Military Cemetery," MDAH.

[7]Holt, American Military Cemteries, pp. 269-71. Steere asserts that the location of "wartime cemeteries" resulted from one of two reasons: the grounds either lay in a combat zone or at troop concentration points where the high mortality rates of hospitals also necessitated burial grounds. Steere, Shrines of the Honored, p. 7. The military also established three National Cemeteries next to Confederate military prison camps in Andersonville, GA; Florence, SC; and Salisbury, NC. Holt, American Military Cemeteries, p. 3.

[8]Neff, "Heroic Eminent Death," pp. 227-28.

[9]Meyers, The Vicksburg National Cemetery, pp. 5-6.

exposing human remains to the elements.[10] Consequently, to honor the sacrifice of its soldiers, the federal government gathered their bodies into protective enclaves.[11]

Simultaneous with this service as sanctuaries for the Union dead, national cemeteries also acted as exemplars for the living by demonstrating the posthumous honor loyal forces would receive from a grateful nation. After all, the great respect granted to the dead by this act of careful reinterment quite simply encompassed *federal* remains exclusively. The only exceptions to this policy were those few rebels buried on the grounds either by mistake or because they had died while in Union custody at military prison camps or hospitals. Otherwise, Confederate corpses would remain scattered throughout the countryside buried in trenches or shallow graves unless a local community or family made a concerted effort to provide a proper burial. The federal government's decision regarding who deserved its own brand of burial and who did not was quite deliberate and proceeded without debate. Thus, despite the title, for many years to come the various grounds would qualify more as "Union" than "National" cemeteries.[12] This segregation of the Blue and the Gray was pointed and explicit. A quartermaster in the U.S. Army who helped to consolidate the Union graves scattered across Louisiana and Mississippi stated:

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[10]ibid., p. 14. Those federal remains buried on Ship Island off the Mississippi Gulf Coast also suffered from the elemental rampages of nature, causing the removal of 288 to Chalmette National Cemetery on the mainland in Louisiana. In 1885, however, an expose conducted by the New Orleans Times-Democrat revealed that the Army had not transferred all of the Union deceased, and the description of exposed skeletons and coffins resulted in a fury of letters to the War Department which in turn caused the extraction of even more remains for reburial at Chalmette. Edwin C. Bearss, Historic Resource Study, Ship Island, Harrison County, Mississippi, Gulf Islands National Seashore Florida/Mississippi ([Denver, CO]: National Park Service, 1984), pp. 359-66; James G. Hollandsworth, "'What a Hell of a Place to Send 2000 Men 3000 Miles': Union Soldiers on Ship Island during the Civil War," Journal of Mississippi History 62 (Summer 2000): 138-39. Confederate bodies from the island's prison camp remained on the island.

[11]Presumably Mississippi's 1868 Reconstruction Constitutional Convention felt the need to buttress this security. In an ordinance passing jurisdiction of the Corinth cemetery to the federal government, they also included a section providing punishment for any offenders who committed "any willful, reckless, or voluntary injury to or mutilation of the graves, monuments, fences, shrubbery, ornaments, walks, or buildings in said cemetery." Journal of the Proceedings in the Constitutional Convention of the State of Mississippi 1868 (Jackson, MS: E. Stafford, 1871), p. 563.

[12]Neff, "Heroic Eminent Death," pp. 227-28. Also remarking on this division is Mayo, War Memorials, pp. 177-78. In fact, the 1868 Mississippi Constitutional Convention referred in one ordinance to the "'*Union* National Cemetery' located in Corinth" (emphasis added), p. 562.

> To a considerable extent in Southern soil, and in the very presence where bold Treason reared its ungrateful head, they shall teach the children, whose fathers sought to dismember and destroy the Republic, to cherish its institutions, and to seek its honors and rewards. That Nation which respects and honors its dead, shall ever be respected and honored itself.[13]

Long after reconciliation between the two sections took place, national cemeteries would continue to sustain this open yet subtle delineation between the faithful and the rebellious. According to one recent examination of the system, this distinction between the Blue and the Gray persisted among at least a few Mississippians as late as the 1990s. Explaining the Corinth cemetery's low internment rate, the author of a National Cemetery study recounted a sentiment expressed to him by several local residents: "This is a Yankee cemetery and we don't want to have anything to do with it."[14]

Tombstones and cemeteries were not the only markers to the Union cause raised on the southern landscape. Even while the conflict still raged, soldiers on both sides would occasionally commemorate a particular battle or their heroic dead by erecting ad hoc monuments with materials at hand. On July 4, 1864, exactly one year to the day after Vicksburg's protracted siege had ended, federal soldiers stationed in the town appropriated from a stone yard a marble obelisk capped by an ornamental ball and set the memorial on the site where Confederate General John Pemberton had met with Union General Ulysses S. Grant to discuss the terms of surrender. Because it was originally intended to serve as a memorial to a local veteran of the Mexican War and thus already carved with flags, cannon, and other military emblems, the shaft appeared imminently suitable to those who wanted to leave a lasting reminder of the Union triumph. Three

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[13]E. B. Whitman, "Remarks on National Cemeteries--Original Military Division of the Tennessee," in <u>The Army Reunion; with Reports of the Meetings of the Societies of the Army of Cumberland; the Army of Tennessee; the Army of the Ohio; and the Army of Georgia</u> (Chicago: S. C. Griggs and Co., 1869), pp. 227-28.

[14]Holt, <u>American Military Cemeteries</u>, p. 79. In contrast, one Mississippian published a poem in 1881 in which a Confederate veteran genuinely mourned those buried there: "As now I pass among these turf-grown mounds,/ 'Neath yonder banner floating o'er the dead,/ I reck not foes as slumb'rers in these grounds,/ But walk among them with uncovered head." Judge J. F. Simmons, "Elegy: Written at the National Cemetery at Corinth, Mississippi," in <u>The Welded Link and Other Poems</u> (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1881), pp. 48-55.

years later, however, chippings on the monument had forced authorities to remove it to a location outside the railroad depot where constant surveillance offered greater security. The record is unclear as to whether the damage resulted from the enmity of natives or the avidity of relic hunters, but whatever the reason, a sturdier iron cannon tube replaced the marble monument on the surrender site, and by 1868 another relocation moved the original shaft within the protective confines of the National Cemetery.[15]

Meanwhile, the Fourth of July, a uniquely American holiday celebrating the nation's independence, became associated in the minds of many Mississippians with the defeat of Vicksburg.[16] To those former slaves who had worked the fields at Brierfield, the plantation owned by Jefferson Davis, the 1864 double anniversary elicited a jubilee of speeches and feasting during which time the freedmen hosted visiting Federal officials and northern missionaries.[17] White

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[15]In 1940, the Surrender Monument resumed its original location in the Vicksburg National Military Park where it remained until environmental damage caused the park to remove the memorial for repair in 1988. In 1995, the monument returned to display inside the visitor center of the park. Meanwhile, officials had shipped the cannon tube first to Fort Donelson, Tennessee and later to Fort Sumter, South Carolina, before the Vicksburg park reacquired and restored the artillery piece in 1990. See Abroe, "All the Profound," pp. 83 & 91-92; Meyers, Vicksburg National Cemetery, pp. 75-76; Steve Walker and David F. Riggs, Vicksburg Battlefield Monuments: A Pictorial Record (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1984), pp. 76-7; Confederate Veteran (March 1896): cover (the photograph caption incorrectly cites Jackson as the location); Confederate Veteran (April 1896): cover & p. 1; Harris Dickson, The Romance and Reality of Vicksburg: A Story-telling Ramble with Harris Dickson (N.p., n.d.), p. 28; Red Messina, "Vicksburg's Civil War Monument Has Strange History," University of Mississippi Daily Mississippian (28 August 1990), p. 5 (hereafter cited as Daily Mississippian); and Deborah Pitts, "Vicksburg Displays 1864 Monument," Civil War News (August 1995): 5. For examples of other monuments erected during the war, see Robert E. L. Krick, "The Civil War's First Monument: Barstow's Marker at Manassas," Blue & Gray Magazine (April 1991): 32-34.

[16]Apparently, the surrender of the city on July Fourth was not completely a coincidence. Shelby Foote writes that while several Confederates in the last days of the siege considered surrender on that date "unthinkable," Pemberton consciously chose the holiday, stating "I am a northern man. I know my people. I know their peculiar weaknesses and their national vanity; I know we can get better terms from them on the Fourth of July than on any other day of the year. We must sacrifice our pride to these considerations." Shelby Foote, The Beleaguered City: The Vicksburg Campaign December 1862 – July 1863 (New York: Modern Library, 1995), p. 316. For a number of years after the war, white southerners outside of Mississippi also shunned July Fourth. After Reconstruction, however, they soon resurrected the observance. Piehler, Remembering War, pp. 61 & 76.

[17]James T. Currie, Enclave: Vicksburg and Her Plantations (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1980), pp. 96-7; Idem, "Freedmen at Davis Bend, April 1864," Journal of Mississippi History 46 (May 1984): 120-29. See also, Brian D. Page, "Stand by the Flag: Nationalism and African American Celebrations of the Fourth of July in Memphis, 1866-1887," in Trial and

Mississippians from the city and surrounding areas, in contrast, resolutely avoided any observance of the federal holiday for almost eight decades -- no parades, no picnics, no fireworks, no speeches -- a deliberate disavowal that achieved its own commemorative value.[18] Remarking upon this custom in his hometown of Greenville, just a few bends up the Mississippi from Vicksburg, historian and novelist Shelby Foote recalled in an interview the time one Ohio family drove up the levee to have a picnic on the Fourth. Forgetting to set the brakes on the vehicle, the automobile rolled right off the embankment into the river. Foote relayed the community's assessment of the incident with the comment that "Everybody said it served them right for celebrating the Fourth of July."[19] Linked as it was to the surrender of Vicksburg, the formerly *national* holiday of American colonial independence became a painful reminder of southern nationalism's defeat. It became, as author Elizabeth Spencer has noted, "a Yankee holiday."[20]

In the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, three national cemeteries and one monument comprised the sum of the North's physical memorials erected on Mississippi soil. Of course,

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Triumph: Essays in Tennessee African American History ed. Carroll Van West (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2002), pp. 184-202. Escaped slaves working at Fort Massachusetts on Ship Island held a "New Years and Emancipation Ball" that began on December 31, 1862 and lasted into January 1, 1863, the day that Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation took effect. Charles L. Sullivan, The Mississippi Gulf Coast: Portrait of a People (Northridge, CA: Windsor Publications, 1985), p. 92]. On New Year's Day in 1866, freedmen in Jackson paraded and listened to speeches by black leaders to celebrate their "independence day." Dorothy Vick Smith, Black Reconstruction in Mississippi, 1862-1870 (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kansas, 1985), p. 232. In Meridian, the black parade held on May 10, 1867 featured "Abraham Lincoln, Our Emancipator" and "Slavery Is Dead" followed by a banquet. Jack Shank, Meridian: The Queen with a Past (Meridian, MS: Southeastern Printing Co., 1985), p. 42. On May 28, 1870, the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment was celebrated with a procession and speeches in Madison County. Carol Lynn Mead, The Land Between Two Rivers: Madison County, Mississippi (Canton, MS: Friends of the Madison County-Canton Public Library, 1987), pp. 162-63].

[18]Peter R. Walker, Vicksburg: A People at War, 1860-1865 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), pp. 221-22; Currie, Enclave, pp. 31-32; Julian Street, American Adventures: A Second Trip 'Abroad at Home' (New York: Century Co., 1917), p. 493; Bryan Woolley, "In Vicksburg, Fourth of July Is Not a Cause for Celebration," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 4 July 1977; and Linda Temple, "No Fireworks for the Fourth," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 4 July 1993, pp. F1 & F2.

[19]John Griffen Jones, ed., Mississippi Writers Talking: Interviews with Eudora Welty, Shelby Foote, Elizabeth Spencer, Barry Hannah, and Beth Henley (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1982), p. 59.

[20]Elizabeth Spencer, Landscapes of the Heart (New York: Random House, 1998), p. 155.

during this same period monuments honoring Abraham Lincoln, the emancipation of slaves, Union victory, and the Union dead began to proliferate above the Mason-Dixon line.[21] Although delayed by the economic decimation that followed the war, white Mississippians would ultimately populate their state with Confederate memorials, but in the years and decades that immediately followed Appomattox white southerners tended to focus most of their commemorative energy upon the Confederate dead.

On both sides of the conflict the survivors felt a need to mourn, collectively as well as individually. In the South especially, the war had destroyed a significant segment of an entire generation. Few families and communities would have failed to suffer loss, a loss moreover which was not made tolerable by the satisfaction that such sacrifice had at least contributed to victory. Lost lives and a lost cause. Such pain and anguish required an outlet, and while Southern states may not have had the resources to replicate national cemeteries, other means existed permitting former Confederates to express their grief and to demonstrate their respect for their dead.

Women, furthermore, would lead the way in this mourning process. The reason this task devolved upon females lay in part with nineteenth-century society's expectation that the weaker sex could and should demonstrate their grief more openly than men. In fact, women were essential in maintaining the extensive mourning customs of the Victorian era.[22] This very gender-specific nature of bereavement management ironically facilitated white southerners' public commemoration of their Confederate dead while in the midst of Union occupation and censure. Unable to view females as political creatures, federal officials rarely saw the need to restrain women from undertaking a cultural practice that scholars today would actually suggest possessed

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[21]Kirk Savage, Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 162-67.
[22]Patricia R. Loughridge and Edward D. C. Campbell, Jr., Women in Mourning: A Catalog of the Museum of the Confederacy's Corollary Exhibition Held November 14, 1984 through January 6, 1986 Richmond, Virginia (Richmond: Museum of the Confederacy, 1985), p. 25; Drew Gilpin Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and the Narratives of War," Journal of American History 74 (March 1990): 121.

very political overtones.[23] Thus, although a few federal officials occasionally perceived and reacted to the threat such rituals posed by prohibiting public manifestations of community mourning for the treasonous dead, very few repressive episodes of that type actually occurred.[24] After all, as one Columbus, Mississippi man suggested in 1868, surely a "great and powerful government" would not "deny to a conquered and ruined people the melancholy privilege of gathering-around the graves of their fathers, sons and brothers, to perform the sad offices of affection and gratitude."[25]

One of the first ritualistic mediums created by white southern women for mourning the war's dead was Decoration Day.[26] Usually scheduled for sometime in the spring, the women would typically organize a procession to a local cemetery which contained Confederate remains. In addition to adorning, or "decorating" the graves with wreaths and flowers, the ritual also

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[23]Neff has asserted just such a political scope to women's commemoration of war dead ("Heroic Eminent Death," p. 236), as does LeeAnn Whites, "'Stand by Your Man': The Ladies Memorial Association and the Reconstruction of Southern White Manhood," in Women of the American South: A Multicultural Reader, ed. Christie Anne Farnham (New York: New York University Press, 1997), pp. 139-41. Gaines Foster, however, suggests that the role of women in this observance "reduced any political or ideological implications." Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South 1865-1913 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 46. Foster also argues that early memorial mourning activities "genuinely expressed southern attitudes and were not a clever subterfuge for celebrating the southern cause without incurring federal wrath" (p. 44).
[24]Foster, Ghosts, p. 44.
[25]"Address by Col. James M. Arnold," 1868, Subject File: "Celebrations--Columbus, MS--Decoration Day," Billups-Garth Archives, Columbus-Lowndes Public Library (hereafter cited as CLPL).
[26]For analytical scholarship on both Confederate and federal Memorial Day, see Foster, Ghosts, chapter 3; David W. Blight, Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 64-97; Antoinette G. van Zelm, "On the Front Lines of Freedom: Black and White Women Shape Emancipation in Virginia, 1861-1890" (Ph.D. dissertation, College of William and Mary, 1998), chapter 6; Catherine Albanese, "Requiem for Memorial Day: Dissent in a Redeemer Nation," American Quarterly 26 (October 1974): 386-98; Conrad Cherry, "Two American Sacred Ceremonies: Their Implications for the Study of Religion in America," American Quarterly 21 (Winter 1969): 730-54; W. Lloyd Warner, "An American Sacred Ceremony," in American Civil Religion, eds. Russell E. Richey and Donald G. Jones (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1974); W. Stuart Towns, "Ceremonial Orators and National Reconciliation," in Oratory in the New South, ed. Waldo W. Braden (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979); W. Stuart Towns, "Ceremonial Speaking and the Reinforcing of American Nationalism in the South, 1875-1890" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1972), chapter 2; Martha E. Kinney, "'If Vanquished I Am Still Victorious': Religious and Cultural Symbolism in Virginia's Confederate Memorial Day Celebrations, 1866-1930," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 106 (Summer 1998): 237-66.

included prayers and orations that recalled the noble sacrifices of the deceased heroes. Referred to in some communities as Confederate Memorial Day, the ceremonies of this annual regional holiday focused almost exclusively upon the southern Civil War dead, unlike the federal Memorial Day which subsequently absorbed within its commemorative purview the casualties of all other American conflicts that followed the Civil War.[27]

A minor historical dispute has existed for years over which southern city could claim the honor of originating Decoration Day, and hence Memorial Day.[28] The existence of several contenders for this distinction who spontaneously and independently chose to honor the dead in a like fashion indicates the widespread compulsion among white southerners to commemorate their loss. Two Mississippi communities that have claimed primacy in this custom are Jackson, the state capital, and the city of Columbus in Lowndes County. The ceremony in Jackson occurred in the last month of the war itself. Reacting to word that General Lee had surrendered his army and that federal troops were advancing to occupy Mississippi's capital, Sue Langdon Vaughan sent a notice to the local paper requesting that "Daughters of the Southland" should meet at Greenwood Cemetery the next day, April twenty-sixth, to garland the graves of Confederate heroes. Townspeople and soldiers stationed in the city turned out in large numbers to witness the women and children distribute flowers upon the mounds of the dead, and in 1891 an inscription on the

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[27]As this chapter will eventually explain, a brief exception to this rule occurred in a few locales after World War I.

[28]For a record of this dispute within Mississippi, see MS Division UDC Minutes (1933), pp. 75-76. Foster appears to favor Columbus, Georgia as the site of the first memorial day commemoration on April 26, 1866 (pp. 38 & 42) but cites several other claimants in a footnote (p. 219). Charles Reagan Wilson also gives preference to Columbus, Georgia in Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980), p. 28. For the story of Columbus, Georgia, see A History of the Origin of Memorial Day as Adopted by the Ladies Memorial Association of Columbus, Georgia, and Presented to the Lizzie Rutherford Chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy, Under Whose Direction It Is Now Published (Columbus, GA: Thos. Gilbert, 1898). Paul H. Buck highlights the occasion in Charleston, South Carolina on May 30, 1865 when black school children decorated the burial trenches of the Union dead in The Road to Reunion 1865-1900 (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1937), p. 116], as does Blight. Race and Reunion, p. 65. Due to cooperation exhibited on numerous occasions in honoring the dead of both sides, Buck also views the federal Memorial Day as an indicator of reconciliation.

state's Confederate monument memorialized this act by asserting that "Decoration Day Originated in Jackson, Mississippi, April 26, 1865 by Sue Langdon Vaughan."[29]

Even if Jackson's 1865 date preempts its rival's claim by an entire year, Columbus can still boast of a significant contribution to the holiday's widespread adoption. Organized by three local ladies, a procession of women and girls marched to Friendship Cemetery on April 25, 1866 where they listened to a brief address and prayer by two ministers before decorating approximately 1,400 Civil War graves with flowers. Union as well as Confederate dead received these floral tributes, and the impartiality of this homage caused accounts of the occasion to appear in papers as far afield as New York City where the story of the "generous deed" inspired Francis Miles Finch to write his popular poem "The Blue and the Gray."[30] Although the federal

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[29]Reminiscences and accounts of this occasion appear in the following sources: Sue Langdon Vaughan to Mrs. Gunn, 18 March 1907, J. L. Powers & Family Papers, #167, MDAH; "Mrs. Sue Langdon Vaughn Writes to Col. E. T. Lee, Giving the Particulars of Decoration Day," Vicksburg Herald, 18 October 1917, p. 3B; radio address by Mrs. Charles K. Hickey, 26 April 26 1938, Subject File: "Memorial Day--Confederate," MDAH; radio program script, 26 April 1941, Boyd Family Papers, MDAH; MS Division UDC Minutes (1933), pp. 75-76; Missouri Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Reminiscences of the Women of Missouri During the Sixties (Jefferson City, MO: Hugh Stephens Printing Co., 1913), pp. 14-17. A suggestion that Vaughan may have decorated graves in Vicksburg as early as 1863 appears in Jeff Hardy, "Credit for Memorial Day Could Go to Confederate Nurse, Spy," Pascagoula Mississippi Press, 28 May 1995, Subject File: "Memorial Day--Confederate," MDAH.

[30]The poem "The Blue and the Gray" first appeared in the Atlantic Monthly 20 (September 1867): 369-70; For descriptions of the first Columbus Decoration Day see, W. L. Lipscomb, A History of Columbus Mississippi during the Nineteenth Century (Birmingham, AL: Press of Dispatch Printing Co., 1909), pp. 129-30; Frank Hains, "'Love and Tears for the Blue, Tears and Love for the Grey': Columbus Remembers Matt Morton and First Memorial Day in 1866," Jackson Daily News, 15 April 1955, Subject File: "Memorial Day--Confederate," MDAH; Bonnie S. Margolin, "Soldiers of Blue and Gray Remembered in Columbus, Miss., Ceremony," Denver Post, 24 May 1992, Vertical File: "Celebrations--Columbus MS Decoration Day," CLPL]. Again, some sources suggest that these three women began decorating war graves themselves as early as 1863, but the first community effort was not until 1866. In 1932, the John Foster Society of the Children of the American Revolution erected a modest monument in Friendship Cemetery proclaiming it the "Site of first Decoration Day Columbus, Miss. April 25, 1866." MS Division UDC Minutes (1933), pp. 78-79; James W. Parker, Friendship Cemetery Columbus, Mississippi: Tombstone Inscriptions and Burial Records, Vol. 1 (Lowndes County Department of Archives and History, 1979), p. ix. In 1997, the Mississippi Department of Archives and History accepted a portrait of the four women most influential in Columbus's Decoration Day for the state's Hall of Fame. "Decoration Day Founders Honored; Portrait to Hang in Hall of Fame," Columbus Commercial Dispatch, 24 April 1997, Subject File: "Confederate Memorial Observances," MDAH.

government eventually removed the Union bodies from the cemetery for burial elsewhere, Columbus continued to mark each April twenty-fifth with this remembrance of the Civil War dead.

Within just a few years of the war's end, the observance of Decoration Day became widespread throughout the South, although the regional holiday never achieved uniformity with a single calendar date as did the national version which from the start settled on May thirtieth. Even when Mississippi's legislature proclaimed April twenty-sixth the state's Confederate Memorial Day, many communities like Columbus continued to celebrate on dates of their own choosing. Raymond, for instance, observed Decoration Day on May twelfth, the anniversary of a local battle, while other towns opted for the birthday of a hometown or state hero.[31] Regardless of the actual date, the ceremony typically occurred in the spring when the flowers so essential to the ritual were in bloom. The season and the blossoms evoked the idea of regeneration, and indeed, the entire purpose of the ritual was to annually renew the community's memory of the Confederacy and its human casualties.

The accompanying speeches in particular pointed out the obligations of the living to recall the sacrifices of the dead. In fact, these addresses articulated more than mere simple expressions of loss by developing a complex rhetorical formula that assisted their audience to move beyond grief. Giving meaning to death and defeat, orators would praise the virtues of the deceased and defend the righteousness of their cause. This effective strategy restored regional pride, and speakers even introduced a degree of optimism with their proclamations that either in the present or the future the Confederate cause would achieve vindication. The defense of past actions in belief of future confirmation eased the South's reincorporation into the Union because the concept of vindication permitted continued respect for historic secessionist aspirations while accepting and even approving national reconciliation in the present. For, despite the war's tragic ending, fate or God still approved of Confederate principles (however the individual defined these)

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[31]References to celebrating Decoration Days on different dates are scattered throughout chapter reports in MS Division UDC Minutes.

and eventually the rest of the nation would confirm their judgment. The ritual of honoring the dead thus served to also convey honor upon the region and made national reunion palatable.[32]

Yet, despite elements of reconciliation revealed in oratories on these occasions and the Columbus gesture of decorating the graves of both the Blue and the Gray, the two former opponents retained their separate memorial holidays even as their dead remained consigned to separate burial grounds. As the federal government proceeded to identify graves, disinter corpses, and rebury the remains in its national cemetery system, a similar exercise of creating or at least tending Confederate cemeteries and plots occurred, but only under the auspices of organizations acting at the local level. Consequently, the reinterment of Union bodies with its federal funding and backing proved much more comprehensive than the sporadic efforts conducted by isolated civic groups in the former Confederacy. Created throughout the South in the years after Lee's surrender, these organizations dedicated to the Confederate dead went by the generic label "Ladies Memorial Associations," although men occasionally became members as well.[33] Just as with Decoration Day, the spontaneous and independent establishment of these

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[32]Foster, Ghosts, pp. 41-43; Wilson, Baptized in Blood, p. 28. For scholarship on the oratory of the Lost Cause that covers a broader time span, see Howard Dorgan, "Southern Apologetic Themes as Expressed in Selected Ceremonial Speaking of Confederate Veterans, 1889-1900" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1971); Idem, "The Doctrine of Victorious Defeat in the Rhetoric of Confederate Veterans," Southern Speech Communication Journal 38 (Winter 1972): 119-30; Idem, "Rhetoric of the United Confederate Veterans: A Lost Cause Mythology in the Making," in Oratory in the New South, ed. Waldo W. Braden (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), pp. 143-73; Walter Stuart Towns, "Ceremonial Speaking and the Reinforcing of American Nationalism in the South, 1875-1890" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1972); Idem, "Ceremonial Orators and National Reconciliation," in Oratory in the New South, ed. Waldo W. Braden (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), pp. 117-42; Waldo W. Braden, "Repining Over an Irrevocable Past: The Ceremonial Orator in a Defeated Society, 1865-1900," in Oratory in the New South, ed. Waldo W. Braden (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), pp. 8-37; Waldo W. Braden and Harold Mixon, "Epideictic Speaking in the Post-Civil War South and the Southern Experience," Southern Communication Journal 54 (Fall 1988): 40-57; Rebecca Florine Drake, "A Comparative Analysis of Lost Cause Themes in Civil War Letters and Post-War Orations" (M.A. thesis, University of Georgia, 1980); Mary M. O'Donnell, "The Higher Kind of Oratory: Jefferson Davis and the Oratory of the Lost Cause," in Threads of Tradition and Culture Along the Gulf Coast, ed. Ronald V. Evans (Pensacola, FL: Gulf Coast History and Humanities Conference, 1986).

[33]For information on Ladies Memorial Associations, see Confederated Southern Memorial Association, History of the Confederated Memorial Associations of the South (New Orleans: Graham Press, 1904); Foster, Ghosts, pp. 38-40; Whites, "'Stand by Your Man,'" pp. 133-49; H.

early associations demonstrated the common impulse among white southerners to honor and mourn their loss.

At least eight such memorial organizations existed in Mississippi during Reconstruction, and of the three which formed in 1866, one was the Vicksburg Confederate Cemetery Association.[34] The initiative for the Vicksburg association clearly lay with a group of women who wanted to relocate the Confederate dead from their city's battlefields to a more suitable location. Calling a meeting at the Warren County Courthouse for May fifteenth, the ladies formally organized themselves and a month later appointed a secondary executive committee comprised of twelve men to assist in this massive undertaking. In their attempt to identify battlefield burial sites, the women received additional aid from the local U.S. Army Quartermaster who recorded

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E. Gulley, "Women and the Lost Cause: Preserving a Confederate Identity in the American Deep South," Journal of Historical Geography 19, no. 2 (1993): 125-41; Lee Ann Whites, The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia 1860-1890 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), pp. 160-98.

[34]The other seven memorial associations in existence between 1866 and 1876 include: the Baldwyn Confederate Memorial Association [MS Division UDC Minutes (1903), p. 43; "Memorial Day had beginning at Baldwyn on December 1, 1867," 1998 Brice's Crossroads Edition (Baldwyn, MS: Baldwyn News, 1998), p. 32]; the Amite County Monument and Historical Association in Liberty ["Confederate Monument Named Landmark," Liberty Southern Herald, 5 January 1989]; the Ladies Memorial Association in Aberdeen ["Robert E. Lee Chapter No. 116 United Daughters of the Confederacy," Aberdeen Examiner, 15 September 1929; Bon Accord, The Bon Accord Commerating the 125th Anniversary of Aberdeen, Mississippi 1837-1962 (N.p.: Almond Printing Co., 1962)]; the Ladies of Columbus Memorial Association [Lipscomb, History of Columbus, pp. 131-33]; the Memorial Association in Holly Springs [Mrs. B. A. C. Emerson, Historic Southern Monuments: Representative Memorials of the Heroic Dead of the Southern Confederacy (New York: Neale Publishing Company, 1911), p. 188]; the Memorial Society in Hernando [MS Division UDC Minutes (1901), p. 28]; and the Ladies of Crystal Springs Mississippi (inscription on Confederate monument in the city's cemetery). Right after the war, the Ladies' Organization for Veterans' Relief in Como loaned money to a one-legged veteran to open a saloon. Panola County Genealogical and Historical Society, History of Panola County, Mississippi (Dallas, TX: Curtis Media, 1987), p. 12. In 1871, the survivors of the Eighteenth Mississippi Regiment Volunteer Infantry sent out circulars and met several times in an effort to erect a monument to their dead. "Meeting of the 18th Mississippi Regiment," Jackson Weekly Clarion, 17 February 1871, p. 2; "Address to the Survivors of the Eighteenth Mississippi Regiment, Volunteer Infantry," Jackson Weekly Clarion, 11 May 1871, p. 1; "Reunion of the 18th Mississippi Regiment," Jackson Weekly Clarion, 1 June 1871, p. 2. Other memorial associations in Mississippi that came into existence after Reconstruction include the Harvey Scouts Memorial Association of Canton in 1886; the Beauvoir Memorial Association of Greenwood in 1889; the Confederate Memorial Association of Natchez and Adams County sometime prior to 1890; a memorial association in Oxford in 1892; the Ladies Memorial Association of Aberdeen reorganized in 1896 [Bertie Shaw Rollins, A Brief History of Aberdeen & Monroe County, Mississippi 1821-1900 (N.p., 1957), p. 120]; the Jefferson Davis Memorial Association of Biloxi in 1903; and a Ladies Memorial Association in Woodville sometime prior to 1904.

the whereabouts of over three thousand Confederate burials while pursuing his own assignment of gathering the Union dead. One Vicksburg couple donated the grounds within Cedar Hill Cemetery that became known as "Soldiers' Rest" while the organization accrued further funds for the reinterment project by hosting various benefits, collecting dues, and securing an appropriation from the state legislature. In the end, the Vicksburg Confederate Cemetery Association relocated approximately five thousand remains to their cemetery, and the women capped their venture by erecting a monument to the dead on the grounds in 1893.[35]

Not all memorial associations, however, sought to transfer Confederate corpses to cemeteries, for the bodies of the slain often already resided in local burial grounds. Over sixty Mississippi communities possess either a plot for the Civil War dead in one or more of their local graveyards or a separate Confederate cemetery altogether.[36] As a result, memorial associations in such towns concentrated instead on tending these preexisting graves, conducting the annual Decoration Day ceremonies, and raising funds to secure a monument. In fact, the only Reconstruction-era memorial association in Mississippi which made any concerted effort at reinterment was Vicksburg, and upon the completion of this major project, the women turned their energies to the same endeavors pursued by the state's other groups.[37]

Unlike Vicksburg, the Amite County Monument and Historical Association began its existence in 1866 with the principal goal of erecting a monument in Liberty to the Confederate

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[35]"Confederate Cemetery, Vicksburg," Confederate Veteran (April 1895): 100-102; Charles Riles, Through Open Gates: History Symbolism, and Legends of Vicksburg's Cedar Hill Cemetery (Jackson, MS: Hederman Brothers, 1989), pp. 9 & 63-64; Confederated Southern Memorial, History, pp. 207-12; Emerson, Historic Southern Monument, pp. 204-5.

[36]See appendix 1 for a list of Confederate burials, plots, and cemeteries in Mississippi.

[37]At some point prior to 1897, the citizens of Plantersville reinterred local Confederate dead in Union Cemetery. Confederate Veteran (August 1897): 435. Sometime prior to 1904, Prentiss County disinterred all Confederates buried within its borders and placed them in new coffins at a cemetery in Booneville. R. W. Jones, "Confederate Cemeteries and Monuments in Mississippi," Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society 8 (1904): 104. Not for altruistic reasons but because of pressures from municipal expansion, Meridian removed three hundred Confederates buried in a city cemetery to a mound in Rose Hill Cemetery around 1885. Jones, "Confederate Cemeteries," p. 99; "Confederate Dead," Subject File: "Confederate Cemeteries and Markers," MDAH.

dead. By November of their first year, the group had laid the cornerstone, but several more years would pass before they managed to raise the $3,300 required to purchase the memorial erected in 1871 on property next to the Presbyterian Church. The design of the monument consists of a graduated base supporting a marble shaft topped by a Grecian urn. For Victorian society, the classical vessel held definite funereal connotations, a suggestion further emphasized by the carved wreath carrying the message "Rest in Peace." The monument bears the names of 279 men from the county who died during the conflict, and its dedication reads "Sacred to the Memory of the Soldiers from Amite County Who Lost Their Lives in the Confederate Army."[38] In the midst

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[38]Roy Thompson, "The First Confederate Monument in the South," Daily Herald, 30 March 1959, Vertical File: "Mississippi--Historical Landmarks," Gulfport Public Library; "Confederate Monument Named Landmark," Liberty Southern Herald, 5 January 1989, Subject File: "Confederate Monuments 2," MDAH; "The First Confederate Monument," Confederate Veteran (March 1911): 108; "Early Tribute to Confederate Dead at Liberty, Miss.," Confederate Veteran (May 1911): 220; Carl McIntire, "First Confederate Monument Stands at Liberty," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 1 May 1983, p. 15G. Actually, the unveiling of the first *complete* Confederate monument in the South probably occurred in Cheraw, South Carolina in June of 1867 followed by Romney, West Virginia in September. "The First Confederate Monument," Confederate Veteran. In Tennessee, Union City erected a memorial in October of 1869. Rebel C. Forrester, "First Monument to Unknown Confederate Dead," West Tennessee Historical Society Papers 33 (October 1979): 103-107. Even Liberty's more recent claim to having erected the first such memorial in Mississippi remains in doubt, as Holly Springs unveiled its first monument in either 1870 or 1871 according to the recollection of one of those involved in Emerson, "Historic Southern Monument," p. 188. Sources do not specify the gender composition of the Amite County Monument and Historical Association's membership. In 1930, the state legislature would authorize Amite County's board of supervisors to spend $500 inscribing the names of all the county's Confederate veterans on the Liberty monument. Laws of Mississippi (1930), p. 93. For analysis of municipal Confederate monuments throughout the South, see John J. Winberry, "Symbols in the Landscape: The Confederate Memorial," Pioneer American Society Transactions 5 (1982): 9-15; Idem, "'Lest We Forget': The Confederate Monument and the Southern Townscape," Southern Geographer 23 (November 1983): 107-21; Stephen Davis, "Empty Eyes, Marble Hand: The Confederate Monument and the South," Journal of Popular Culture 16 (Winter 1982): 2-21; Foster, Ghosts of the Confederacy; J. P. Radford, "Identity and Tradition in the Post-Civil War South," Journal of Historical Geography 18 (1992): 91-103; H. E. Gulley, "Women and the Lost Cause"; Savage, Standing Soldiers. A few state studies of local Confederate monuments also exist: W. Stuart Towns, "Honoring the Confederacy in Northwest Florida: The Confederate Monument Ritual," Florida Historical Quarterly 57 (October 1978): 205-12; A. V. Huff, Jr., "The Democratization of Art: Memorializing the Confederate Dead in South Carolina, 1866-1914," in Art in the Lives of South Carolinians, ed. David Moltke-Hansen (Charleston: Carolina Art Association, 1979); Susan Cocke Soderberg, Lest We Forget: A Guide to Civil War Monuments in Maryland (Shippenburg, PA: White Mane Publishing Co., 1995); Idem, "Maryland's Civil War Monuments," Historian 58 (Spring 1996): 531-37; Catherine W. Bishir, "Landmarks of Power: Building a Southern Past in Raleigh and Wilmington, North Carolina, 1885-1915," in Where These Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity, ed. W. Fitzhugh Brundage (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), pp. 139-68. Finally, a number of articles discuss Confederate monuments in specific cities, or even isolated memorials, see for example: E. Merton Coulter, "The Confederate Monument in

of Reconstruction's economic devastation, few communities managed to accumulate sufficient funds for such monuments. The only other Mississippi towns to accomplish this feat were Holly Springs in 1870 or 1871, Hernando in 1872, Columbus in 1874, and Crystal Springs in 1876. All these communities erected their memorials in local cemeteries and dedicated them very simply to the Confederate dead. Aside from Crystal Springs which surmounted a small marble shaft with a wooden gazebo, the designs consisted of stone obelisks.[39] Like Liberty's urn, an obelisk was another familiar Victorian device in graveyard statuary, and its Egyptian form symbolized eternity with its simulation of a sun's ray striking the earth.

With few exceptions, the site, shape, and inscription of these monuments suggest that the predominant purpose of their creation was to express the community's need to mourn and memorialize the dead. Indeed, almost all of the seventeen memorials erected by Mississippi communities during the nineteenth century appear to share this objective.[40] The fashion for obelisks and other funereal forms lasted for decades after Reconstruction, and what many today might consider the "typical" Confederate monument -- a solitary soldier standing atop a shaft -- did not appear within the state until 1890 and even then only three more such designs surfaced before the century turned.[41] Furthermore, *none* of the pre-1900 memorials included references to

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Athens, Georgia," Georgia Historical Quarterly 40 (September 1956): 253-75; Frederick C. Moffatt, "A Tale of Two Monuments: Civil War Sculpture in Knoxville," East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications 50 (1978): 3-20; Carden C. McGehee, Jr., "The Planning, Sculpture, and Architecture of Monument Avenue, Richmond, Virginia" (M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1980); Susan C. Soderberg, "The Confederate Monument and Its Symbolism," The Montgomery County Story 36 (August 1993): 261-71; Louise Gurkin Adamson, "Cast Memories: Richmond's Confederate Soldier's and Sailors' Monument," 44 Virginia Cavalcade (Summer 1994): 14-27; Richard L. Thompson, "Captain John Newton Ballard, A Dyed-In-The-Wool Confederate: Commemorating the Centennial of the Fairfax Confederate Monument 1888-1988," Yearbook: The Historical Society of Fairfax County, Virginia 21 (1986-88): 85-102; Lawrence J. Nelson, "Memorializing the Lost Cause in Florence, Alabama, 1866-1903," Alabama Review 41 (July 1988): 179-92; Ann Hunter McLean, "Unveiling the Lost Cause: A Study of Monuments to the Civil War Memory in Richmond, Virginia and Vicinity" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1998).

[39]It is possible, however, that the Crystal Springs shaft predates the architectural element, which the town might have added in later years in an attempt to increase the scope and grandeur of their local memorial. For citations on each monument, see appendix 2.

[40]See appendix 2. This number may rise, as as the erection dates of several cemetery memorials have not yet been determined.

[41]These solitary sentinels arose in Natchez (1890), Vicksburg (1893), Columbus (1894), and Corinth (1896). Holly Springs erected a second monument in its cemetery in 1890 which consists

the veterans who survived the conflict in their dedications, and only Corinth, Liberty, and Natchez chose to place their monuments in public spaces outside the confines of a cemetery.[42] Rare, too, were inscriptions more elaborate than "Our Confederate Dead," and those that expanded upon this plain yet telling phrase tended to praise the deceased for either making a sacrifice, performing their patriotic duty, or acting bravely.[43]

In addition to these local monuments, three more nineteenth-century memorials in the state exemplify this concentration on mourning the war's military casualties: two are stained glass windows and the third is the state's monument to the Confederate dead located on the grounds of the Old Capitol in Jackson.[44] Installed in 1880, the first stained glass memorial inhabits the west wall of the Church of the Holy Trinity in Vicksburg. Consisting of five separate parts, the round window on top bears the dedication: "To the dead who fell in battle at Vicksburg in the years 1862 and 1863." The four panels below depict various Christian and martial symbols, including the banners of the Confederacy and the United States as well as a dove bearing an olive branch. The impetus for this memorial recognizing the casualties of both sides came from the church's rector, Rev. William Wilberforce Lord. Although born in New York and educated at Princeton, Lord had lived through the city's siege while serving as rector of Christ Church. In order to fund his idea, he toured the North giving a series of lectures in addition to accepting donations from his parish and

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of *two* soldiers with heads bowed standing with their backs to a shaft. Aside from shafts and obelisks, the only other funereal form which appeared in Mississippi during this period was Canton's 1881 monument in the shape of a broken column, another Victorian convention, which symbolized a young life cut short by death. See appendix 2.

[42]Even then, Liberty's memorial graced the "sacred grounds" of the church. The trend of most Mississippi communities to continue placing their Confederate monuments in cemeteries long after 1876 weakens the suggestion made by Stephen Davis that during Reconstruction, memorial associations chose cemeteries because they "evidently feared the consequences of displaying public shrines to the Confederacy." His related comment that most post-Reconstruction monuments appeared in public spaces obviously does not apply to Mississippi either, where communities placed approximately 86% of all monuments erected after 1876 and prior to 1900 in cemeteries [p. 4]. See appendix 2.

[43]Natchez, in keeping with its location and design, also proved novel in its lengthy, poetic inscription. See appendix 2.

[44]In addition, the 1884 Legislature passed a joint resolution permitting comrades or friends to place marble tablets bearing the names of slain Confederate soldiers on the inner walls of the capitol building. Laws of Mississippi (1884), pp. 113-14.

other Vicksburg citizens.[45] The resulting memorial for both the Union and the Confederate dead was a rare gesture in the South, and likely would never have occurred without the driving force of a man with Lord's background.

The second stained glass window commemorating the dead is located on the campus of the University of Mississippi. The idea for a memorial to those students who had left the classrooms at Oxford and had died on the battlefield originated soon after the war, but money collected for that purpose had disappeared in a bank failure. During the 1870s, however, a group of girls at a local female academy started the Delta Gamma sorority and decided to take up this commemorative enterprise. Assisted by donations from the university's Class of 1877 and the Alumni Association, funds grew sufficiently large enough by 1890 to install a $500 Tiffany window on the stair landing of the newly constructed campus library. In the right hand panel, a Confederate formation drills before a civilian audience in front of the campus observatory, while the middle section portrays the two opposing forces fighting with sabers. Correspondence between a university official and a glass company suggests that the left hand panel of a man mounted on horseback leading foot soldiers away represents Lee's surrender at Appomattox. The main inscription reads: "In honor of those who, with ardent valor and patriotic devotion in the Civil War, sacrificed their lives in defense of principles inherited from their fathers and strengthened by the teachings of their Alma Mater, this memorial is lovingly dedicated."[46]

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[45]Timothy Dale Ables and Barbara Ann Peterson Marascalo, The Memorial Windows of Church of the Holy Trinity (Vicksburg, MS: Church of the Holy Trinity, Episcopal, n.d.), pp. 48-49; The First Hundred Years, 1869-1969, The Church of the Holy Trinity Episcopal, Vicksburg, Mississippi (N.p., 1970), pp. 9 & 22.

[46]Jones, "Confederate Cemeteries," p. 97; Mrs. T. O. Gilbert, "Love's Silent Tribute," Vertical File: "Mississippi University--Buildings & Grounds--Delta Gamma Window," Archives and Special Collections, University of Mississippi (hereafter UM); Mrs. T. O. Gilbert, "The Memorial Window to 'The University Grays' Oxford, Mississippi," UMSMMSS/University Greys, UM); Edward Colegate, New York, NY, to John Wesley Johnson, University of Mississippi, 12 April 1889, Robert Burwell Fulton University of Mississippi Chancellors Collection, Box 9, Folder 9, UM; Mississippi University Magazine 2 (May 1877): 184-85 & 189; "An Appeal in Behalf of the Univesity Grays," Mississippi University Magazine 3 (December 1877): 52-53; Mississippi University Magazine 3 (June 1878): 255; Michael Alan Upton, "'Keeping the Faith with the University Greys': Ole Miss as *lieu de memoire*" (M.A. thesis, University of Mississippi, 2002), pp. 37-41.

The campaign to erect a statewide monument "To the Confederate Dead of Mississippi" began in the spring of 1886, also as a project undertaken by a group of women. After launching the fundraising campaign in Jackson with a musical concert, nine of the city's leading ladies met in the Senate Chamber of the Capitol in June of 1886 to formally organize the Confederate Monument Association of Mississippi, which became legally incorporated in March of 1887 with sixty-four women as charter members.[47] Although in hindsight the decision to erect the monument in Jackson seems inevitable, the locale was actually the topic of some discussion. The battlefields of Vicksburg, Brice's Cross Roads, and Corinth all received mention as possible sites due to the roles they played in the conflict. In the end, however, the capital city emerged successful. After all, Jackson, too, had seen the face of war in four separate occupations and associated battles and skirmishes. Perhaps more significant, however, was its role as the seat of the state government and thus the most likely location to host large numbers of visitors from within and without the state.[48]

In 1888, the House narrowly defeated a Senate bill to appropriate two thousand dollars of public monies for the memorial, but a joint resolution still managed to pass both chambers authorizing the construction of the memorial on the grounds of the Capitol.[49] Despite modest funds, the women scheduled a cornerstone laying ceremony for June 3, 1888. On that morning, Winnie Davis, the youngest daughter of Jefferson Davis, hosted a reception inside the State Library attended by "all ages and all classes."[50] Just before noon, a procession of Masons, bands, militia companies, notables, and veterans departed the Masonic Lodge for the Capitol grounds

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[47]"In Honor of the Dead: Mississippi's Memorial to Her Fallen Heroes," 4 June 1891, Subject File: "Confederate Monuments," MDAH. Some of the same information on the history of the state monument that follows also appears in Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi Vol. 2 (Chicago: Goodspeed Publishing Company, 1891), p. 181-85.

[48]For evidence of a discussion over location, see "History of the Confederate Memorial Association," manuscript, J. L. Power and Family Papers, Box 9, Folder 164, MDAH; "Confederate Monument," manuscript, Sharkey Papers, MDAH; "Historical Facts as to the Building of the Confederate Monument," manuscript, Sharkey Papers, MDAH.

[49]Mississippi House Journal (1888), pp. 153 & 167; Laws of Mississippi (1888), p. 114.

[50]"Confederate Monument: The Cornerstone Laid by the Masonic Grand Lodge," Jackson Clarion, 31 May 1888, Subject File: "Confederate Monuments," MDAH.

where an invocation, the reading of a letter by Jefferson Davis, and various musical and poetry selections preceded the prescribed cornerstone rituals of the Masonic fraternal order. After an oration, the program ended, although exhibition drills conducted by the military companies entertained audiences that evening.[51]

Following that event, donations from individuals and Confederate organizations as well as from the proceeds of various events held in Jackson and across the state increased the treasury of the Memorial Association, but by far the largest contribution came from a ten thousand dollar grant made by the state in 1890.[52] This legislative largesse guaranteed that the monument's eventual scale and grandeur surpassed earlier plans and also insured that the project achieved completion by 1891. Newspaper accounts of the June sixth unveiling estimated that anywhere from fifteen to twenty-five thousand people attended. After a morning reception for veterans, a lengthy procession departed City Hall containing ten companies of the Mississippi National Guard, a float bearing fifteen young ladies representing the Confederacy and its member states, another float carrying the Memorial Association's officers, a marching collection of distinguished visitors from outside the state, various veterans camps and Sons of Confederate Veterans posts, thirteen brass bands, and twenty-one Mississippi militia companies as well as ten militia companies from other southern states. While making their way to the Capitol, the various divisions carried the Stars and Stripes side-by-side with tattered Confederate battle flags and marched to renditions of "The Star Spangled Banner," "Yankee Doodle," and "Dixie."[53]

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[51]ibid; "The Deposit in the Foundation Stone of Confederate Monument," manuscript, Luther Manship & Family Papers, Box 1, Folder 9, MDAH.

[52]Laws of Mississippi (1890), p. 105. According to a newspaper account of the monument's history, this bill passed despite "violent opposition" by some in the House. Presumably this resistance arose from fiduciary considerations, because the paper asserted that no one who reacted negatively did so because of "the want of a proper Confederate feeling or an appreciation of the cause." "In Honor of the Dead." According to another source, a black representative from Greenville made the most persuasive address in favor of the appropriation. Having served the Confederacy alongside his master at the battles of Seven Pines and Richmond, he stated that the dead deserved to have "their valor and their virtues" remembered with a monument. "He Made the Speech," manuscript, Power and Family Papers, Folder #160, MDAH. See chapter 2 for further discussion of black Confederates.

[53]"The Work of Women," Jackson Clarion, 4 June 1891, pp. 1, 5, & 8.

The ceremony began with an invocation, after which Margaret Davis Hayes and her son Jefferson Hayes Davis, the daughter and grandson of Jefferson Davis, formally unveiled the memorial, an act accompanied by the cheers of veterans and the boom of cannons.[54] When the program's main speaker Senator E. C. Walthall rose to give his address, he noted that although a "generation has well nigh come and gone since this open tribute was due," he believed that its presence now was "proof that we act upon no transient impulse, but a strong and stable sentiment which has endured and will endure." Describing the dead as possessing pure motives and acting honorably, Walthall then spent considerable time supporting this contention by outlining the true causes of the sectional conflict -- not slavery, but federal perversion of the nation's beloved constitution had inspired southerners to secede. Thus, the military contest that ensued occurred because the South refused to retreat from its cherished convictions of what constituted the correct form of government. After a brief comment on the folly of equating "New South" progress with "Old South" virtues, Walthall contended that although Confederate defeat resulted from the North's overwhelming numbers and might,

> The battle fields, which are the burying ground of our "unreturning dead," attest the resolution of the weaker side, and the eighty-two beautiful national cemeteries, where more than three hundred thousand Union soldiers are interred, illustrate the fierceness of the fiery struggle.

The Senator then proceeded to blame the South's postbellum bitterness, not upon the conflict's conclusion but on the horrors of Reconstruction when the war's survivors "lived to encounter much that was worse than an honorable death." Yet, inspired by the example of the Confederates who had died defending their principles, southerners persevered until the harrowing experience had ended. In fact, Walthall claimed that the current generation needed that same honorable commitment to duty in order to "maintain the status of our race while we keep up our patient

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[54]ibid. Davis's only son had died during the war. In order to perpetuate the Davis surname among his descendants, the Mississippi legislature enacted a law in 1890 changing the name of Jefferson Davis's grandson from Jefferson Addison Hayes to Jefferson Hayes Davis. Laws of Mississippi (1890), p. 620; R. M. Price, ed., Skipwith Shares: 20 Years of the Lafayette County Heritage News (Oxford, MS: Skipwith Historical & Genealogical Society, 2001), pp. 238-39.

struggle with that overshadowing problem which the war left us to solve." Soon after that brief allusion to the South's black population, Walthall concluded by urging "the living to emulate the virtues of the dead, and keep alive . . . the sentiments and qualities which made our martyrs' lives sublime, and make their memories our inheritance and an inspiration for all who come after them."[55]

The program continued with the vice-president of the Memorial Association reciting a poem she had written entitled "Sentinel Songs," which promised the dead that the ballads of poets would guard their graves and trumpet the righteousness of their cause for ages yet to come. Then former-governor Robert Lowrey stepped forward to speak on the life and character of Jefferson Davis who had died a year after the cornerstone-laying ceremony. Lowrey praised the president of the Confederacy for his peerless patriotism and his embodiment of statesmanship. At the conclusion of these remarks, Lowrey lifted Jefferson Hayes Davis in his arm and proclaimed him "the grandson of the greatest man that ever lived." A newspaper account the next day described the crowd's reaction to this announcement as "electrical." The ceremonies finally closed with a benediction asking God's blessings on the Davis family, the veterans of the Confederacy, and their sons and daughters.[56]

The structure unveiled that day in 1891 reaches a height just over sixty feet and consists of a solitary soldier standing at rest atop a tall shaft rising from a base containing a small chamber. The designer created this vault to hold a life-sized marble likeness of Jefferson Davis. Three conflicting accounts have survived concerning the relative placements of these two statues. One source reports that some members of the association wanted to place the figure of Davis on top but that the former president himself suggested instead that a representation of an

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[55]"In Honor of the Dead." An almost identical statement concerning the national cemeteries and Confederate burials as illustrators of the "fearfulness of the struggle" appears in Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi, p. 45 .
[56]"In Honor of the Dead," p. 6.

anonymous private truly deserved that preeminent position.[57] Another version asserts that from the very beginning, the women had planned to place a common soldier on the pinnacle, and a third personal account states that the 1890 legislative appropriation required the posthumous statuary addition of the state's favorite son, which caused an alteration in the design to include the vault in the base.[58]

The only inscription on the outside monument of the monument is the twice-repeated phrase "To the Confederate Dead of Mississippi." The walls of the octagonal chamber within the vault, however, carry further notations. Two sides provide the expected recitation of the Memorial Association's history and a listing of its officers, while a third contains the aforementioned statement on the origin of Decoration Day. The other four messages offer poetic musings on the dead, musings that uphold the honor and bravery of these martyrs whose principles history shall vindicate. One of these engravings, for example, promises:

> God and our consciences alone
> Give us measures of right and wrong,
> The race may fall unto the swift
> And the battle to the strong;
> But truth will shine in history
> And blossom into song.[59]

The monument's dedication exclusively to the dead, and even the unique placement of a statue of the recently deceased Davis in the crypt-like structure of the vault, seem to share the same funereal focus as the state's other nineteenth-century memorials. And yet, the state's monument

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[57]Edgar Wilson, "Confederate Soldier's Monument," manuscript, Subject File: "Confederate Monument," MDAH. At the urging of association members and the state auditor, however, the sculptor modeled the body of the "anonymous" private after the current secretary of state, George M. Govan, and the face after the governor, John M. Stone. ibid.

[58]"Historical Facts," manuscript, Sharkey Papers, MDAH; "Confederate Monument," manuscript, Sharkey Papers, MDAH. In June of 1922, the legislature responded to a plea from the UCV by appropriating $2,500 to repair and remove the statue of Jefferson Davis into the rotunda of the Old Capitol after vandals breached the crypt at the base of the monument and mutilated the likeness of the former president by snapping one of his fingers. MS Division UDC Minutes (1923), p. 104; Laws of Mississippi (1922), p. 37.

[59]"The Honor of the Dead."

also anticipates several features characteristic of the second Confederate memorial phase: placement in a public space, the statue of the sentinel atop a shaft, and allusions to future vindication in the inscriptions. Just as Walthall's oration at the unveiling used the dead as a rhetorical device to justify the Confederate cause and its relevance to present and future generations, many Mississippi communities would append the same message to the monuments they erected in the early decades of the twentieth century. Appreciating the forces behind this commemorative transformation, however, requires an understanding of the activities pursued by Confederates who survived the war -- the veterans and their descendants.

In the spring of 1865, the advent of peace and the demise of the Confederacy transformed soldiers and sailors into civilians. Most returned home seeking to reestablish the lives they had led before combat had become their occupation. For about 150,000 in the federal ranks, this trip included a detour to Washington, D.C. and participation in a triumphal two-day procession called the Grand Review. Marching past the president and enthusiastic crowds on the streets of the capital, the Union's saviors received a true heroes' welcome. For northern forces, the demobilization process proved orderly, and the transition from military to civilian status proceeded with relative ease, as the veterans received assurances that they had served their nation well.[60] Confederate forces, on the other hand, typically waited for no formal dismissal ceremony, but simply walked away from their posts upon word of their commander's surrender. After all, what legitimate authority remained which could officially release the troops from service and provide them with decommissioning papers? Certainly the Confederate soldiers had no need to delay their exit from the field of battle for a victory parade before their leaders. For many white southerners, civilians as well as the new veterans, this end of their dream to form a separate nation caused a demoralizing disorientation that often lasted for several months. Added to this trauma was the economic devastation and often physical destruction that racked the region. For

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[60]Stuart McConnell, Glorious Contentment: The Grand Army of the Republic, 1865-1900 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), chapter 1.

some former Confederates, the only conceivable option was emigration either abroad, out West, or even up North. A few took the more drastic escape that suicide offered. Most, however, decided to remain in the South, rebuild their society, and accept the inescapable reunification of the two sections.[61]

In the meantime, Mississippi reorganized its government under Andrew Johnson's lenient plan of Presidential Reconstruction, which permitted white southerners to resume control of state machinery. By late 1865, these southern officials had begun taking steps to ensure preservation of the state's Confederate history and to meet the needs of those who had survived the war. In fact, as early as August of 1864 while the war still raged, the legislature had appointed a Superintendent of Army Records whose primary duty was to collect the names of all Mississippians mustered into Confederate or state military service as well as a record of when and where the dead had fallen.[62] In August of 1865, despite the war's conclusion, the new government specifically acted to revive this 1864 provision and even authorized the Superintendent's use of a room in the Capitol while he performed his duties.[63] In an 1866 letter to De Bow's Review, Governor Benjamin G. Humphreys proposed to expand upon these efforts even further. Complaining that only "one side of the story has been written" and that the "world's verdict is rendered against the South and her people," he suggested that states across the region should establish historical societies. In this manner,

> durable records in the form of maps, charts, and diagrams of the movements of both armies -- minute details of battles, skirmishes, robberies, conflagrations, and vandalism -- together with the heroic part acted by our brave people will be

[61]Foster, Ghosts, chapter 1.

[62]Laws of Mississippi (1864), pp. 14-16. Section 3 of the law also required the Superintendent to obtain the "final statements of deceased soldiers . . . and forward the same to the party thereto entitled . . ." The 1865 law later repealed this section. For brief narratives concerning this 1864 work, see "Mississippi in the Confederacy: Col. J. L. Powers and His Work," Confederate Veteran (December 1896): 435; Dunbar Rowland, Second Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Mississippi from October 1, 1902, to October 1, 1903 (Nashville, TN: Press of Brandon Printing Company, 1904), pp. 20-21.

[63]Laws of Mississippi (1864), pp. 159-160, & 255.

> transmitted to posterity, to whom we appeal for the vindication of the truth of history and the rectitude of our cause.[64]

Radical Reconstruction intervened, however, and Humphreys' suggested state historical society would not come to pass until 1890.

While white southerners still retained control of the government in the ten months after Appomattox, the legislature also concentrated on the more immediate concerns that emerge in the fallout from any war. Thus, in late 1865, the legislature set aside twenty percent of the state's revenue for the relief of disabled Confederate soldiers and the widows of the dead. This fund also provided for the support and education of the impoverished children of deceased or disabled soldiers.[65] Another law passed in December obliged the Superintendent of Army Records to "ascertain the number of maimed State and Confederate soldiers . . . requiring artificial legs."[66] In 1867, the legislature appropriated thirty thousand dollars for the purchase of such devices, and then directed the Superintendent to inquire as to the number of the state's former soldiers needing artificial arms.[67] A year earlier, the governor had signed a tax law which included a provision exempting permanently disabled Confederate veterans from paying an income tax if their taxable property and income did not exceed $500.[68]

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[64]Benjamin G. Humphreys, "Editorial and Miscellanies," De Bow's Review 1 (June 1866): 664-65.
[65]Laws of Mississippi (October-December 1865), pp. 149-52. The legislature amended the administration of this act on February 16, 1867. Laws of Mississippi (1867), pp. 217-18. The Mississippi Baptist State Convention also acted that fall to assist the children of veterans by establishing the Confederate Orphans' Home of Mississippi. Located in Lauderdale County, the home operated between 1866 and 1878. Mary J. Welsh, "The Confederate Orphans' Home of Mississippi," Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society 8 (1904): 121-36; Laura Nan Fairley and James T. Dawson, Paths to the Past: An Overview History of Lauderdale County, Mississippi (Meridian, MS: Lauderdale County Department of Archives and History, 1988), pp. 69 & 154; Jim Dawson, Bits & Pieces: Studies in Lauderdale County Lore Vol. 1 (Meridian, MS: Lauderdale County Department of Archives and History, 1995), pp. 27-42.
[66]Laws of Mississippi (October-December 1865), pp. 155-56. See also, Jennifer Davis McDaid, "With Lame Legs and No Money: Virginia's Disabled Confederate Veterans," Virginia Cavalcade 47 (Winter 1998): 14-25.
[67]Laws of Mississippi (1867), pp. 226-27 & 421.
[68]Laws of Mississippi (1866), p. 25. One section of an 1865 tax law exempted "all Confederate disabled soldiers, or blind persons, who were so disabled in the late war. Laws of Mississippi (October-December 1865), p. 189.

In addition to tending the living, that 1866 assembly also demonstrated regard for the dead, giving the Vicksburg Confederate Cemetery Association one thousand dollars for their reinterment project and a combined total of fifteen hundred dollars to two different Ladies Memorial Associations in Virginia for the purposes of removing the remains of Mississippians from battlefields in that state to nearby cemeteries.[69] That same legislative session passed a resolution tendering the state's gratitude towards Col. John McGavock of Franklin, Tennessee for collecting and marking the resting places of Mississippi dead in that locale.[70]

Finally, the legislature gave approval to several permanent memorials of a type that required no diversion of funds from either the survivors or the dead -- placenames. In late 1866, the members ratified the creation of a new county named Lee in the northeastern portion of the state.[71] This deed not only honored the man who had commanded the armies of the Confederacy, it also implanted a reference to sectionalist nationalism on the state's landscape. Over the next fifty years, naming counties after men with Confederate associations would become a fairly common method by which white southerners commemorated the war and its notable participants.[72] In fact, at the request of a petition signed by seventy-one residents, Mississippi's 1865 legislature took the rare step of changing a preexisting county's name from Jones to Davis, in honor of the only president of the Confederacy. Established in 1826, Jones County had been named after Commodore John Paul Jones, the founder of the American navy. Almost thirty years later when residents of the county sent an entreaty for a name change, the reason given was that

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[69]Laws of Mississippi (1867), pp. 483 & 493-94. The two Virginia memorial associations were in Oakwood and Spottsylvania.

[70]Laws of Mississippi (1866), p. 732; Mark Hunter Voss, "Cataclysm and Memory: The Battle of Franklin" (M.A. thesis, University of Mississippi, 1997), pp. 59-60

[71]Laws of Mississippi (1866), pp. 29-35.

[72]Harold E. Gulley, "Southern Nationalism on the Landscape: County Names in Former Confederate States," Names 38, no. 3 (1990): 231-242. Gulley's appendix is neither complete nor accurate concerning Mississippi county names, as the following passage in this chapter will explain. Wilbur Zelinksy has written more generally on toponymy across the country. His analysis notes that "the most intriguing problem is the poor showing of overtly nationalistic place-names in the South." Wilbur Zenlinksy, Nation into State: the Shifting Symbolic Foundations of American Nationalism (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), p. 142.

the name Jones had become "notorious if not infamous" and elicited "reproaches and vulgar comparisons . . . mortifying to those who occasionally travel beyond its limits."[73]

This disapprobation derived not from the county's link to the Commodore, who after all was part of American heritage the South was willing to share with the North, but arose instead from the activities of a few of the county's citizens. In the midst of the late war, a band of army deserters and local residents in the county had organized to resist Confederate conscription. With little to no interest in slaves or cotton production, the band had viewed the interference of the Davis administration as a greater threat than the Yankees, and they had rallied together to skirmish against Confederate troops and to raid their supply lines. By 1864, stories of the county's "secession" as the "Free State of Jones" appeared in newspapers as distant as New Orleans and New York.[74] The petitioners explained that they hoped the name change would commence a new era in the county's history and "that its past history and name may be obliterated and buried so deep that the hand of time may never resurrect it."[75] For perhaps no better reason than to reinforce the extent of their patriotic zeal, the appeal also included a request to alter the name of

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[73]Mississippi Senate Journal (1865), pp. 264-65.

[74]For information on the "Free State of Jones," see Thomas Jefferson Knight, The Life and Activities of Captain Newton Knight and His Company, and the Free State of Jones County (Laurel, MS: n.p., 1935); Ethel Knight, The Echo of the Black Horn: An Authentic Tale of the "The Governor" and "The Free State of Jones" (Soso, MS: n.p., 1951); Mary H. Kitchens, A Mini-Confederacy: The Free State of Jones, 1862-186-, A Source Book (Ellisville, MS: Progress-Item, c.1971); Ovid Vickers, "Newt Knight and the Free State of Jones: Fact, Fiction and Folklore," Mississippi Folklore Register 14 (Fall 1980): 75-81; Rudy H. Leverett, Legend of the Free State of Jones (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1984); Gene Wiggins, "Uncle Newt: My Stepfather's Remembrance of the Man Who Created the Free State of Jones," Mississippi Folklore Register 19 (Fall 1985): 87-92; Victoria E. Bynum, "Misshapen Identity: Memory, Folklore, and the Legend of Rachel Knight," in Discovering the Women in Slavery: Emancipating Perspectives on the American Past, ed. Patricia Morton (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996); Idem, The Free State of Jones: Mississippi's Longest Civil War (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

[75]Mississippi Senate Journal (1865), p. 264. If by chance posterity did learn of their county's past history, the signers also asked that their petition and their names be printed in the journals of the House and Senate so that future generations might be "disabused of any participation on our part of any of [the county's] dark deeds . . ." (p. 264-265).

the county seat from Ellisburg to Leesburg. Both modifications received the approval of the legislative members.[76]

By March of 1867, however, the composition of the legislature had changed in more ways than one. The northern public had grown increasingly aggravated over the South's unwillingness to meekly accept its position on the losing side of the scorecard. Affixing Confederate names to geopolitical entities did not cause this impatience -- although the practice typified southern intransigence. The real irritants were the Confederate names that appeared in Washington in 1866 to assume the duties of representing their states in Congress, names like Alexander H. Stephens, the former Vice-President of the Confederacy, and many others who had held responsible leadership positions in the administration and the military of the secessionist government. Congress refused to seat any of the South's elected representatives, and it grew further dismayed when the region started enacting Black Codes in an effort to reestablish planter control over the labor of freedmen. Viewing Johnson's policies as too lenient, Congress overrode a presidential veto and gained control of Reconstruction in March of 1867, at which time it divided the South into five military districts and formulated much more stringent prerequisites for readmittance to the Union than either Lincoln or Johnson had ever proposed. In Mississippi as elsewhere in the region, many ex-Confederates became disfranchised, and Republicans consequently assumed control over the state and local governments. As the party of Lincoln, Republicans received the votes of the newly enfranchised freedmen as well as those of white northerners who had migrated to the South after the war. These so-called "carpetbaggers" were typically Union Army veterans who saw an opportunity to make money or philanthropic types who wanted to assist the former slaves. A number of southerners termed "scalawags" also favored

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[76]Laws of Mississippi (1865), p. 240. This action provides an exception to Philip C. Kolin's statement that Davis counties do not arise much before 1900. "Jefferson Davis: From President to Place-Name," Names 25 (September 1977): 163.

the Republican Party because they liked its platform of economic development and internal improvements or because they, too, had an eye for political spoils.[77]

In the midst of the state's Reconstruction Constitutional Convention of 1868, one delegate introduced a resolution declaring null and void the law passed by the 1865 legislature which had changed the name of Jones County to Davis "in honor of the notorious rebel leader Jefferson Davis" and the city of Ellisburg to Leesburg "in honor of the rebel General Lee."[78] Obviously, having a county named after the former Confederate president who was even then sitting in a federal prison was just too much for the Republican-dominated body to tolerate, and the new constitution would specifically repeal the 1866 law which made the initial substitution.[79] The convention also considered changing the name of Lee County to Lincoln but the proposal never received serious consideration.[80] The North, after all, had always shown greater enmity to Davis than Lee, whose military genius and integrity they at least respected, and of course the general had by this point already demonstrated a willingness to focus on reconciliation and the region's future within the Union.

Meanwhile, several other abortive attempts to leave a more unionist mark on the map of the state occurred in the course of the convention. Arguing that many of the newly emancipated citizens of the state were too impoverished to travel to remote "seats of county justice," the

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[77]For general histories of Mississippi during Reconstruction, see James Wilford Garner, Reconstruction in Mississippi (New York: Macmillan, 1901); John Roy Lynch, The Facts of Reconstruction (New York: Neale Publishing Co., 1913); William C. Harris, Presidential Reconstruction in Mississippi (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967); Milton Meltzer, Freedom Comes to Mississippi: The Story of Reconstruction (Chicago: Follett Publishing Co., 1970); William C. Harris, The Day of the Carpetbagger: Republican Reconstruction in Mississippi (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978).
[78]Journal of the Proceedings in the Constitutional Convention of the State of Mississippi 1868 (Jackson, MS: E. Stafford, 1871), p. 145. For case studies on naming and renaming practices, see Maoz Azaryahu, "Street Names and Political Identity: The Case of East Berlin," Journal of Contemporary History 21 (October 1986): 581-604; Idem, "The Power of Commemorative Street Names," Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 14 (1996): 311-30; Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, "Reading City Streets," French Review 61 (February 1988): 386-97; Kari Palonen, "Reading Street Names Politically," in Reading the Political: Exploring the Margins of Politics, eds. Kari Palonen and Tuija Parvikko (Finnish Political Science Association, 1993).
[79]Constitutional Convention of the State of Mississippi 1868, p. 741.
[80]ibid., p. 146.

convention formed a Committee on County Borders to consider the creation of smaller units. The initial report from this committee suggested the formation of four new counties -- with two having the names Columbia and Clay.[81] In the English lexicon, Columbia has long stood as a pseudonym for the United States, and as the Great Compromiser, the antebellum statesman Henry Clay had used his tremendous abilities to prevent the two sections of the country from splitting apart. Although brought up for consideration several times, the creation of these counties never came to fruition, and neither did similar proposals made later in the convention to create a Sherman or Grant County.[82] Thus, the only alteration to survive the convention was the simple reversal of Davis County and its seat Leesburg.

The 1870 Reconstruction legislature, however, achieved a much greater showing in this policy realm, creating four new counties in a single year. One, located adjacent to Lee County, received the title "Union."[83] Nearby, the legislature designated another county "Alcorn" after the current Reconstruction governor and gave to the third in the southwest portion of the state the appellation "Lincoln."[84] On the Tennessee border, a fourth county became "Benton." The

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[81]ibid., pp. 447-49.

[82]ibid., pp. 480-82, 675, 692, 698-99, & 708-9. That the names were the determinant factor causing delegates to vote against the various proposals seems doubtful.

[83]Laws of Mississippi (1870), pp. 126-129. George S. Mitchell, the son of settlers from Union District, South Carolina, might also have suggested the name. Union County Historical Committee, History of Union County, Mississippi 1989 (Dallas, TX: Curtis Media, 1990), p. 4. Mississippi also possesses several communities with the word "Union" in their title but none of them for the same reason as the county. In fact, most of their derivations appear linked to churches. James F. Brieger, Hometown Mississippi 2nd edition (N.p.: 1980), pp. 150, 227, 239, 297, 312, 364, & 500.

[84]Laws of Mississippi (1870), pp. 118-21 & 129-32. Born in Illinois, Alcorn migrated first to Kentucky and then settled in Mississippi in 1844. By the war's outbreak, he owned ninety-three slaves and an estate worth a quarter of a million dollars. A Whig and anti-secessionist prior to Fort Sumter, Alcorn nevertheless raised a company of volunteers to fight for the South, but his regional loyalty did not prevent him from aligning himself after Appomattox with the party whose political philosophy most agreed with his own. Thus, as a Republican, Alcorn became governor of the state in 1869, and in 1871, a U.S. Senator. Never actually calling for racial equality, Alcorn still earned a reputation as a scalawag by joining the Reconstruction administration. Lillian A. Pereyra, James Lusk Alcorn: Persistent Whig ([Baton Rouge]: Louisiana State University Press, 1966). Therefore, when Gulley lists Alcorn in his appendix on county names as a Confederate, he was accurate but also incorrect in attributing the naming of the county for that reason. Alcorn's military service as a Confederate during the war was unremarkable, and the Reconstruction legislators who named a county after him in 1870, most probably honored Alcorn for his role as

intended source of this particular toponym remains unclear. One candidate which the Reconstruction legislature understandably would have found appealing was Thomas Hart Benton, a prominent Missouri senator who had opposed the westward extension of slavery. Other sources, however, indicate that the name referred instead to his nephew Colonel Samuel Benton, a local lawyer who died a Confederate hero at the Battle of Atlanta in 1864.[85] As this latter reference seems an unlikely choice to gain the approval of the Reconstruction legislators, they probably intended the first, although the shared surname certainly permitted white southerners to interpret the designation in their own manner. In 1871, the legislature labeled a fifth county "Colfax" after Grant's Vice-President.[86] Finally, in 1874 the Republican-dominated body considered the formation of a new county, tentatively labeled at times in debate as either Clay (for Henry Clay), Ames (after the current Reconstruction governor and former Union general, Adelbert Ames), or Douglass (seemingly in honor of the ex-slave and abolitionist Frederick Douglass).[87] The final decision came down in favor of Sumner, most likely a tribute to Charles Sumner, the Radical Republican senator from Massachusetts and proponent of black civil rights who had died that same year.[88] Ironically, the new Sumner County lay adjacent to Calhoun County, so designated in 1852 to honor the southern sectionalist John C. Calhoun. Of the ten new counties created during Reconstruction, then, six carried obvious or likely anti-Confederate associations.[89]

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their current governor. In 1871, the state purchased Oakland College, renamed it Alcorn, and opened its doors to freedmen.

[85]Laws of Mississippi (1870), pp. 115-18. Claims for the Thomas H. Benton source appear in Brieger, Hometown Mississippi, p. 37; Henry Gannett, "The Origin of Certain Place Names in the State of Mississippi," Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society 6 (1902): 340.

[86]Laws of Mississippi (1871), pp. 800-802.

[87]Mississippi Senate Journal (1874), pp. 78, 255, 230, 307, 410, 484, & 492. Not only was Ames stigmatized by his carpetbagging status and former career as a Union general, but to the greater horror of some white Mississippians he had also married the daughter of the notorious General Benjamin F. Butler, the "Beast of New Orleans." Richard N. Currant, Three Carpetbag Governors (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), p. 76.

[88]Laws of Mississippi (1874), pp. 220-24. For Mississippi legislative addresses memorializing Sumner upon his death, see Mississippi House Journal (1874), pp. 402-13; Mississippi Senate Journal (1874), pp. 322-37.

[89]The four other counties created during Reconstruction were Grenada (1870), Prentiss (1870), Leflore (1871), and Tate (1873).

With the 1875 fall elections and the 1876 forced resignation of Governor Adelbert Ames under the duress of impeachment, the Democrats "redeemed" the state, putting an end to Reconstruction in Mississippi. Once in office, however, the counterrevolutionaries refrained from altering the county names approved by their Republican predecessors, except in two instances. The first transformation occurred to Colfax County. Presumably, the disgraceful behavior of the vice-president in the Credit Mobilier stock scandal provided sufficient ammunition to support modification. In 1876, therefore, the legislature changed the name to Clay, but only after voting down one representative's suggestion of Davis.[90] Still reveling in their triumphant return to power, but perhaps anxious lest such a blatant anti-Union gesture antagonize federal authorities, the assembly of Redeemers opted instead for a more ambiguous symbolic statement by honoring the conciliatory statesman from the West, Henry Clay, who had died prior to secession and the eruption of hostilities. That same year, the members designated a new county after William L. Sharkey, an eminent lawyer who had also served as provisional governor of the state during 1865.[91] An ardent Union-Whig, Sharkey nevertheless deplored Radical Reconstruction and appeared before the U.S. Supreme Court to fight for his state's rights just prior to his death in 1873. The only other late nineteenth-century legislation dealing with county names occurred in 1882, when Sumner became Webster.[92] During the 1830 South Carolina nullification crisis, New

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[90]Constitutional Convention of the State of Mississippi 1868, p. 128; Mississippi House Journal (1876), p. 584.

[91]Laws of Mississippi (1876), pp. 57-62.

[92]Laws of Mississippi (1882), p. 148. Perhaps the sufferance with which the legislature and the population showed Lincoln County, owed something to the growing belief of white southerners that, if he had remained alive, President Lincoln would have prevented the greater travails of Reconstruction. In 1925, the historian Dunbar Rowland explained this restraint towards the county's appellation as "an indication of the Southerner's spirit of generosity and broad mindedness . . . . When Jefferson Davis is thus interpreted in the North and West for which he spent his youth and prime then will justice rejoice." Dunbar Rowland, History of Mississippi: The Heart of the South (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1925): p. 777. See also, Avery Craven, "Southern Attitudes Toward Abraham Lincoln," in Papers in Illinois History and Transactions for the Year (1942): 1-18.

England Senator Daniel Webster had defended national unity against dissolution by states, advocating "Liberty *and* Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."[93]

With this 1882 law, whether intentional or not, Mississippi now possessed three counties in close proximity -- Calhoun, Clay, and Webster -- named after the triumvirate of notable American statesmen closely linked together by their involvement in the sectional disputes of the early nineteenth century.[94] Both Clay and Webster seem strange choices for a southern state back under the control of Democrats and former Confederates. Neither man was a southerner, after all, and both were strong advocates of unionism. The likeliest rationale behind these selections was a political consideration not to offend the rest of the nation while proceeding to replace far more detestable names. Furthermore, with careers that ended before the outbreak of war, white southerners would deem Clay and Webster much more acceptable than the postbellum activities and attitudes of Colfax and Sumner.

Regardless of the actual reason for this conciliatory stance in the years immediately after Reconstruction, the Mississippi legislature would not begin to redraw the map of Mississippi again in this manner until the early twentieth century. When this last spurt of county creations commenced, the legislature used each and every opportunity to convey the names of Mississippi Confederates and leading Redeemers upon the newly created geopolitical units. Legislatures carved out Lamar County first in 1904, ceding it the name of L. Q. C. Lamar who helped to draft the state's Ordinance of Secession in 1861, who then served in the Confederate Army before becoming the South's diplomatic envoy to Russia and later the Confederate Judge Advocate General, and whose post-Reconstruction resume included service as a U.S. Senator, a Secretary of the Interior, and a U.S. Supreme Court Justice.[95] On the next occasion in 1906, the legislature assigned the name Jefferson Davis to a new county -- not the surname alone but the entire name,

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[93]Register of Debates, 21st Congress, 1st Session, 80.
[94]Merrill D. Peterson, The Great Triumvirate: Webster, Clay, and Calhoun (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 178.
[95]Laws of Mississippi (1904), pp. 143-46.

first and last, so there might be no mistaking the honoree.[96] In that same year, Forrest County became the namesake of Brigadier General Nathan Bedford Forrest whose cavalry escapades had so harangued the Yankees.[97] The legislature paid a similar homage to E. C. Walthall in 1910 and J. Z. George in 1912.[98] Both men had served as high ranking officers in the Confederate forces and later as senators in the United States Congress. Stone County came into existence in 1916, named in honor of John Marshall Stone, a man who had fought for the Confederacy and who had held the office of governor twice, most significantly as the first Democratic governor after Mississippi's redemption from Reconstruction.[99] Finally, in 1918, the legislature designated the last county created in the state Humphreys, after Benjamin G. Humphreys, a member of the Mississippi legislature since 1833, a man who had fought for the Confederacy and after the war had served as governor until, as legend claims, forcibly removed at bayonet point from the Governor's Mansion by Reconstruction Republicans.[100] Admittedly, four of these seven men had careers in high public offices after the Civil War. In fact, Lamar, Stone, George, and Walthall were probably honored with county namesakes *because* of their leadership as Redeemers.[101] Yet one cannot completely dismiss the common Confederate link all of these men shared. Clearly, the popularity among state representatives for Confederate toponyms had revived and grown strong since the 1870s.

Counties were not the only units on the map to receive Confederate names, for cities, too, sometimes adopted the monikers of both major and minor military celebrities. Of them all,

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[96]Laws of Mississippi (1906), pp. 179-84. Amendments to these two bills changed the names of these counties quite a number of times. House Journal (1906), pp. 238, 250, 373-74, 610, 827-28, 947, 1122, 1127, 1178, & 1183.
[97]Laws of Mississippi (1906), pp. 174-79.
[98]Laws of Mississippi (1910), pp. 236-41; Laws of Mississippi (1912), pp. 415-17.
[99]Laws of Mississippi (1916), pp. 593-94.
[100]Laws of Mississippi (1918), pp. 368-77. For a description of Humphreys ejection from office, see David G. Sansing and Carroll Waller, A History of the Mississippi Governor's Mansion (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1977), pp. 61-63.
[101]For capsule accounts on these men's contributions to the state's Redemption, see James G. Revels, "Redeemers, Rednecks, and Racial Integrity," in A History of Mississippi ed. Richard Aubrey McLemore, (Hattiesburg: University & College Press of Mississippi, 1973), pp. 590-621.

General Nathan Bedford Forrest appears to have proved the most popular choice in Mississippi. In 1865, a town in Scott County chose to incorporate under the surname of the war hero. Despite the current spelling which contains only one "r," and the allegation of a source which attributes the community's name to its location in a pine forest district, the timing of the incorporation as well as the distinctive double consonant spelling utilized in the law, suggests otherwise.[102] Spelling also confuses the derivation of Forest Hills, now a suburb of Jackson. Settled around 1860, local legend claims that sometime during the war the brigadier general supposedly regrouped his men at the top of the mild incline before continuing to press forward.[103] Forreston in Lowndes County also ascribes its name to the cunning strategist, purportedly not so much for his wartime heroism than because his involvement in railroad construction near the area during the postbellum era.[104] Meanwhile, Attala County contains a simple, straightforward "Forrest," a town which took its identity in 1906 from a local public school established around 1875 as a namesake of the Confederate general.[105]

No county or town within the state ever adopted the surname of the God-fearing General Thomas L. Jackson, although a few Mississippi towns appropriated his nickname. In 1868, when two men started a cotton ginning business in Clarke County they entitled it the Stonewall Manufacturing Company. Whether a clever merchandising ploy or a heartfelt tribute, "Stonewall" became the name of the adjoining mill village, and yet another community of the same name arose in Desoto County.[106] In Copiah County, the town of Bahala changed its name soon after the

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[102]Laws of Mississippi (1865), pp. 381-382; Brieger, Hometown Mississippi, p. 425.
[103]Brieger, Hometown Mississippi, p. 178.
[104]ibid., pp. 315-16.
[105]ibid., pp. 23-24. For a discussion of the long term image of Forrest in Memphis, Tennessee, see Court Carney, "The Contested Image of Nathan Bedford Forrest," Journal of Southern History 67 (August 2001): 601-30.
[106]Laws of Mississippi (1870), p. 460; Brieger, Hometown Mississippi, pp. 94 & 133. From 1866 to 1883, Mrs. Mary Jane Buchanan operated Stonewall College, a school for girls in Ripley. At its opening, W. C. Falkner--the great-grandfather of author William Faulkner--presented his play "The Lost Diamond," a melodrama set during the First Battle of Manassas. Andrew Brown, History of Tippah County, Mississippi: The First Century (Ripley, MS: Tippah County Historical and Genealogical Society, 1976), pp. 242-44 & 255-56. In 1867, the Mississippi legislature authorized

war to Beauregard, in honor of the dashing General Pierre Gustav Toutant Beauregard from Louisiana, and the founder of Braxton in Simpson County named his place after General Braxton Bragg.[107] Surprisingly, all the Mississippi communities entitled "Lee" or some other variant have no relationship to the Civil War general but originated instead from the surnames of local individuals. The same goes for the few communities named "Davis," although Warren County once boasted an obviously derivative "Jeff Davis" nine miles south of Vicksburg.[108]

The names the Reconstruction legislature assigned to Mississippi counties were merely indicative of the sweeping changes Radical Republicans introduced in the state. Of course, the greatest change of all -- the emancipation of slaves -- had happened during the war, but the subsequent efforts to protect the civil rights of African Americans occurred under the watch of Reconstruction administrations. Once the lowest of the low, a former slave now chose for whom he would work and under what conditions, decided whether his wife should stay out of the fields and their children in the classroom, and cast ballots for whichever government officials met his approval. If he so desired, a freedman could also run for public office himself. After all, plenty of vacancies required filling because many of the whites who normally held such posts could no longer vote themselves, much less occupy an elected position. For white southerners of all classes, poor farmers as well as plantation owners, this reversal of fortune was a nightmarish addition to the calamity of defeat, and Confederate veterans would participate in the campaign to

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the incorporation of Stonewall Lodge, No. 78 of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, located in Tishomingo County. Laws of Mississippi (1867), p. 517.

[107]Brieger, Hometown Mississippi, pp. 116-17 & 438; Laws of Mississippi (October-December 1865), pp. 329-30.

[108]ibid., pp. 4, 51, 91, 98, 137, 229, 266, 315, 321, 419 & 509. Two other communities were named after Civil War veterans: Helm in Washington County for Major George Helm and in Marion County, a town called Prine rechristened itself Goss after a much beloved local veteran Dr. Zeno S. Goss. Brieger, Hometown Mississippi, pp. 328 & 517. West Point renamed its high school after local veteran James D. Lynch. Clay County Board of Supervisors, Clay County Centennial Celebration 1872-1972 (N.p., 1972), p. 15.

restore white supremacy by creating and participating in extralegal organizations like the Ku Klux Klan.[109]

The first Klan began in Pulaski, Tennessee as a social club created by Confederate veterans "to relieve the tedium and monotony following the stirring scenes and activities of the war," but the group soon found a more specific purpose for their gatherings.[110] By the fall of 1866, KKK dens and similar groups had begun to organize in states throughout the region, creating an "invisible army" determined to reassert white authority and black subjugation. In Mississippi, Klan activity peaked in 1870-71 during the general atmosphere of lawlessness that accompanied the withdrawal of army troops and the restoration of civil government under Republican control. Most Klan activity took place in the eastern tier of counties although some central counties, especially in the north, acquired chapters at the height of Klan operations in 1871. In the densely populated

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[109]In a study of North Carolina, Richard Dale Starnes has shown that public appeals to Confederate memory existed in that state as early as 1865. These references to a recently shared and noble past gave legitimacy to the campaign to reestablish white supremacy. "'Rule of the Rebs': White Supremacy, the Lost Cause, and White Social Memory in Reconstruction North Carolina, 1865-1871" (M.A. thesis, Western Carolina University, 1994). W. Scott Poole notes similar appeals in the Reconstruction history of South Carolina in "Religion, Gender, and the Lost Cause in South Carolina's 1876 Governor's Race: 'Hampton or Hell!'" Journal of Southern History 68 (August 2002): 573-98; "Never Surrender: The Lost Cause and the Making of Southern Conservatism in the South Carolina Upcountry, 1850-1903" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Mississippi, 2001). Whether a similar analysis of Mississippi would uncover matching data is unknown and worth considering, despite William C. Harris's contention that "The cult of the Lost Cause, if it ever possessed a controlling influence on southern behavior, certainly had not taken root in the minds of Mississippians during Reconstruction." Harris, Day of the Carpetbagger, p. 573. Harris finds that most historical allusions during this era invoked the "simple and heroic" periods of the state's territorial and early statehood existence (p. 573). And yet, in 1874, Mississippi senator Charles E. Furlong suggested that the Vicksburg race riot merely added to the memories represented by the National Cemetery, the Confederate Cemetery, and Pemberton's Surrender Monument. Charles E. Furlong, Origin of the Outages at Vicksburg: Speech of Hon. Chas. E. Furlong, Senator from Warren County, in the State of Mississippi, December 18, 1874 (Vicksburg, MS: Vicksburg Herald Printing, 1874), p. 16.

[110]Mrs. S. E. F. Rose, "The Ku Klux Klan and 'The Birth of a Nation,'" Confederate Veteran (April 1916): 158. Eric T. Dean submits that Civil War veterans, just like Vietnam veterans experienced psychological stress and readjustment problems after the war, and he cites KKK activity as just one example of increased violence, crime, and anti-social behavior in postbellum society. Eric T. Dean, "'We Will All Be Lost and Destroyed': Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and the Civil War," Civil War History 37 (June 1991): 138-53. William Waller suggests of veterans groups in general that "It is natural such organizations should turn out to be the foci of militant and patriotic conservatism . . . that the man who has fought to defend the country from external enemies should often end by defending it from change." William Waller, Veteran Comes Back (New York: Dryden Press, 1944), p. 195.

black counties of the west and south, however, both Republicans and white planters resisted the incursions of the extralegal organization, Republicans because they were a target, and white planters because Klan operations fostered turmoil that disturbed the stability of the black labor force so essential for economic survival.[111]

Although a number of former Confederates certainly joined the Klu Klux Klan, a significant portion of their membership also came from men too young to have fought in the war but who were now seeking to prove their manhood. Disreputable characters also contributed to the contingent. In fact, one former Confederate officer remarked about a group brought before the federal court in Oxford that he recognized several of them as men he had chased during the war for desertion and avoiding conscription.[112] Yet, despite this disparate composition, the costumed nightriders often portrayed themselves as ghosts of Confederate soldiers, an intimidation tactic that relied upon the perceived superstitious nature of blacks. Thus, the Oxford Falcon, documenting the first appearance of the local Klan, wrote the next day that "a body of men, said to be the heroes of Shiloh, came from their grave and marched silently through the town."[113] Lamar Fontaine of Lyon, Mississippi writing years later about his own participation, told how the Klan would appear at black meetings where one of the costumed force would demand water. Remarking that he had not quenched his thirst since the Battle of Manassas, the Ku Kluxer would

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[111]This characterization of Klan activities in Mississippi relies upon Harris, Day of the Carpetbagger, chapter 12. In his master's thesis, Gregory Scott Hospodor argues that the Klan existed throughout the state, but that Republicans in the west and south were better able to suppress their activities and political influence. Gregory Scott Hospodor, "The Mississippi Ku Klux Klan During Reconstruction" (M.A. thesis, University of Mississippi, 1991), pp. 142-44.

[112]Harris, Day of the Carpetbagger, pp. 385-86; Hospodor, "Mississippi Ku Klux Klan," pp. 56-57.

[113]Minnie Smith Holt, Oxford, Mississippi (N.p., c. 1935), pp. 6-7; Works Progress Administration interviews with two former Mississippi slaves in the 1930s relate similar tales of the Klan attempting to pass itself off as Confederate haunts, see George P. Rawick, ed., The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography, Supplementary Series 1, Vol. 7 (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1977), p. 347; ibid., Supp. Series 1, Vol. 9, p. 1355. Foster suggests that veterans might have adopted this ghostly mantle because subconsciously they "feared that the Confederate dead were more powerful and awesome than the survivors of the war" (p. 48). See also, H. Grady McWhiney and Francis B. Simkins, "The Ghostly Legend of the Ku-Klux Klan," Negro History Bulletin 14 (February 1951): 109-12.

then appear to swallow an unbelievable quantity of water which in reality passed from a tube in his hood to a concealed rubber bag.[114]

As an organization seeking to inspire terror among Republicans both black and white, the Klan often went beyond mere ghostly scare tactics to employ very real violence, and Governor Alcorn seemed unable to develop an adequate response to deter these incidents. Eventually, Congressional reactions to two vicious episodes in Mississippi would contribute to a federal solution to the problem. During hearings on this federal "Ku Klux Klan" bill, one U.S. representative exhibited the tattered, bloodied shirt of an Aberdeen carpetbagger who had experienced a brutal whipping at the hands of a local den.[115] The other event that received a public airing was the March 1871 Meridian race riot in which as many as thirty blacks died. In response to these and other violent acts throughout the South, Congress passed the 1871 Enforcement law which extended federal jurisdiction over the criminal activities of suspected Klansmen. In Mississippi, vigorous federal prosecution suppressed the organization's presence by 1872.[116] The violence and intimidation directed at white and black Republicans did not disappear, of course. In fact, the 1875 electoral victory of the Democrats that redeemed the state from Republican rule certainly owed a significant debt to both tactics, but the Klan itself was not a major factor in that fight.

In some ways, this early Ku Klux Klan seems almost a proto-veterans organization for Confederates, an attempt to recapture the camaraderie of the campaign and the excitement of battle -- with the oppressive Reconstruction regimes simply forcing members to adopt covert measures and providing the group with an obvious enemy.[117] Yet, the Klan did not restrict itself to

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[114]Mrs. S. E. F. Rose, The Ku Klux Klan or Invisible Empire (New Orleans: L. Graham Co., 1914), pp. 57-58.

[115]Harris, Day of the Carpetbagger, p. 396. This Reconstruction episode provided the origins for the postbellum political phrase "waving the bloody shirt" which usually referred to Republican efforts to whip up sectional antagonisms of the party rank-and-file against Democrats and the South.

[116]ibid., pp. 396-405.

[117]Acknowledging that the KKK was not a formal veterans organization in any traditional sense, Piehler still finds "striking similarities" between that group and the early years of the Grand Army

veterans exclusively, and the esoteric terminology and rituals the members practiced did not derive from a Confederate context. Furthermore, southern veterans demonstrated no inclination to gather together in any organized fashion once the federal government and Republicans relinquished their control of the region and white southerners were free once again to openly establish their own associations.

As early as December 1865, at least one veteran had suggested in newsprint that the surviving soldiers of Noxubee County should organize a society which would meet annually, produce a "roll of the sacred dead," and help the indigent families of those whose names appeared on this roster.[118] No substantive response appears to have occurred. After Robert E. Lee's death in 1870, a number of Confederate veterans had formed the Association of the Army of Northern Virginia, dedicated to the goal of erecting a monument to Lee in Richmond, but the group enlisted few members outside of that city or state, and although a smattering of other locales established veterans organizations, most of the survivors of the defunct Confederate army displayed little interest in such formal societies.[119] The boys who had worn the Blue shared this disinclination to spend structured time together remembering or reliving their wartime experiences -- throughout the 1870s, less than two percent of those eligible opted to join the Grand Army of the Republic, the organization created for Union veterans back in 1866.[120] Veterans on both sides seemed more interested in the present than the past, in rejuvenating their pre-war careers or forging new vocations, and in reconnecting with their families and society.

Yet, despite the immediacy of these demands, the Confederate past remained a significant presence in southern society even before the appearance of region-wide veterans

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of the Republic, the organization for Union veterans. Remembering War, p. 62; Larry M. Logue suggests that an informal network of former Confederate officers assisted the spread of the KKK across the region. Larry M. Logue, To Appomattox and Beyond: The Civil War Soldier in War and Peace (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1996), pp. 111-12.

[118]"Dec. 30th, 1865. Dear Beacon," clipping, J. G. Deupree Papers, SMMSS 78-3, Folder 6, UM.

[119]Foster, Ghosts, p. 61; Gerald F. Linderman, Embattled Courage: The Experience of Combat in the American Civil War (New York: Free Press, 1987), pp. 266-70.

[120]Linderman, Embattled Courage, p. 270; Blight, Race and Reunion, p. 150.

associations and their auxiliaries in the late 1880s and 1890s. Certainly the rituals and oratories of Decoration Days and similar mourning occasions continued to prompt recollections of the war, and other mediums, too, served in their own fashion to perpetuate remembrance of those momentous years. Paintings, prints, and photographs of the war and its leaders remained popular in the South for many decades, proudly displayed on walls or carefully pasted into scrapbooks.[121] Several of the era's songs and tunes such as the "Bonnie Blue Flag" and "Dixie" retained currency. To this Civil War repertoire, musicians occasionally added new lyrical offerings on the subject, as in one folk song whose chorus defiantly affirmed

> For I'm a good old rebel, that's what I am,
> And for this Land o' Freedom I don't care a damn.
> I'm glad I fought against her; I only wish we'd won,
> And I don't ask no pardons for anything I've done.[122]

The region's authors displayed a similar, yet softer, recalcitrance in the novels, poems, magazines, memoirs, and histories which rolled off the printing presses during these same years. Southern periodicals like De Bow's Review and The Land We Love, though few in number and

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[121]For scholarship on Civil War themes in artwork and prints, see Mark E. Neely, Jr. et al., "Prints of the Lost Cause: Images of Virginia and Virginians," Virginia Cavalcade 37 (Winter 1988): 114-25; Idem, "Lost Cause Art: Prints the North Published for the South in Its Hour of Defeat," Americana 15 (August 1987): 59-62; Mark E. Neely, Jr. and Harold Holzer, "Victims, Stoics, and Refugees: Women in Lost Cause Prints," in Graphic Arts and the South: Proceedings of the 1990 North American Print Conference, ed. Judy A. Larson (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1993); Margaret Coons, "A Portrait of His Times: John Elder's Paintings Reflect People and Events During a Critical Period in Virginia History," Virginia Cavalcade 16 (Spring 1967): 15-31; Estelle Curtis Pennington, The Last Meeting's Lost Cause (Spartanburg, SC: Robert M. Hicklin, Jr., 1988); Emily J. Salmon, "The Burial of Latane: Symbol of the Lost Cause," Virginia Cavalcade 28 (Winter 1979): 118-29; Drew Gilpen Faust, "Race, Gender, and Confederate Nationalism: William D. Washington's Burial of Latane," Southern Review 25 (April 1989): 297-307; Alan Trachtenberg, Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), chapter 2; Jan Zita Grover, "Philosophical Maneuvers in a Photogenic War," Afterimage 10 (April 1983): 4-6.

[122]Arthur Palmer Hudson, ed., Specimens of Mississippi Folk-Lore (N.p.: Mississippi Folk Lore Society, 1928), p. 87. See also, Arthur Palmer Hudson, Folksongs of Mississippi and Their Background (New York: Folklorica, 1981), pp. 253-67; Cecil Kirk Hutson, "The Darker Side of Dixie: Southern Music and the Seamier Side of the Rural South" (Ph.D. dissertation, Iowa State University, 1995), p. 281.

with small subscription lists, provided one public forum in which former Confederates could recall the glories of the late war and refine their interpretation of events.[123]

Very rarely did these writers repent the South's secession and the war that followed. The righteousness of those actions generally remained unquestioned, although the tragic outcome certainly demanded rationalization. In the years immediately after the conflict, a number of southerners had not hesitated to place the blame for the Confederacy's loss at its own doorstep, condemning the disorder of the troops, the poor decisions of officers, the ineptness of the administration, or the disloyalty of those on the homefront. By the 1880s, however, this self-criticism had dissipated, and the diversity of these accounts had dissolved into a more or less unified orthodoxy. In this accepted version of events, the South legitimately seceded from a nation which no longer abided by the constitution of the Founding Fathers, and Confederate soldiers -- with the staunch assistance of citizens -- gloriously defended their home from the Union's unwarranted invasion, suffering defeat only because of the overpowering numerical and industrial supremacy of the North. The subtext of this rote plot was that while Providence may have dealt the region a blow by destroying the chivalric and aristocratic lifestyle of the Old South, posterity would ultimately realize that its cause was just and its constitutional concerns correct.[124] Writing at his home Beauvoir on the Mississippi Gulf Coast, Jefferson Davis adopted just such an

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[123]See, Ray Morris Atchison, "The Land We Love: A Southern Post-Bellum Magazine of Agriculture, Literature, and Military History," North Carolina Historical Review 37 (October 1960): 506-15; Idem, "Our Living and Our Dead: A Post-Bellum North Carolina Magazine of Literature and History," North Carolina Historical Review 40 (October 1963): 423-33; Aliene Johnson, "Southern Literary Magazines of the Reconstruction Period: A Chapter in the History of American Periodicals; Being a Detailed Study of De Bow's Review, The Land We Love, The Southern Review, and The Southern Magazine, with a Brief Treatment of Other Literary Magazines of the Reconstruction Period" (M.A. thesis, Duke University, 1935); Thomas D. Clark, The Southern Country Editor (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1964), pp. 25, 58-59, 169-81.

[124]Susan Speare Durant, "The Gently Furled Banner: The Development of the Myth of the Lost Cause, 1865-1900" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1972), chapter 1; Theodore Harry Jabbs, "The Lost Cause: Some Southern Opinion Between 1865 and 1900 About Why the Confederacy Lost the Civil War" (M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina, 1967); Fred Hobson, Tell About the South: The Southern Rage to Explain (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983), part 2, chapter 1; Richard Gray, Writing the South: Ideas of an American Region (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 75-88; Foster, Ghosts, chapter 4.

argument in his own work, The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government, which rolled off the press in 1881.

Meanwhile, northern periodicals began actively soliciting the submissions of southern authors and topics by the early 1880s. In fact, the 1884-87 series "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War" in The Century was so popular, the magazine's circulation nearly doubled. Because the editors of these northern journals consciously ignored the war's causality and concentrated instead on what happened in the midst of battle, they avoided political controversy and permitted soldiers from both camps to appreciate their shared experiences. Needless to say, this conciliatory tactic required southern writers to downplay the uncompromising states' rights defense they adopted for their home market, yet the formula still provided the authors with an opportunity to regale a national audience with tales concerning the martial ability and heroic exploits of Confederate troops. By then, many northern readers had lost their wartime prejudice and bitterness against the South and were more than ready to accept this particular interpretation of events. The natural amelioratory influence of time's passage contributed to this attitude, as did the public's reaction against the alleged corruption and inadequacies of Reconstruction administrations. Yet another factor in this sympathetic reading was the immense popularity of fictional works set in the South, many of them plantation romances and tales narrated in negro dialect.[125]

In 1888, South Carolina carpetbagger Albion W. Tourgee complained in a literary essay for Forum that

> A foreigner studying our current literature, without knowledge of our history, and judging our civilization by our fiction would undoubtedly conclude that the South was the seat of intellectual empire in America, and the African the chief romantic

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[125]Foster, Ghosts, pp. 68-70; Rollin G. Osterweis, The Myth of the Lost Cause 1865-1900 (Hamden, CN: Archon Books, 1973), pp. 44-91; See also, Rayburn S. Moore, "Southern Writers and Northern Literary Magazines, 1865-1890" (Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1956). In Race and Reunion, Blight, quite correctly, distinguishes between northern middle class readers who came to view veterans from both sides as brave men defending their respective beliefs and the numerous Union veterans, former abolitionists, and African Americans who continued to dispute the moral neutrality of this interpretation (p. 190).

> element of our population. As an evidence of this, it may be noted that a few months ago every one of our great popular monthlies presented a 'Southern story' as one of its most prominent features; and during the past year nearly two-thirds of the stories and sketches furnished to newspapers by various syndicates have been of this character.[126]

Writing just a few years later, one proud southerner noted that his region was participating in "a new invasion against the North, and has already captured all of its leading magazines."[127] The vogue for these short pieces of local color as well as more lengthy historical novels reflected the desire of late nineteenth-century readers to travel in their imaginations to a pastoral world deemed chivalrous, aristocratic, and stable, and the mythical Old South offered a striking contrast to the contemporary Gilded Age chaos of immigrant-filled cities, societal unrest, and amoral business ethics. Stories of this nature not only engendered admiration for antebellum agrarian culture -- an admiration safely promoted because the civilization and slavery which sustained it no longer existed -- they also provided a subtle critique of Yankee manners and industrial progress. Yet, in spite of this emphasis on regional contrast, several of these fabricated tales nevertheless optimistically celebrated the reunification of the two sections through the metaphorical marriages of southern belles to Union officers. Taken as a whole, then, these popular genres with their sympathetic interpretation of the Old South managed to subtly defend southern history and promote reconciliation on terms hospitable to the White South.[128]

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[126]Albion W. Tourgee, "The South as a Field of Fiction," Forum 7 (December 1888): 407. For more on Tourgee, see Carolyn Murray Happer, "Three Dissenting Views of the Nineteenth-Century South: Albion W. Tourgee, Charles W. Chestnutt, and Walter Hines Page" (Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1985).

[127]W. M. Baskerville, "Southern Literature Since the War," Vanderbilt Observer 15 (1893): 210.

[128]Nina Silber, The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865-1900 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Francis Pendleton Gaines, The Southern Plantation: A Study in the Development and Accuracy of a Tradition (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1962); Rebecca Washington Smith, The Civil War and Its Aftermath in American Fiction, 1861-1899 (Chicago: University of Chicago Libraries, 1937); Joyce Appleby, "Reconciliation and the Northern Novelist, 1865-1880," Civil War History 10 (June 1964): 117-29; Michael Flushce, "The Private Plantation: Versions of the Old South Myth, 1880-1914" (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1973); Sarah Elizabeth Gardner, "'Blood and Irony': Southern Women's Narratives of the Civil War, 1861-1915" (Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1996); Cruce Stark, "Brothers at/in War: One Phase of Post-Civil War Reconciliation," Canadian Review of American Studies 6 (Fall 1975): 174-81; Buck, Road to Reunion, chapters 8 & 9; Sheldon Van Auken, "The Southern Historical Novel in the Early Twentieth Century," Journal of Southern History 14 (May 1948): 157-91.

Another factor which contributed to the durability of Confederate memory was the very presence of the former soldiers themselves. Despite their return to civilian status and their reluctance to organize after the war, Confederate veterans remained a recognizably distinct group in southern society. Service in the secessionist fighting force guaranteed a certain degree of prestige which set these former soldiers apart from mere ordinary mortals. Southern voters, for instance, tended to favor veterans as political candidates in electoral contests. As late as 1900, therefore, former Confederate soldiers occupied almost all of Mississippi's elective offices.[129] The significance given veterans credentials also appears in the correspondence of the state's governors, wherein appeals for political appointments tended to place greater emphasis on a man's length of military service, heroism, and war disabilities than either his party loyalty or ability to function in the proposed position.[130]

For over two decades, the preferments veterans received in elected and appointed offices provided one of the few tangible means by which the state's citizenry could demonstrate their gratitude for the sacrifices Confederate soldiers had endured in four years of fighting. While indigent and disabled Union veterans and their families received generous pension payments from the federal government and northern states, the South's relatively smaller tax revenues and

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[129]William W. White, "Mississippi Confederate Veterans in Public Office, 1875-1900," Journal of Mississippi History 20 (July 1958): 147-55. See also, Idem, The Confederate Veteran (Tuscaloosa, AL: Confederate Publishing Co., 1962), chapter 4; William B. Hesseltine and Larry Gara, "Mississippi's Confederate Leaders After the War," Journal of Mississippi History 8 (April 1951): 88-100; William B. Hesseltine, Confederate Leaders in the New South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950); Logue, To Appomattox, pp. 106-107 & 116-17; Kathleen Lynn Gorman, "When Johnny Came Marching Home Again: Confederate Veterans in the New South" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Riverside, 1994), pp. 1-44; Albert D. Kirwan, Revolt of the Rednecks: Mississippi Politics 1876-1925 (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1964), p. 106. Congressman "Private" John Allen from Mississippi acquired his nickname on the political stump. At a debate, two opponents -- one a general and the other a colonel -- urged voters to consider Confederate military service in marking their ballots. When Allen spoke, he acknowedged himself outranked, as he had joined the army at fourteen and remained a private until the war's end. Allen stated himself perfectly willing to concede to his opponents the votes from all officers and accept only those votes from fellow privates. Clyde J. Faries, "The Rhetoric of Private John Allen" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Missouri, 1965), pp. 81-89.

[130]William H. White, "Mississippi Confederate Veterans Seek Political Appointments, 1876-1900," Mississippi Quarterly 8 (Winter 1959-60): 1-5. As late as 1909, the UCV approved a resolution at its annual convention urging state governments to give veterans preference for appointed positions. UCV Minutes (1909), pp. 87-88.

consequent climate of economic restraint meant that needy veterans of the Gray relied almost exclusively on local relief efforts. The assistance programs for veterans and their dependents that the Mississippi legislature had established back in 1865-66 had gone by the wayside during Reconstruction, and even after Redemption permitted former Confederates to regain ascendancy, the issue remained absent from the political agenda until 1880. That year the legislature granted veterans who had lost a limb in combat the entitlement of peddling goods without paying a privilege tax.[131] And although an 1884 veterans' reunion in Kossuth had unanimously endorsed a resolution calling on the state to provide pensions to maimed soldiers of the Confederacy, four more years would pass before veterans would gain more extensive benefits.[132]

During its 1888 session, the legislature finally took steps to provide greater relief for veterans in two separate laws. The first measure permitted seven of the state's counties to provide a monthly allowance for their disabled or indigent veterans out of county funds.[133] A month later, however, the state established its own pension program to provide benefits for Mississippi's "soldiers and sailors and servants of officers . . . of the late war between the States."[134] All those eligible for assistance under this law had to possess less than $500 dollars of taxable property and demonstrate that their Confederate enlistment had occurred within the state.

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[131]Laws of Mississippi (1880), p. 78. For discussion of the South's Confederate pension programs, see Southern Historical Society Papers 20 (1892): 141-66; William Glasson, "The South's Pension and Relief Provisions for the Soldiers of the Confederacy," Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Printing Co., 1918); B. U. Ratchford and K. C. Heise, "Confederate Pensions," Southern Economic Journal 5 (October 1938): 207-17; Powell A. Casey, "A List of Confederate Pensioners from North Louisiana During the Period 1904-1906," Journal of the North Louisiana Historical Association 5, no. 3 (1974): 97-100; John M. Kinney, Index to Applications for Texas Confederate Pensions (Austin, TX: Archives Division Texas State Library, 1975), pp. v-vii; James R. Young, "Confederate Pensions in Georgia, 1886-1929," Georgia Historical Quarterly 66 (Spring 1982): 47-52; Gorman, chapter 2; Jeffrey R. Morrison, "'Increasing the Pensions of These Worthy Heroes': Virginia's Confederate Pensions, 1888 to 1927" (MA thesis, University of Richmond, 1996); McDaid, "With Lame Legs," pp. 14-25. Comparative data on the various states' programs also appears in various issues of the Confederate Veteran: (October 1894): 292; (May 1902): 202; (October 1908): 486; (September 1916): 390-391; (October 1921): 366; (October 1922): 1; (November 1931): 407-408.

[132]"Soldiers Reunion" Corinth Herald, 5 September 1884, p. 2.

[133]Laws of Mississippi (1888), p. 161. The counties named were Claiborne, Scott, Yalobusha, Calhoun, Leake, and Attala.

[134]Laws of Mississippi (1888), pp. 30-33.

Qualifications restricted the pension roll even further to those veterans or former servants who had lost a leg or arm while in service or who had sustained wounds which prevented them from performing manual labor. The law also extended pensions to the widows of those who had died while in service, but only if the women remained unmarried. Until the last beneficiaries died, the legislature would periodically modify the state's Confederate pension program to fine-tune the application process and to increase the types of recipients eligible. By 1928, *all* Confederate veterans -- not just the indigent or disabled -- could seek inclusion on the state's pension roll, as could widows who had married veterans prior to 1900.[135] The amount of state funds appropriated

[135]In 1890, the legislature gave pensions to those veterans who were Mississippi residents at the time of their enlistment but who had enlisted outside its borders and who had since returned to reside within the state. Laws of Mississippi (1890), p. 41. In 1892, the pensions increased to $50 annually, and the state auditor provided counties with application forms. Laws of Mississippi (1892), pp. 26-28. In 1894, veterans who had lost a hand, foot, or eye received exemptions from the privilege taxes on various goods and services, except "dealing in liquors, cigarettes or deadly weapons, or keeping billiards, Jenny Lind or pool tables, ten-pin alleys or like contrivances kept for amusement." Laws of Mississippi (1894), p. 24. In 1900, this exemption from privilege taxes expanded to include those veterans infirm or over sixty years old whose taxable property did not exceed $500. Laws of Mississippi (1900), p. 38; Also that same year, the legislature overhauled the entire pension program, including lowering the property restriction to $400; making eligible widows who had married veterans before 1870, or married disabled veterans prior to 1875; and expanding the disabilities list to include blindness, loss of the use of hands or feet, or suffering from "irreducible hernia." Laws of Mississippi (1900), pp. 80-86. In 1902, the legislature mandated that if a recipient died before receiving his annual pension, the funds should first go to pay for burial expenses, then the bills of his last illness, next to any minor children, and last to his legal heirs. Laws of Mississippi (1902), p. 6. In 1904, those granted a privilege tax exemption had to possess less than $750 in taxable property and in 1906, less than a $900 yearly income. Laws of Mississippi (1904), p. 82; Laws of Mississippi (1906), pp. 140-41. In 1910, any veteran or unmarried widow (wed to a veteran before 1885) currently residing in the state who could not claim at least $600 in taxable property became eligible. Laws of Mississippi (1910), pp. 209-10. Fraud apparently became a matter of concern, and the legislature sought various means to prevent unworthy individuals from exploiting the generosity of the state. Laws of Mississippi (1910), pp. 209-10; Laws of Mississippi (1912), p. 173; Laws of Mississippi (1916), pp. 181-82. In 1916, the legislature provided pensions for widows who married veterans prior to 1885 and who had since remarried another veteran, as well as widows over the age of 70 who had married their husbands before 1890. That same year, railroad companies were permitted to give free passes or reduced rates to Confederate veterans if they so desired. Laws of Mississippi (1916), pp. 286-88 & 341-42. In 1918, the taxable property requirement increased to less than $1000 and rose again to $3,000 in 1920, when unmarried widows who had wed veterans prior to 1895 joined the pension rolls. Laws of Mississippi (1918), pp. 131-32; Laws of Mississippi (1920), pp. 372-74. In 1920, the electorate ratified an amendment to the state constitution on providing Confederate pensions to all veterans and their widows (servants were not mentioned). Laws of Mississippi (1920), pp. 209 & 684; Laws of Mississippi (1922), pp. 143-44. In 1920, the law delineated three classes of pension recipients: class 1 received $200 a year and were veterans either totally blind or who had lost the use of either two limbs, one leg, or suffered from "irreducible hernia, or locomotor ataxia"; class 2 received $150 a year and were veterans suffering the loss of either one

for pensions consequently underwent regular transformations as well, jumping from the annual figure of $21,000 set in 1888 to the peak amount of $1,600,000 in 1928.[136] Obviously, this method for conveying the high regard with which the state's citizens held Confederate veterans was an expensive proposition, yet as Governor James K. Vardaman expounded in his 1904 inaugural address, "[t]he value of the example of incomparable self-sacrifice, devotion to principle, and loyalty to those cherished ideals, which have glorified and enriched southern civilization of which they [the veterans] are the embodiment, cannot be measured by dollars and cents, or adequately rewarded by all the generations yet to come."[137] By 1974, this gesture of esteem had cost the state's taxpayers over twenty-seven million dollars.[138]

Such generosity also resulted in part from the political pressure applied by the Confederate organizations that veterans and their descendants began to join in increasing numbers in the late 1880s. Whatever tarnish, if any, that defeat had inflicted upon the men in Gray had worn away under the determined onslaught of southern orators and writers who praised the living as well as the dead, the common soldier as well as the high ranking officer. Whatever disturbing memories the former fighters retained became purified or forgotten with the passage of

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foot or hand or some other disability earned in service as well as invalid widows over the age of fifty married prior to 1900; class 3 were indigent widows married prior to 1895 and more than fifty-five years old, all veterans honorably discharged, and indigent servants who received a per capita division of the remainder of the pension fund. Laws of Mississippi (1920), pp. 372-75. A 1922 law enumerated four classes: classes 1 and 2 remained the same, while class 3 became servants who received $40 annually if that amount was at least "one-half the amount received by the pro rata pensioner" who comprised class 4. Laws of Mississippi (1922), pp. 212-18. In 1924, the legislature tightened the restrictions on class 1 and 2 recipients. Laws of Mississippi (1924), pp. 581-88. By 1928, *all* veterans received a dollar a day, as did widows who had married prior to 1866. Widows from later marriages received proportionately less, and disabled servants who had not deserted received the smallest amount. Laws of Mississippi (1928), pp. 70-71. For a published index of those who participated in the state's pension program, see Betty C. Wiltshire, Mississippi Confederate Pension Applications (Carrollton, MS: Pioneer Publishing Co., 1994).

[136] Laws of Mississippi (1888), p. 30; Laws of Mississippi (1928), p. 406.

[137] Inaugural Addresses of the Governors of Mississippi (University of Mississippi: Bureau of Governmental Research, 1980), p. 31. Other governors who spoke on the topic, included Earl Leroy Brewer in 1912 (pp. 52-53); Lee Maurice Russell in 1920 (pp. 99-100); Henry Lewis Whitfield in 1924 (pp. 131-32); and Thomas Gilmore Bilbo in 1928 who proposed a "dollar per day for every confederate soldier" and widow (pp. 149-50).

[138] Total cost of pensions arrived at by adding up all the related appropriations bills in the Laws of Mississippi from 1888 to 1974.

time. Whatever aversion or disinterest veterans had felt in the decades immediately after the war about formally associating with others of like experience dissipated as their generation aged and waxed nostalgic. As a result, local veterans associations became much more common across the South by the 1880s.[139]

One of the earliest veterans groups in Mississippi had actually begun existence in 1866 as the Baldwyn Confederate Memorial Association, established by five ladies and three veterans to implement the annual Decoration Day ceremony and to raise funds for a monument. Upon completing this latter duty in 1882, the organization changed its name to the Northeast Mississippi Confederate Veterans Association. Former Confederate soldiers from ten counties comprised the membership roster which totaled over twelve hundred names by 1894, while auxiliaries formed by sons and daughters contributed another two thousand members.[140] The group continued its memorial exercises, but by the mid-1880s, the dead shared the focus of the occasion with the living when, in addition to the floral tributes for the cemetery and a roll call of the dead, the annual reunion also featured parades, inspections, music, speeches, and a lavish basket dinner.[141]

Veterans congregated together in other parts of the state as well. In January of 1879, the Woodville Republican announced that surviving veterans in Wilkinson County had decided to organize a Memorial Association "to cherish the memories of our fallen companions in arms, and

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[139]Foster, Ghosts, pp. 88-95. See also, David Herbert Donald, "A Generation of Defeat," in From the Old South to the New: Essays on the Transitional South eds. Walter J. Frasier, Jr. and Winifred B. Moore, Jr. (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1981), pp. 3-22. Donald suggests that the Civil War generation had reached a stage in their life cycle when humans become concerned about shaping the perceptions of the suceeding generation of society's leaders. Coinciding with segregation statutes and disfranchisement, the work of Confederate organizations "represented a parallel attempt on the part of the Civil War generation to shape the future" (p. 17). Michael Kammen, meanwhile, outlines four factors for the growth of veterans organizations after 1870: first, the large number of veterans produced by the war; second, sustained economic growth promoted extracurricular organizational activity; third, urban growth facilitated membership; and finally, the expansion of railroads permitted regular attendance of meetings and reunions. Michael Kammen, Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991), p. 106.

[140]"Confederate Organizations in Mississippi," Confederate Veteran (June 1894): 180. Each of the ten counties formed a district within the Association: Lee, Prentiss, Alcorn, Tishomingo, Itawamba, Monroe, Chickasaw, Pontotoc, Union, and Tippah.

[141]"Baldwyn," Tupelo Journal, 14 May 1886, p. 3; "Reunion," Tupelo Journal, 16 June 1893, p. 2.

to have a social re-union annually to enjoy the agreeable reminiscences of the past struggle."[142] Moved by this fraternal spirit, the Tate County Record invited "all ex-Confederate soldiers of Tate and all adjoining counties" to attend a grand barbecue in Senatobia in August of 1886.[143] That same year, the survivors of Harvey's Scouts, who had enlisted in Canton but now resided throughout the region, established a committee to raise a memorial in that city to their fallen comrades, a task which they accomplished in 1894.[144]

With more and more of these local groups forming each year, a sufficient number of interested southern veterans had emerged to support a regional organization, a Confederate counterpart to the northern Grand Army of the Republic which was currently experiencing a rise in its own membership levels. Three Louisiana veterans groups, therefore, issued a joint call urging delegates from across the South to attend a New Orleans convention in June of 1889 for the express purpose of establishing the organization that would become known as the United Confederate Veterans (UCV). Despite that wide-ranging invitation, the only delegation from outside of Louisiana or Tennessee to participate on that auspicious occasion arrived from Mississippi's Adams County Veterans' Association. This weak response, however, did not deter those present from their goal, and the convention quickly adopted a constitution which dedicated the UCV to objectives "social, literary, historical, and benevolent."[145] As for its organizational

[142]O'Levia Neil Wilson Wiese, The Woodville Republican: Mississippi's Oldest Existing Newspaper Vol. 4 (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1994), pp. 75-76. For further information on the veteran activites in that area, see ibid., pp. 78, 89, 111-12, 121, 148, 191, 195, & 200; and Wiese, Woodville Republican, Vol. 5, pp. 17-18, 28, 33, 55, 98, 100, 188, 191, & 208.

[143]"Reunion of Ex-Confederate Soldiers," Tate Trails 4 (December 1986): 107, 113, & 119. A similar call for a reunion of the 15th Mississippi Infantry regiment in Winona also appeared in August 1886. "Col. Jas. R. Binford, of the 15th . . .," Holly Springs South, 4 August 1886, p. 2, Featherston Collection, Oversized Box 2, Folder 11; UM.

[144]"Harvey's Scouts," Confederate Veteran (April 1894): 117. See also, Nell Thomas, "Harvey's Scouts: Canton's Civil War Company," Madison County Herald 30 January 1975, Vertical File: "Canton--Civil War," Canton Public Library.

[145]"Proceedings of the Convention for Organization and Adoption of the Constitution of the United Confederate Veterans Held in the City of New Orleans, La., June 10th, 1889" Minutes UCV Vol. 1 (New Orleans: United Confederate Veterans, 1907), p. 5 (hereafter cited UCV Minutes with date of convention and page numbers). For analysis of the UCV, see Foster, Ghosts, pp. 104-44; Julia Anne McDonough, "Civil War Veterans' Organizations and the Liberal Republican Vision" (M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1984); Vance R. Sarstedt, "The Confederate Veteran Movement and National Reunification" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1993); Herman Hattaway,

structure, the UCV acted as a general federation which accepted the membership of already established veterans associations as well as those recruited under its own auspices. In addition, the constitution spelled out a hierarchical format and nomenclature decidedly military in character. Officers at both the national and local levels used military ranks as titles, and local units were typically referred to as "camps" or "bivouacs." The implied severity of this military command structure, however, belied the generally democratic and grassroots orientation of the association.[146]

Membership grew fairly rapidly. Just three years after the convention, the UCV boasted 188 camps scattered throughout the country, 19 of which were in Mississippi.[147] Announcing plans for the formation of a local camp in Indianola, an 1894 edition of the Sunflower Tocsin urged area veterans to attend the organizational meeting, expressing its hope "that we may see the now-old boys line up, face about, shoulder arms, and march as of yore under the historic tactic of Hardee, when the whistle and scizz of bullets and burst of shell tried men's souls at long and short range." Within a month twenty-nine men had chosen to "re-enlist" in the town's new Albert Sydney Johnston Camp, paying twenty-five cents for admission and ten cents in annual dues.[148] By 1900, Mississippi possessed 80 such UCV camps out of the 1,277 organized nationwide.[149]

Unfortunately, arriving at an accurate count of those veterans who joined the UCV is a more difficult proposition, as the parent organization failed to keep track of such data. Calculations by scholars using various methods have resulted in national estimates that range

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"The United Confederate Veterans in Louisiana," Louisiana History 16 (Winter 1975): 5-37. See also, Daniel E. Sutherland, "Southern Fraternal Organizations in the North," Journal of Southern History 53 (November 1987): 587-612.

[146]UCV Minutes (1889), pp. 5-8; For characterization of the UCV structure, see also White, Confederate Veteran, chapter 2; Foster, Ghosts, chapter 8.

[147]UCV Minutes (1892), p. 11. For a brief description of the first three years of the UCV in Mississippi, see also Biographical and Historical Memoirs, Vol. 2, p. 52. For a list of UCV posts in Mississippi and a discussion of membership tallies, see appendix 3.

[148]Newspaper quotation and history of the Indianola UCV camp appears in Marie M. Hemphill, Fevers, Floods, and Faith: A History of Sunflower County, Mississippi 1844-1976 (Indianola, MS: 1980), pp. 695-96.

[149]UCV Minutes (1900), p. 84.

from 35,000 to 160,000 members during the association's peak years in the first decade of the twentieth century.[150] In 1897, the Mississippi Division reported 4,000 members enrolled within the state, although official statistics registered only 1,200.[151] Anecdotal evidence is also ambiguous as to the popularity of the association among veterans in Mississippi. For instance, a 1904 History of Calhoun County boasted of its own Pittsboro camp that in fifteen years of existence the organization had grown steadily until "nearly every survivor, now living in the county" was a member.[152] On the other hand, a featured speaker at a 1909 barbecue for veterans in Columbus decried the fact that "many Confederates in our midst" who actively participated in local reunions, failed to affiliate with the UCV, thus placing the burden of caring for indigent veterans "upon a limited few who belong to the local camps."[153]

That orator's complaint, however, was misleading in that it did not truly reflect the activities of the UCV. Although the constitution alluded to benevolence as one of the organization's four main objectives, neither the larger body nor the local camps typically exerted much effort on behalf of relief projects. Only occasionally would the UCV solicit charitable donations for the benefit of some particularly notable person, as in an 1893 plea concerning the widow of General E. Kirby Smith to which the Crystal Springs Camp responded with a ten dollar contribution.[154] More commonly, the UCV contented itself in such philanthropic matters by merely sending memorials to state legislatures requesting increased appropriations for pensions and soldiers' homes.[155]

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[150]Foster discusses this dilemma in his text and footnotes (Ghosts, pp. 107 & 242) as does White (Confederate Veteran, pp. 34-35); See also, appendix 3.
[151]"Mississippi Division, U.C.V.," Confederate Veteran (August 1897): 433.
[152]J. S. Ryan and T. M. Murphree, History of Calhoun County, Miss. (Pittsboro, MS: Calhoun Monitor, 1904), p. 41.
[153]"Confederate Veterans at Washington Park," 16 September 1909, clipping, Sykes Scrapbook, CLPL.
[154]Foster, Ghosts, pp. 131-32; White, Confederate Veteran p. 100; For mention of Crystal Springs donation, see Confederate Veteran (June 1893): 185.
[155]See for example, UCV Minutes (1892), pp. 175-76; UCV Minutes (1906), p. 84.

Quite simply, the primary focus of the organization was social, with reunions the favored means of fraternization. Abiding by the tenets of its bylaws, the Mike Farrell Camp of Poplar Creek sponsored an encampment in the woods in 1901. Although regaled with addresses that "made the crowd laugh and cry in turn" and treated to a dinner "fit for royalty," the veterans apparently found the camp fire the most popular attraction, as it permitted them to gather about the flames and swap tales of "long-ago evenings in Confederate army camps."[156] The appeal of such camaraderie fed the growth of the UCV and the popularity of its local, state, and regional reunions. In 1913, one veteran from Aberdeen informed an old comrade in a letter that since the war he had attended twelve UCV conventions, "had a big time a[t] each one," and planned to attend the upcoming reunion at Gettysburg.[157] In fact, such occasions typically attracted far more non-veterans than veterans, becoming a highlight of the social season, especially in many of the rural communities. According to one memoir, the annual two-day August reunion in Bay Springs brought folks, old and young, from miles around: "Many came to spend the night. Some slept in the lodge. Some slept on the ground. Some did not sleep at all."[158] A circular promoting one such event in Magnolia promised attendees three horse races, a special address, a baseball game, political speeches by two congressional candidates, a brass band, dancing, a "grande parade," and a free barbecue.[159] Aside from their sheer entertainment value, however, reunions at

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[156]Confederate Veteran (October 1901): 461. For a list of those veterans attending the annual Philadelphia, Mississippi reunions in 1908, 1915, 1917, 1921-1924, and 1931, see Jenelle B. Yates and Theresa T. Ridout, eds., Red Clay Hills of Neshoba: Roots--Reflections--Ramblings, The Early History of Neshoba County, Mississippi (Brandon, MS: Quail Ridge Press, 1992), pp. 225-28.

[157]George W. Elkin to O.H. Pollard, 7 April 1913, typescript of letter, Vertical File: "Civil War," Aberdeen Evans Memorial Library.

[158]Jerry Martin, A Place Called Belmont (Belmont, MS: 1978), p. 123. See also, Prentiss County Historical Association, History of Prentiss County Mississippi (Dallas, TX: Curtis Media, 1984), p. 3; Stephen Paxton Poyser, "Days Gone By: A Folklife, History, and Oral History Study of Bay Springs, Mississippi" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1991), pp. 142-43.

[159]Louretta Smith, Magnolia Through the Years (Magnolia, MS: Traditional Printing, n.d.), pp. 47-48.

all levels served as opportunities for white southerners to express their admiration for the honorees and to reaffirm their regional identity.[160]

While local camps continued to hold their own reunions, the UCV and its state divisions held larger, more extravagant versions of these assemblies in conjunction with their annual conventions. At these affairs, which cities vied with one another to sponsor despite their expense, tens of thousands of veterans and visitors would strain the resources of the host community. When not participating in the general revelry, they would gather in a convention hall bedecked by the portraits of southern war heroes and festooned with Confederate and American flags in order to listen to the speeches which very seldom departed from the liturgy of prescribed devotions to the southern cause, southern soldiers, and southern ladies. As a young man invited to speak at one of these functions, Civil War historian Douglas Southall Freeman nervously asked a fellow orator to describe the topic of his talk in order to avoid duplication. The older man replied,

> Well, I shall relate briefly the outstanding events of the period during which the constitution of the United States was drafted; then I shall trace the pernicious development and expose the fallacy of John Marshall's theory of nationalism, and I shall vindicate beyond all cavil the right of secession; from that I shall pass to the events of the war and shall pay tribute to General Lee, to General Jackson and to the private soldier; and I shall conclude, of course, with a tribute to Southern womanhood.[161]

This answer quite succinctly encapsulated the typical rhetorical formula followed on these occasions.

Humorist Irvin S. Cobb, himself a featured speaker at the 1916 Birmingham reunion of the UCV, described without much exaggeration the frenzied enthusiasm such orations could evoke:

> You came to attention and said, "Comrades of my father," and the crowd would cheer for two minutes, more or less, and the massed bands behind you on the platform would blare forth with bars of "Maryland, My Maryland," or "Sewanee

[160]On reunions, see Foster, Ghosts, chapter 10; White, Confederate Veteran, pp. 35-48. Foster has assessed reunions as assuming "a cultural importance far beyond that of a gathering of old soldiers," explaining that the conventions "taught Confederate history, intensified southern loyalties, and reinforced proper behavior" (p. 135).

[161]Douglas Southall Freeman, The South to Posterity: An Introduction to the Writing of Confederate History (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1939), p. 35.

> River," or, as in this case "My Old Kentucky Home." You ended a paragraph on the name of Robert E. Lee. (Great prolonged applause, with appropriate music: "Old Virginny, Never Tire.") . . . And when you reached your preoration and topped it off with a reference to "the Lost Cause which could never be lost so long as Americans reverence valor and devotion" -- well, you got no further than that because a thousand crackled old voices, wispy but defiant, would give the Rebel Yell, and some folks would cry and some would stand up on their chairs and, with catches in their throats, try to cheer, and the bands would play "Dixie" . . .[162]

Cobb admitted that to a stranger this excitement might seem "pretty silly and banal and dripping with the saccharin syrups of a vain bathos," but he suggested that "for these tottery old gaffers . . . and to their children and even to their children's children, the clanging years were turned back like a page and the vanished legions marched again and Johnny was gone for a soger!"[163] Even fifty-five years after the demise of the Confederacy, an observer at the 1930 UCV reunion in Biloxi noted similar enthusiasm for the Lost Cause upon the Marine Band's playing of "Dixie": "Gray and black campaign hats sailed through the air, voices that were once far lustier rent the summer night with the piercing rebel yell. Children and grandchildren and great-grandchildren screamed with them. To all appearances the Confederacy was for one night still independent."[164]

Reliving the war years at the reunions also entailed the grand parade of veterans before their devotees. Bearing worn and torn battle flags the old soldiers marched -- and as they grew older rode -- along the parade route with bands and militia companies frequently interspersed among the various camps and divisions. Aside from these entertainments, the participants also attended, in a more subdued manner, a memorial service conducted to honor those lost in the war, and as the years passed, the UCV increasingly offered tributes to those survivors of the conflict who had since joined their fallen comrades in death.

While the conviviality of the reunions attracted attendance and the orations on the glories of the Confederate cause reassured their souls, the more mundane activities of the business sessions demonstrated the members' concerns that southern society, the nation, and future

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[162]Irvin S. Cobb, Exit Laughing (New York: Garden City Publishing Company, 1942), pp. 329-30.
[163]ibid.
[164]Hodding Carter and Anthony Ragusin, Gulf Coast Country (New York: Duell, Sloan, & Pierce, 1951), p. 76.

generations should acknowledge the justness of their actions. Of course the delegates spent a considerable amount of time on such occasions electing officers and selecting the location of the next year's meeting, but the convention also heard the reports of various committees and voted upon resolutions. Many of these were attempts to mold interpretations of the past in order to ensure that future generations would respect the actions of their forefathers, a task which the association undertook by encouraging the erection of monuments and the consumption of "accurate" historical works.

Over the years, the veterans participated in a number of commemorative undertakings, from the construction of a Jefferson Davis statue in the former capital of Richmond to the establishment of memorials honoring Confederate women in each of the southern states. Yet another project concerned the creation of a "Battle Abbey" in Richmond, a museum and archives dedicated to the perpetual exhibition of the Confederate story. And in the first two decades of the twentieth century, the Monument Committee also devoted a great deal of its energies in correspondence with the federal government over the care and marking of the graves of those Confederates who had died in the North under federal custody.[165] After some lobbying, Congress finally enacted legislation making such provisions in 1906 -- a gesture that the UCV construed as giving "honorable care to the graves of Confederate soldiers prison-dead, in all respects commensurate with the care given the graves of Union soldiers."[166] As perceived by the veterans, the national government had finally reassessed its dismissal of the southern dead as traitors by providing them with the trappings of a proper burial and thereby demonstrating respect for Confederate convictions.

One of the most significant of the permanent UCV committees dealt directly with the field of history. By 1892, veterans became increasingly fearful about the erroneous and reprehensible interpretations of the conflict found in the northern textbooks read by southern students. In

[165]For lengthy reports by the Monumental Committee on this matter, see the appropriate appendixes in the UCV Minutes of 1907, 1911, and 1912.
[166]UCV Minutes (1911), p. 96.

response, the UCV created a Historical Committee and instructed its seven members "to secure a true and reliable history of the late civil war, and to select a proper and truthful history of the United States to recommend for use in the public and private schools of the South."[167] In its first report, read by Mississippian Stephen D. Lee, the committee designated three separate categories of texts: in the first grouping belonged all the works produced in the North deemed grossly unfair in their treatment of the South; the second contained those books published in the North without any objectionable characterizations of the South but still lacking several important contributions made by their region to the national story; and the third and final classification simply contained all those editions written and published below the Mason-Dixon line. The group's members commended to southern school systems the use of the eight textbooks on U.S. history which fell into this latter category, as well as one supplementary reader specifically on the war itself.[168] Far from urging the creation of two separate, sectional versions of the past, however, the Historical Committee would often state in subsequent reports its desire for "a history equally fitted for use North and South, and divested of all passion and prejudice incident to the war period," but until northern authors adopted the "liberal tone" required for such an unbiased exposition, the

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[167]UCV Minutes (1892), pp. 98-99 & 175. Such concerns about the northern textbooks actually dated back to the antebellum era when the progenitors of the veterans had worried that sectional bias depicted the South in an unfavorable light, see John S. Ezell, "A Southern Education for Southrons," Journal of Southern History 17 (August 1951): 303-27; and Bessie Louise Pierce, Public Opinion and the Teaching of History in the United States (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), pp. 136-45. For scholarship on textbooks, academic freedom, and the Lost Cause Movement, see Herman Hattaway, "Clio's Southern Soldiers: The United Confederate Veterans and History," Louisiana History 12 (Summer 1971): 213-42; Fred Arthur Bailey, "William E. Dodd: The South's Yeoman Historian," North Carolina Historical Review 66 (July 1989): 301-20; Idem, "The Textbooks of the 'Lost Cause': Censorship and the Creation of Southern State Histories," Georgia Historical Quarterly 75 (Fall 1991): 507-33; Idem, "Free Speech at the University of Florida: The Enoch Marvin Banks Case," Florida Historical Quarterly 71 (July 1992): 1-17; Idem, "Free Speech and the 'Lost Cause' in Texas: A Study of Social Control in the New South," Southwestern Historical Quarterly 97 (January 1994): 453-77; Idem, "Mildred Lewis Rutherford and the Patrician Cult of the Old South," Georgia Historical Quarterly 78 (Fall 1994): 509-35; Idem, "Free Speech and the Lost Cause in the Old Dominion," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 103 (April 1995): 237-66; Idem, "The Southern Quest for a Suitable Past: Historiography and Social Control, 1890-2000," unpublished manuscript, SMMSS 2000-1, UM; Ruth Miller Elson, Guardians of Tradition: American Schoolbooks of the Nineteenth Century (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964).
[168]UCV Minutes (1894), pp. 9-11.

report suggested keeping their works out of southern schools.[169] Firmly confident in the veracity of their own version of events, the members of the UCV expectantly waited for northern historians to shed their bitterness and prejudice in order to accommodate this "impartial" interpretation of the war.

According to its mandate, the committee should have produced its own authoritative account of the conflict, but rather than limit themselves to a single publication, the members believed the most influential course of action would be to

> stimulate historical research; create historical taste; produce not only one work, but many works; employ not only one mind, but many minds; make the work assume various shapes, not only in the form of standard histories and school histories, but also State histories, magazine articles, historical essays, popular sketches, local history, etc.[170]

In short, the authors called for a "renaissance" of history throughout the region.[171] To this end, the report specifically recommended that each southern university establish a chair in American history, that state legislatures add one year of U.S. history and one year of state history to the public school curriculum; and that private academies adopt an identical historical course load. To these enthusiastically approved endeavors, the convention added one more -- that the UCV should encourage the establishment of Southern publishing houses "able and willing to publish such histories."[172]

Over the next few years, the Historical Committee would echo its call for a southern historical "renaissance," repeating old recommendations and adding new measures to spur its development. In 1895, for example, the group asked the various UCV divisions to request their state legislatures to finance the compilation of state Confederate rosters.[173] The following year the committee promoted the formation of literary and historical societies, as well as public libraries,

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169 UCV Minutes (1895), p. 17.
170 UCV Minutes (1894), p. 8.
171 ibid.
172 ibid., p. 12.
173 UCV Minutes (1895), p. 23.

and urged veterans to publish memoirs of their deeds during the war. In 1896, their report contained a list of sixty-eight books on the war deemed appropriate for school libraries.[174] By 1897, the anxieties of the previous years had diminished enough that the Historical Committee remarked: "We are happy to note a marked improvement in the spirit of fairness displayed by school histories, and do not think it will be necessary hereafter for your committee to specify school books as especially deserving."[175]

Nevertheless, the committee did not totally relinquish its role as watchguard against "blasphemous" material. Thus, while the next year's report happily announced that the desired "renaissance" had actually transpired to some extent, the committee still urged that all those in charge of selecting texts for schools should take care to exclude books that demonstrated a "partisan, sectional and unpatriotic spirit," and the lone recommendation of the group in 1899 was for each UCV division to create a sub-committee to examine their state's textbooks and to enter into "friendly" correspondence with the authors and publishers of those works determined defective.[176] Concern over biased textbooks therefore remained alive, though abated, as the reconciliation of the two sections fostered a nationalist interpretation of the war which honored the soldiers of both the Blue and the Gray as men who had fought for their convictions. Still, the Historical Committee continued to proffer the occasional suggestion for new projects ranging from the creation of state archives to copying the Confederate muster rolls held by the War Department, projects which the UCV usually expected state governments to fund and supervise.[177]

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[174]UCV Minutes (1896), pp. 29-48.
[175]UCV Minutes (1897), p. 48. Apparently, grassroots concerns about textbooks were still present as evidenced by a resolution offered that same year by a South Carolina camp (p. 71) and a communication received on the subject from a North Carolina chapter of the UDC (p. 73).
[176]UCV Minutes (1898), pp. 41 & 51; UCV Minutes (1899), p. 152.
[177]UCV Minutes (1905), p. 32; UCV Minutes (1912), p. 159. One Confederate veteran, however, used his own funds in pursuit of perpetuating historical veracity. In 1906, John W. Odom gave the University of Mississippi $2,000 whose interest was to supply an annual monetary prize for the best student essay which defended "the constitutional and legal right of the southern states in 1861 to secede from the federal union" or some other assigned topic on the southern cause. Folder "John W. Odom Award," UMSMMSS/Student Life, Box 3, UM; J. W. Odom to Chancellor

A reliance on government appropriations and management was characteristic of yet another category of veteran-initiated proposals -- battlefield preservation. But while the UCV fully supported the 1899 act by which Congress created the Vicksburg National Military Park, the proposition had originated within a variant branch of the late nineteenth-century veterans movement known as Blue and Gray Associations. Indeed, the UCV and the GAR were not the only groups to benefit from the increasing interest of old soldiers in sharing their wartime pasts. While some veterans preferred the exclusivity of unit-based organizations such as Forrest's Cavalry Corps or the Lamar Rifles Survivors Association, groups which permitted them to resurrect the close bonds forged among comrades under common fire, occasionally former enemies would join together in order to arrange reunions at the site of a specific battle.[178] One such alliance took place in Vicksburg in 1889, the same year as the inception of the UCV. Comprised of prominent state residents who had fought on either side of the siege, the Blue and Gray Association of Vicksburg sought to organize a gathering of former combatants in the upcoming year.[179] Gettysburg and Chattanooga had already held similar reunions, and inspired by their success, the Vicksburg group promised that the "spirit that prompts this celebration is worthy

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Robt. B. Fulton, 23 February 1906 and J. W. Odom to Chancellor Robt. B. Fulton, 30 June 1906, Robert Burwell Fulton University of Mississippi Chancellors Collection, Box 2, Folder 5, UM; W. L. Kennon, "A Tribute to the Womanhood of the Confederacy," manuscript, SMMSS 77-3, UM; Upton, pp. 54-56.

[178]For examples of unit-based associations and reunions in Mississippi, see "Reunion of the Twenty-Second Mississippi," Confederate Veteran 7 (September 1899): 387; "Reunion of Forrest's Cavalry Corps," Confederate Veteran (July 1900): 301-2; "Reunion of Walthall's Mississippi Brigade," Confederate Veteran (November 1906): 520; D. C. Love, The Prairie Guards: A History of Their Organization, Their Heroism, Their Battles, and Their Triumphs (N.p., 1890); Thomas P. Buford, et al., Lamar Rifles: A History of Company G, Eleventh Mississippi Regiment, C.S.A. (Roanoke VA: Stone Printing Co., c.1902), pp. 75-83; "Reunion of Company A, First Mississippi, Withers' Artillery, Ratliff's Battery, at Jackson, Miss., June 3d, 1908," Our Heritage 2 (November 1908): 3-4. Scholars rarely devote any attention to the Blue-Gray reunions aside from those that occurred at Gettysburg and the conflicts waged within the UCV and GAR over attending such gatherings. Abroe, however, has stated that the joint meetings of Union and Confederate veterans were a "phenomenon" of the 1880s and 1890s that began with the fraternization of the former foes at centennial celebrations of the American Revolution in the late 1870s ("All the Profound Scenes," p. 136). See also, Buck, Road to Reunion pp. 256-61; Kammen, Mystic Chords, pp. 106-7.

[179]Biographical and Historical Memoirs, p. 151. For a brief history of the inception of Vicksburg National Military Park, see Terrence J. Winschel, "Stephen D. Lee and the Making of an American Shrine," Journal of Mississippi History 63 (Spring 2001): 17-32.

of the brave soldiers of both armies."[180] Emphasizing the crucible nature of the city's capture to the outcome of the war, the organizers further stoked the pride of the battle's participants by commenting on the valiant defense of the Confederates and the brave assaults of the Federals. By remembering these shared experiences, the association intended that "the veterans of both armies meet as a common brotherhood in honoring their dead," a conciliatory step described as "noble and patriotic."[181]

The resulting 1890 reunion provoked an interest in preserving and marking the fields of battle which surrounded the city, a goal that received even greater momentum after a similar fete a few years later inspired the 1895 formation of the Vicksburg National Military Park Association.[182] With an executive board composed entirely of veterans of the campaign, the group set about to secure federal action. Their quest was not without precedent, as a similar affiliation of former soldiers had succeeded in establishing the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park in 1890. That particular legislative act had inaugurated the idea that the government should acquire and conserve major battlefields because such sites served both memorial and educational functions -- as soil made sacred by shed blood, as locales which testified to the martial ability and strength of Americans, and as lands which symbolized the ultimate reconciliation of the two sections. In quick succession, the battlefields of Antietam, Shiloh, and Gettysburg joined the newly emerging national park system that had only recently started with selected preserves of the West's great scenic landscapes.[183]

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[180]In and About Vicksburg: An Illustrated Guide Book to the City of Vicksburg, Mississippi (Vicksburg: Gibraltar Publishing Co., 1890), p. 264.
[181]ibid.
[182]Col. E. T. Lee, "The Reunion of the Blue & the Gray at Vicksburg, Mississippi, May 25-30, 1890," Vicksburg Herald 18 October 1917, pp. 1B-2B; Original material related to the Vicksburg National Military Park Association resides in the Memorial, Monument, and Exposition Commissions Records--Vicksburg National Military Park (hereafter cited as Vicksburg National Military Park Commission Records), MDAH.
[183]The national military parks, however, would remain under the purview of the War Department until 1933 when the National Park Service took over their supervision. For the park at Chickamauga and Chattanooga, see James W. Livingood, "Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park," Tennessee Historical Quarterly 23 (March 1964): 3-23; Anthonette L. McDaniel, "'Just Watch Us Make Things Hum': Chattanooga, Adolph S. Ochs, and the

Vicksburg ultimately insinuated itself into this select company by virtue of the pivotal role the battle played in the war's outcome and as the most brilliant campaign conducted by General Ulysses S. Grant.[184] Of course, such abstract conceptualizations of historical significance were not enough to explain the success of the Vicksburg National Military Park Association in achieving its goal. The bill which authorized the park finally passed Congress in 1899 because the association had mobilized a great deal of public support behind its endeavor. The national commanders of both the UCV and GAR served on the board of directors, and the general conventions of their respective organizations formally endorsed the proposal as did twelve different state legislatures.[185] When the U.S. Representative from the Vicksburg district first introduced the bill to the House in 1896, the Committee on Military Affairs reported favorably on the measure, but the opposition of the Speaker on economic grounds as well as general preoccupation with that year's tumultuous presidential election sidetracked consideration by the larger body. Reintroduced in late 1897, rising tensions over Cuba and the resulting Spanish-

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Memorialization of the Civil War," East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications 61 (1989): 3-15. For Gettysburg, whose preservation actually began as early as 1863 under the auspices of a private association of local residents and Union veterans, see Patterson, "Patriotic Landscape," pp. 315-33; Kinsel, "'From These Honored"; Edward Tabor Linderman, Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), pp. 87-126. For Antietam, see Charles W. Snell and Sharon A. Brown, Antietam National Battlefield and National Cemetery, Sharpsburg, Maryland: An Administrative History (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior/National Park Service, 1986). For Shiloh, see Timothy Brian Smith, "Shiloh National Military Park: An Administrative History, 1862-1933" (Ph.D. dissertation, Mississippi State University, 2001). For general analysis and information on the national military park system, see Lee, Origin and Evolution; Reuben M. Rainey, "The Memory of War: Reflections on Battlefield Preservation," in The Yearbook of Landscape Architecture: Historic Preservation eds. Richard L. Austin et al. (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1983); Barry MacKintosh, The National Park Service: Shaping the Scenery (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1985); Idem, "The National Park Service Moves into Historical Interpretation," Public Historian 9 (Spring 1987): 51-63; Abroe, "All the Profound Scenes."

[184]Lee, Origin and Evolution, p. 16.

[185]Congress received memorials from the following state legislatures: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin [U.S. Congress, 55th Congress, 2nd Session, House Report No. 596 "National Military Park Near Vicksburg, Miss.," 1 March 1898, p. 3. The Vicksburg National Military Park Commission Records (MDAH) contains copies of these and other memorials sent to Congress.

American War delayed action on the bill even further until early 1899, when it received rapid passage in both the House and the Senate.[186]

In accordance with the law's provisions, the Secretary of War appointed the new park's three commissioners, each a veteran of the Vicksburg campaign: Lieutenant General Stephen D. Lee of Mississippi, Captain William T. Rigby of Iowa, and Captain James G. Everest of Illinois. They soon settled down to work, surveying the battlefield, determining the land required for the park, and arranging the necessary purchases. In these initial transactions, the federal government bought 1,282.89 acres at a cost of $58,879.18.[187] The resulting acquisition, as one visiting early twentieth-century journalist touted, "is not one of those tantalizing battlefields which reward the civilian effort at comprehension with nothing but a headache."[188] As he explained, once the siege began,

> there was none of the shifting of position which makes the average battlefield so unintelligible to the lay mind. . . . You can go almost from one end of the Confederate works to the other and thus realize the natural strength of the position assumed by the city's defenders. Looking across from points along this line to the opposite ridges, you can guess about where the Union army must have planted its artillery. In brief, the whole plan of operations around Vicksburg has the merit of simplicity.[189]

But of course neither the commissioners nor other veterans would have remained satisfied with such a simplistic and general overview of the contested field.

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[186]Abroe, "All the Profound Scenes," pp. 207-10; Lee, Origin and Evolution, pp. 33-34; "Vicksburg National Military Park," Confederate Veteran (April 1900): 169; "General Order No. 151," Orders U.C.V. General and Special Vol. 1 (New Orleans: U.C.V., 1911); Wenschel, "Stephen D. Lee," pp. 24-28; In 1896, the Mississippi legislature went ahead and passed a law ceding all lands required by the federal government "for the purpose of creating National Military Parks." Laws of Mississippi (1896). pp. 78-79; Laws of Mississippi (1900), pp. 76-77; House of Representatives, 55th Congress, 2d Session, Report No. 596.

[187]W. T. Rigby, Historic Vicksburg: An Epitome of the Campaign, Siege and Defense of Vicksburg, March 29-July 4, 1863; a Statement, by States, of the Organizations Engaged Therein; and a Brief Account of the Inception of the Vicksburg National Military Park and of the Work that Has Been Done Towards Its Establishment, 2nd revised edition (Vicksburg, MS: N.p., 1906): n.p.; Wenschel, "Stephen D. Lee," pp. 28-29; Herman Hattaway, Gettysburg to Vicksburg: The Five Original Civil War Battlefields (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2001), pp. 141-47.

[188]"An Attractive Place," Times-Democrat, 31 July 1906, Vicksburg National Military Park Commission Records, R168-B09-S1-00456, MDAH.

[189]ibid.

Just as at the other national military parks, veterans converged upon the Vicksburg battlefield to determine the positions of individual regiments and batteries. Delegations from various states proved invaluable in this exercise, not only because their veteran membership possessed the necessary knowledge for mapping the terrain, but also because the states provided the funds for the markers which would make these memories imperishable in bronze and stone. Thus, while the federal government laid out the money for purchasing land, building access roads, and erecting markers and monuments for the regular army, individual states were responsible for raising memorials and identifying plaques for their state's volunteer units, an obligation which could prove quite costly. By 1917, the United States had expended $1,454,200 on the Vicksburg park since its inception, and fourteen states combined had spent a total of $872,931 in contributing their share of the tablets and monuments that decorated and defined the landscape.[190] Ninety-five percent of the preserve's current memorials date their existence from this pre-World War I era.[191]

At the various dedication ceremonies during which states formally presented these gifts to the park, reconciliation was the standard theme. As a Massachusetts orator remarked at the first of these occasions, "A new era has dawned. We erect monuments not to mark the division, but its disappearance. We erect monuments in the land that was once hostile because it is now friendly. We erect them because old things have passed away."[192] A sentiment with which

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[190]War Department Annual Reports, 1917 Vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1918), pp.1015.
[191]Walker and Riggs, Vicksburg Battlefield Monuments, p. 14.
[192]Rigby, Historic Vicksburg, n.p. For published accounts of various dedication ceremonies at Vicksburg National Military Park, see "First State Monument at Vicksburg" Confederate Veteran (March 1904): 107; W. P. Gault, Ohio At Vicksburg: Report of the Ohio Vicksburg Battlefield Commission (N.p., 1906); J. Frank Hanly, Vicksburg (Cincinnati: Jennings and Graham, 1912); Charles A. Cuffel, Dedication of the Pennsylvania Memorial at Vicksburg, Mississippi, March 24, 1906 (N.p., c. 1906); Terrence J. Winschel, "The Day They Raised a Monument in Dixie," Pennsylvania Heritage 18 (1992): 32-37. For a report on Wisconsin organizational markers see, William Freeman Vilas, A View of the Vicksburg Campaign: A Paper Read Before the Madison Literary Club, October 14, 1907 (N.p.: Democrat Printing Co., 1908): 62-66.

Commissioner Lee agreed in his responding address, expanding even further upon the topic by stating that

> Our grand republic, willing to obliterate forever all vestiges of divisions and bitterness in our mighty civil strife, has established on the noted battlefields of the war national military parks, giving equal honor to the Union and Confederate soldiers alike, and emphasizing the fact that the valor, patriotism and fortitude displayed and the hardships and sufferings endured, the blood spilt and treasure spent on both sides, is now common property; that the glory of the Union soldier and the Confederate soldier is now the sacred heritage of the American people.[193]

A few years later, the Governor of Iowa emphasized this non-ideological intent of battlefield memorials, claiming that "These monuments are not reared to commemorate an event; they are not reared in the memory of a cause; they are not reared as evidence of a victory."[194] Instead, the governor envisioned the memorials of the North and the South persisting together "through all ages in loving companionship, sacred to the memories of men who were willing to suffer and die for the thing which they believed to be right."[195] By forgetting slavery and secession and focusing instead on the heroism displayed by both sides as a legacy held in common by all Americans, issues of blame and guilt remained unremarked, and regional and national pride thereby appeased.

If anything, the inscriptions on the battlefield monuments made permanent the reconciliationist message of these ephemeral oratories. Testimony etched on the granite shaft of the Pennsylvania memorial, for instance, asserts that "Here brothers fought for their principles; here heroes died for their country, and a united people will forever cherish the precious legacy of their noble manhood." Meanwhile, Missouri's monument divides tribute equally between residents of the border state who had fought in the blue and those who had worn the gray. A bronze relief

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[193]Rigby, Historic Vicksburg, n.p.

[194]"Neath Brilliant Rays of Sunlight Under Rare Blue Sky, Iowans Memorialize Their Soldier Dead," Vicksburg American, 15 November 1906, Vicksburg National Military Park Commission Records, R168-B09-S1-00456, MDAH.

[195]ibid.

on the Wisconsin memorial shows two soldier from each side clasping hands in friendship.[196] Ironically, the images of conflict depicted in bas relief on panels and in the poses adopted by sculptured figures also acts to detract attention from the controversial topic of causality.[197] Instead of the subdued stance of the sentinel at rest, which became a popular fashion in municipal Civil War memorials, figures residing in national military parks typically demonstrate the energy and activity present in the heat of battle, representations in keeping with the nature of the locale. Generals on horseback gaze upon the field below, standard bearers charge into the fray, artillery sight a barrage upon the enemy, soldiers die endlessly glorious deaths. Such imagery tends to focus the observer on the immediacy of the physical conflict and the heroism inherent in its waging rather than the originating forces which incurred such violence. Yet realism does not entirely dominate the scene either, for personifications of History, Peace, Fame, and Reconciliation also appear. Distinguishable usually as female figures in classically draped attire, these allegorical abstractions accentuated the nonpartisan, patriotic lessons the memorials' creators intended bystanders to infer.

The manifest spirit of sectional reunion that permeated the grounds upon which mortal enemies had once clashed arose in part from the federal stewardship of the land. Determined to avoid antagonisms, regulations governing national military parks forbade both tour guides and inscriptions from offering either "praise or censure."[198] But even without these restrictions, northern states had long since succumbed to a nationalist interpretation of past events that eased

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[196]Walker and Riggs, Vicksburg Battlefield Monuments, pp. 44-45, 52-53, & 60-61. In 2000, Kentucky became the last state to place a monument in the park. The bronze memorial features statues of two of the state's native sons--Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis--about to shake hands. Associated Press, "Vicksburg Park to Welcome Kentucky Statue," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 20 October 2000.

[197]Michael Wilson Panhorst, "Lest We Forget: Monuments and Memorial Sculpture in National Military Parks on Civil War Battlefields, 1861-1917" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Delaware, 1988); Richard Sellars West, "Vigil of Silence: The Civil War Memorials: The Commemorative History of Battlefields Deserves Thoughtful Interpretation," History News 4 (July/August 1986): 19-21; Mayo, War Memorials, pp. 171-76. See also, Walker and Riggs, Vicksburg Battlefield Monuments.

[198]U.S. War Department, National Military Park, National Park, Battlefield Site, and National Monument Regulations (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1931), pp. 9 & 15.

once-rampant feelings of bitterness and accusation. In that sense, the fraternal testaments to reconciliation proved genuine, but for many years the only states venturing to make such avowals on the landscape of Vicksburg were from the North. For prior to World War I, the only former Confederate state to fund a large memorial in the park was the host state of Mississippi.[199] Some of this reticence arose in part from the South's relatively poorer state revenues and in part from the predilection of southern legislatures to spend what surplus they did manage to accrue upon the pension programs that alleviated the physical needs of living veterans. Yet the aversion southerners seemed to show in erecting monuments on battlefields while simultaneously populating their cities and cemeteries with memorials certainly appears to highlight a disinclination to mark the scenes of northern triumphs. Certainly, the political struggle to fund Mississippi's memorials at Vicksburg brought each of these excuses to the fore.

The first stage of the process proceeded without contention when the 1900 legislature authorized the formation of a commission to "ascertain and determine the positions occupied by Mississippi troops in the defense of Vicksburg" and appropriated one thousand dollars for expenses.[200] Governor Andrew Longino appointed to this body twenty-three former veterans, each of whom represented one of the state's units present at the siege.[201] Making the appointed rounds of the park to map locations, the commissioners returned to the capital to fulfill their secondary charge of making a recommendation to the legislature on permanently commemorating the role of Mississippi troops at Vicksburg. In a 1904 address to the legislature, Governor James K. Vardaman urged the acceptance of the commission's suggestions to suitably mark the locale of each regiment, battalion, and battery and to provide a larger monument "to the memory of the valor and chivalry of the Mississippi troops during that memorable siege."[202] A

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[199]Prior to the park's establishment, a memorial to Louisiana soldiers was erected in downtown Vicksburg in 1887. Walker and Riggs, Vicksburg Battlefield Monument, p. 34.
[200]Laws of Mississippi (1900), pp. 33-34.
[201]"Vicksburg Military Park, Twenty-Three Commissioners Appointed by Gov. Longino," Vicksburg Herald, 29 November 1900, Vicksburg National Military Park Commission Records, R168-B09-S1-00456, MDAH.
[202]Mississippi House Journal (1904), pp. 31-32.

senate bill that year seeking $100,000 to meet these objectives, however, never made it past the Committee on Finance.[203]

The real scrap occurred in 1906, when Governor Vardaman resubmitted the matter for consideration.[204] Authorization for simply creating a three-man commission to oversee the completion of the state's memorial project proved troublesome, but eventually prevailed.[205] Yet on the very day the governor appended his signature to that particular law, the necessary appropriations bill came up for debate in the House, provoking a climactic tempest in chamber. Previously, an amendment in committee had slashed the original $100,000 request to a mere $15,000 for application towards markers only. Lobbying in Jackson, Stephen D. Lee wrote his fellow park commissioner William T. Rigby that, "It is probable that I may go home in the near future. I am thoroughly disgusted with the attitude of my comrades in the Legislature."[206] When the bill came before the larger body of the House, the chairman of the appropriations committee explained the decrease in funding as evidence of greater concern for the living, specifically drawing attention to petitions for increased funding of the soldiers' home at Beauvoir. At that point, a committee member presented a minority report which claimed that the proposed sum was "wholly inadequate to erect suitable memorials," recommending instead $50,000 for the task -- $12,000 for markers and $38,000 for a monument.[207] Yet another representative sarcastically

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[203]Mississippi Senate Journal (1904), p. 325. In 1905, the UCV acknowledged the absence of southern memorials in national military parks by requesting local camps to lobby their states for appropriations. UCV Minutes (1905), p. 46.

[204]Mississippi House Journal (1906), p. 81. That same year, Governor Blanchard of Louisiana vetoed a $100,000 appropriation bill to provide for his state's memorials at Vicksburg. Citing the fact that previous funding measures had already exhausted revenues, he remarked: "I feel in my heart that if those men who gave up their lives, not only at Vicksburg but on every battle field, followed the Stars and Bars, could be called back from their graves, they would bid me be true to the trust imposed upon me, and do my duty as I see fit." "Without Approval," Vicksburg Daily Herald, 4 July 1906, Vicksburg National Military Park Commission Records, R168-B09-S1-00456, MDAH. In 1907, Virginia presented the park with a bronze tablet. Mary Johnston, Dedication of the Virginia Tablet in the Vicksburg National Military Park, Friday Evening, Nov. 22, 1907 (Vicksburg, Mississippi Printing Co., 1907).

[205]Laws of Mississippi (1906), pp. 145-46; Mississippi House Journal (1906), p. 342.

[206]Stephen D. Lee quoted in "Mississippi Wasn't Keen on Park Monument" Siege (Summer 1994): 3, Subject File: " Monument--Mississippi--Vicksburg," MDAH.

[207]Mississippi House Journal (1906), pp. 282-83.

proposed that the state spend $100,000 erecting memorials on the sites where Union troops had captured and confined President Davis, vowing that he could see the current bill "in no other light but that it was raising a monument to defeat."[208] A supporter of the more costly appropriation countered that "the erection of a memorial would be no monument to defeat, but one to the heroism of that gallant band who had the honor of defending the Gibraltar of the South and who represented the glory and honor of the cause."[209]

Requiring sixty-eight votes to pass in the House, sixty-eight representatives cast their ballots in favor of an amended bill which appropriated $50,000 to place Mississippi's memorials on the Vicksburg battlefield. Later, the Senate approved the bill twenty-seven to eleven.[210] Coverage in the Memphis Commercial Appeal commented that the battle in the House was "marked with more bitterness than any contest known to the oldest members of this Legislature . . . . Smoldering coals of the Civil War were almost fanned into a dangerous ember."[211] The paper concluded that passage occurred only because a majority of the representatives "refused to go on the record as indulging a spirit that could not erect a monument to the courage and valor of the men who wore either blue or gray on any battlefield, regardless of the result of the contest."[212]

That summer the commission's appointees met to examine the existing monuments in the park and to discuss the design of Mississippi's contribution. Asked to express his preference, Park Commissioner Rigby suggested that an equestrian statue of native son, current UCV commander, and fellow commissioner Stephen D. Lee would be most appropriate -- a choice in line with his determination that Vicksburg should possess representative portraits of all

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[208]Statement reported in two different newspapers: "Routine Work of Legislature," Jackson Evening News, 7 February 1906, p. 6; "Cannot Work Convicts on Any But State Lands," Jackson Daily Clarion Ledger, 8 February 1906, p. 3. See also Mississippi House Journal (1906), pp. 343-45.
[209]"Routine Work of Legislature."
[210]Mississippi House Journal (1906), p. 345; Mississippi Senate Journal (1906), p. 418.
[211]Memphis Commercial Appeal, 8 February 1906, p. 2.
[212]ibid.

commanding officers who had served on the field of battle.[213] Discussion proceeded with one member expressing partiality for a monument with two life-sized statues erected at its base: one of Jefferson Davis representing the civic government of the Confederacy and another of Steven D. Lee portraying the Confederate soldier. Yet another member favored three life-sized, anonymous statues depicting the infantry, the artillery, and the cavalry. In the end, the state commission resolved to consider "any and all designs" submitted to them.[214] One newspaper reported that the governor had received several letters containing suggestions for the state monument's design, with the majority appearing to favor a statue of Jefferson Davis and others requesting one of S. D. Lee.[215] A correspondent with the Vicksburg Daily Herald, however, rejected the notion of a Davis statue on two different grounds: first, that the battlefield memorial should represent those who had actually fought and second, that in the park Davis would be in the keeping of a federal government which had stripped him of citizenship and had treated the former statesman without respect.[216]

In the end, neither Davis nor Lee appeared on Mississippi's Vicksburg monument, although both men were ultimately honored with separate portrait statues on the park's grounds.[217] The winning design, executed in a mixture of bronze and granite, features instead an obelisk

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[213]"Proceedings of Mississippi Vicksburg Park Commission," Vicksburg Evening Post, 30 July 1906, Vicksburg National Military Park Commission Records, R168-B09-S1-00456, MDAH. According to Panhorst, Rigby's concerted effort in this realm resulted in over 150 portrait reliefs, busts, and statues by 1917 ("Lest We Forget," p. 196).

[214]"Proceedings of Mississippi Vicksburg," MDAH.

[215]"Suggestions Made on Vicksburg Memorial," clipping, Vicksburg National Military Park Records, R168-B09-S1-00456, MDAH.

[216]"The Mississippi Monument," Vicksburg Daily Herald, Vicksburg National Military Park Records, R168-B09-S1-00456, MDAH.

[217]Lee's statue was erected in 1909 from private funding, while Davis's in 1927 was built from monies appropriated by the Mississippi legislature. For Lee, see "Monument to Gen. S. D. Lee," Confederate Veteran (November 1908): 594; "Monument to Gen. Stephen D. Lee," Confederate Veteran (July 1909): 308-9; Wenschel, "Stephen D. Lee," p. 32; Dedication of the Statue of the Late Commissioner Lieut.-Gen. Stephen Dill Lee, C.S.A., Commander-in-Chief, U.C.V., in the Vicksburg National Military Park. Friday June 11, 1909 (Vicksburg: Mississippi Printing Co., 1909). For Davis, see "Statue of Jefferson Davis in Vicksburg National Park," Confederate Veteran (March 1928): 90; Jefferson Davis Memorial in the Vicksburg National Military Park (N.p., 1927).

resting atop a Greek temple. Seated in front is the muse of history, Clio, recording the names of Mississippi's soldiers on a roll of honor. Below and to either side, the artist sculpted a number of these men fighting and dying in the heat of battle. Although the bronze additions would not arrive until 1912, the state proceeded to dedicate the monument on November 12, 1909 in conjunction with the annual UCV reunion of the Mississippi Division. Approximately six hundred veterans as well as many other visitors from across the state gathered in Vicksburg to watch the ceremonies which officially transferred to the park custody of the Mississippi monument as well as twenty-three smaller memorials marking regimental and battery positions. "Just as this spot was first dedicated in battle to be a holy place of patriotism," remarked Blewett Lee accepting on behalf of the federal government, "let it today be dedicated anew to be a shrine of reconciliation and hope. . ."[218]

As early as 1900, members of the Vicksburg National Military Park Association had discussed erecting a monument on the battlefield "to show that both the North and South are friendly toward each other."[219] Even before its official preservation, the landscape had served as the setting for rituals of rapprochement between the two former enemies, a pattern which would continue long after the park became a reality. And yet, no matter how many these gestures of goodwill -- which stressed a shared devotion to duty, however conceived, and a common national patriotism, at least for now and the future -- no matter how amicable the exchanges, at the foundation of it all lay the awareness and knowledge of a separate, combative past. Fellow Americans all might claim to be, but always approaching one another in the particular venue of the battlefield from either one or the other opposing side, always clearly identifying himself as either a Northerner or a Southerner. The term "reconciliation," after all, does not necessarily mean complete and total unity of being, merely the resolution of severe differences among factions.

[218]"Mississippi Memorial to Her Soldiers Dedicated," Vicksburg Herald, 13 November 1909, p. 2. See also, "Veterans at Vicksburg," Confederate Veteran (January 1910): 25.
[219]Minutes of the Vicksburg National Military Park Association, 28 November 1900, Vicksburg National Military Park Commission Records, R168-B08-S1-00452, MDAH.

Thus, even though this outcome might please many, some participants might find themselves *reconciled* to the result, in the sense of submitting to an unpleasant reality. And, of course, there are usually those who remained *irreconcilable*, such as Robert Bruce Bowe, who died in 1907 and whose DeSoto County grave marker reads "I have no flag or country since 1865, an alien in the land that my forefathers defended in war since 1624. Providence taking side with the strong and oppressive against the weak and just has caused me to live in doubt the last 40 years and I fear I will die so."[220]

Former Confederate General Basil W. Duke wrote of these "unreconstructed rebels" that,

> When this feeling is genuine, when it is exhibited by men who really fought and not by some one [sic] merely simulating it with the hope of obtaining a certain eclat, it is impossible not to respect it, and it elicits a kind of sympathy. We recognize it as the crude, half-articulate expression of long-cherished conviction. . . . no more than his unconscious protest against the destiny which has torn him away from surroundings which he loved and to which he was adapted, and stranded him in a region to which he can never become accustomed.[221]

Nevertheless, from the standpoint of 1911 when his memoir appeared in print, Duke claimed that this alienated archetype was "rapidly passing, he is not often encountered even at Confederate reunions, and it is not probable that we shall ever look upon his like again."[222] Indeed, most veterans and their progeny professed themselves loyal citizens of the United States who genuinely loved their country. Still, the strength of their national patriotism did not detract from the continued pride many white southerners possessed for their region's secessionist past -- such as Jeff Davis Stewart of Poplarville, the son of a veteran, who in 1925 wrote, "When I am dead, I feel that on and around my heart will be found the imprint of the Stars and Stripes, but within that heart

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[220]Carl McIntire, "Confederate soldier never admitted defeat," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 1 July 1984; J. B. Bell and Mildred M. Scott, eds., DeSoto Cemetery Inscriptions (Hernando, MS: Genealogical Society of DeSoto County, Mississippi, 1987), p. 92. Another portion of the inscription reads: "Company A, 7th Tennessee Cavalry, CSA, July 1861-April 1865. We rode from Vicksburg to Nashville, from Atlanta to Corinth, to Fort Pillow and to Belmont, Mo. Many a day and night, nothing to eat, our bed the cold sod. The Stars and Bars and dear Mal [his wife] were the idols of my heart."

[221]Basil Wilson Duke, Reminiscences of General Basil W. Duke, C.S.A. (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1911): 476-77.

[222]ibid.

will be found a package wrapped in Confederate gray . . . "[223] This conflicting allegiance would seem an illogical inconsistency if not for the fact that the war's outcome had ultimately relegated southern sovereignty to a chapter in history.

The real dilemma for the white South was that it continued to place such heavy significance upon this single historical chapter that it became a defining facet of both regional and personal identity. Having already lost the physical conflict, simple self-esteem prevented white southerners from making groveling avowals of regret and contrition for their actions. Ego demanded not the prostrated posture of repentance but the erect stature of righteousness. Psychologically accommodating a simultaneous existence as both proud, victorious Americans and defeated Southerners, therefore, *required* an anticipation of vindication, an expectation which absolved any possible feelings of guilt by predicting an ultimate triumph when at some indeterminate point in the future the rest of the nation would acknowledge the Confederate cause as justified. In the meantime, the white South craved and celebrated any words or deeds from the government or their former foes which recognized the honor of Confederate soldiers, words such as those voiced in the conciliatory orations delivered on battlefields or deeds like that of Congress agreeing to care for the graves of the Confederate dead. Each of these incidents indicated the reasonableness of the white South's optimism concerning vindication while easing internal tensions that resulted from dual fidelity to both nation and region.

Another occasion that symbolized to white southerners an increased respect for their Confederate past was the return of captured battle flags. In February of 1885, survivors of the Ninth Connecticut formally restored the tattered banner which they had captured in 1862 to the remaining remnant of the Third Mississippi Infantry. The Union veterans had unanimously voted to undertake this exchange as "evidence of good will and a reunited country."[224] Thousands witnessed the highly publicized ceremony at the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial

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[223]"A Real Son of the Confederacy," Confederate Veteran (February 1925): 77.
[224]H. Grady Howell, Jr., To Live and Die in Dixie: A History of the Third Mississippi Infantry, C.S.A. (Jackson, MS: Chickasaw Bayou Press, 1991), p. 435.

Exposition in New Orleans where a speaker for the Confederate recipients remarked "Brave men respect the brave. . . . In this return you show that you recognize our deeds in the past and we accept it as a symbol of peace and good-will in the future."[225] A few years later when an officer of the Tenth Indiana Regiment delivered back to its hometown the flag borne by the Grenada Rifles, one of the local residents asserted that "such exhibitions of brotherly sympathy as the restoration of this dear old standard, help to blend the North and South in more endearing chains of friendship."[226] Yet just as occasional southern hostility to battlefield commemorations demonstrated continued recalcitrance, Union veterans sometimes rose up against the return of war trophies to their former enemy, as they did in 1887 when Grover Cleveland proposed restoring to southern states the captured battle flags currently in the custody of the War Department. Subsequent storms of protest eventually caused the president to abort this goodwill gesture, but when Congress ordered the transfer of Confederate standards in 1905 nary a quarrel transpired.[227]

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[225]ibid., p. 437. Confederate displays appeared alongside scenes of reunion during the world's fairs at the turn of the century. See, Judy L. Larson, "Three Southern World's Fairs: (Cotton States and International Exposition, Atlanta, 1895; Tennessee Centennial, Nashville, 1897; South Carolina Inter-State and West Indian Exposition, Charleston, 1901-02) Creating Regional Self-Portraits Through Expositions" (Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1998), pp. 107-16. Paul Richard Beezley indicates that exhibitors displayed few Confederate relics at the 1884 fair, emphasizing reunion instead. By the 1904 St. Louis fair, the Lost Cause was one of the dominant themes inside the state's pavilion which replicated Beauvoir, the last home of Jefferson Davis. Paul Richard Beezley, "Exhibiting Visions of a New South: Mississippi and the World's Fairs, 1884-1904" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Mississippi, 1999), pp. 58-59, 193-94, 218-27, & 231-32.

[226]"The Grenada Rifles' Flag," Grenada Sentinel, October 1899, Subject File: "Flags--Confederate Regiments," MDAH. See also, "Flag of the Grenada Rifles," Confederate Veteran (September 1901): 400. For accounts of similar exchanges, see "About a Mississippi Flag," Confederate Veteran (February 1900): 67; "Flags to Be Returned," Confederate Veteran (September 1900): 393; "Fourteenth Infantry Regiment Flag Is Back in Mississippi," 1931, clipping, Subject File: "Flags--Confederate Regiments," MDAH.

[227]See Foster, Ghosts, p. 154; McConnell, Glorious Contentment, p. 229; "Returned Confederate States' Flags," Southern Historical Society Papers 33 (1905): 297-305; The Flags of the Confederate Armies Returned to the Men Who Bore Them By the United States Government (St. Louis, MO: Buxton & Skinner, 1905); Dunbar Rowland, Fourth Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Mississippi from October 1, 1904 to October 1, 1905 (Nashville, TN: Brandon Printing Co., 1905), pp. 18-25; John M. Taylor, "Grover Cleveland and the Rebel Banners," Civil War Times Illustrated 32 (September-October 1993): 22-24. For a discussion of the return of both Union and Confederate flags, see Scott Marsden, "The Damned

In those intervening eighteen years, time had not only further assuaged partisan wounds but had included one defining moment which permitted the white South to not just assert, but indeed to prove its fidelity to nation. Ironically, this touchstone event was yet another violent episode . . . the "splendid little war" which erupted in 1898 between the United States and Spain. Contemporary observers themselves acknowledged the pivotal role the Spanish-American War played in national reconciliation, citing the South's enthusiastic participation on both the front lines and at home as an obvious display of patriotism. Of course, only a smattering of the soldiers from the South had actually once fought in gray, for most of those donning blue were from a generation without any personal recollections of the war which had once pitched region against region.[228] Nevertheless, while the younger generation of the New South had demonstrated national loyalty in a foreign crisis, they neither rejected nor ignored the deeds of the Old South. Rather than offering recompense for the sins of their fathers, the descendants of Confederates avowed tremendous pride in their ancestral legacy and accepted the responsibility of protecting the reputation of their sires.

The aging Confederates themselves viewed the transfer of this historical burden from one generation to the next as necessary in light of their own inevitable mortality. For even as the UCV gained membership in the late nineteenth century, the total number of men who had once fought for the South was on the wane. The 1890 federal census, for instance, counted little more than 26,500 former Confederate soldiers residing in Mississippi, a number which amounted to approximately two percent of the state's total population.[229] By 1907, when the state conducted its

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Confederate Flag: The Development of an American Symbol, 1865-1995" (M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1996): 53-69.

[228]Buck, Road to Reunion, pp. 306-7; Foster, Ghosts, pp. 145-49; Silber, Romance of Reunion, pp. 178-85; Blight, Race and Reunion, pp. 351-54. Silber states that the Spanish-American War "provided a culminating point for much of the patriotic and reunion-oriented ideology that had been building in the preceding years" Romance of Reunion, p. 178.

[229]More specifically, 1890 census data showed 26,728 Confederate veterans in Mississippi when counting both races--26,400 in the whites only category. Working with the latter figure only, these veterans would have represented 2% percent of the state's total population, 4.9% of the state's total white population, and a more significant 22.8% of the state's total population of white males of voting age. U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Report on Population of the United

own enumeration of veterans, the survey showed only 11,403 still living within Mississippi's borders, making their presence in the population at less than one percent.[230] To formally insure the continuation of the veterans' agenda, then, descendants created their own auxiliary associations just a few years after the 1889 inception of the UCV. Thus, the first *region-wide* organization for women interested in commemorative work arose in 1895 with the formation of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC). The men lagged only a year behind, establishing the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) in 1896. Clearly, members of these two organizations had accepted the mantle and mission of their forebears, permitting anxious veterans to rest easier with regards to the future's assessment of their conduct. One former cavalryman specifically ascribed just such a role to the two auxiliary groups, writing of the UDC and SCV that "They are the palladium of our hopes, our sentinels on the watch-tower, to bear aloft the beacon of lights of truth and justice and to vindicate our cause when we are dead and gone."[231]

States at the Eleventh Census: 1890 Part I (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1895), p. 395 (Table 9), 400 (Table 13), & 751 (Table 77); Department of Interior, Census Office, Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890 Part II (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1897), pp. 803 (Table 123), 804 (Table 124), & 805 (Table 125).

[230]Laws of Mississippi (1906), p. 143; "Enumeration of Ex-Confederate Soldiers and Widows of Deceased Confederate Soldiers," Biennial Report of the Auditor Public Accounts of the State of Mississippi from October 1, 1907 to October 1, 1909. (Nashville, TN: Press of Brandon Printing Company, 1909) in Mississippi Department Reports 1907-09. Comparing this 1907 state data to Mississippi population figures as reported in the federal census of both 1900 and 1910 reveals that Confederate veterans comprised either .74% (1900) or .63% (1910) of the state's total population. Their electoral presence had dropped even more dramatically as compared to 1890--veterans comprised only 7.82% of the state's population that was white, male, and over twenty-one years of age in 1900 and 5.92% of those white males of voting age within the state in 1910. U.S. Department of Interior, Census Office, Census Reports Vol. I. Twelfth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1900 Part I (Washington, DC: United States Census Office, 1901), pp. 26 (Table 4), 509 (Table 18), & 986 (Table 92); U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910 Vol. II (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1913), pp. 1039 (Tables 1, 2, & 6). In 1910, the federal government attempted for a second time to identify Union and Confederate veterans. Due to glaring underreporting, the Census Bureau refused to publish its tabulations on the subject. For an examination of this dilemma with particular reference to Mississippi's veterans, see Larry M. Logue, "Confederate Survivors and the 'Civil War Question' in the 1910 Census," Historical Methods 34 (Spring 2001): 89-93.

[231]J. M. Montgomery, "Reminiscences of a Cavalryman," in Memoirs of Henry Tillinghast Ireys: Papers of the Washington County Historical Society 1910-1915 eds. William D. McCain and Charlotte Capers (Jackson: Mississippi Department of Archives and History and Mississippi Historical Society, 1954), p. 178. A symbolic gesture of this cross-generational purpose was for the local UCV camp to transfer the property deed for the town's Confederate monument to either

In Mississippi, however, the SCV became most closely associated with a project initially geared towards tending the needs of veterans while they still breathed life, for the Sons were instrumental in the establishment of a Confederate soldiers' home at the site of Jefferson Davis's last residence. Overlooking the Gulf Coast, Beauvoir provided the necessary serenity for the former president to write his memoirs after the war. Upon his death, the antebellum house passed to his daughter Winnie, who in turn left it to her mother. In failing health and needing money, Varina Davis decided to sell Beauvoir, but instead of accepting a $90,000 offer from hotel developers, Mrs. Davis opted for the much lower figure of $10,000 put forward by the Mississippi Division of the SCV because that group agreed to the strict provisions she outlined in the sale. The most significant of these conditions was that Beauvoir be used as a home for Confederate soldiers so long as there was need, and that the residence thereafter would remain a memorial to Jefferson Davis, his family, and the "Lost Cause."[232]

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the SCV or the UDC, as occurred in 1911 in Oxford. "Deed of Monument to Sons of Veterans," Confederate Veteran (March 1911): 114.

[232]Hannah L. Richardson, "The History of the Purchase of Beauvoir," Our Heritage 2 (April 1909): 1-3; Mrs. Wilbur Moore Jones, Historic Beauvoir: Souvenir Booklet of Beauvoir-on-the-Gulf, Harrison County, Mississipi (Hattiesburg, MS: Hattiesburg American Commercial Printing, 1921), pp. 93-99; James West Thompson, Beauvoir: A Walk through History (Biloxi, MS: Beauvoir Press, 1988); Beauvoir: Jefferson Davis Shrine (n.d.): 8, Vertical File: "Beauvoir," Gulfport Public Library; Martha B. Bassett, "The History of Beauvoir--Jefferson Davis Shrine" (M.A. thesis, University of Southern Mississippi, 1970), pp. 33-36. In 1899, Mrs. Davis offered Beauvoir to the Mississippi Division of the UDC for $25,000, but the women declined the arrangement in favor of erecting a Confederate Hospital Annex and Home at Vicksburg. MS Division UDC Minutes (1899), p. 29. However, two other women's organizations formed with the single goal of assisting with the Soldier's Home: the Jefferson Davis Home Memorial Association of Biloxi and the Beauvoir Home Memorial Association of Greenwood. Confederated Southern Memorial, History, pp. 202-207. For more general information on soldier's homes see also, R. B. Rosenberg, Living Monuments: Confederate Soldiers' Homes in the New South (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Judith Gladys Cetina, "A History of Veterans' Homes in the United States, 1811-1930" (Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1977); Emily J. Williams, "'A Home . . . for the Old Boys': The Robert E. Lee Camp Confederate Soldiers' Home," Virginia Cavalcade 29, no. 1 (1979): 40-47; Tommy G. Lashley, "Oklahoma's Confederate Veterans Home," Chronicles of Oklahoma 55 (Spring 1977): 34-45. Rosenberg describes the confederate soldiers' home movement as having three stages: the establishment of the early homes in the 1880s and 1890s, the expansion of the idea across the New South after 1900, and finally the assumption of control by states after 1920. Mississippi along with South Carolina and Alabama entered the fray only during the second phase, and Rosenberg determines that "no satisfactory answer" exists to explain this comparative lassitude (p. 72). Rosenberg also makes no attempt to explain why Mississippi is an exception to his rule that states only began to take control of

Although the SCV provided the initial outlay for the purchase of Beauvoir, it certainly could not hope to fund the continuing costs that an operation like a soldiers' home entailed. The UDC assisted the project by raising money for furnishings, but in order to meet annual expenses, the men quite predictably turned to the state legislature, which in 1904 accepted responsibility for the venture, and more importantly, the bills. In return, the governor appointed a six-member Board of Directors drawn from the ranks of the UCV and the SCV, and admission standards for the home became identical to the eligibility guidelines outlined in pension legislation.[233] By 1905, the SCV officially ceded to the state the property's title. Over the next five decades, Beauvoir served as a retirement home for Confederate soldiers as well as their widows and servants. In addition to the original house, the state built several dormitories (called "barracks") as well as a combined hospital and dining facility, a chapel, a laundry, and even a wharf and a "summer house" on the beach. By 1925, this gradual building program had equipped the facility to handle 274 residents simultaneously.[234] And before the soldiers' home closed its doors for the last time in 1957, Beauvoir would provide refuge for a total of 1,127 men and women.[235] The state's tab for this institution would ultimately run to just over $2,580,000.[236]

In 1912, Governor Earl Leroy Brewer stated that the soldier's home at Beauvoir was "not to be classed among the eleemosynary establishments of the State," asserting instead that the it was "a grateful acknowledgment of unbought loyalty."[237] This distinction was significant. Veterans, after all, were not recipients of undeserved *charity* for they had *earned* repose by responding to their state's call to arms in their youth. To insure that those admitted to Beauvoir were the genuine article and not impostors, prospective inmates answered lengthy questionnaires

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soldiers' homes in the 1920s. Finally, Cetina notes that the North also participated in this trend to establish homes for aged veterans, but that federal subsidies assisted these efforts (p. 249).

[233]MS Division UDC Minutes (1904), p. 5; Laws of Mississippi (1904), pp. 25-27.

[234]Bassett, "History of Beauvoir," pp. 38-44.

[235]Rosenberg, Living Monument, p. 161.

[236]Calculated from related appropriation bills passed by the Mississippi legislature between 1904 and 1954.

[237]Inaugural Addresses of the Governors of Mississippi, p. 51.

on their military service and provided written recommendations by three witnesses or a local UCV camp.[238] Deserters and those dishonorably discharged need not apply. Financial status posed further restrictions, as only those living in a clearly defined impoverished state qualified for admittance. In 1916, for instance, the state determined that any veteran possessing property valued at more than $2,500 did not really require the hospitality of the home.[239] In an era when the poor evoked very little official compassion, southern society rescued those heroes of the Confederacy that destiny had insufficiently rewarded. Significantly, this beneficence not only corrected an imbalance of fate, it also removed veterans -- whom the white South had learned to venerate -- from the shameful condition of poverty to a setting more suitable for their special status.[240]

And for what more appropriate locale could the old soldiers' hope, but the last residence of the Confederacy's only president? Even during Davis's lifetime, Beauvoir had become a favorite destination for travelers aspiring to meet the legendary figure. As a retirement home for those who had worn the Gray, its popularity continued, not only because of the property's association with its past owner but also because the veterans themselves possessed their own appeal as the defenders of the South. As consolidations of remaining Confederates, soldiers' homes throughout the region proved a constant draw for visitors who wanted to see these representatives of the past and hear reminiscences from those actually present in the fight. Of

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[238]Rosenberg, Living Monuments,pp. 79-80.
[239]Rosenberg, Living Monuments, p. 81.
[240]Rosenberg has demonstrated how the supervisors of soldiers' homes imposed discipline and order upon residents in order to ensure that the veterans met society's preconceived notions of a Confederate soldier. Living Monuments, chapter 5. A 1902 Leflore County broadside soliciting contributions for the new Mississippi veterans home drew distinctions between the worthy and the unworthy very clearly, describing indigent veterans as "suffering from honorable wounds received in battle; enfeebled by disease consequent upon the hardships of a war in which they sacrificed their all . . . eeking out a bare existence in pestilential almshouses, with a companionship of diseased and lowbred people." The appeal then states the SCV's intends to correct this condition by providing the poor soldiers with "a suitable and honorable" home at Beauvoir--a deed which would in part acknowledge the Sons "debt of gratitude due these 'warworn Veterans.'" "Confederate Veterans' Home," broadside, Beckwith/Yerger Collection, Box 7, Folder 3, UM]. See also, By Laws and Rules and Regulations of the Jefferson Davis Beauvoir Memorial Confederate Soldiers' Home (Jackson, MS: Tucker Printing House, c.1906).

course, delegations of the UDC arrived regularly at Beauvoir, especially on holidays when they delivered gifts, participated in rituals, and helped to serve immense feasts. Others not directly connected to Confederate commemoration however, also appeared periodically, like the troops of Boy Scouts who camped on the grounds in the 1930s and visited with the aging soldiers.[241] During his childhood in the 1940s, Billy Ellis traveled to the Coast with his grandparents each summer. Always parking in front of Beauvoir, he recalled that "[t]he setting sun turned the lovely columned veranda to gold, a true monument to by-gone antebellum days." The real motivation behind the choice for disembarkation, however, was to catch sight of the veterans on the verandah, the "long row of hand-made, hickory high-backed rocking chairs, occupied by gaunt, venerable looking men with skin the color of their hickory chairs and pure white hair and beards that hung down to their belt buckles. . . . ancient messengers from another era. . ."[242]

Actually, Beauvoir was not the first institution established in the state to care specifically for veterans of the Gray. That precedence instead belongs to the Confederate Hospital Annex at Vicksburg, a project of the Mississippi Division of the UDC. In fact, Varina Davis had first approached that group of women in 1899 with the idea of purchasing her Gulf Coast property, but the convention had decided instead to focus their efforts on a preexisting plan to erect a "Soldier's Annex and Home" in Vicksburg.[243] The following year the women successfully lobbied legislators for a contribution to build an addition at the State Charity Hospital for "the exclusive use of our

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[241]Rosenberg, Living Monuments, pp. 107-108.

[242]Billy Ellis, Tithes of Blood: A Confederate Soldier's Story (Murfreesboro, TN: Southern Heritage Press, 1997), pp. xii-xiv.

[243]MS Division UDC Minutes (1899), pp. 17-18 & 29. For scholarship on the UDC specifically, see Patricia Faye Climer, "Protectors of the Past: The United Daughters of the Confederacy, Tennessee Division, and the Lost Cause" (M.A. thesis, Vanderbilt Univesity, 1973); Angie Parrott, "'Love Makes Memory Eternal': The United Daughters of the Confederacy in Richmond, Virginia 1897-1930" (M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1989); Karen Cox, "Women, the Lost Cause, and the New South: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Transmission of Confederate Culture, 1894-1919" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern Mississippi, 1997); Gardner, "Blood and Irony," pp. 165-235; Anastatia Sims, The Power of Femininity in the New South: Women's Organizations and Politics in North Carolina, 1880-1930 (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1997). For the UDC's own organizational history, see Mary B. Poppenheim, et al., The History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (Raleigh, NC: Edwards & Broughton Co., 1956).

Confederate veterans who need medical attention."[244] The resulting eight room building, complete with smoking room and easy chairs, opened on the 1901 anniversary of Robert E. Lee's birth. With a capacity to care for fourteen patients at a time, the state continued to appropriate enough money each year for the support of those admitted while the Vicksburg chapter of the UDC covered maintenance costs.[245] When a fire consumed the annex in September 1918, the state made its final allocation -- enough to cover the first few months' operating expenses as well as the costs of removing the remaining veterans to the larger facility at Beauvoir.[246]

Instead of rebuilding, the institution on the Coast supplanted the smaller operation in Vicksburg. One might assume that in the early twentieth century the domination of the male-backed project was a foreordained conclusion, yet this particular development did not accurately reflect the relative strength and influence of the two auxiliary organizations. In general, the UDC far outstripped its counterpart in both membership and productivity. As in the case of the UCV, ascertaining an accurate count of the SCV is a difficult proposition. The men simply failed to consistently publish centralized records on the matter. Nonetheless, occasional statistics surface which highlight a dramatic difference between the two gender-exclusive groups. For instance, in 1915 the Confederate Veteran reported the existence of ten SCV camps in Mississippi, ranking that division second at its national convention.[247] That same year, in contrast, the UDC boasted 107 chapters in Mississippi, with a membership total of 3,653 women.[248] At one point in time or

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[244]MS Division UDC Minutes (1900), p. 5; Laws of Mississippi (1900), p. 15; Mrs. Albert G. Weems, "Work of the United Daughters of the Confederacy," Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society 4 (1901): 77; "Work of the Vicksburg Chapter in 1900-1901," Confederate Veteran (July 1901): 304; Mrs. Claribel Drake, "Mississippi Division," Confederate Veteran (July 1915): 300. See also, Bobbie B. Edwards, "Confederate Annex: The Answer to a Query, Part I," Mississippi River Routes: The Vicksburg Genealogical Society Quarterly Journal 4 (Spring 1997): 17-21; Idem, "Confederate Annex: The Answer to a Query, Part II" Mississippi River Routes: The Vicksburg Genealogical Society Quarterly Journal 4 (Summer 1997): 27-31.

[245]"Work of the Vicksburg Chapter," p. 304; Miss Claribel Drake, "Mississippi Division," Confederate Veteran (July 1915): 300.

[246]Laws of Mississippi (1918), p. 84; MS Division UDC Minutes (1919), p. 103.

[247]"List of SCV Camps in Good Standing November 15, 1914," Confederate Veteran (January 1915): 36-37; "Division Notes," Confederate Veteran (December 1915): 565.

[248]MS Division UDC Minutes (1915), pp. 30-32. See appendix 4 for list of Mississippi UDC chapters.

another, 144 cities and towns in the state possessed a UDC chapter. In fact, the group was so popular in its first four decades that two or more chapters coexisted simultaneously in several communities. And while individual chapters might decline in numbers and even disappear, the State Division maintained totals that consistently topped one thousand in the years between 1902 and World War I. By 1905, that aggregate had surpassed the two thousand mark and reached a peak of 4,225 members in 1913.[249] All in all, the UDC surpassed the SCV in matters of membership.

Yet, as a percentage of the total population even the United Daughters of the Confederacy appeared statistically insignificant -- comparing the organization's 1910 membership tally with that year's census data indicates that the number of names on the state division's roster represented less than one percent of all white females residing in Mississippi.[250] In part, this statistic reflected the elitist nature of the UDC. Although theoretically open to all women who could prove Confederate lineage, the group was in truth dominated by ladies of high socio-economic status.[251] In fact, the UDC was just one of several late nineteenth-century heritage-oriented organizations, such as the Daughters of the American Revolution, which traditional upper classes across the nation created to legitimize the status quo. By highlighting their connections to the past, these elites sought to defend their authority and prestige against a nouveau riche whose affluence derived from the booming industrial economy of the Gilded Age.[252] In the South, the UDC was a particularly effective means by which women from the planter class could tout the

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[249]MS Division UDC Minutes (1905), p. 22; MS Division UDC Minutes (1913), p. 39. For an analysis of UDC membership in Georgia, see Darlene Rebecca Roth, Matronage: Patterns in Women's Organizations, Atlanta, Georgia, 1890-1940 (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing, 1994): 54-55.

[250]In 1910, membership in the Mississippi Division of the UDC amounted to 3,236. MS Division UDC Minutes (1910), p. 19. According to the 1910 census, white women in Mississippi numbered 384,055. Thirteenth Census, vol. 2, p. 1039 (Table 2).

[251]Foster, Ghosts, pp. 171-72; Sims, Power of Femininity, p. 130.

[252]Sims, Power of Femininity, p. 32; For scholarship on other southern heritage associations of this era, see Richard T. Couture, To Preserve and Protect: A History of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities ([Richmond, VA]: Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, 1984); James M. Lindgen, Preserving the Old Dominion: Historic Preservation and Virginia Traditionalism (Charlottsville: University Press of Virginia, 1993).

gentility and stature of their forebears as opposed to those lifted up by the bustling activity of the New South.

Still, members of the UDC found themselves simultaneously partaking in yet another national trend -- the women's club movement -- which possessed a more liberal tone. This movement of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century offered females an opportunity to participate in activities beyond the confines of home and church, and in consequence, became the vehicle by which women developed the non-domestic skills and interests that they would eventually apply to the male-dominated realm of public policy. A progressive step in the expansion of the role of women, such advancement nevertheless proceeded at different strides according to the mission of each group. Some organizations that began as study clubs developed a keen awareness of social issues which propelled their members to fervidly campaign against inhumanity and corruption and to lobby in favor of municipal, state, and national reform. Gradually, more and more of these club members began to take the logical leap of demanding women's suffrage in order to bolster their effectiveness in these other matters.[253]

With regard to this increasing activism, however, the UDC occupied an ambivalent position.[254] On the one hand, the organization remained fairly traditional in outlook and objective,

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[253]For scholarship on the women's club movement in general and specifically in the South, see Anne Ruggles Gere, Intimate Practices: Literary and Cultural Work in U.S. Women's Clubs, 1880-1920 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Sims, The Power of Femininity; Roth, Matronage; Marsha Wedell, Elite Women and the Reform Impulse in Memphis, 1875-1915 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991); Mary Martha Thomas, "The 'New Woman' in Alabama, 1890 to 1920" Alabama Review 43 (July 1990): 163-80; Karen J. Blair, The Clubwomen as Feminists: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914 (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1980); Anne Firor Scott, The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1970), pp. 152-63.

[254]One of the most convincing scholarly works that explores this ambivalence is Parrott's "Love Makes Memory Eternal." Parrott discounts the suggestion that the UDC became a "seedbed of feminism" in the South. While acknowledging that the organization permitted women to expand their influence outside the home, Parrott asserts that in comparison to other women's clubs of that era and in that region, the UDC adopted progressive methods "to achieve decidedly conservative ends" (pp. 90-91). See also, Rebecca Montgomery, "Lost Cause Mythology in New South Reform: Gender, Class, Race, and the Politics of Patriotic Citizenship in Georgia, 1890-1925" in Negotiating Boundaries of Southern Womanhood: Dealing with the Powers that Be eds. Janet L. Coryell, et al. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000), pp. 174-98; Joan Marie Johnson, "'Drill into Us . . . the Rebel Tradition': The Contest over Southern Identity in Black and White

as was only natural with its dedication to the past . . . a past, moreover, which venerated Southern Womanhood as domestic, feminine, virtuous, and pious. Yet, occasionally the UDC strayed from this preoccupation with history, as when the convention remonstrated against child labor or proposed raising the age of consent.[255] As for the proposition of women voting, the membership adopted no official position. On occasions prior to World War I when a speaker did mention the topic, her position was typically antagonistic, as was Mrs. J. D. McInnis when addressing the Mississippi Division in 1901:

> you have been no advocate of Woman Suffrage; you have clamored for no new rights; you have been content to be the power behind the throne; -- the Daughter of the Confederacy behind the legislator, the petitioner of Commission Boards, -- you have exercised only the God-given right of helping to establish Truth, of alleviating suffering, lifting up the down hearted. You have not desired to be a force, only an influence.[256]

Indeed, the president of the division boasted of her organization's persuasive ability while standing before the national convention in 1907. After reciting a long list of Confederate-oriented measures and appropriations that the Mississippi legislature had recently passed, one of the women present asked how such an impressive program was accomplished. The president replied, "A Daughter of the Confederacy stood back of every man that cast a vote."[257]

Women's Clubs, South Carolina, 1898-1930," Journal of Southern History 66 (August 2000): 525-62.

[255]In 1905, the Mississippi Division of the UDC passed a resolution urging the state legislature to enact a law against child labor. MS Division UDC Minutes (1905), p. 105; MS Division UDC Minutes (1906), pp. 90-91. In 1909, the group passed another resolution in support of raising the age of consent to marriage for females from twelve to eighteen. MS Division UDC Minutes (1909), p. 78; MS Division UDC Minutes (1912), p. 40. To coordinate such lobbying activities, the convention voted in 1912 to form a legislative committee. MS Division UDC Minutes (1912), p. 40.

[256]MS Division UDC Minutes (1901), p. 4. On the subject of southern suffragists and the UDC, see Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, "Divided Legacy: The Civil War, Tradition, and 'the Woman Question,' 1870-1920," in A Woman's War: Southern Women, Civil War, and the Confederate Legacy eds. Edward D. C. Campbell, Jr. and Kym S. Rice (Richmond: Museum of the Confederacy and the University Press of Virginia, 1996); Idem, New Women of the New South: The Leaders of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the Southern States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 3-37.

[257]MS Division UDC Minutes (1907), pp. 16-17. Individual members of the UDC, like Nellie Nugent Somerville and Belle Kearney, did publicly support the right to vote for women, and the organization itself began to work for the cause by 1916. Wheeler, New Women, pp. 109 & 218; Scott, Southern Lady, p. 180.

And yet, this very assertiveness in lobbying state bodies demonstrates how the United Daughters of the Confederacy enabled southern white women to move beyond the boundaries of the private sphere into the public realm. Southern communities accepted and even encouraged this development because the UDC devoted itself to promoting the legend of the Lost Cause with all its inherent social conservatism. The members' determination to uphold the ideal of Southern Womanhood also facilitated the ease of their reception.[258] Thus, even as the women acquired new skills in keeping accounts, conducting meetings, and speaking in public, they managed to preserve their respectability. One male speaker, tracing the descent of the Daughters of the Confederacy from their antebellum predecessor, noted in UDC members the continued presence of "gentle breeding and womanly ambition . . . indicating the past of the southern gentlewoman now fast adapting herself to modern conditions, but not forgetting those traits that have made the word 'southern' almost synonymous with angelic."[259]

Within the framework of the UDC, these paragons of femininity dedicated themselves to five interrelated objectives: memorial, historical, educational, benevolent, and social. As for benevolence, the Hospital Annex at Vicksburg represented just one of their many charitable projects. Individual chapters often reported giving assistance to local veterans and their families, paying travel expenses so that the impoverished might attend reunions, or sending contributions of food, clothing, and money to the soldiers residing at Beauvoir. In fact, the UDC contributed substantially to the expansion of the home's infrastructure -- so much so that in 1916 the division's president joined other women's organizations before the Mississippi legislature in an appeal to permit women to join the boards of trustees of state charitable institutions -- a petition which would

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[258]Sims, Power of Femininity, pp. 1-5.

[259]MS Division UDC Minutes (1907), pp. 7-8. The speaker goes on to describe this contemporary paragon as having a bearing "naturally and modestly erect, showing personal pride and no fear of social position; the shoulders are held up with a touch of strength and a sign of kindest bravery; the step is firm and deliberate, showing decision and contentment born and bred in southern womanhood with none of the greedy, feverish haste indicated by the snappy and nervous step of the modern society devotee or the masculine march of the ultramodern political pervert, the 'new woman' . . ." (p. 8). See also, Florence Elliott Cook, "Growing Up White, Genteel, and Female in a Changing South, 1865 to 1915" (Ph.D. dissertation; University of California at Berkeley, 1992).

not bear fruit for the UDC until 1924.[260] The women also lobbied the legislature periodically to increase appropriations for Beauvoir as well as veterans' pensions. Nevertheless, the devotion of time and money towards these philanthropic goals often placed second to the UDC's memorial duties, a result which one woman at convention bemoaned: "The *dead* can wait for monuments and be none the worse off for the waiting, the *living*, in their desolate and half-starved lives cry out to us. . ."[261]

Despite the truth of this observation, the UDC continued to concentrate a great deal of their efforts on memorializing the dead. Chapters often assumed care over local Confederate cemeteries or plots, erected tombstones over graves, and organized observations of Decoration Day. Members also contributed money towards the removal of southern bodies from northern cemeteries as well as paying for the placement of floral tributes or markers on graves that remained far afield in places like Marietta, Georgia and Chicago's Camp Chase. Ultimately, however, the erection of Confederate monuments across the South became the most recognizable form in which the organization's memorial work proceeded. Of the fifty-two monuments erected in cities and towns across Mississippi between 1895 when the organization first came into existence and 1917 when the United States entered the Great War, the UDC played a significant role in the construction of all but six.[262]

During that time span commemorative efforts had become much more than simple expressions of grief and remembrance of those lost. Inscriptions continued to honor the Confederate dead, but the appearance of new monumental trends indicate that other motivations

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[260]MS Division UDC Minutes (1916), p. 28; Laws of Mississippi (1924), p. 539.

[261]MS Division UDC Minutes (1901), p. 33. This cry was not an isolated lament. In 1911, a "Maintenance Committee" appointed at that year's convention strongly urged UDC members to forgo raising any further funds for monuments until the needs of impoverished veterans were satisfactorily addressed. "A 'Maintenance Committee' Appointed at Meridian Convention," Our Heritage 4 (June 1911): 1 & 11.

[262]Monuments erected without UDC assistance include Corinth (1896), Goodman (1896), Champion Hill (1907), Winona (1909), Duck Hill (1907), and Castillian Springs (1910). See appendix 2. This ratio does not consider monuments with unconfirmed dates as listed in appendix 2. Research by Gulley confirms the principal role of the UDC in raising Confederate monuments during this period. "Women of the Lost Cause," p. 130.

in addition to mourning had contributed to the erection of the stones. For instance, donors increasingly favored more public locales as settings for their memorials. Courthouse grounds became the preferred site instead of cemeteries, although a number of communities opted for other civic spaces like parks or busy intersections. In 1904, a Port Gibson Daughter explaining her chapter's decision on the matter stated, "we will not place our monument in the 'Silent City of the Dead,' but in the center of our already beautiful town, where all who pass by may see that Claiborne County honors her gallant sons who won for her an immortal name on many a hard-fought battlefield."[263] In addition to demonstrating civic pride in a Confederate heritage, such sites also enlarged the numbers of those in daily contact with the message of the memorials. Praising the city's placement of its new monument at a busy intersection, an Aberdeen reporter explained that whereas a "soldier's monument in a cemetery sinks to the common level of grave yard structures and becomes a tomb stone," those erected in more public locales "lead future generations to better actions, higher aims and loftier achievements."[264]

To achieve this objective, the inscriptions on twentieth-century monuments became much more elaborate than simple dedications to the deceased. For one thing, the words chiseled in stone often honored not just the Confederates who died during the war but also those soldiers who had survived. Sometimes this broader dedication appeared in subtle phrasing like Aberdeen's "To those who risked their lives," while other communities offered more explicit delineations, such as Hazlehurst's tribute to "those who fought and died, or those who fought and lived."[265] The inclusion of survivors on these memorials reflected in part southern society's eagerness to venerate the aging veterans as symbols of the past, and this trend further

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[263]MS Division UDC Minutes (1904), p. 28. A few years later, a Yazoo City woman echoed this rationale for placing their monument "somewhere near the center of the lovely little city, that the surviving comrades of the four years' conflict, and passing throngs may, without inconvenience, see that Yazoo county reverently regards the memory of her gallant sons, who won for her an honored name on many a hard fought battle field." MS Division UDC Minutes (1906), p. 37.
[264]"The Monument Unveiled," Aberdeen Examiner, 14 December 1900, Subject File: "Aberdeen, History 1900-1939," MDAH.
[265]See appendix 2. At least thirty-two of the inscriptions on monuments built after 1900 include survivors among those honored.

demonstrates the existence and relative influence of other, non-grieving, rationales for these monuments.

By the end of the decade, a select group of non-combatants -- women -- also began to receive sporadic mention for their contributions to the southern war effort. In Mississippi, the first such inscription appeared in Raymond, which dedicated its 1908 monument in part "to the heroic women whose devotion to our cause in its darkest hour sustained the strong and strengthened the weak."[266] In light of the female gender's current domination of Confederate commemoration, this acknowledgment is not surprising. While members of the UDC honored the gentle nature of the antebellum plantation mistress, they also respected the strength of character and active role these ladies had demonstrated during the duress of war and its denouement.[267] By incorporating fortitude and enterprise into the historic pattern of Southern Womanhood, modern females acquired a model for their own postbellum deeds, and by inscribing the efforts of their forebears in stone, the Daughters celebrated this legacy.

In the end, references to one certain societal segment in these inscriptions quite effectively affirmed the diminished priority of mourning. Whether specifically mentioned or merely implied, present and future generations were the target audience and rationale for this second Confederate memorial phase. "God of our fathers," begs the Brooksville monument, "help us to preserve for our children the priceless treasure of the true story of the Confederate soldier."[268] Referring to these heroes, the Meridian shaft urges "may their lives be an inspiration for emulation to generations yet unborn."[269] Similar direct addresses appear on stones throughout the state, while other memorials bear the simple phrase "Lest we forget." On courthouse grounds and busy main street intersections, these stones continue to bear witness to the South's secessionist past,

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[266]See appendix 2. Other Confederate monuments in the state which explicitly honor women are Winona (1909), Yazoo City (1909), Grenada (1910), Hattiesburg (1910), Kosciusko (1911), Heidelberg (1911), Meridian (1912), Greenwood (1913), Louisville (1921), Belzoni (1922), Amory (1924), and Poplarville (1926). See also, Gulley, "Women of the Lost Cause," pp. 132-134.
[267]Sims, Power of Femininity, pp. 1-5, 13, & 136-37; Roth, Matronage, pp. 22-23.
[268]ibid.
[269]ibid.

and rather than rely on their mere presence to proffer the message, early twentieth-century inscriptions touted the "fame and glory" which southern soldiers had earned by their "sacrifice," "faithfulness," and "patriotic duty." Sometimes these monuments went beyond praising the merits of Confederate soldiers to remark upon the righteousness of their cause as well. In Oxford, "they gave their lives in a just and holy cause," while Lexington maintained that "the men were right who wore the gray and right can never die."[270] A few even mention the specific principals of "states rights" or "constitutional rights" for which the South fought.[271]

Regardless of the particulars which might differ at each locale, these inscriptions sought to ensure the transmission of the "true story" of the Confederacy to subsequent generations. One might even view the transition from funereal design to the figural sculpture of the solitary Confederate soldier at rest as further evidence of this intent. On some subconscious level, these "silent sentinels" serve not just as symbolic representatives for entire lost legions but also as totemic guards of a community's Confederate heritage. One common statuary variation even depicts the soldier shading his eyes to prevent the sun from obscuring his watchful gaze. More pragmatically, the democratic gesture of selecting a common soldier instead of a more highly ranked officer ensured widespread support and enthusiasm for the monumental endeavors of the UDC's society ladies.

Of course, the alteration in design and location of Confederate monuments also coincided with the City Beautiful movement, an increased interest in municipal art spurred in part by the magnificent structures Chicago erected for the 1893 World's Fair.[272] Columbus Marble Works in Mississippi was just one of numerous commercial ventures that catered to the southern version of this national fad by manufacturing products to meet the specifications of local committees

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[270]ibid.
[271]Winona's monument mentions "states rights" while the monuments at Carrollton, Raymond, and Greenville speak of "constitutional rights." The monument in Aberdeen refers to the South as resisting invasion. See appendix 2.
[272]Jon A. Peterson, "The City Beautiful Movement: Forgotten Origins and Lost Meanings," Journal of Urban History 2 (August 1976): 415-34.

determined to uphold civic pride in this competitive trend. In fact, a few cities which had already placed memorials in their cemeteries conducted yet another fund raising campaign just to erect a monument more in keeping with this latest fashion. Columbus, for instance, already in possession of two Confederate monuments in its cemetery, began raising funds in 1905 to erect yet another in the business district -- just five years after the UDC chapter had finally paid off the expenses for making additions to the second.[273] The city unveiled its third, most impressive memorial in 1912 on the grounds of the county courthouse. Costing $4,500, the marble edifice consists of two soldiers aside a classical Greek temple whose dome supports yet another soldier holding a furled banner.[274]

While thirty-six Mississippi towns chose the more standardized version of a solitary soldier atop a shaft, ten communities that erected Confederate memorials in the first two decades of the twentieth century opted instead, like Columbus, for a more distinctive design. Usually, this attempt at creativity only meant the addition of two or more soldiers standing at rest around the base of the shaft. One of the more unique designs within the state is in Yazoo City which became the first Mississippi community to include a statue of a female figure -- in this particular instance, a woman presenting a banner to a Confederate soldier. Over the years, other monuments scattered across the state would depict women bearing wreaths, bended in prayer, or physically supporting the wounded.[275]

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[273]MS Division UDC Minutes (1900), p. 25; MS Division UDC Minutes (1905), p. 83.

[274]"U.D.C. Monument at Columbus," Our Heritage 5 (October 1912): 4-6; "Fine Monument at Columbus, Miss.," Confederate Veteran (November 1912): 510; "The Mississippi Division," Confederate Veteran (May 1918): 225; MS Division UDC Minutes (1905), p. 83; MS DIvision UDC Minutes (1906), p. 33; MS Division UDC Minutes (1908), p. 28; MS Division UDC Minutes (1913), p. 117; MS Division UDC Minutes (1914), p. 116; MS Division UDC Minutes (1915), p. 120; MS Division UDC Minutes (1917), p. 93; MS Division UDC Minutes (1919), p. 79; MS Division UDC Minutes (1921), p. 82. Meridian unveiled its cemetery memorial in 1890 and its courthouse version in 1912. Winona placed a monument in its cemetery in 1903 and another on the front of its courthouse in 1909. See appendix 2.

[275]Female sculptural figures appear on the following Mississippi municipal monuments: Yazoo City (1909), Hattiesburg (1911), Heidelberg (1911), Laurel (1912), Greenwood (1913), Belzoni (1922), and Poplarville (1926). Dedicated in 1908, Raymond's monument boasts a bas relief of a woman supporting a wounded soldier while giving him a drink. See appendix 2.

In addition to these municipal monuments, the state's UDC chapters donated energy and money to other memorial projects, like the erection of a Jefferson Davis statue in Richmond and Confederate monuments on the battlefield at Shiloh and on the grounds of Arlington.[276] Within Mississippi, the organization contributed several of the stained glass windows placed in Biloxi's Church of the Redeemer. The Davis family had attended this church while residing on the Coast, and Varina Davis started the memorial trend in 1889 when she donated the funds for a window with the subject "The Resurrection" in memory of her late husband. The UDC dedicated this window as well as another for Winnie Davis at its 1906 Convention and installed yet another in 1907 entitled "Our Lord in the Home of Mary and Martha" in honor of Mrs. Davis. That same year, Mrs. Margaret Davis Hayes dedicated a window to her deceased brothers and infant son. In 1910, the UDC honored Mrs. Hayes' memory with a new altar and reredos when no more window space remained in the "Westminister of the South."[277]

Another form of memorialization adopted by the UDC was the observance of certain sacred dates. Two of those most commonly acknowledged after Decoration Day were the birthdays of Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee. UDC chapters might also set aside the birthday of other stars in the Confederate constellation or even more local heroes. According to the custom of individual chapters, these days sometimes merited only simple ceremonies during regular meetings while on other occasions the anniversaries called forth elaborate programs of songs and speeches taking place in a variety of venues ranging from school auditoriums to the

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[276]John H. Moore, "The Jefferson Davis Monument," Virginia Cavalcade (Spring 1961): 29-34; "Jefferson Davis Monument Inscriptions," Confederate Veteran (October 1905): 463; "Jefferson Davis Monument Inscriptions," Confederate Veteran (January 1906): 32.

[277]"Davis Memorial Windows in Biloxi," Confederate Veteran (April 1908): 174-76; J.A. Osionach, "The Church of the Redeemer," Our Heritage 2 (December 1909): 2-4; "Memorial Windows, Biloxi, Miss.," Confederate Veteran (April 1908): 150; Poppenheim, History, pp. 68-69; History and Year Book, Church of the Redeemer, 1948-1949 (Biloxi, MS: Wilkes Printing Co., c.1948). In 1969, Hurricane Camille destroyed all of the church but the bell tower. Mary Carol Miller, Lost Landmarks of Mississippi (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), pp. 107-10. Mississippians also contributed towards their state's memorial window to the dead at Old Blandford Church in Petersburg, Virginia. "For a Mississippi Memorial Window" and "This a Memorable Day for City of Petersburg," clippings, Subject File: "Confederate Monuments 2," MDAH; Martha Wren Briggs, The Compass Windows of Old Blandford Church: A Tribute in Tiffany Glass (Sedley, VA: Dory Press, 1992): 4.

site of the town's Confederate monument. Often, these dates provided an opportunity to bestow Crosses of Honor upon local veterans. Eligibility for these UDC medals required no great feats of heroics, just service as a soldier. By simply recognizing a veteran's time in the Confederate military, these crosses permitted the women to demonstrate their love and respect to all who had participated in battle, not just a select few.[278]

Another commemorative custom utilized by the UDC was the assignment of Confederate place names to buildings and geographic locations, a practice which often required the consent of local officials. In 1908, a Greenwood chapter announced that a member had "succeeded with very little trouble" in getting a school named after Jefferson Davis.[279] By 1910, the Greenville chapter reported that due to its efforts, three of the town's public schools had acquired the cognomens of "distinguished Confederates."[280] Tutwiler's president, meanwhile, "originated the tender and beautiful idea of naming our country roads" after veterans.[281] Not surprisingly, the Daughters supported the assignment of Confederate appellations to the flurry of counties created in the early twentieth century, as they did in 1912 by urging the legislature to name the next new county after Governor Benjamin G. Humphreys.[282] A final commemorative custom of this type occasionally embraced by chapters was the sponsorship and development of "Confederate Memorial" parks, which usually became the location of the town's Confederate monument. Under the urging of its local UDC members, Jasper County, for instance, purchased six acres in

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[278]Poppenheim, History, pp. 145-54.
[279]MS Division UDC Minutes (1908), p. 34.
[280]MS Division UDC Minutes (1910), p. 142. The Greenville schools were named after Jefferson Davis, General Robert Lowrey, and Governor Charles Clark. In 1919, the Itta Bena chapter announced that the school board had granted them the privilege of naming an annex to the local high school after Governor Benjamin G. Humphreys. MS Division UDC Minutes (1919), p. 92. In the first decade of the twentieth century, Jackson named schools after Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, and J. Z. George. William Moore Dalehite, A History of the Public Schools in Jackson, Mississippi, 1832-1972 (N.p.: Board of Trustees, Jackson Public Schools and William Moore Dalehite, 1974), pp. 96 & 105.
[281]MS Division UDC Minutes (1915), p. 135.
[282]MS Division UDC Minutes (1912), pp. 118-20.

Heidelberg which the chapter then worked to enhance as the setting for the monument to which the county's Board of Supervisors also contributed quite generously.[283]

Scholarships offered another venue for both benevolence and memorialization, and these student stipends also quite obviously met the educational objectives of the UDC. In 1904, feeling that the state's assumption of authority over Beauvoir had provided an opportunity to redirect the energies of its members, the J. Z. George chapter in Greenwood announced in convention its decision to annually provide one girl of Confederate lineage a scholarship to attend the Industrial Institute and College at Columbus, "believing we could not honor the memory of our patriots in a way which would be more acceptable to them than by helping to fit, for life, their descendants. . ."[284] A year later, the division president suggested all of the state's chapters should turn their focus to education, in particular building a fund which would provide a number of scholarships in perpetuity.[285] By 1913, the Daughters of Mississippi ranked seventh among twenty states in offering for both men and women fourteen UDC scholarships valued at $1,322.[286] Though admirable, when compared to amounts regularly raised for memorial projects, the relative size of this sum suggests the true priorities of UDC members.

From another perspective, however, the stone monuments themselves were educational edifices built to teach observers an appropriate history lesson, and though the members' fiduciary commitment to other venues for education was weak, the amount of energy and interest members devoted to the matter was to the contrary quite strong. With the approval of authorities, UDC chapters often held their memorial services during school assemblies. At such times, they might donate to the institution portraits of Davis and Lee, pictures of Confederate flags, or even replicas

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[283]MS Division UDC Minutes (1911), p. 107.
[284]MS Division UDC Minutes (1904), p. 56; Four years earlier, a Columbus woman had proposed in the pages of the Confederate Veteran that the UDC should build a women's dormitory at a local college for the use of Confederate descendants. "Work for the New Year in Mississippi," Confederate Veteran (December 1900): 533.
[285]MS Division UDC Minutes (1905), p. 17.
[286]MS Division UDC Minutes (1914),pp. 70-71.

of Mississippi's Secession Ordinance.[287] Chapters also sponsored student essay contests with appropriate historical topics such as that of the executed Confederate spy Sam Davis. "No more inspiring subject could have been selected," wrote Mrs. S. E. F. Rose, the State Historian of the UDC, for "the boys and girls of Mississippi have been inspired by the contemplation of this grand character, and have been taught lessons of bravery, patriotism, lofty courage, and devotion to principles."[288] To encourage and assist these historical forays, members also presented books on Confederate and southern topics to schools and public libraries.

Like the UCV, the Daughters voiced concern as to the content of textbooks. Periodically, the organization would express disdain towards one or more particularly detestable works. In 1903, for instance, the Winnie Davis chapter of Meridian proposed sending a letter to all colleges and schools within the state asking them to exclude a number of specific histories that "either openly attack, covertly misrepresent, or insolently ignore the achievements of Southern statesmen and soldiery through all our existence as part of the body politic."[289] A resolution passed at the 1905 convention more specifically requested that schools reject "books containing Lincoln's speeches" and expressed the UDC's preference for works that "do not use the term 'civil war.'"[290] English textbooks were not immune from this censure either. The division president deplored the state's adoption of Curry's Literary Reader because "[f]rom that detestable book the Mississippi

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[287]For examples of such presentations, see MS Division UDC Minutes (1906), p. 31; MS Division UDC Minutes (1913), pp. 120, 136, & 138; MS Division UDC Minutes (1914), pp. 143 & 157; MS Division UDC Minutes (1915), pp. 104, 107, & 147; MS Division UDC Minutes (1916), p. 131. Meridian's Winnie Davis chapter placed a portrait of Jefferson Davis inside the county's courtroom. MS Division UDC Minutes (1911), p. 116.

[288]"Historical Work in Mississippi," Confederate Veteran (May 1911): 209.

[289]MS Division UDC Minutes (1903), p. 59.

[290]MS Division UDC Minutes (1905), p. 103. Members of the UDC and other white southerners often protested the use of the phrase "Civil War" as a biased term which suggested rebellion and the unconstitutionality of secession. Raven I. McDavid, Jr. and Virginia G. McDavid, "The Late Unpleasantness: Folk Names for the Civil War," Southern Speech Journal 34 (Spring 1969): 194-204; E. Merton Coulter, "A Name for the American War of 1861-1865," Georgia Historical Quarterly 36 (June 1952): 109-31. The UDC was so successful in its campaign against the term's use that McDavid and McDavid tell the story that for self-protection city editors would automatically replace "Civil War" with "War Between the States" in wire service stories: "The substitution became so mechanical that the New Orleans Times-Picayune finally carried a story describing an aviator who had flown against Franco as having participated in the Spanish War Between the States" (p. 204).

children are being taught that their Southern fathers' chief characteristics were ignorance, brutality and roughness, and were in no manner men of character, or strength. . ."[291]

In order to supplement school lessons, several UDC chapters sponsored the formation of auxiliaries known as Children of the Confederacy. In their meetings, the young members played games revolving around Confederate catechisms, listened to and read papers about the antebellum South and the war, and donated pennies towards various memorial projects. While teaching the children "patriotic principles and historic truths," adult sponsors envisioned these "kindergartens of the U.D.C." as a means of self-perpetuation, anticipating membership transfers into the UDC and SCV as their protegees aged.[292] At least one unit of Children of the Confederacy fulfilled this expectation literally by ultimately becoming a full-fledged UDC chapter.[293] In general, however, the number of participants in the Mississippi Children of the Confederacy program remained small, with only 205 members and fourteen chapters at the height of its parent organization in 1913.[294]

UDC members did not ignore their own historical education. Both national and state officers provided chapters with annual guides outlining topics for study at each monthly meeting. In addition to the papers these programs generated, members also sought to permanently preserve the Civil War memories of local individuals. As the Division Historian wrote, "No higher duty confronts the Southern woman than the preservation of that history that involves the integrity of her own people and section."[295] To encourage this pursuit, the division offered a silk banner

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[291]MS Division UDC Minutes (1911), p. 13. For other references to textbooks, see also, MS Division UDC Minutes (1904), p. 90; MS Division UDC Minutes (1914), p. 57; MS Division UDC Minutes (1915), p. 38; MS Division UDC Minutes (1916), p. 25.
[292]Mrs. S. E. F. Rose, "Children of the Confederacy" Our Heritage 4 (March 1910): 7. See also, James Marten, The Children's Civil War (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), pp. 217-219.
[293]This transformation occurred in the Mrs. S. E. F. Rose Chapter in West Point. MS Division UDC Minutes (1914), p. 134.
[294]MS Division UDC Minutes (1913), p. 55.
[295]"Letter from Mrs. Dunbar Rowland, Division Historian," Our Heritage 4 (July 1911): 4. For analysis of the UDC involvement in historical work, see Gardner, "Blood and Irony," pp. 165-235. Gardner argues that members felt a "divine imperative" to describe and explain the events of the war. Their understanding of history was not a secular historicism, whence outcomes are

each year to the chapter making the best historical report. In 1911, this included turning in an essay on "the ante-bellum woman" -- not some imaginary, generic female but a real personality that had lived prior to the outbreak of war.[296] Periodically, such literary output appeared in Our Heritage, the official magazine of the Mississippi Division which began publication in 1906.[297] A few chapters even sold privately printed local histories in order to raise money for their various projects.[298] Mrs. S. E. F. Rose's booklet on the Ku Klux Klan, whose proceeds went towards the UDC's Beauvoir monument fund, acquired an even wider audience across the region through its advertisements in the Confederate Veteran.[299]

The UDC sought to preserve history by more means than just the printed word. Civil War relics and locales received attention as well. For a number of years, the division collected both objects and money for the Mississippi Room in Richmond's Confederate Museum. Items with connections to the Davis family prevailed, although contributions also included state-related items like a framed issue of Vicksburg's 1863 newspaper printed on wallpaper.[300] During the second

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determined by prior historical events, instead UDC members and many others in the South saw divine guidance in the chain of human events. "Blood and Irony," pp. 168-169.

[296]"Letter from Mrs. Dunbar Rowland." Rowland wrote that the main thrust of the essay should cover "the personality of the Southern woman, her ability to think, her interest in public affairs, her interest in her husband's affairs, and her influence and impress upon her husband's thought and action." She goes on to suggest a number of specific lines of inquiry which would flesh out this general theme.

[297]"Brief History of 'Our Heritage,'" in Our Heritage: Forty-Sixth Anniversary Edition, 1906-1952 (N.p., 1952), pp. 2 & 8.

[298]The Lexington UDC and UCV chapters sold copies of Unveiling Ceremonies of Carroll County's Confederate Monument for the benefit of their county's Confederate Veteran Relief Fund. In 1909, the Columbus chapter published Dr. W. L. Lipscomb's A History of Columbus, Mississippi During the Nineteenth Century. In 1910, the Salllis chapter printed a history of a local unit written by a veteran. F. M. Glass, Long Creek Rifles: A Brief History (Sallis, MS: Long Creek Rifles Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1910).

[299]Rose, Ku Klux Klan; MS Division UDC Minutes (1910), p. 54; MS Division UDC Minutes (1914), p. 112.

[300]For a small sample of the material the UDC forwarded to the museum, see MS Division UDC Minutes (1904), pp. 89-90; MS Division UDC Minutes (1905), pp. 92-93. For a history of the division's endowment of the museum, see MS Division UDC Minutes (1933), pp. 64-71; See also John M. Coski, "A Century of Collecting: The History of the Museum of the Confederacy," Museum of the Confederacy Journal 74 (1996): 2-24; John M. Coski and Amy R. Feely, "A Monument to Southern Womanhood: The Founding Generation of the Confederate Museum," in A Woman's War: Southern Women, Civil War, and the Confederate Legacy eds. Edward D. C. Campbell, Jr. and Kym S. Rice, (Richmond: Museum of the Confederacy and the University Press of Virginia, 1996): 138-63.

decade of the twentieth century, two UDC chapters, Port Gibson and Corinth, erected identifying markers at local historic sites.[301] By 1911, the Tupelo chapter had even managed to obtain a deed to a one-acre portion of the Harrisburg battlefield.[302] Ultimately, however, the division would achieve its greatest preservationist victory in their work to save the Old Capitol in Jackson.

Built in 1839, Mississippi's Capitol served state representatives for over sixty years before space considerations resulted in the construction of a larger facility completed in 1903.[303] In the years after its abandonment by the legislature, the aging building grew increasingly dilapidated. Now designated the "Old Capitol," the antebellum structure faced demolition in order that the state might profit from its valuable downtown real estate. The same fate appeared in store for the Governor's Mansion, another early nineteenth-century edifice in a state of decay. Yet, rather than graciously submit to progress, most of the state's historic, patriotic, and women's organizations rallied to save both of these historic structures. The Mississippi Division of the UDC was at the forefront of this movement, petitioning legislators and writing numerous articles on the topic.[304] In

[301]MS Division UDC Minutes (1915), p. 95; MS Division UDC Minutes (1916), pp. 159-60; MS Division UDC Minutes (1917), p. 146. The chapters in Iuka and Jackson evinced a desire to do likewise though without apparent result. MS Division UDC Minutes (1906), pp. 44-45; MS Division UDC Minutes (1912), p. 171.

[302]MS Division UDC Minutes (1911), p. 132; MS Division UDC Minutes (1913), p. 13.

[303]The Jackson chapter of the UDC requested that the dedication of the New Capitol occur on Jefferson Davis's birthday, June third, but Governor Andrew H. Longino disparaged the suggestion stating he was "tired of so much confederate rot." Reported in the press, his statement did his political career little good and did nothing to prevent the UDC from obtaining their wish. Proceedings Connected with Laying the Cornerstone of Mississippi's New State House in the City of Jackson on June 3rd, 1903 (Jackson, MS: Tucker Printing House, 1903); Sansing and Waller, Mississippi Governor's Mansion, pp. 93-94.

[304]MS Division UDC Minutes (1908), p. 92; MS Division UDC Minutes (1912), p. 98; MS Division UDC Minutes (1913), pp. 35, 73-74, 88-91, 139-40, & 155-56; MS Division UDC Minutes (1914), pp. 87-88; MS Division UDC Minutes (1915), p. 69l; MS Division UDC Minutes (1916), pp. 28, 73-74, 87-88; Mrs. S. E. F. Rose, "What to Do with the Old State Capitol," Our Heritage 2 (January 1910): 6-7; "Mississippi Memorial: Plan to Utilize Old Capitol as Hall of Fame" Our Heritage 4 (February 1910): 10-11; "A Good Suggestion," Our Heritage 4 (November 1910): 4 & 9; "The Preservation of the Old State Capitol," Our Heritage 5 (January 1912, Old Capitol Edition); Mrs. Nettie Story Miller, "The Mississippi Division," Confederate Veteran (February 1916): 60; An Appeal to the Legislature of the State of Mississippi for the Preservation of the Old Capitol, Eron Rowland Collection, Box 3, Folder 46, UM; Mrs. Dunbar Rowland, The History of Mississippi's Old Capitol and the Movement for Its Preservation (N.p., n.d.); Robert J. Bailey and Priscilla M. Lowrey, eds., Historic Preservation in Mississippi: A Comprehensive Plan (Jackson: Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 1975): 41-43; Sansing and Waller, History of the Mississippi Governor's Mansion, pp. 91-107; Elise Winter, Dinner at the Mansion (Oxford, MS:

1909, they even assigned to their annual student essay contest the topic "Why the Old State Capitol and Governor's Mansion Should Be Preserved."[305]

UDC members marshaled several arguments in support of their goal, including the assertion that the buildings served as physical reminders of the past, and hence promoted patriotism. With its Greek Revival architecture, the Governor's Mansion was a beloved symbol of the Old South, while innumerable historic episodes haunted the hallways of the Old Capitol, the 1861 Secession Convention figuring most prominently. To those who decried the project as sentimental, proponents proudly responded that "[t]he preservation of historic buildings is the truest evidence of the love of the present generation for those who have made its history, and the sentiment which prompts it honors and exalts a people."[306] Writers made references to similar efforts in other countries and other southern states, citing the Alamo in Texas, the Cabildo in Louisiana, Tennessee's Hermitage, and Virginia's Mount Vernon and Confederate White House. Advocates also warned that strong support of educational appropriations without similar support for conservation would doom children "to the unhappy belief that their own State had nothing worthy of preservation, thereby lessening their self-respect which is the most important part of all education."[307]

The Governor's Mansion was the first to escape potential disaster. In his 1904 inaugural address, Governor James K. Vardaman, who had ridden into office as the candidate of the people, disdainfully expressed his distaste for the Executive Mansion as "a relic of royalty" that possessed "the odor of that effete aristocracy which is the curse to every country where it

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Yoknapatawpha Press, 1982), pp. 3-6. According to one source, Senator C. Kendrick's reference to the wishes of the UDC prevented one attempt to demolish the Old Capitol. Sam M. Nabors, History of Old Tishomingo County (N.p., 1940), p. 8.

[305]MS Division UDC Minutes (1909), pp. 53-54; Annie Rue Storer, "Why the Old State Capitol and Governor's Mansion Should Be Preserved," Our Heritage 2 (August 1909): 9-10.

[306]"An Appeal to the Legislature," 5. Catherine W. Bishir asserts that the revival in architectural classicism during this time period was a facet of the southern elite's attempt to physically codify reverence for a period of history remembered for its stable social hierarchy and white supremacy. Catherine W. Bishir, "Landmarks of Power: Building a Southern Past, 1885-1915," Southern Cultures 1 (Inaugural Issue 1993): 5-45 .

[307]Rowland, "The History of Mississippi's Old Capitol," pp. 9-10.

flourishes."[308] Sometime over the next four years, however, Vardaman's opinion altered, for in his farewell speech to the legislature he declared his opposition to selling the Governor's Mansion, calling instead for restoration of this "monument to the best in the state's history . . . the only landmark left to testify of the good old days of long ago."[309] His successor, Edmond F. Noel, made a similar appeal to the legislature in February of 1908, and followed up on the matter two weeks later by hosting a reception for state officials and their wives that included a specially conducted tour of the building. By March nineteenth, both chambers had passed an appropriations bill to fund a year-long renovation on the historic portion of the Mansion as well as the construction of a two-story addition to serve as the family's private residential wing.[310]

Eight more years would pass before legislators made a similar appropriation to insure the Old Capitol's rescue from razing. Between 1904 and 1916, the fate of the building remained undecided because neither the proponents of destruction nor those of restoration possessed sufficient votes to decide the issue one way or the other. While various organizations like the UDC alleged popular support for preservation, a number of representatives feared the price tag would run to exorbitant heights and believed, moreover, that the state's rural residents were in truth apathetic on the subject. Eventually, several factors combined to swing the decision in favor of renovation. By 1916, the war in Europe had produced surpluses in the state's agricultural revenues which helped to mitigate monetary concerns. In addition, the growth of government in the early twentieth century had quickly overtaken the dimensions of the New Capitol. When delivering his opening address to the legislature in 1914, Governor Earl Brewer predicated his request for renovating the Old Capitol on the notion that the square footage involved would expand state office space. From its inception, the organizers behind the preservation movement had envisioned the structure as a fitting museum and home for the state's archives; yet, sensing the convincing logic of the governor's rationale, the UDC had no problems adopting his pragmatic

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[308]Inaugural Addresses of the Governors of Mississippi, p. 31.
[309]Mississippi House Journal (1908), pp. 61-62.
[310]Sansing and Waller, Mississippi Governor's Mansion, pp. 102-3.

argument. Finally, a 1916 report on the feasibility and cost of restoration by the architect of the New Capitol allayed fears that the building's state of disrepair would prove prohibitively expensive. Authorization and a $125,000 appropriation for restoration finally passed both houses of the legislature in the spring of 1916.[311]

The restorations of the Governor's Mansion and the Old Capitol were just two examples of the increased interest in the state's history that had developed since the Civil War. Antebellum Mississippi, in contrast, had shown few signs of an historical consciousness within either the government or the private sphere. The state lagged behind older Southern states whose involvement in the American Revolution had sparked a sense of pride that by the 1830s had resulted in the writing of state histories and the creation of historical associations. Mississippi's participation in this trend did not begin until the 1858 formation of the Mississippi Historical Society.[312] The fighting that followed Fort Sumter quite obviously disrupted affairs as the individuals involved became active participants in current events instead of mere commentators on the past. Still, even as the conflict contributed to the Society's dissolution, the struggle itself was providing an experience so profound that generations of future historians would feel compelled to chronicle its every facet and detail. Understandably viewing this epoch as a defining moment in their regional identity, southerners in particular would become obsessed with disseminating their own interpretation of events. One preliminary indication of this inclination was

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[311]For a more detailed narrative of events, see The Restoration of Mississippi's Old Capitol Prepared by the Mississippi Department of Archives and History for Submission to Senators and Representatives in the Legislature, June 15, 1917 (Jackson, MS: Hederman Bros., 1917), pp. 8-10; John Ray Skates, Mississippi's Old Capitol: Biography of a Building (Jackson, MS: Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 1990), pp. 117-26. See also, Laws of Mississippi (1916), pp. 68 & 157-58; "Gossip of the Legislature," Jackson Evening News, 6 February 1906, p. 7; "The Old State House," Jackson Evening News, 7 February 1906; "Cannot Sell the Monument Site," Jackson Daily Clarion-Ledger, 6 February 1906.

[312]Z. T. Leavell, "The Ante-Bellum Historical Society of Mississippi" Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society 8 (1904): 227-37; Charles S. Sydnor, A Gentleman of the Old Natchez Region: Benjamin L. C. Wailes (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1938): 234-58; E. Merton Coulter, "What the South Has Done About Its History," Journal of Southern History 2 (February 1936): 7-11; Charles S. Sydnor, "Historical Activities in Mississippi in the Nineteenth Century," Journal of Southern History 3 (May 1937): 139-43; James Wallace Webb, "Historical Activity in the South: 1880-1890," (M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1961).

Governor Humphreys' 1866 suggestion in DeBow's Review that the former Confederate states should form historical societies in order that posterity might receive "the vindication of the truth of history and the rectitude of our cause."[313]

Yet, in the economic devastation and political uncertainties that immediately followed the war, organized or state-sponsored historical initiatives were rare. Radical Reconstruction, after all, quashed the duties of the state's Superintendent of Army Records. Nevertheless, two years after Mississippi's Redemption from Republican rule, the 1878 legislature resurrected its previously expressed concern for the historical record by approving a resolution which stated that,

> it is due alike to the dead, to the living, and to posterity, that the State of Mississippi should collect and preserve among its archives in some permanent and enduring form, a record of the part taken by her sons in the late memorable and unhappy struggle between the states.[314]

And lest anyone mistake their intentions for disloyalty to the reunited nation, the authors asserted that they sought "only to secure and preserve a memorial of the ability, courage, and constancy of the soldiers of Mississippi, which have become a part of the common but priceless heritage of the American people."[315] To achieve this goal, a separate act appointed a special commissioner, authorized him to seek access to all federal, state, and privately held papers necessary to compile an account of the war, and provided him with one year's salary and expenses.[316] This official concern for preservation of the war's documentary record proved an anomalous event, however, as the subsequent legislative session failed to reappoint the special commissioner.[317] Further action on the topic would not appear on the law books until the twentieth century.

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[313]Humphreys, "Editorial & Miscellanies," pp. 664-65.
[314]Laws of Mississippi (1878), p. 138.
[315]ibid.
[316]ibid., pp. 139-40. The resolution requested that the state's congressional delegation seek access to the Confederate archives which were in federal possession. At that point in time, authorities would not permit Confederate researchers access to the national Archives Bureau in Washington, DC, and the published version, the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion, would not start rolling off the presses until 1881. Durant, "The Gently Furled Banner," pp. 108-9.
[317]The 1878 law required the special commissioner, William H. McCardle, to make a "full and complete report of the part played by Mississippians" at the next regular session of the legislature in 1880. The report he provided at that time was less a narrative of events and more an account

In the intervening decades, the state government expressed only sporadic and limited interest in Confederate matters until the rise of veterans organizations and auxiliaries in the 1880s and 1890s forced representatives to respond to the wishes of these vocal constituents.[318] Veterans pensions, the Confederate Hospital Annex at Vicksburg, the soldiers' home at Beauvoir, and the state monuments in Jackson and Vicksburg were the most obvious outcomes of this reaction. On three different occasions, the legislature also dispersed funds to cemetery associations outside of Mississippi for the purpose of tending the state's Confederate dead, and in 1884 a joint resolution graciously permitted former comrades and friends to place marble tablets honoring the dead on the internal walls of the Capitol.[319]

Still another legislative initiative was the 1894 adoption of a state flag that prominently included the St. Andrew's Cross of the Confederate battle flag in the upper left hand corner. Ironically, the official report in the Senate Journal makes absolutely no allusion to this Civil War emblem, giving instead a highly technical description of a red square with "a broak blue saltier thereon, bordered with white and emblazoned with thirteen (13) mullets or five-pointed stars." In fact, the author of the report attributed the number of stars as corresponding to the thirteen

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of the voluminous sources he had consulted and his hopes for creating a more comprehensive record in the future. Mississippi Senate Journal (1880), pp. 415-18. No indication remains in the record as to exactly why his appointment was not renewed. For a brief mention of McCardle's work, see E. T. Sykes, Walthall's Brigade: A Cursory Sketch, with Personal Experiences of Walthall's Brigade, Army of Tennessee C.S.A., 1862-1865 (N.p., n.d.), pp. 479-80.

[318]On January 19, 1876, the House adjourned early in response to a call by the legislature of Virginia that the South set aside that date for a collection of funds for Richmond's monument to Robert E. Lee. Mississippi House Journal (1876), p. 109. On February 24, 1882, the legislature convened a joint session for the presentation of General William Barksdale's sword to the state. Mississippi House Journal (1882), pp. 501-6; James Willette McKee, Jr., "William Barksdale: The Intrepid Mississippian" (Ph.D. dissertation, Mississippi State University, 1966), pp. 299-300.

[319]The marble tablets on the walls of the Capitol were merely authorized by the legislature, not funded by it. Laws of Mississippi (1884), pp. 113-14. In 1884, the state legislature appropriated $500 to reinter the remains of the Mississippians who fell at the 1862 Battle of Mumfordsville in Kentucky to a location nearby established by a private citizen. The state further directed that the names of those identified should be engraved on marble slabs. Laws of Mississippi (1884), pp. 102-3; J. C. Rietti, Military Annals of Mississippi (N.p., 1896), pp. 93-95. The legislature also supplied $900 in 1892 to erect headstones over the graves of the Mississippi dead lying in McGavock Confederate Cemetery in Franklin, Tennessee; and $231 in 1896 for those buried in the Confederate Cemetery at Winchester, Virginia. Laws of Mississippi (1892), pp. 24-25; Laws of Mississippi (1896), pp. 236-37; Howell, To Live and Die, pp. 433-34 & 508-9.

colonies which first formed the United States.[320] Years later, however, Fayssoux Scudder Cornell described to the 1924 UDC state convention how her father, a former State Commander of the SCV and a state senator, had designed the banner: "He told me . . . he wanted to perpetuate in a legal and lasting way that dear battle flag under which so many of our people had so gloriously fought."[321] Mississippi was not alone in making this symbolic gesture, as three other southern states would pay a similar tribute to the Confederacy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[322]

In the private sector, meanwhile, historical activity had flourished since the cessation of hostilities, as Confederate civil servants and soldiers of all ranks composed their memoirs for print. As early as 1869, a regional organization, the Southern Historical Society, had formed with the goal of collecting documents and publishing studies related to the Civil War. Headquartered first in New Orleans and later in Virginia, the Society sought to establish branches in each southern state.[323] In 1882, Mississippi historical associations devoted to the war appeared in both Monroe and Claiborne counties, and at least the latter was an affiliate of the larger, regional

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[320]Laws of Mississippi (1894), pp. 33 & 154.

[321]MS Division UDC Minutes (1924), pp. 75-76. Cornell's father was Col. E. N. Scudder. Another member of the State Flag Commission was Major General William Martin who, according to his wishes, was buried with a Confederate flag in his casket. Harold A. Cross, They Sleep Beneath the Mockingbird: Mississippi Burial Sites and Biographies of Confederate Generals (Murfreesboro, TN: Southern Heritage Press, 1994), p. 117. For a similar list of officer burial sites, see Richard Owen and James Owen, Generals at Rest: The Grave Sites of the 425 Official Confederate Generals (Shippenburg, PA: White Mane Publishing Co., 1997): 123-47.

[322]Alabama in 1895, Florida in 1900, and Arkansas in 1913. Marsden, "The Damned Confederate Flag," p. 39. Georgia would incorporate the St. Andrews Cross in 1956, as part of the state's resistance to integration. John Walker Davis, "An Air of Defiance: Georgia's State Flag Change of 1956," Georgia Historical Quarterly 82 (Summer 1998): 305-330. With regards to Mississippi and Alabama, Kevin Thornton perceives a direct link among the adoption of these flags, the rise of the Lost Cause, the appearance of populist politics, and the advent of Jim Crow segregation. According to Thornton, the symbolic reference to the Confederacy, was meant to remind poor whites of racial ties that divided them from blacks in the same manner as the legal and social distinctions between blacks and whites which began to increasingly appear in the 1880s and 1890s. Kevin Thornton, "The Confederate Flag and the Meaning of Southern History," Southern Cultures 2 (Winter 1996): 237-39.

[323]Harold Eugene Mahan, "The Final Battle: The Southern Historical Society and Confederate Hopes for History," Southern Historian 5 (Spring 1984): 27-37. Foster, Ghosts, pp. 50-54 & 90-95; Thomas L. Connelly, The Marble Man: Robert E. Lee and His Image in American Society (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977): 27-98.

organization.[324] Virginians and former Confederate officers, however, tended to dominate the Southern Historical Society, and in 1890, faculty at the University of Mississippi revived the long-defunct Mississippi Historical Society. During the next four years, the small group met privately, presenting committee reports and collecting a small assortment of relics and documents. Members made almost no attempt to write or publish their studies, and in 1894 the Society suspended operations.[325]

A few year later in 1897, the University hired its first professionally trained historian, Franklin L. Riley.[326] The chancellor and another former member prevailed upon the new professor to reorganize the dormant Society by accepting the ex-officio position of Secretary and Treasurer. Acquiescing, Riley sent out a circular letter announcing a public meeting in Jackson on the seventh and eighth of January in 1898. Although only six of the nine members were present, a number of guests attended the proceedings of which the Jackson newspapers printed "very complimentary accounts." Later that year, the Society published a pamphlet containing the most significant of the delivered addresses. Annual meetings followed until 1904, when the executive committee decided instead to hold biennial assemblies during the first week of the legislative session. Meanwhile, the publication of yet another pamphlet in 1899 had left the Society mired in debt, and so in 1900 the legislature began the practice of contributing $1,000 towards each year's printing expenses.[327]

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[324]Monroe County Book Committee, A History of Monroe County, Mississippi (Dallas, TX: Curtis Media, 1988), p. 28; Katy McCaleb Headley, ed., Claiborne County, Mississippi: The Promised Land (Port Gibson-Claiborne County Historical Society, 1976), p. 190. Another such county organization was the Historical Society of Copiah County created in 1872, but its interests ranged much broader than the war. Paul Cartwight, ed., History of Copiah: Recollections of an Old Citizen by W.H. (Attributed to William Haley) (Hazlehurst, MS: n.p., 2000): n.p..

[325]Laws of Mississippi (1890), pp. 620-22; John S. Basset, "How a Young Man Built Up History in Mississippi," South Atlantic Quarterly 1 (October 1902): 372-77; Franklin L. Riley, "The Work of the Mississippi Historical Society, 1898-1908," Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society 10 (1909): 35; W. Conrad Gass, "Franklin L. Riley and the Historical Renaissance in Mississippi, 1897-1914," Journal of Mississippi History 32 (August 1970): 195-96.

[326]See, Roger D. Tate, Jr., "Franklin L. Riley: His Career to 1914" (M.A. thesis, University of Mississippi, 1971).

[327]Riley, "Work of the Mississippi Historical Society," pp. 35-38; Tate, "Franklin L. Riley," pp. 19-28.

The Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society dealt with a variety of topics -- Native American culture, territorial events, religion, literature, economics, and biography -- but contributors tended to devote most of their attention to the antebellum sectional crisis, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. A 1902 South Atlantic Quarterly article praising Professor Riley's historical endeavors in Mississippi, felt obliged to excuse the "trivial nature" of some of these papers that, without any attempt at objectivity, attempted to "put the State right in the blinded eyes of an indifferent world."[328] Riley, the author explained, had been forced to accommodate the Society to the interests and enthusiasms of the various Confederate organizations: "Had those who stood behind the movement put aside such influences and adopted as their standard the canons of more scientific university circles, there would have been no papers, no publication, and no popular support."[329]

In the very same law appropriating funds for the Society's 1900 printing expenses, the legislature also empowered the organization to appoint five individuals to a Mississippi History Commission. Without any reimbursement for expenses said group was to make a "full, detailed and exhaustive" survey of all sources of the state's history. In addition to reporting these findings at the next legislative session, the commission was to present "such recommendations as may be desirable."[330] The initiative for this directive lay in a petition presented to the legislature by the Society which outlined the current scattered and imperiled nature of Mississippi's historical documents and stated that "If we would have the world to appreciate the important and honorable part our State has contributed to the history of our common country this work must be done

[328]Basset, "How a Young Man," pp. 376-377.

[329]ibid. John Spencer Basset, a professor at Duke University in North Carolina, would become a victim of Confederate censorship when he published another article in the same journal a year later that linked Robert E. Lee's name with Booker T. Washington. Foster, Ghosts, p. 183. The charter of the Mississippi Historical Society permitted the DAR, UCV, SCV, and UDC to become affiliated with the Society. Franklin L. Riley, "Suggestions to Local Historians," Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society 1 (1898): 97. See also, Tate, "Franklin L. Riley," pp. 42-43.

[330]Laws of Mississippi (1900), pp. 37-38; Tate, "Franklin L. Riley," pp. 27-28.

without delay."[331] The Society's president and legislative lobbyist at the time was General Stephen D. Lee, also a prominent force on the UCV's Historical Committee which had years earlier recommended that states establish archives for their records.

In November of 1901, the Mississippi Historical Commission issued its report outlining the conditions of historical activity within the state and suggestions for its further advancement. After listing the work of historical societies, patriotic associations, the curriculum of educational institutions, and individual research efforts, the report recommended the creation of a state-supported Department of Archives and History responsible for preserving manuscripts, documents, and relics as well as periodically issuing official state registers and historical compilations.[332] In 1902, legislative action on these proposals resulted in the establishment of the nation's second state archives. Written into the law was the specific charge that the department "make a special effort to collect data in reference to soldiers from Mississippi in the war between the States . . . and to cause the same to be prepared for publication as speedily as possible."[333]

The first director of the archives, Dunbar Rowland, once stated in a report that, "If there is one duty of this Department which should stand before all others it is that sacred duty to preserve the record of the deeds of the Confederate soldiers of Mississippi . . ."[334] Indeed, the second resolution adopted at the first trustee meeting was a request that the federal government permit

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[331]"Appendix to the Report," Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society 3 (1900): 15-18. See also, Franklin L. Riley, "Report of the Secretary and Treasurer," Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society 6 (1903): 18-20; "Andrew Houston Longino," Inaugural Addresses of the Governors of Mississippi, p. 13.

[332]"Administrative Report to the Governor by the Mississippi Historical Commission" Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society 5 (1902): 11-47. The commission's entire 394 page report concerning the location and condition of the state's historical documents appeared as the fifth volume of the Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society. See also, Tate, "Franklin D. Riley," pp. 32-37.

[333]Laws of Mississippi (1902), pp. 43-45. See also, Riley, "Report of the Secretary and Treasurer," pp. 20-21; Idem, "Work of the Mississippi Historical Society," pp. 40-42. See also, Tate, "Franklin L. Riley," pp. 37-38; Robert Reynolds Simpson, "The Origin of State Departments of Archives and History in the South" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Mississippi, 1971), pp. 127-44. Simpson draws a clear link between the advent of these southern state archives and Confederate heritage organizations (pp. 109-10 & 223). Alabama created the first state archives.

[334]Dunbar Rowland, Second Annual Report, p. 9.

Mississippi to make copies of the Confederate rosters in its possession.[335] Rowland also quickly initiated inquiries to locate those official Confederate War Records that had escaped Union capture. His efforts eventually resulted in the recovery of a large cache of rosters and reports that had lain hidden since 1863 in a Jackson Masonic lodge. A 1902 newspaper article on this discovery asserted that public reaction to these Civil War documents attracted "greater public interest" than any other part of the state's archives.[336]

Later that year in a visit to Washington, Rowland instigated the passage of a federal law directing the Secretary of War to publish an official roster of both the Union and Confederate armies. A few months later at a Mississippi UCV reunion, veterans responded to Rowland's request for assistance in this project by authorizing the formation of Confederate History Commission charged with the responsibility of accumulating all manner of war material for forwarding to the Department of Archives and History. Comprised of members from every county and congressional district, the UCV's Commission not only turned up over a hundred company rosters, it also served as the medium by which the archives distributed ten thousand blank Confederate Military Service information forms for veterans across the state to complete and return.[337] In 1904, when the archives submitted its material to the official roster project in Washington, Mississippi's was the largest collection transmitted by any southern state.[338]

In 1906, a revision of the law regarding the Department of Archives and History expanded its charge regarding the collection of Confederate data to include information concerning other wars as well.[339] Despite this broadened mandate, the Civil War maintained a strong allure -- 1906

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[335]Dunbar Rowland, First Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Mississippi from March 14th, 1902, to October 1st, 1902 (Jackson, MS: 1902), p. 8.
[336]ibid., pp. 63-66.
[337]Rowland, Second Annual Report, pp. 8-11 & 14-23; Dunbar Rowland, Third Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Mississippi from October 1, 1903, to October 1, 1904 with Accompanying Historical Documents Concerning the Aaron Burr Conspiracy (Nashville, TN: Brandon Publishing Co., 1905), pp. 8-15.
[338]Dunbar Rowland, Fourth Annual Report, pp. 9-11.
[339]Dunbar Rowland, Fifth Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Mississippi from October 1, 1905 to October 1, 1906 (Nashville, TN: Brandon Printing Co., 1907), pp. 14-18.

also found the legislature appropriating an extra $1,000 to the archives for specially constructed cases to preserve the eighteen Confederate battle flags returned by the War Department.[340] Two years later, the archives finally fulfilled its duty to publish a comprehensive record of Mississippi's involvement in the War of 1812, the Indian wars, the Mexican War, and "the war between the United States and the Confederacy." The culmination of six years' activity, The Official and Statistical Register of the State of Mississippi 1908 contained a massive section devoted to these various military records, the Civil War alone requiring 523 pages.[341] With the completion of this major project, Rowland soon began yet another by making an appeal for public assistance in compiling the papers of Jefferson Davis. "The true story of the Southern Confederacy lies in the letters, speeches and State papers of its leaders," Rowland wrote, "and its best justification will come after such historical materials have been made accessible to the truth-loving historians of the future."[342] After fifteen years of collecting and copying material, the Department of Archives and History would finally release ten volumes of Jefferson Davis Constitutionalist: His Letters, Papers and Speeches in 1923.[343] A third Civil War project concerned the War Department's

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[340]ibid., pp. 21-23.
[341]Dunbar Rowland, The Official and Statistical Register of the State of Mississippi 1908 (Nashville, TN: Brandon Printing Co., 1908), pp. 420-943. Rowland's military history apparently did not please everyone. Errors and gaps provoked at least one UCV camp to publicly condemn the effort, while one newspaper editorial even suggested that the legislature should "suppress its circulation." "Mississippi's Official Military History Gone to Protest" Vicksburg Herald, 12 November 1909.
[342]Dunbar Rowland, Seventh Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Mississippi from October 1, 1907, to October 1, 1908 with Accompanying Letters of Capt. Isaac Guion (Nashville, TN: Brandon Printing Co., 1909), p. 19. For further references to this project, see also Dunbar Rowland, Eighth Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Mississippi from October 1, 1908, to October 1, 1909 (Nashville, TN: Brandon Printing Co., 1909), p. 15; Dunbar Rowland, Ninth Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Mississippi from November 1, 1909, to October 31, 1910 (Nashville, TN: Brandon Printing Co., 1912), p. 13; Dunbar Rowland, Tenth Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Mississippi from November 1, 1910, to October 31, 1911 (Nashville, TN: Brandon Printing Co., 1912), pp. 43-44; Dunbar Rowland, Eleventh Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Mississippi from November 1, 1911 to October 31, 1912 (Nashville, TN: Brandau-Craig-Dickerson Co., 1914), pp. 13-14.
[343]Dunbar Rowland, ed., Jefferson Davis Constitutionalist: His Letter, Papers and Speeches 10 vols. (Jackson: Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 1923). See also, Dunbar Rowland, Jefferson Davis's Place in History as Revealed in His Letters, Papers, and Speeches (Jackson, MS: Torgerson Press, 1923).

compilation of Union and Confederate rosters which was finally completed and made available to the public in 1914. That same year, the Mississippi legislature set aside $600 exclusively for the purpose of copying the state's Confederate rolls in Washington, DC.[344]

The Confederate era by no means monopolized the attention of the state archives. In its early years, the department also expended a large portion of its budget on publishing several volumes of the state's provincial records from England and France. Mississippi's territorial and antebellum period received attention as well, and in addition to its collecting and compilation duties, the Department of Archives and History maintained a small display of historic relics under the dome of the New Capitol as well as managing the state's Hall of Fame. Rowland intended the Hall of Fame, a portrait gallery of the state's great men, to "stimulate State pride and patriotism."[345] To increase public involvement and interest, the first ten honorees were determined by a newspaper ballot campaign that ended on August 1, 1902. On that date, the Memphis Commercial Appeal acclaimed the venture's success, stating that "A general historical revival commenced with the Hall of Fame vote, and it is safe to say that more Mississippi history has been read and talked about since the vote began . . . than ever before in a like time."[346] Naturally, Confederates dominated the outcome of that poll (Jefferson Davis winning the highest tally with 14,452 votes), and they continued to sustain a numerical superiority in the portrait collection right up to the First World War and beyond.[347]

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[344]Rowland, Eleventh Annual Report, pp. 15-17; Laws of Mississippi (1914), pp. 8-9; Rowland, Twelfth Annual Report, pp. 32-34.
[345]Rowland, First Annual Report, p. 82.
[346]ibid., p. 84.
[347]ibid. The Confederate majority remains extant both including and excluding the governors who, within a few years, automatically garnered a spot in the Hall of Fame. Obviously, a number of these Confederates could boast an auspicious career that spanned beyond the five years of the Civil War. Still, Dunbar Rowland's Biographical Guide to the Mississippi Hall of Fame made a concerted effort to document thoroughly each individual's Confederate service record. Dunbar Rowland, Biographic Guide to the Mississippi Hall of Fame (N.p., 1935). See also, A Guide to the Hall of Fame (Jackson, MS: Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 1978). Strangely, Rowland suggested that Abraham Lincoln deserved a spot in the Hall of Fame--a proposal that several newspaper editorials apparently protested. Ken Nail, Jr., The Way I Heard It (A History of Calhoun County) (N.p.: Calhoun County School District, 1975), pp. 123-24]. For Rowland's

Dunbar Rowland was also an outspoken advocate of preserving the Old Capitol, suggesting in his second official report that "To transform the old capitol into a sacred shrine would be an act of patriotism which would reflect honor upon the representatives of the people."[348] Utilizing her position within the Mississippi Division of the UDC, his wife Eron also worked towards this end. Their hopes that the antebellum structure would become the new home of the state archives were dashed, however, when various bureaucratic departments swept in to occupy the restored space. After a three year political battle with Governor Theodore G. Bilbo over the matter, Rowland became resigned to the two rooms his department occupied in the New Capitol.[349]

Prior to the Civil War, Virginia was the only southern state to pass a law requiring history as a classroom subject. That isolation would change after Appomattox. In 1873, the Reconstruction legislature of Mississippi, following in the footsteps of Arkansas and South Carolina, specifically added the "history of the United States" to a curriculum that included reading, spelling, penmanship, grammar, composition, arithmetic, and geography.[350] Whether officials intended by this act to inculcate a unionist version of events is unknown. Certainly, white Mississippians complained at times that the textbooks used in the new public school system were biased in favor of the north, teaching children to forsake the principles of their sires.[351] Despite these accusations, nothing further would appear on the state's law books for almost two decades.

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acceptance of the Jefferson Davis portrait donated by the UDC in 1905, see Dunbar Rowland, Speech of Acceptance (Nashville, TN: Brandon Printing Co., c.1905).

[348]Rowland, Second Annual Report, p. 58. See also, Rowland, Eighth Annual Report, p. 14; Rowland, Tenth Annual Report, p. 54; Rowland, Twelfth Annual Report, p. 37-38.

[349]Skates, Mississippi's Old Capitol, pp. 129-134.

[350]Pierce, Public Opinion, pp. 8 & 16; Laws of Mississippi (1873), p. 13.

[351]Stuart Grayson Noble, Forty Years of the Public Schools in Mississippi: With Special Reference to the Education of the Negro (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1918), pp. 7 & 15; Ross H. Moore, "Social and Economic Conditions in Mississippi During Reconstruction" (Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1937), pp. 179-81; "Forcing Objectionable Books into the Public Schools--An Example in Desoto County," Jackson Weekly Clarion, 16 March 1871, p. 1. In the 1871 Jackson article, the critic of one textbook claimed "all that is calculated to corrupt the mind, or prejudice it against the South is embodied in the book." In 1866, a Vicksburg newspaper vowed: "We must not let these vile publications get into the hands of the rising generation. Let no Yankee text book, which dares to to villify the cause for which we made so many sacrifices, ever

Two years *before* mounting concerns about the contents of textbooks resulted in the 1892 formation of the UCV's Historical Committee, the Mississippi legislature passed a joint resolution on the topic. It urged schools to "exercise the utmost care in the selection and introduction of school histories."[352] Circumspectly, the authors condemned the use of

> biased, prejudiced, and unfair textbooks, or books that suppress full, free and candid presentations of questions and principles upon which American people have been honestly divided, and in the maintenance of which they have acted according to the promptings of courage and honor.[353]

To assist school officers in their decisions, the resolution asked the State Superintendent of Education, the attorney-general, and the governor to examine available textbooks and recommend those works that met with their approval. In their next session, the legislature evinced parochial concerns again by mandating a course of state history.[354] In 1904, while enacting a uniform textbook law that created a commission specifically charged with procuring said publications, the authors of the bill inserted the qualification that "no history in relation to the late civil war between the states shall be used in the schools in this state unless it be fair and impartial."[355]

To satisfy these and similar demands by other southern states, textbook publishers often produced two different versions of the same volume. One to satisfy the market in Dixie, and another for the rest of the nation.[356] Such disparities, of course, did not plague the production of Mississippi history texts, which were quite naturally written by residents of the state. In 1892, schools had their choice between two works: Mary V. Duval's <u>History of Mississippi and Civil</u>

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find its way into the hands of our Southern youth. The Southern people do not intend that the memory of the brave and illustrious soldiers and statesmen of their short-lived Republic shall be villified and defiled." Moore, "Social and Economic Condititions," p. 180.

[352]<u>Laws of Mississippi</u> (1890), pp. 88-89.

[353]ibid.

[354]<u>The Annotated Code of the General Statute Laws of the State of Mississippi</u> (Nashville, TN: Marshall & Bruce, Law Publishers, 1892), p. 889.

[355]<u>Laws of Mississippi</u> (1904), p. 116.

[356]Pierce, pp. 162-63.

Government or Robert Lowrey and William H. McCardle's A History of Mississippi.[357] Neither book discussed slavery in any manner except as a political component in the national debate that led to secession. The authors portrayed this departure from the Union in terms favorable to the South, and the bias continued in descriptions of the war heroics that followed. Both volumes asserted that during this conflict, slaves maintained an allegiance to the Confederacy in common with whites. Moreover, Reconstruction's "seven years of misrule, outrage, and robbery" were the result of federal officials and carpetbaggers who alienated the affections of freedmen from their former masters.[358]

Over the years, several professional historians offered their own interpretations of the subject. In 1900, Franklin L. Riley published an account of the state's past only slightly less worshipful. In a section devoted to antebellum slavery, for instance, he acknowledged that the treatment of slaves "depended very largely upon the disposition of the master" but muted his characterization by asserting that the institution was predominantly humane.[359] Commenting that the legislature's failure to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment was an "error," Riley also allowed that some carpetbaggers were "men of good character."[360] But he swiftly qualified this statement with an explanation that by "allying themselves with the colored people in order to get their support, they failed to secure the confidence and esteem of the white people among whom they came."[361]

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[357]Mary V. Duval, History of Mississippi and Civil Government: Compiled and Arranged for the Use of the Public Schools of Mississippi (Louisville, KY: Courier-Journal Job Printing Co., 1892); Robert Lowrey and William H. McCardle, A History of Mississippi: For Use in Schools (New York: University Publishing Co., 1892). Duval had published an earlier textbook in 1887. Mary V. Duval, The Student's History of Mississippi (Louisville, KY: The Courier-Journal Job Printing Co., 1887). For background on the history of Mississippi history textbooks, see David Sansing, "Teaching Mississippi History in Public Schools" in From Behind the Magnolia Curtain: Voices of Mississippi ed. Clyde V. Williams (Jackson: Mississippi Press Association, 1988), pp. 131-33. For a discussion of interpretations of the antebellum past in textbooks, see also Alfred Young Wolff, Jr., "The South and the American Imagination: Mythical Views of the Old South, 1865-1900" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1971): chapter 6.

[358]Lowrey and McCardle, History of Mississippi, p. 235.

[359]Franklin L. Riley, School History of Mississippi: For Use in Public and Private Schools (Richmond, VA: B. F. Johnson Publishing Co., 1900), p. 163. See also, Tate, "Franklin L. Riley," pp. 28-29.

[360]ibid, pp. 289 & 324.

[361]ibid., pp. 324-25.

Riley then retreated back to the orthodox viewpoint by describing the majority of carpetbaggers as "destitute of principle" in their grasping after political spoils.[362]

The watchful eyes of Confederate organizations tempered any inclination that authors might possibly have to portray the evils of slavery, to question the righteousness of secession and the glory of the troops in Gray, or to depict the period of Reconstruction as anything but an unmitigated disaster. Southern professors who deviated from the Confederate gospel in either their lectures or writings swiftly became the targets of public condemnation and rage, as did Enoch M. Banks at the University of Florida, John Spencer Bassett of Duke University, and William E. Dodd of Randolph Macon College in Virginia.[363] Dodd complained in print that public sentiment was under the control of Confederate veterans "who, having once had a share in making history, now demand that their views of its teaching and writing shall be everywhere accepted."[364] Whether through a sense of self-preservation or in honest agreement with the accepted version of southern history, no Mississippi scholar of the early twentieth century made the mistake of contradicting the Confederate "confession of faith."[365]

Oversight by a textbook commission was just one means of legislating the Lost Cause. In 1906, the legislature declared the birthday of Jefferson Davis, June third, "a legal holiday and Confederate memorial day of the state of Mississippi," and four years later Robert E. Lee's

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[362]ibid.

[363]These three men were Enoch M. Banks at the University of Florida, John Spencer Bassett of Duke University in North Carolina, and William E. Dodd at Randolph Macon College in Virginia. See, Bailey, "Free Speech at the University of Florida"; Bailey, "William E. Dodd"; Bailey, "The Southern Quest"; Mark D. Bauman, "Race and Mastery: The Debate of 1903," in From the Old South to the New: Essays on the Transitional South eds. Walter J. Fraser, Jr. and Winifred B. Moore, Jr. (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1981), pp. 181-93.

[364]William E. Dodd, "The Status of History in Southern Education," Nation 75 (7 August 1902): 109-11. See also, Idem, "Some Difficulties of the History Teacher in the South," South Atlantic Quarterly 3 (October 1904): 117-22. The Union veterans that comprised the membership of the Grand Army of the Republic were just as interested in history textbooks as the veterans of the UVC and their auxiliaries, see Pierce, Public Opinion, pp. 164-71; McConnell, Glorious Contentment, pp. 224-26 & 234.

[365]Dodd used this phrase in "The Status of History," p. 111.

birthday on January nineteenth joined the calendar of official state holidays.[366] According to statute, teachers observing such dates would not have their absence deducted from their paycheck, and any financial transactions falling due were payable on the next succeeding business day -- wordings that permitted schools and banks to close. With Confederate Memorial Day on April twenty-sixth, these three dates comprised almost one-half of the state's legal holidays in the early twentieth century.[367]

In addition to making June third a holiday, lawmakers proved especially busy during the 1906 session enacting legislation related to the Civil War.[368] Not only did the representatives and senators pass the usual appropriations for pensions and the hospital annex at Vicksburg, they also approved a $50,000 appropriation for erecting the state's memorials on the grounds of the Vicksburg National Military Park, provided $1,000 for the archives to buy cases for the returned Confederate battle flags, and accepted responsibility for the Soldiers' Home at Beauvoir. That same year saw the creation of two new counties named Jefferson Davis and Forrest. On March first, the legislature enacted a measure instructing every county's assessor to make a "biennial enumeration" of all the county's Confederate veterans and widows, including "from what State they enlisted and in what regiment and company they served and age."[369] Towards the end of March, another law empowered Boards of Supervisors to pay the necessary expenses involved in

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[366]Laws of Mississippi (1906), pp. 106-7. Laws of Mississippi (1910), p. 164. In their 1910 report to the state convention, the Vicksburg UDC chapter actually claimed responsibility for the legal establishment of the Lee holiday. MS Division UDC Minutes (1910), p. 73.

[367]William Hemingway, 1917 The Annotated Mississippi Code (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1917): 1101.

[368]So much so, Franklin L. Riley numbered "Respect for Lost Cause" in his eight part description of Governor Vardaman's administration. Franklin L. Riley, Teacher's Handbook of Mississippi History (Richmond, VA: B. F. Johnson Publishing Co., 1910), p. 123. Vardaman was the first of a younger generation of Mississippi governors raised in the post-Civil War era; yet, along with virulent racism, one of his campaign platforms was an increase in veteran pensions and the improvement of Beauvoir. He also closed almost every speech on the election trail with "an emotional eulogy of the Confederate Veteran." George Coleman Osborne, James Kimble Vardaman: Southern Commoner (Jackson, MS: Hederman Bros., 1981), pp. 39, 51-52, 58, 61, & 67; William F. Holmes, The White Chief: James Kimble Vardaman (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970): 123 & 383.

[369]Laws of Mississippi (1906), p. 143; "Enumeration of Ex-Confederate Soldiers."

recording the names of all the county's Confederate soldiers and sailors as well as a history of the county's companies.[370] Finally, Chickasaw County received permission to pay for the enclosure of the Confederate Cemetery at Okolona, and the legislature granted city and county officials across the state the power to use their own funds in building or repairing Confederate monuments.[371]

At the beginning of the 1906 legislative session, Governor Vardaman had sent a lengthy message to the House and Senate submitting to them -- "in obedience to the wishes of the good women of Mississippi" -- a bill to permit county and city contributions towards local Confederate monuments.[372] Vardaman explained his support for the measure by stating that such memorials not only paid a debt owed to the dead, but that these stones "also inculcate a lesson which will bear excellent fruit in the generation living and the generations yet to come."[373] Wishing that every courtyard in the state would have its own memorial, the governor avowed

> I believe in building monuments. It is the best, truest and most impressive history. No man, woman or child ever looked upon a monument erected to the

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[370]Laws of Mississippi (1906), p. 144. For one probable outcome of this law, see W. F. Hamilton, Military Annals of Carroll County: Sketches of the Companies that Were Organized in Carroll County for Service in the Confederate Armies from 1861 to 1865 (Carrollton, MS: Conservative Print, 1906).

[371]Laws of Mississippi (1906), pp. 152 & 234. In 1900, the legislature authorized city officials in Corinth to purchase and improve the grounds of a nearby Confederate cemetery. Laws of Mississippi (1900), p. 168.

[372]Mississippi House Journal (1906), pp. 105, 209, & 420. The Mississippi Division of the SCV had passed a resolution at its 1905 convention urging the next legislature to enact just such a law. "Monument Work in the Mississippi Division," Confederate Veteran (October 1905): 447. Also in 1906, Vardaman submitted to the legislature a request for an appropriation of $5,000 for a monument in the Port Gibson Protestant cemetery honoring General Earl Van Doren, General Benjamin G. Humphreys, and those soldiers who fell during the battle of Port Gibson. The measure failed. Mississippi House Journal (1906), pp. 547, 962, & 1201; Mississippi Senate Journal, pp. 464 & 740-41. Another bill which failed to pass would have permitted cities and counties to make appropriations for the erection in Jackson's Confederate Park of "monuments, tablets, or memorials to the memory of the Confederate soldiers, sailors and women of the Confederacy." Mississippi House Journal (1906), p. 1176. The senate failed a bill to appoint and pay for an official "Confederate Military Historian of Mississippi, whose duty it shall be to collect material and data and write a history of Mississippi troops in the late Civil War." Mississippi Senate Journal (1906), pp. 346-47, 1038, & 1060-61. The senate did pass a bill to appropriate $5,000 for a monument on the battlefield at Brice's Cross Roads. Mississippi Senate Journal (1906), p. 408, 645, & 745.

[373]Mississippi House Journal (1906), p. 209.

> Confederate men and women of the South and considered what it meant without being benefited by it.[374]

In other words, the state profited from monuments whose mere presence provided citizens with the "inspiration of a noble life," and in consequence, the use of public funds towards their erection or upkeep was quite justified.[375]

An unmentioned, yet more pragmatic reason for passing the law was to free future legislative calendars from petitions for this authority from individual counties. In 1904, both Carroll County and Jefferson County requested and received permission on this matter, as did Montgomery in 1906.[376] Over the next twenty years, at least twenty counties, usually at the behest of the local UDC chapter, donated funds towards the procurement of a local Confederate monument.[377] In each of these instances, county appropriations never numbered less than one thousand dollars and quite often doubled or even tripled that amount. Access to these public funds contributed substantially to the proliferation of Confederate memorials emerging on courthouse lawns and city parks across Mississippi during this period. Indeed, quite a few of these stone markers might never have appeared otherwise.

The state legislature itself made a significant financial contribution to yet another monument in 1912. Since the late 1890s, veterans across the South had bandied about the idea of memorializing in stone the contributions of Confederate women. At its 1902 convention in

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[374]ibid.

[375]ibid.

[376]Laws of Mississippi (1904), pp. 250-51 & 265; Laws of Mississippi (1906), p. 247. Bills for Clay and Lafayette counties failed in 1906. Mississippi House Journal, p. 348; Mississippi Senate Journal, p. 341. Vardaman also submitted to the legislature the matter of permitting the Board of Supervisors of Warren County to donate $5,000 towards the Mississippi memorial planned by the state's Vicksburg National Park Commission. Mississippi House Journal (1906), p. 172.

[377]County and/or city governments contributed funds towards the following monuments: Carrollton (1905), Cleveland (1908), Raymond (1908), Greenville (1909), Yazoo (1909), Grenada (1910), Hattiesburg (1910), Gulfport (1911), Heidelberg (1911), Ripley (1911), Columbus (1912), Ellisville (1912), Laurel (1912), Meridian (1912), Philadelphia (1912), Vaiden (1912), Charleston (1913), Greenwood (1913), Pontotoc (1919), and Poplarville (1926). Less definitive evidence also suggests that the following monuments received public assistance: Fayette (1905), Okolona (1905), Brandon (1907), Oxford (1907), and Port Gibson (1907). It is entirely possible that other memorials within the state benefited from county or city contributions.

Meridian, the Mississippi Division of the UCV passed a resolution urging the erection within the state of just such a monument.[378] In 1906, a national Women's Memorial Committee comprised of both UCV and SCV members agreed that each southern state should erect an identical bronze sculpture. In the design competition that ensued, the committee chose the work of a naturalized citizen named Amateis who proposed a standing figure of a woman in classical attire grasping a flag in one hand and an unsheathed sword in the other. Ultimately, the 1909 UCV convention rejected this design, perceiving the female depiction as overly aggressive and not emblematic of the modesty and grace usually attributed to southern women. In its place, the veterans selected the work of a native southerner, Belle Kinney of Tennessee. Instead of a solitary figure, Kinney's proposed sculpture featured a trio: standing behind a woman assisting a wounded soldier, a female personification of Fame helps to cradle the young man while crowning his nurse with a laurel wreath. With heads bowed and the soldier drooping, the sculptural design articulated a decidedly downcast mood.[379]

As a result, the proposal was not without its own critics. Leaders of the UDC in particular found the sculpture defeatist in attitude. The president of the Mississippi Division decried its selection before delegates at the 1911 state convention:

> We object decidedly to the 'Kinney design' for this monument. Grander than the fabled Amazons in courage, yet so gentle, tender and pure and true, so strong, so able and helpful, so powerfully womanly our Southern sires were proud to call them mother, sister, sweetheart, wife, daughter. We do not want them to be known by this design of a crushed, hopeless, helpless, despairing woman.[380]

In fact, several women in the organization opposed the entire idea of a women's monument. Although the national UDC convention had approved the proposal in 1907, individual members

[378]"The Confederate Women's Monument," Our Heritage 4 (October 1911), p. 10.
[379]Foster, Ghosts, pp. 175-78; Elise L. Smith, "Belle Kinney and the Confederate Women's Monument," Southern Quarterly 32 (Summer 1994), pp. 7-31. For an examination of the Women's Monument in North Carolina, see Sims, Power of Femininity, pp. 143-47.
[380]MS Division UDC Minutes (1911), p. 13. Possibly in response to such criticism, Kinney altered the final design slightly by lifting the head of both the woman and the soldier. Smith, "Belle Kinney," pp. 19-20.

periodically stepped forward to speak in favor of alternative projects to honor women's contributions to the Confederate cause. These suggestions tended to favor "living memorials" with a more practical purpose, like scholarships, schools, or retirement homes for women. In the pages of a 1910 issue of Our Heritage, the state president asked "What better monument could Mississippi have for these Women of the Confederacy than the preservation of the old capitol?" Viewing the restored structure as the perfect site for a school to educate soldiers' descendants, she allowed that if this plan was impossible a "Hall of Fame" within the old building would make a suitable commemorative alternative.[381] In the end, both sets of objections went unheeded when the 1910 state legislature authorized the formation of a commission to erect a monument to the "Mississippi Women of the Confederacy" and specifically charged its members to accept the Kinney design.[382] Following this action, fundraising within the state began in earnest.

Previously, veterans had managed to amass very few donations. In 1906, the treasurer of the UCV committee reported only $168 in hand. The following year the division acknowledged its inability to raise sufficient funds, and passed a resolution to lobby the next legislative session for a significant appropriation as well as the authority for county boards of supervisors to make their own contributions to the effort. Although presented, the petition provoked no response.[383] In the next session, the legislature passed the law authorizing the formation of the commission but made no provisions for an appropriation despite a UCV request for $10,000.[384] A resolution at the UCV state convention that year declared November first "Woman's Day" and requested all veterans, Sons, and Daughters, as well as teachers in public schools and colleges to collect funds

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[381]Lucy Green Yerger, "A Good Suggestion," Our Heritage 4 (November 1910): 4 & 9.
[382]*Laws of Mississippi* (1910), pp. 147-48.
[383]The amount requested is debatable as three different accounts provide three different figures: $5,000 ["Veteran Aided Monument Fund: Previously Unwritten Mississippi History Is Recounted," Our Heritage 6 (November 1913): 5]; $25,000 [Clay County History Book Committee, History of Clay County, Mississippi (Dallas, TX: Curtis Media, 1988), p. 183]; and $50,000 [W.S. Coleman, "A Monument to Confederate Women," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 16 April 1908, Subject File: "Women of the Confederacy," MDAH.
[384]"Mississippi Confederates Seek Help for the Woman's Monument," Confederate Veteran (March 1910): 103.

for the monument. By 1912, the sum had risen to about $6,000.[385] Again, veterans made an appeal to the state for financial assistance, and this time the legislature responded by agreeing to a $7,500 contribution if matched by private funding of a like amount.[386]

That June third, a parade and ceremony celebrated the laying of the monument's cornerstone and granite pedestal on the front lawn of the New Capitol. Speeches lauded the women "who toiled by day and prayed by night to the God of battles for victory."[387] Separate inscriptions to mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters appeared on each side of the base. In addition to praising the physical labors and emotional support of these females, the engravings also make a point of commending women for their post-war contributions -- encouraging their men to overcome the loss of the war, teaching their children ancestral pride, tending the graves of the dead, and erecting monuments that perpetuated the memory of those in Gray. Delayed for various reasons, Kinney's bronze sculpture would not appear on that pedestal for five more years.[388]

In the meantime, the UDC went to work on another project designed to honor Confederate women. In 1913, Congress appropriated $400,000 towards a Red Cross building in Washington, DC which would memorialize the contributions of northern women during the Civil War. Senator John Sharp Williams of Mississippi managed to amend the bill to make the structure a joint memorial of both Union and Confederate women.[389] The project's architect

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[385]"The Confederate Women's Monument," Our Heritage 4 (October 1911): 10; "A Splendid Address," Our Heritage 4 (November 1910): 7; "Mississippi Urges Erecting A Woman's Monument" Confederate Veteran (August 1910): 369; "Womans Monument," manuscript, Sharkey Papers, MDAH. See also, "Fine Program for Monument Meeting," c.1910, Vertical File: "Organizations--Columbus, MS--UDC--Stephen D. Lee Chapter," CLPL; E. F. Gibbs, "Washington, D.C., April, 1911," broadside, Subject File: "Confederate Monuments 2," MDAH; "Another Contributor--from Mississippi," Confederate Veteran (January 1912): 3.

[386]Laws of Mississippi (1912), p. 41.

[387]"Woman's Monument at Jackson, Miss.," Confederate Veteran (July 1912): 324. See also, "Address of Mrs. S. E. F. Rose at Jackson," Confederate Veteran (September 1912): 413-14.

[388]"Womans Monument," manuscript, Sharkey Papers, MDAH; MS Division UDC Minutes (1918), p. 89. Smith's article on Belle Kinney, along with several other sources, has incorrectly identified 1912 as the dedication date.

[389]MS Division UDC Minutes (1914), p. 81; Mary B. Poppenheim, History, p. 73.

included space in an assembly room for three large stained glass windows by Tiffany: the women of the North and South honored separately on either side of a joint, middle window. Learning of these plans, Mrs. Mary Kimbrough of Mississippi secured permission for the UDC to raise the necessary funds for the window dedicated to Confederate women and to work together with the Women's Relief Corps on the funding for the middle section. At its 1914 convention, the UDC officially approved this proposal and set out to raise the required $5,000. By the time the Red Cross building was completed in 1917, the UDC had to postpone unveiling its window that June because war work occupied all the available space within its walls.[390]

Despite preoccupation in 1917 with the hostilities in Europe, plans proceeded for Vicksburg's "National Memorial Celebration and Peace Jubilee" that October. Organizers initially had scheduled this battle reunion and fiftieth anniversary commemoration of the war's end for 1915, but postponement granted the time necessary for acquiring a Congressional appropriation in the amount of $150,000.[391] The National Association of Vicksburg Veterans directed the reunion's schedule while the War Department maintained physical control over the grounds and the movement of troops. In preparation for the old soldiers' arrival, engineers and laborers carefully graded a campground, constructed roads named after both Union and Confederate commanders, erected latrines and showers, installed water and lighting, and raised massive circus tents as housing to in place of the usual Army tents now needed for the military's massive war mobilization.[392]

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[390]Poppenheim, History, pp. 76-77; MS Division UDC Minutes (1915), p. 108; MS Division UDC Minutes (1916), pp. 25 & 61-63.

[391]Laws of Mississippi (1914), p. 552. Several states made their own financial contributions towards the travel expenses of their veterans: Arkansas, California, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, New York, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Minnesota. Willard D. Newbill, General Report of the National Memorial Celebration and Peace Jubilee (National Memorial Reunion), Vicksburg, Mississippi, October 16 to 19, 1917 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1917), p. 4. The Mississippi Legislature also empowered Vicksburg and Warren County to spend $2,500 each on the reunion, a sum which went mainly towards decorations and entertainment. Laws of Mississippi (1916), p. 472; Newbill, General Report, p. 4; "The Blue and Gray at Vicksburg," Confederate Veteran (September 1917).

[392]Newbill, General Report, pp. 6-17; "Arrangements for Veterans at Vicksburg," Confederate Veteran (October 1917): 439-42.

An estimated seven thousand to nine thousand veterans attended the October festivities which included the dedication of three battlefield monuments (for Missouri, New York, and the Union Navy), numerous orations, musical entertainment, movies, and a city parade.[393] Like a similar reunion at Gettysburg four years previously, photographers and cinematographers favored reconciliationist poses struck between the former enemies. Rapprochement was also evident in the display of Lincoln's and Grant's images side by side with those of Davis and Lee, and in the unplanned incident on the night of the seventeenth when the Union veterans marched in body to Pemberton Way for a "love feast" with their opposite number.[394] Management of the entire event was so efficient that the quartermaster expected almost $35,000 would remain after covering all expenses. Instead of returning this surplus to the treasury, however, the National Association of Vicksburg Veterans suggested that this sum should pay for the erection of an arch at the entrance of the battlefield, not as a memorial to those who died in battle, but "to mark the complete reconciliation of their living comrades at this reunion over 50 years later."[395]

Contributing to this camaraderie was awareness of current hostilities in Europe. One outcome of the impromptu meeting on the seventeenth was the transmission of a cable to President Woodrow Wilson in which the men conveyed "unanimous endorsement, approval, and support of your war policies." The telegram also included an offer of the elderly veterans' services "in any capacity that the situation might require."[396] During his address the following day, John Sharp Williams asserted that the timing of the reunion was particularly appropriate because "the old veterans would go back home inspired with the glorious memories of a reunited America and would encourage our soldiers of today to go forth and fight the battle for democracy."[397] In his

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[393]Newbill, General Report, pp. 18-30; "Vicksburg National Memorial Celebration," Confederate Veteran (November 1917): 489.

[394]Newbill, General Report, pp. 20-21.

[395]Newbill, General Report, p. 22. Constructed of Stone Mountain, Georgia granite, the arch was dedicated in 1920. Walker and Riggs, Vicksburg Battlefield Monuments, pp. 68-69.

[396]Newbill, General Report, pp. 21 & 30; "Veterans Pledged Their Support to President," Vicksburg Herald, 18 October 1917), p. 1.

[397]"Hon. John Sharp Williams Addressed Five Thousand," Vicksburg Herald, 19 October 1917, pp. 1 & 8.

post-action report on the "Peace Jubilee," the army quartermaster commented that although the advent of war had resulted in several calls to cancel the reunion and apply the appropriations elsewhere, "no one could deny" that the successful occasion had "increased the patriotic spirit, now particularly needed and more precious than money," and had "contributed materially toward cementing widely separated sections of our country in a common cause."[398]

The outbreak of World War I inspired numerous patriotic avowals in the South among former Confederates and their proteges. One previously unreconstructed rebel residing at Beauvoir converted his beloved flower garden into space for vegetables so that he might help supplement the home's food supplies during expected shortages. He also stored away the Confederate banner he had kept flying and replaced it with Old Glory, penning the following lines in a poem:

> No man can serve two masters,
> No man can follow two flags.
> Furl the one you love so well,
> Cherish its memory to the end of time.
> It was born and baptized in blood,
> Now let it rest in peace.
> Hoist the other toward high heaven.
> Let it float over land and sea.
> Proud emblem of liberty,
> Upheld by a united brotherhood
> Who trust in God and the flag of our country.[399]

In fact, the threat of hostilities in Europe had contributed significantly to the passage of an April 1916 state law that made the desecration, mutilation, or otherwise improper usage of any United

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[398]Newbill, General Report, p. 23.

[399]"The Garden of Memory," Confederate Veteran (November 1919): 438. Similarly inspired, a Chickasaw County veteran wrote a poem whose third and final stanza reads: "And here's to the Blue and Gray as one / When we meet on the fields of France, / May the spirit of God be with us all / As the sons of the Flag advance." Chickasaw County Historical and Genealogical Society, A History of Chickasaw County Mississippi (Dallas, TX: Curtis Media, 1985), p. 8.

States, Mississippi, or Confederate flag a misdemeanor punishable by a $100 fine or thirty days imprisonment.[400]

States across the country had enacted similar legislation concerning the Stars and Stripes since the 1890s, but the South had remained conspicuously silent on the matter. Initially, proponents for protecting the flag had reacted against the banner's commercial exploitation in merchandising and advertising. The manipulation of the symbol by politicians also came under fire, but by the early 1900s the loosely organized coalition increasingly focused their attention on the potential abuse or destruction of the flag by political protesters -- identified as either radicals, labor union members, or immigrants. While actual physical destruction of the standard was quite rare during this period, hereditary-patriotic associations like the DAR and the GAR, which dominated the flag protection movement, perceived these groups as threats to the traditional social order. Despite white southerners' likely sympathy with such fears, regional memories of an invading force hoisting that same banner almost sixty years earlier delayed most anti-desecration laws in the South until inhabitants succumbed to the national bond of a common enemy abroad. Seven other southern states would enact flag protection legislation between 1915 and 1919.[401] Five southern states including Mississippi would amend the recommended wording for such laws by making their provisions apply to Confederate flags as well.[402]

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[400]Laws of Mississippi (1916), pp. 175-76. In 1971, the legislature passed a law increasing the possible fine to $1,000. Laws of Mississippi (1971), pp. 307-8.

[401]Those seven states were Alabama (1915), South Carolina (1916), Georgia (1917), North Carolina (1917), Texas (1917), Arkansas (1919), and Florida (1919). Louisiana had passed its law in 1912. Three states that lagged even further behind were Tennessee (1923), Kentucky (1930), and Virginia (1932). For information on the Flag Protection Movement, see Scot M. Guenter, The American Flag, 1777-1924: Cultural Shifts from Creation to Codification (London, UK: Associated University Presses, 1990), pp. 88-181; Robert Justin Goldstein, Saving 'Old Glory": The History of the American Flag Desecration Controversy (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), pp. 1-97; Michael Welch, Flag Burning: Moral Panic and the Criminalization of Protest (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 2000), pp. 21-30. Widespread negative reaction within the state against opponents of military preparedness may also have contributed to the flag law's passage in Mississippi. For a description of political tensions within Mississippi at the time, see James L. McCorkle, Jr., "Mississippi from Neutrality to War (1914-1917)," Journal of Mississippi History 43 (May 1981): 85-125.

[402]Goldstein, Saving 'Old Glory', pp. 45 & 191.

Southerners saw nothing incompatible with honoring their secessionist past while simultaneously maintaining national loyalties in the present. At their 1917 convention, for instance, the Mississippi Division of the UDC voted to send a resolution to President Wilson announcing the group's support for the war effort, stating that they did "not think that failure to do a patriot's duty now is worthy of the records made by the fathers and mothers of its members, the men and women of the Confederacy."[403] Within the UDC such parallel observations were quite common. "Let us show the same courage, enterprise, resolution and spirit of sacrifice that was displayed by our Confederate mothers," the division president urged delegates that fall.[404] In 1919, the topic for the state UDC medal essay was "Comparison of Principles of Woodrow Wilson and the Allies, with those of Jefferson Davis and the Confederacy."[405]

Perhaps the most marked sign of increased feelings of national unity among UDC members was their self-conscious use of the American flag in the early months of the war. The Yazoo City chapter, for example, reported giving a Red Cross dance at which "the Stars and Stripes mingled with the Stars and Bars in the artistic decorations."[406] In its list of patriotic endeavors, the Greenville chapter included "waving the Stars and Bars along with the Stars and Stripes," and describing themselves "as loyal and patriotic to the 'Present Cause' as we have been to the 'Lost Cause,' as any other people could be in this, our reunited country."[407] Across the state, communities ceremonially raised the flag of the United States, and the UDC participated in a number of these rituals. Chapters also began to present the national flag to local schools as well.[408]

UDC members, however, were not content with mere symbolic gestures. Over the next two years, war relief would dominate their activities. Several resolutions at the 1917 national

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[403]"The Mississippi Division," Confederate Veteran (July 1917): 329.
[404]MS Division UDC Minutes (1917), p. 30.
[405]MS Division UDC Minutes (1919), p. 68.
[406]MS Division UDC Minutes (1917), p. 90.
[407]ibid., p. 83.
[408]MS Division UDC Minutes (1917), pp. 86, 104, 142, 145, 152, & 160; MS Division UDC Minutes (1918), p. 87.

convention set the necessary tone. Not only was war relief officially adopted as the organization's general work, the convention further urged that all money go towards the war effort with the single exclusion of continued support for its educational programs.[409] One of the recipients of UDC funding was the endowed bed program of the American hospital at Neuilly, France. The UDC eventually supported seventy such berths at a cost of $42,000 a year, each marked by a brass plate containing the name of the individual memorialized -- the national convention endowed the first such bed in honor of "Mr. Jefferson Davis."[410] In Mississippi, chapters reported contributions not just for the hospital beds, but also towards Belgian relief, French orphans, and the purchase of Liberty bonds and stamps.[411] Chapters also sought to support enlisted men by writing letters, forwarding books and magazines, and provisioning care boxes.[412] Members participated in the war effort most often, however, by working under the auspices of the Red Cross.

In several communities, the UDC chapter set aside one day a week or a month to sew for the Red Cross. In Meridian, the group organized a knitting class where "the older members instruct the younger in the art of knitting, in order that they may make useful articles for our soldiers in the present war, as once we older women did in the '60's."[413] Corinth announced that "as a body one afternoon each week is given to Red Cross work."[414] In fact, Red Cross activity monopolized most members to such an extent that a number of chapters at the 1918 convention

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[409]Poppenheim, History, p. 205. For scholarship on American women on the homefront during World War I, see Joanne L. Karetszky, The Mustering of Support for World War I by "The Ladies Home Journal" (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1997), pp. 107-114; Robert H. Zieger, America's Great War: World War I and the American Experience (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000), pp. 136-51. Most historians of this era tend to concentrate on working women, paying little attention to volunteers.

[410]Poppenheim, History, pp. 205-10.

[411]For hospital beds, see MS Division UDC Minutes (1918), pp. 77-83, 85, 86, 88, 91, 95, 97-98, & 100. For Belgian Relief, see ibid., pp. 94-96. For French orphans, see ibid., pp. 83, 85, 88, 92, 98, & 100. For Liberty bonds and stamps, see ibid., pp. 77-81, 85-86, 91, & 94.

[412]Mississippi Division UDC Minutes (1917), p. 143; MS Division UDC Minutes (1918), pp. 79-80, 85, 88, 91-92, 96, & 101.

[413]MS Division UDC Minutes (1917), pp. 155-56.

[414]MS Division UDC Minutes (1918), p. 81. For Red Cross work, see also MS Division UDC Minutes (1917), pp. 30, 90, 101, & 105; MS Division UDC Minutes (1918), pp. 76-81, 83-89, 91-92, & 94-101.

admitted to accomplishing little else: "The demands for money, effort, thought, work and enthusiasm are so urgent we decided to put aside all memorial work, except education, during the period of the war and devote all our time and means to war work."[415] In some locales, meetings became irregular, holidays went unobserved, and historical programs lapsed completely.[416] In 1918, the Division Historian felt compelled to state the although "the war of the present day will do more than anything else to wipe out any feeling of sectionalism that may still exist," and members should certainly contribute to the current cause, they should also "keep on quietly helping in every way you can to Right the Wrongs of History."[417] Greenwood protested in print that despite its war work "we do not propose to turn our Chapter into a Red Cross Chapter nor a Council of Defense organization. We, as 'Daughters of the Confederacy,' are going to remain loyal to our Confederate inheritance."[418]

With the war's conclusion on November 11, 1918, the UDC resumed its Confederate focus. Still, individual chapters within Mississippi reported several instances over the next few years in which their members maintained a continued interest in the Great War. Such attention was only natural with many members having male relatives returning home from their service abroad or remaining afield in the overseas national cemeteries created by the government. The Nettleton UDC chapter hosted a "sumptuous dinner" for the local UCV camp and included among its guests "all returned soldiers of our community from overseas and training camps."[419] Greenwood's UDC joined with six other women's organizations to provide a banquet for all World War I veterans on George Washington's birthday.[420] A number of chapters participated in

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[415]ibid., p.77.
[416]ibid., pp. 76-77, 80, 82, & 89-90. See also, MS Division UDC Minutes (1919), pp. 84, 91-93, & 98. According to a WPA history, the UDC chapter in Kosciusko "merged with the Red Cross, turning over all of its activities to this organization, and has not operated as an organization since that time." State-Wide Historical Research Project, Works Progress Administration for Mississippi, Source Material for Mississippi, Attala County Vol. IV, Part II (1936-1938), p. 588.
[417]MS Division UDC Minutes (1918), p. 33.
[418]ibid., p. 84.
[419]MS Division UDC (1919), p. 96. For an examination of the influence of World War I on Georgia's UDC, see Montgomery, "Lost Cause Mythology," pp. 193-97.
[420]MS Division UDC Minutes (1921), p. 87.

Armistice Day commemorations. Several cities even reported decorating the graves of Spanish-American and World War I dead during Confederate Memorial Day programs, and five locales announced their intention of erecting memorials to honor those who had recently lost their lives overseas.[421] Finally, the UDC had resolved from the beginning to keep a record of all soldiers of Confederate lineage fighting abroad, a project that continued after the war when the government opened its records and chapters began to distribute the "Cross of Military Service" to those on this roster.[422] Similar to the "Cross of Honor" awarded veterans who had worn the Gray, the UDC viewed the "Military Service" medal as an opportunity "to bind our Confederate past with our glorious present," a desire that clearly inspired the Latin inscription on the cross -- *Fortes creantur fotibus* (the brave give birth to the brave).[423]

Back in 1900, the president of the Mississippi Division had reacted negatively to a suggestion that Union and Confederate veterans should celebrate Memorial Day jointly:

> We must not allow our Confederate graves and memories to be absorbed, lost sight of, in this national memorial day for the soldiers of all wars. Let them institute this day if they wish, nay, I say 'God-speed' to anything which helps to wipe out all bitter feelings between the North and South, but Confederate memorials and graves belong to the South, and must forever stand out in the eyes of the whole world as being cared for and preserved by the love and gratitude of the Southern people . . . . Give up our graves and memories to be put in with the Federal graves and memories and they will soon cease to exist as Confederate . . .[424]

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[421]For Armistice Day, see MS Division UDC Minutes (1921), pp. 83-84, & 105; MS Division UDC Minutes (1923), pp. 91, & 97-98; MS Division UDC Minutes (1924): pp. 89-90, & 92; MS Division UDC Minutes (1934), p. 77; MS Division UDC Minutes (1935), pp. 81 & 95; MS Division UDC Minutes (1936), p. 65; MS Division UDC Minutes (1937), pp. 82-83; MS Division UDC Minutes (1938), pp. 82 & 88; MS Division UDC Minutes (1940), pp. 101, 105, & 109; MS Division UDC Minutes (1941), p. 96. For Confederate Memorial Day, see MS Division UDC Minutes (1921), p. 93; MS Division UDC Minutes (1923), p. 96; MS Division UDC Minutes (1924), p. 87; MS Division UDC Minutes (1933), pp. 83 & 105; MS Division UDC Minutes (1935), p. 94; MS Division UDC Minutes (1938), p. 93. For proposed UDC contributions towards World War I memorials in Cleveland, Crystal Springs, Gulfport, Vicksburg, and Collins, see MS Division UDC Minutes (1919), pp. 78, 82, 87, & 103-4; MS Division UDC Minutes (1921), pp. 84, 88, 90, & 107.
[422]Poppenheim, History, pp. 205, 214-25.
[423]ibid., pp. 214 & 217. The UDC also instituted a Hero Fund at the war's conclusion to provide scholarships for returning veterans of Confederate descent whose education the war had interrupted. MS Division UDC Minutes (1919), p. 12; Poppenheim, History, p. 212.
[424]MS Division UDC Minutes (1900), p. 7.

While the organization continued to maintain its Confederate orientation after the Great War, the personal involvement of UDC members in the global conflict had permitted the organization to at least temporarily expand the mandate of its mission. While the national Memorial Day with its Civil War origins continued to pass largely unrecognized by white southerners, the UDC participated wholeheartedly in the more specific remembrance of Armistice Day. On these occasions and others, veterans from the Civil War and the First World War mingled in the spotlight. The Alumni Association at the University of Mississippi proposed erecting a memorial building dedicated to soldiers of both the Confederacy and World War I.[425] Three communities -- Belzoni, Louisville, and Poplarville -- even erected monuments that jointly memorialized the participation of their counties' sons and daughters in the Civil War and the Great War.[426]

And in March of 1920, the Mississippi legislature finally passed a bill that Union veterans had urged states to pass since the 1890s -- mandatory display of the United States flag at all public schools.[427] Only participation in World War I had overcome a Confederate legacy of disinclination and intransigence in the matter. One other bill enacted two years later in 1922 indicated a growing rapprochement between the former enemies when the state legislature forbade the wearing of organizational emblems by non-members. Among the fraternal and patriotic organizations specifically mentioned in the law were, of course, the Confederate

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[425]Franklin E. Moak, A History of the Alumni Association of the University of Mississippi 1852-1986 (University of Mississippi: Alumni Association of the Univesity of Mississippi, 1986), p. 77. For more links at the university between World War I and the Civil War, see Upton, "Keeping the Faith," p. 58.

[426]Humphreys County erected its $6,000 World War and Confederate memorial on the court house lawn of Belzoni in 1922 per a request from the local UDC. Under the spread wings of an eagle rest the three sculptural figures of a Confederate soldier, a World War I doughboy, and a woman. Mrs. Jon Cerame, From Greasy Row to Catfish Capital (N.p., 1978), p. 106. Poplarville unveiled an almost identical monument on its courthouse lawn in 1926. John Hawkins Napier, III, Lower Pearl River's Piney Woods: Its Land and People (University of Mississippi, 1985), p. 127. In Louisville, the monument dedicated in 1921 at a downtown intersection is the typical Confederate soldier at parade rest on top a shaft. On one side of the base, however, the inscription includes a tribute to Winston County's soldiers who participated in "the Great World War in 1917." See appendix 2.

[427]Laws of Mississippi (1920), p. 228; McConnell, Glorious Contentment, pp. 228-29; Goldstein, Saving 'Old Glory', p. 43. A similar law in 1932 added the provision that schools should offer a course of study on the "history of the flag and what it represents, and the proper respect therefor." Laws of Mississippi (1932), pp. 198-99.

Veterans, the Daughters of the Confederacy, and the Sons of the Confederacy; but, also among those listed were the Grand Army of the Republic, their Sons, and their women's auxiliary.[428] Perhaps more significantly, by the mid-1930s one UDC chapter even reported participating in federal Memorial Day programs on May thirtieth with the local American Legion Post -- of course the women continued to sponsor their own Confederate Memorial Day services earlier in the year.[429] Most UDC chapters, however, tended to remember their World War dead on Armistice Day, the holiday specifically created for that purpose, or on their own Confederate Memorial Day. For while Mississippi legislators officially added November eleventh, Armistice Day, to the calendar of state holidays in 1924, May thirtieth continued to remain conspicuously absent from that list.[430]

The Great War proved a definite turning point in the history of Confederate commemoration. The experience both abroad and at home encouraged white southerners to relax regional antipathies and embrace a common nationalism with their northern brethren. In fact, several scholars of the Lost Cause consider the second decade of the twentieth century as the beginning of the movement's end, citing the decreasing numbers of Confederate survivors, the diminishing rosters of the UDC and SCV, and the declining relevance of those two organizations in southern society.[431] Fewer and fewer individuals and communities participated in

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[428]Punishment for such an offense was a maximum fine of $20 or thirty days imprisonment. Laws of Mississippi (1922), p. 359. A 1948 law would amend this section of the Mississippi code to include those veterans organizations that had emerged since World War II. Laws of Mississippi (1948), pp. 842-43.

[429]The John M. Stone Chapter of West Point apparently began this practice in 1935 and continued it at least through 1940. MS Division UDC Minutes (1935), p. 95; MS Division UDC Minutes (1938), p. 94; MS Division UDC Minutes (1939), p. 136; MS Division UDC Minutes (1940), p. 114. In 1940, the Corinth UDC chapter reported providing the Confederate program at Shiloh battlefield "on May 30th, which is Federal Decoration Day." MS Division UDC Minutes (1940), p. 102. In 1927, the Okolona UDC chapter participated in a Memorial Day parade and service conducted on May 30th, but clearly limited those soldiers honored to Confederates and soldiers from the Spanish-American War and World War I. "Okolona Messenger Parade on May 30," Our Heritage (September 1927): 1.

[430]Laws of Mississippi (1924), pp. 593-94.

[431]Foster, Ghosts, pp. 178-79; Charles Reagan Wilson, "The Invention of Southern Tradition: The Writing and Ritualization of Southern History, 1880-1940" in Rewriting the South: History and Fiction, ed. Lothar Honnighausen et al. (Tubingen: Franke Verlag, 1993), pp. 19-20.

Decoration Days, and the early twentieth century momentum of monument building declined sharply. Yet, the Confederate legacy remained a powerfully influential force on subsequent generations of white southerners. The organizations of the Lost Cause, quite simply, had succeeded in their primary objective -- vindication. Confederates could rest in easy in their graves, as white southerners venerated their forefathers in Gray and reveled in the role their region had played in the most divisive episode of their nation's history.

In the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, grief dominated the commemorative activities of former Confederates. Mourning the dead, white Southerners tended graves, erected stone shafts, and gathered together to remember their losses. Still, both grassroots organizations and the state government demonstrated an early inclination to justify Confederate actions to posterity. Propounded in print and in speech, the South's secession and subsequent engagement in hostilities resulted from a righteous belief in constitutional principles and a defense of homeland. The men in Gray fought with valor and honor, brought low only by superior physical might. As the Lost Cause movement blossomed in the late 1880s through World War I, this version of events became commonplace under the watchful eye of Confederate organizations, and historical vindication a motivating force of their activities.

These energetic defenders of the past did not permit the Civil War to lapse into oblivion but determinedly incorporated symbols of the conflict across the landscape in the form of monuments, placenames, and battlefield parks while preserving the story in poems, lyrics, and novels as well as memoirs, articles, historical tomes, and children's textbooks. Government, too, aided and abetted these efforts, passing laws and supplying funds. And while the state legislature might not have acceded to every demand of the UCV, the SCV, or the UDC, it certainly acquiesced often enough to further the agenda of those organizations. Perhaps even more significantly, widespread sympathy among white authorities for the Lost Cause prevented official support for the dissemination of any alternative version of the past.

Regional loyalty, meanwhile, did not necessarily preclude national allegiance. After all, the two sentiments were no longer an either/or proposition. In the decades that followed Appomattox, most white Southerners considered themselves patriotic Americans while retaining tremendous pride in their sectional identity. Espousals of Confederate vindication eased the tensions inherent in this dual-fidelity by permitting the losers to assimilate back into national life with faith in the justness of their cause and actions. At the same time, national reconciliation transpired in large part because the northern public eventually chose to accept a version of the past that granted their former foes respect for heroic deeds on the battlefield and nostalgic envy for their antebellum lifestyle. In this national narrative, the causes of the war lapsed into moral ambiguity and the evils of slavery lay largely forgotten. To the white South, northern gestures like the return of battle flags and the federal care of Confederate graves provided further reassurance that the past held no recriminations. To the rest of the country, the South's enthusiastic participation during the Spanish-American War and World War I provided proof of sorts that the region had regained its rightful place in the national whole. Certainly, when outside threats arose, like Imperial Spain or Germany, American patriotism surged within the former Confederacy, but national allegiance should not be mistaken for complete sublimation of the secessionist past. Confederate memories continued to persist and would ultimately feed sectional hostilities yet again when internal disagreements aligned the rest of the nation against the region over issues of race. Until then, white southerners were comfortable in the mantle of their joint citizenship.

Chapter 2

Preserving "The Other Side"

Well may it be said that Americans have no memories. We look over the House of Representatives and see the Solid South enthroned there. We listen with calmness to the eulogies of the South and of the traitors, and forget Andersonville. . . . and forget the Planter, and the service rendered by the colored troops in the late war for the Union. Well, the nation may forget; it may shut its eyes to the past and frown upon any who may do otherwise, but the colored people of the country are bound to keep fresh a memory of the past till justice shall be done them in the present. -- Frederick Douglass, on the twenty-sixth anniversary of emancipation, April 16, 1888.[1]

In the decades that followed the defeat at Appomattox, white southerners had succeeded in developing a narrative that justified secession, glorified Confederate military prowess, and condemned the oppression of Reconstruction. Under a haze of nostalgia, the antebellum plantation became the setting for happy slaves working under the civilizing influence of their beneficent master. White historians of the South, however, were quick to reject the protection of slavery as a cause for secession, and hence the war. They instead blamed the North's corruption of the Constitution. The war's aftermath, too, was the fault of federal overbearance, which allowed unprepared freedmen to profligately spend state treasuries and foul the machinery of government.

Once whites had "redeemed" Mississippi from Reconstruction authorities, the state government began to gradually support this historical account of events. The grassroots efforts of individuals and organizations to influence interpretation of the Civil War thus gained official sanction and monetary assistance. Meanwhile, reconciliation and the passage of time had altered the northern public's perception of the past. Still celebrating their victory, post-war generations in the North were willing to grant former Confederates the honor of fighting bravely for their homeland and were even disposed to accept responsibility for a Reconstruction now deemed

[1]Frederick Douglass, "I Denounce the So-called Emancipation as a Stupendous Fraud," in The Voice of Black America: Major Speeches of Negroes in the United States, 1797-1973, ed. Philip S. Foner, Vol. 1 (New York: Capricorn Books, 1972), pp. 554-55.

excessively harsh and mismanaged. The role of black forces in the war slipped from the national consciousness, and the causality of slavery diminished as former foes reminisced on their battlefield adventures.

The black community in both the North and South, however, retained yet another version of the past -- one that recalled the brutalities of slavery, recounted the exploits of black Union soldiers, rejoiced over emancipation, and recited the participation of black officials in rebuilding southern society during Reconstruction. Although white control of the state government and the potential for hostile backlash prevented most public displays of this alternate historical interpretation in Mississippi, it managed to persevere primarily in the private sphere of the African American community. Thus, blacks in Mississippi preserved a memory of the Civil War that difffered quite dramatically from the story told by whites.

In their memories of the Civil War, white southerners did not *completely* ignore the role of blacks in the war between the Blue and the Gray. They just preferred to concentrate on those who marched with the Confederate army or stayed on the plantation protecting the womenfolk instead of escaping to the opposing side. These anecdotes comprise a genre labeled "Faithful Slaves," a minor theme of Confederate reminiscences. In fact, the only monuments erected in Mississippi concerning black involvement in the Civil War commemorate Confederate servants. In the Purnell Family Cemetery just outside of Duck Hill, one side of a granite marker reads: "This monument erected by James C. Purnell youngest son of Micajah Thomas Purnell and the only surviving former slaveholder of the family to the memory of and in testamony of the faith-fulness of our old slaves, both in peace and in war."[2] The second memorial is a twenty-foot obelisk in a tiny park of a black neighborhood in Canton, a town just north of the state capital. Placed there sometime between 1894 and 1900 by a former member of a local Confederate unit, the inscription printed on three of the memorial's sides reads:

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[2]Evelyn Bell Crouch and Christie Crouch Genola, Montgomery County Mississippi Cemetery Records (Carrollton, MS: Pioneer Publishing Company, 1996), p. 297.

> Erected by W. H. Howcott in the Memory of the Good and Loyal Servants Who Followed the Fortunes of Harvey's Scouts During the Civil War. / A Tribute to My Faithful Servant and Friend Willis Howcott, a Colored Boy of Rare Loyalty and Faithfulness Whose Memory I Cherish with Deep Gratitude. / Loyal, faithful, true, were each and all of them.[3]

Reiterated several times, the key qualities that marked these black men as worthy of remembrance were "loyalty" and "faithfulness."

Although actual monuments to slaves are rare, the sentiment behind their erection was fairly common among white upper class southerners, who often recalled the mammies that stayed with the family or the heroic efforts of body servants to retrieve their wounded masters from the midst of battle or to bring the bodies of their masters home for burial in the family plot.[4] In 1905, a

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[3]"Monument To Negroes Perhaps Unique in State," Madison County Herald, 8 July 1954, Vertical File: "Canton--Civil War," Madison County-Canton Public Library; Nell Thames, "Harvey's Scouts--Canton's Civil War Company," Madison County Herald 30 January 30 1975, p. 1; "Black Confederate?," Vicksburg Post, 22 August 1982, Vertical File: "Canton--Civil War," Madison County-Canton Public Library; Douglas Demmons, "Monument Honors Slaves Who Served Confederate Cause," Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 27 November 1982, pp. 1B-3B; George Cantor, Historic Landmarks of Black America (Detriot: Gale Research, 1991): 169-70.

[4]No comprehensive index of "faithful slave" memorials exists. At least one other similar monument lies in Fort Mill, South Carolina, erected by a white Confederate officer in 1895. Also an obelisk, its inscription reads: "Dedicated to the faithful slaves who, loyal to a sacred trust toiled for the support of the army, with matchless devotion, and with sterling fidelity guarded our defenseless homes, women and children, during the struggle for the principles of our Confederate States of America." Freeman Henry Morris Murray, Emancipation and the Freed in American Sculpture (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1972, reprint of 1916), pp. 117-20; Charles Kelly Barrow, et al., Forgotten Confederates: An Anthology About Black Southerners (Atlanta: Southern Heritage Press, 1995), pp. 62-67. In the yard of the county courthouse in Lexington, Virginia stands a simple granite block whose bronze tablet reads "A tribute by the white friends of Rockbridge County . . . [To] the old servants of the past." H. C. Blackerby, Blacks in Blue and Gray: Afro-American Service in the Civil War (Tuscaloosa, AL: Portals Books, 1979), p. 37; "Monument to Faithful Slaves," Confederate Veteran (February 1928): 46. In 1931, the UDC and SCV dedicated a monument in Harper's Ferry, West Virginia where John Brown's raiders had killed Heyward Shepherd, a free black who refused to join the 1859 assault on the local arsenal. The inscription on the boulder honors Shepherd for "exemplifying the character and faithfulness of thousands of negroes who, under many temptations throughout subsequent years of war, so conducted themselves that no stain was left upon a record which is the peculiar heritage of the American people, and an everlasting tribute to the best in both races." Mary Johnson, "'Ever Present Bone of Contention': The Heyward Shepherd Memorial," West Virginia History 56 (1997): 1-26; Poppenheim, History, pp. 77-8; "Memorial to Faithful Slaves," Confederate Veteran (November 1931), pp. cover, 406, & 411-14. Part of the inscription on the 1912 Confederate monument in Columbia, North Carolina reads, "in appreciation of our faithful slaves"; and in 1927, Natchitoches, Louisiana erected an "Uncle Tom" monument depicting an aged, bent black man doffing his hat "in grateful recognition of the arduous and faithful service of the good darkies of Louisiana." Savage, Standing Soldiers, pp. 157-58; "Louisiana Town to Honor Faithful Servants," Confederate Veteran (February 1927): 76-77. In 1907, in Darlington, South Carolina, surviving comrades erected an obelisk to Henry Brown, a free black, who served in the Confederate army.

Mississippi woman from Oakland wrote to the popular regional magazine Confederate Veteran relating several such instances of black fidelity in her own family history, concluding, "I know there are thousands of men and women in the South whose experience has been similar to mine. Will not someone start the movement for a monument and give us the opportunity of assisting in the work?"[5]

The Confederate Veteran as well other southern journals provided a forum for numerous anecdotes about "faithful slaves," and over the years several individuals issued similar calls for regional and national monument campaigns. A number of factors fed this fascination with the "happy darkies" who populated Old South mythology and Civil War legends. On its most basic level, the loyalty and contentment attributed to these slaves assisted white southerners in depicting the institution of slavery as benevolent. Monuments then would convey this benign impression of human bondage to future generations. In addition, these physical as well as printed memorials offered the additional benefit of providing an appropriate model for contemporary black conduct. Yet, even if most blacks failed to emulate the servile disposition of these "old timey negroes," the popularity of this particular theme indicated a nostalgic need among white southerners of the racially troubled New South to recall the presumed harmony of Old South relations. White southerners, of course, understood that such close and informal antebellum associations had existed only because slavery so clearly preserved social distinctions between the

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Greg Tyler, "Rebel Drummer Henry Brown," Civil War Times Illustrated 27 (February 1989): 22-23; Idem, "Article Brings Notice to a Unique Rebel," Civil War Times Illustrated 29 (May/June 1990): 57 & 69. In 1910, a few Georgians sought to establish a school for training blacks in menial and domestic tasks which they named the Black Mammy Memorial Institute. June O. Patton, "Moonlight and Magnolias in Southern Education: The Black Mammy Institute," Journal of Negro History 65 (Spring 1980): 149-55; "The Old Black Mammy Memorial," Confederate Veteran (September 1910): 423. Norfolk, Virginia boasts the only identified black Union memorial erected in the South during the nineteenth century. Savage, Standing Soldiers,pp. 187-88.

[5]Mrs. Kate W. Moore, "Tribute to Our Faithful Slaves," Confederate Veteran (July 1905): 326. For examples of other calls to erect memorials to faithful slaves, see UCV Minutes (1908), pp. 101-102; UCV Minutes (1905), pp. 123-24; UCV Minutes (1906), p. 467; Thos. P. Buford, Thos. H. Chilton, and Bem Price, Jr., Lamar Rifles: A History of Company G. Eleventh Mississippi Regiment, C.S.A. (Roanoke, VA: Stone Printing Co., c.1902), pp. 72-3. One Memphis woman, however, made a lengthy protest against such monuments and claimed she had the support of most of her chapter. Confederate Veteran (November 1904): 525.

two races. Emancipation, on the other hand, had confused this clarity, necessitating greater social separation -- otherwise known as segregation. This post-war confusion over racial boundaries had also created a yearning among some whites for a golden age when every inferior had known and occupied his or her "place."[6]

In 1897, when states across the South were fine-tuning Jim Crow's segregation statutes, the yearbook staff at the University of Mississippi chose a moniker for their volume that reflected back upon the presumed ease of plantation relations. Their choice, "Ole Miss," was the traditional title of respect used by slaves for the mistress of the plantation.[7] Alumni and students quickly

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[6]For discussions concerning this trend to memorialize faithful slaves, see Gaines M. Foster, who in a brief passage, links such proposals to post-1900 vindication of the South's secession which permitted white southerners to subtract slavery from the cause of the war while simultaneously allowing them to tout the institution as "beneficial to white and black alike." Foster, Ghosts, pp. 156-57 & 260-61. Likewise, Charles Reagan Wilson, views the same memorial tendency in southern ministers as an attempt to justify slavery as a civilizing influence which provided the moral and social discipline that brought contentment to slaves. He also expands upon the significance of the trend by describing how the ministers used the faithful slave as a contrast to the "moral retrogression" they perceived in post-war freedmen. Wilson, Baptized in Blood, pp. 103-6 & 210. In the context of his work on the representation of blacks in Civil War memorials, Kirk Savage notes that faithful slave monuments were rare because they gave "voice and form to sentiments that could not be represented in the commemorative mainstream. . . . Dear as this fiction was to many white Southerners, it had to be banished from their more official program of memory because the institution of slavery, unlike the figure of Lee or even the idea of the Lost Cause, was no longer American." Savage, Standing Soldiers, pp. 155-61. Grace Elizabeth Hale has written the most extensive analysis of the white effort to memorialize the slave -- examining appeals for monuments, pensions, old age homes, land grants, holidays, as well as depictions of slave characters in advertisements, fiction, memoirs, minstrelsy and other cultural mediums. Scattered throughout her text, Hale offers a number of reasons for this development, but her main thesis is that the nostalgia for the faithful slave of the plantation myth served as the necessary contrast to the rabid black brute of Reconstruction who degenerated under the burdens of freedom and required the strictures of segregation. According to Hale, the romanticized Old South represented an "unusable past" with regards to its integrated race relations, while the evils of Reconstruction provided a "usable past" that explained the racial turmoil and restructuring of the New South. Grace Elizabeth Hale, Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1998), chapters 2, 3, & 4. See also, Blight, Race and Reunion, pp. 284-91; Patricia Morton, Disfigured Images: The Historical Assault on Afro-American Women (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), pp. 34-35; Cheryl Thurber, "The Development of the Mammy Image and Mythology," in Southern Women: Histories and Identities eds. Virginia Bernhard, Betty Brandon, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, and Theda Perdue (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992), pp. 87-108.

[7]The Ole Miss 39 (1935): 182; "Ole Miss Origin," 29 October 1947, press release by the Department of Public Relations, University of Mississippi, UMSMMSS/Historical Accounts, Box 1, UM. The 1897 annual was dedicated to the University Greys. The Ole Miss 1 (1897): 7.

adopted the term as the nickname for their alma mater. The bastion of higher education for whites in the state was thus known familiarly by a phrase from slave dialect.[8]

The celebration of the "Faithful Slave" by white southerners persisted into the twentieth century. Author Robert Canzoneri recalled in a 1965 memoir just such a family story:

> My great-grandfather and one or more of my great-uncles had been in the war, and there was some story of an escape and about the loyalty of an ex-slave who eventually was buried just outside the family cemetery, and then later the fence was moved to include him with the master he had served so faithfully even in the war.[9]

Canzoneri's family obviously had valued the allegiance exhibited by their former slave to such an extent that they were willing to transcend the tradition of racially segregated burial. A similar fate awaited William Gant, a body servant of General Albert Sydney Johnston. Adopted by the Indianola camp of Confederate veterans as a special member, the group totally subsidized Gant's attendance at the 1890 veterans' reunion in Vicksburg. That same year, he changed the name of his whites-only dining establishment to the "Bivouac Restaurant." Upon his death, the veterans buried Gant in Indianola's white cemetery.[10]

Racial segregation in cemeteries was a common practice across North America from the very start of European colonization. Ironically, southern slaveowners occasionally would break

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[8]For analysis of the title "Ole Miss," see Upton, "'Keeping the Faith," pp. 41-46; Gayle Graham Yates, Mississippi Mind: A Personal Cultural History of an American State (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990), pp. 248-51.

[9]Robert Canzoneri, "I Do So Politely": A Voice from the South (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965), p. 86. Governor Ross Barnett related a similar story about his grandfather's former slave who was buried right next to the family plot but outside the fence. "In Interview with Ross Barnett, February 11, 1981, Interviewed by John Dittmer and John Jones," manuscript, p. 11-12; MDAH. According to the WPA slave narratives, another body servant, Davey Harrison, lies buried at the foot of his former master in the family's cemetery in Lowndes County, Mississippi. Rawick, American Slave, Supp. Series 1, vol. 7, p. 896. The Coxe family, meanwhile, buried "Mammy, Faithful Unto Death," at the head of their family plot. Olga Reed Pruitt, It Happened Here: True Stories of Holly Springs (Holly Springs, MS: South Reporter Printing Co., 1950), pp. 112-13. In 1931, the Port Gibson UDC chapter announced its intentions to mark the graves of those "faithful negroes who served as Body Guards . . . during the War Between the States." MS Division UDC Minutes (1931), p. 148.

[10]Marie M. Hemphill, Fevers, Floods, and Faith: A History of Sunflower County, Mississippi 1844-1976 (Indianola, MS: n.p., 1980), pp. 695-97; Gordon A. Cotton, "Black Rebels Attended 1890 Reunion Here," Vicksburg Evening Post, 1 June 1980.

from this pattern, burying favorite servants in family plots. After all, their superior status was so apparent that slaveholders felt close proximity in death would not detract from their own eminence. If anything, the disposition of a slave's body next to a master's grave not only demonstrated a relationship of faithful service and emotional attachment, it also validated the master's patriarchal dominance even unto death.[11] That some white southerners continued such burial practices after emancipation when segregation increasingly became the response towards the ambiguity of current social boundaries only confirms their eagerness to recognize those African Americans who demonstrated continued loyalty to the Confederate cause.

Another memorialization of this type appeared in June of 1938, in Greenville, Mississippi when the Martin Marvel Library for blacks unveiled a portrait of its namesake. According to a local white historian, Marvel was a "negro Civil War hero of Washington County." Owned by the local county sheriff when the war broke out, Marvel remained at home, entrusted with the county records while his master enlisted in the fight. When Yankee troops set fire to the county seat, "Uncle Martin" managed to evade capture and preserve all the official documents by retreating to a canebrake.[12] In the eyes of the white community of Greenville, then, the decision to name this black institution after an ex-slave with a demonstrated history of loyalty to white interests was an acceptable and appropriate choice -- someone worthy of imitation. Marvel had earned his "heroic" status because he remained faithful to his master.

Sometimes, the post-war activities of freedmen also merited attention. In a 1929 issue of the Confederate Veteran, a Tupelo man contributed an obituary honoring Jim Burdine, who had served as a farrier in the Confederate army. More significant then this activity, however, was the former slave's assistance in defeating the Reconstruction administration of Governor Adelbert Ames. Escorted by prominent whites, Burdine had crossed the state "making speeches to the

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[11]Angelika Kruger-Kahloula, "On the Wrong Side of the Fence: Racial Segregation in American Cemeteries," in History and Memory in African-American Culture eds. Genevieve Fabre and Robert O'Meally (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 133-38.
[12]Rawick, American Slave, Supp. Series 1, vol. 9, p. 1448.

negroes, urging them to stay with their white folks and save their State from 'carpetbag domination.'"[13] And neither Burdine himself nor the fond remembrance of him in print was an isolated instance. In 1936, an Oxford paper *reprinted* the complete oration delivered on the Fourth of July by an ex-slave, Jim Neilson, to a mixed audience of blacks and whites back in 1867. After relating the kindness of his former master and mistress and deploring the conduct of Union soldiers towards blacks, the freedman concluded that the Yankees

> . . . took us from where we had plenty and were doing well, and poured us down and went off and left us, with nothing. . . . But our old masters told us to come here, I will give you a home for you and your family; here is plenty of land for you to work; I will furnish the land, the tools, the stock and feed for the stock, and give you half of the crop you make. I was more rejoiced when I heard that, than I was when my old master told me that I was free. And now, my friends, we all know where our true friends are; the interests of the white folks in the South are our interests . . .[14]

Not surprisingly, editorial commentary accompanying this text noted that "Jim" was highly respected by both races for his "faithfulness, honesty, industry, and practical good sense."[15]

These African Americans who toiled for or even fought with Confederate troops or those who later actively labored to overthrow Reconstruction, present a seemingly *illogical* anomaly -- the existence of a select group of blacks who presumably worked for ends counter to the interests of their race. Identifying the motivations behind their actions is a purely speculative process in most cases and completely reliant on circumstantial evidence in others. To begin with, one cannot completely dismiss the possibility that sincerity lay at the root of their words and deeds. Conversely, dissimulation and deception are just as likely. Compulsion is a simple and obvious explanation for black service in the Confederate cause -- which is probably why white southern tales of black Confederates take such pains to stress the voluntary heroics and independent

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[13]B. T. Clark, "One of the Faithful," Confederate Veteran 37 (June 1929): 237.
[14]The original article appeared in the Oxford Falcon on July 13, 1867. The Oxford Eagle reprinted the piece on December 10, 1936, entitled "An Incident of Reconstruction Days" by P. L. Rainwater (p. 19); Two former slaves interviewed by the WPA volunteered the information that they had lobbied against carpetbag regimes. Rawick, American Slave, Supp. Series 1, vol. 6, p. 7; Rawick, American Slave, Supp. Series 1, vol. 8, p. 1177.
[15]Rainwater, "Incident of Reconstruction Days," p. 19.

actions of body servants.[16] After the war, however, a fiduciary incentive presumably contributed to the continued participation of freedmen in Confederate activities and their assistance in overthrowing Reconstruction governments. William Gant's restaurant certainly benefited from his white associations, and Mississippi was one of the few southern states that provided pensions for its black Confederate veterans. From the very beginning of the state's pension program in 1888, "servants" were as eligible as "soldiers, sailors, and widows" to apply for funds.[17] By 1922,

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[16]In a study of fifteen free blacks in Louisiana identified as privates who served in Confederate combat units, Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr. suggests that in addition to state loyalty another possible motivation on the part of free blacks was a desire to prevent the general emancipation of slaves which would have endangered their distinctive status in society. Of course, by late 1864 these men also faced the prospect of conscription as laborers if they opted not to volunteer for combat. "Free Men of Color in Grey," Civil War History 32 (September 1986): 247-55. See also, Richard Rollins, ed., Black Southerners in Gray: Essays on Afro-Americans in Confederate Armies (Redondo Beach, CA: Rank and File Publications, 1994); Ervin L. Jordan, Jr., Black Confederates and Afro-Yankees in Civil War Virginia (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995), pp. 185-200 & 216-31; Robert F. Durden, The Gray and the Black: The Confederate Debate on Emancipation (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), pp. 268-83; Charles H. Wesley, "The Employment of Negroes as Soldiers in the Confederate Army," Journal of Negro History 4 (July 1919): 239-53; Barrow et al., Forgotten Confederates; Blackerby, Blacks in Blue and Gray; Tony Horwitz, "The Black and the Gray" Southern Cultures 4 (Spring 1998): 5-15.

[17]Laws of Mississippi (1888), pp. 30-33. The Mississippi House Journal indicates that one representative made an attempt (which failed) to eliminate the provision for "servants," although a subsequent amendment clarified the *types* of former slaves eligible--replacing the more general "servants of the confederacy" which might permit conscripted laborers to apply for a pension to the more specific reference "servants of the officers, soldiers, and sailors of the Confederacy" which implied that only bodyservants were appropriate recipients for a pension. An earlier motion had removed the text "widows and orphans of servants" from the bill. Mississippi House Journal (1888), pp. 157-58. According to one source, during consideration of the bill, passage was guaranteed after Dr. Carroll Kendrick told the story of a slave named John who faithfully tended his master throughout his fatal illness in a Confederate camp. Irene Barnes, Eastport: Echoes of the Past (Iuka, MS: Irene Barnes, 1983), pp. 42-43. In 1906, the UCV convention passed a resolution asking state legislatures to provide pensions to "these few faithful old colored men . . . . it being understood that a suitable identification clause must necessarily be prepared to prevent imposition in every case." UCV Minutes (1906), p. 84. In 1928, Holt Collier's pension status changed from that of Confederate servant to combatant, in recognition for his service in the Ninth Texas Cavalry. Minor Ferris Buchanan, Holt Collier: His Life, His Roosevelt Hunts, and the Origin of the Teddy Bear (Jackson, MS: Centennial Press, 2002), pp. 208 & 215. Only four other southern states provided pensions for ex-slaves: North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. Ratchford and Heise, "Confederate Pensions," p. 212. See also, Jordan, Black Confederates, pp. 198-99. In addition to pensions, former servants could also hope for charity from local Confederate organizations. UDC chapters occasionally reported donations to loyal ex-slaves. See, MS Division UDC Minutes (1913), p. 116; MS Division UDC Minutes (1914), p. 138; MS Division UDC Minutes (1917), pp. 83, 91, & 104; MS Division UDC Minutes (1924), p. 89; MS Division UDC Minutes (1933), p. 101. Two chapters also sent floral tributes to the funerals of black Confederate veterans. MS Division UDC Minutes (1932), p. 108; MS Division UDC Minutes (1933), p. 109. The Hazlehurst UDC chapter helped to pay for "Uncle" Howard Divinity's "grand funeral." Cook, Hazlehurst Copiah County, p. 72.

statistics showed 566 on the state's roll of "Negro Pensioners."[18] In addition, those who continued to play the role of "faithful slave" stored up goodwill for future occasions when they might need to procure special favors from their white patrons.[19]

Similar problems of weighing the depths of black sincerity with regard to the Old South and the Civil War exist when examining oral interviews conducted in the 1930s with former slaves. As part of Roosevelt's New Deal program to create jobs in the midst of the Great Depression, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) hired unemployed writers to produce state guidebooks and folk histories. In the South, one of these coordinated efforts entailed writers searching the countryside for former slaves, questioning them about antebellum life, the Civil War, and Reconstruction, and typing up these recollections for eventual forwarding to Washington, DC. When scholars rediscovered this treasure trove of oral histories in the 1960s, they quickly recognized that using the interviews to build a picture of life under slavery possessed certain limitations.[20]

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[18]"Surviving Confederate Veterans," Confederate Veteran (October 1922): 1. In 1921, 557 former servants received pensions from the state. "How the South Cares for Its Veterans," Confederate Veteran (October 1921): 366. For lists of African Americans drawing Mississippi Confederate pensions as well as those who did not, see Mississippi Division, Sons of Confederate Veterans: 1998 Yearbook Heritage of Honor (N.p.: Ainsworth Impressions, 1998), pp. 81-85; David C. Horn, "Black Confederate Veterans," Chickasaw Times Past 20 (January-March 2002): 6; Tate County Mississippi Genealogical & Historical Society, The Heritage of Tate County Mississippi (Dallas, TX: Curtis Media Corporation, 1991), p. 188.

[19]J. Oliver Emmerich wrote of one black man in McComb, Mississippi named Howard Divinity who habitually wore a Confederate uniform adorned with medals and attended veterans reunions where he "lambasted the 'Damn Yankees,' fawned on the Confederacy, and invariably passed his Confederate cap through the crowd." Emmerich realized much later that "Divinity's act was an act of survival. He doubtlessly recognized the practicability of playing a role in which he sacrificed all aspects of human dignity. . . . Divinity possessed intelligence. If his whiskers had been black and his skin white, rather than the reverse, conceivably he could have suceeded in politics. After all, he knew what the people wanted to hear and said it." J. Oliver Emmerich, Two Faces of Janus: The Saga of Deep South Change (Jackson: University and College Press of Mississippi, 1973), pp. 19-23.

[20]This work is atypical of most scholarship which utilizes the WPA interviews. Instead of analyzing them to examine slavery, the Civil War, or Reconstruction, the emphasis is more on using the narratives as an historical source that demonstrate the attitudes of blacks and whites towards slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction during the 1930s when the WPA project took place. In The Slaves of Liberty: Freedom in Amite County, Mississippi, 1820-1868 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1999), author Dale Edwyna Smith briefly uses the WPA records for a similar purpose but overlooks the possibility that interviewers might have deliberately searched out black Confederate veterans and dismisses the likelihood that any blacks were truly loyal to the

The foremost problem was the censorship that occurred at various levels during the course of the project. Of particular concern for historians was self-censorship on the part of the subject, when former slaves may have abetted interviewers in presenting an image of slavery as a benign institution. Although a few black authors managed to acquire jobs with the WPA, whites occupied most of these positions in the South, and having a local white representative of the federal government asking questions whose answers could touch a nerve with the White South posed a dilemma that many former slaves resolved by telling the interviewer what he or she wanted to hear. These strategic falsehoods could vary from disavowals that any whippings took place on the plantation, to characterizations of one's master and mistress as nothing but personifications of goodness and kindness, to assertions that life under slavery was preferable to the cares and responsibilities that accompanied independence and freedom. The possibility that some of these testimonials were accurate representations of an individual's experiences or beliefs only confuses the issue even further.

Conscious or unconscious selectivity also occurred on the part of interviewers. Nostalgia for the Old South proved particularly potent in forming the expectations and attitudes that white writers brought to the project, as demonstrated by the following commentary inserted alongside a former slave's recollections:

> In the ever-interesting search for the very old negro, the slaves of civil war times, one arrives at the somewhat startling realization that they are few and fast becoming rare finds. Scattered to the far corners of Dixie, contented in their memories of the sparkling, gay South, the bounty and joy of a sun-kissed land, and the darkness and distress of a war plagued section -- these old darkies look past the inquiring visitors eyes, back into those luxurious pre-war days and tell

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Confederacy (pp. 127-28). For background on the WPA project as well as a much more extensive analysis of their effectiveness as historical sources, see Rawick, American Slave, Supp. Series 1, vol. 6, pp. ix-cx; Paul D. Escott, Slavery Remembered: A Record of Twentieth-Century Slave Narratives (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), pp. 3-17; Ira Berlin, et al., eds. Remembering Slavery: African Americans Talk About Their Personal Experiences of Slavery and Freedom (New York: New Press, 1998), pp. xiii-xxii; C. Vann Woodward, "History from Slave Sources," American Historical Review 79 (April 1974): 470-81; Norman R. Yetman, "The Background of the Slave Narrative Collection," American Quarterly 19 (Fall 1967): 534-52.

> tales of abundance, the high living, the excitement and fast pace of the courtly and chivalrous men and gracious women of the old slaveholding South.[21]

Aside from assumptions that the ex-slaves would bear witness to this rosy vision of the plantation past, different versions of these interviews still in existence indicate that the authors took tremendous liberties in fashioning their finished products, liberties that went beyond acceptable editing practices. Sometimes these alterations included rewriting the answers in black dialect and poor grammar, sometimes the interviewers omitted statements or stories, and sometimes the entire account discarded all pretense of verbatim reporting in favor of third person narration.

Despite all pressures to the contrary, however, a number of former slaves persevered in telling a dark story of slavery and Reconstruction which belied the popular conceptions held by white southerners. Thus, censorship also occurred at the state level. The editors who finally published the WPA interviews in the 1970s determined that Mississippi in particular had deliberately held back thousands of pages from Washington, leaving them to surmise "either that those responsible for the collection thought the material 'too hot' to handle if it ever became public . . . or that others in the state exerted pressure upon them to hold the material."[22] The editors also pointedly criticized the past racism of the state government "for allowing a collection like this to deteriorate unknown and unprocessed, for thirty-five years -- the same government which has appropriated millions of dollars for the acquisition, processing, care, and publication of materials that bolster the white supremacist past."[23] Yet before state officials committed this sin of omission, they appear to have taken at least one *proactive* step designed to mold the interviews into a desirable version of the past. For close reading of the narratives leaves the impression that directors ordered, or at least suggested, the employed writers to seek out black Confederate veterans as appropriate subjects for interviews.[24]

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[21]Rawick, American Slave, Supp. Series 1, vol. 10, p. 2110.
[22]Rawick, American Slave, Supp. Series 1, vol. 6, p. xxxii.
[23]ibid.
[24]Two writers seemed to have responded directly to such a request: "We were unable to interview any Confederate veteran except one . . ." (Rawick, American Slave, Supp. Series 1, vol. 7, pp. 365-66) and "There are now no ex-slave Confederate war veterans living in the county." (ibid, p.

Certainly the number of ex-slaves in the WPA collection who had participated in the Confederate war effort far outnumbered those who admitted to enlisting in the Union cause -- forty-two to ten.[25] Two of the black Confederates actually resided at Beauvoir, the Mississippi Confederate veterans home, while several others mentioned the pensions they received from the state for their past service. A few of the subjects even discussed their participation in post-war Confederate reunions and proudly displayed their ribbons from these conventions. Ironically, two of the former Confederates were also veterans of the Union Army. Both of these men as well as two other Union veterans assured their interviewers that their service for the North had been coerced, thus casting their past in a more acceptable light. Frank Childress, for example, related the following story of his conversion from Confederate body servant to Union soldier: "I was captured by Grant at Clayton, Mississippi wen I was 14, and to keep fum feein' us He was goin' ter kill us, but Sherman said No, dont kill him. He served de south, now let him serve de north, den he sed to me 'Load dat cannon or I kill you."[26] Noah Rogers, in fact, conveyed a very obvious reason for such excuses, telling his interviewer that after he settled in Vicksburg following the war,

> the only trouble he ever had was once a white man came up to him and asked which side he was on during the war and when he told him the man picked up a large hammer and hit him over the head knocking him unconscious. So from that day to this he has never discussed the war with any one and as I talked with him his daughter was very uneasy . . .[27]

On the other hand, another Union veteran, Julius Jones, felt secure enough in his federal pension and homeownership to compare Robert E. Lee unfavorably to Abraham Lincoln. According to Jones, the president had emancipated the slaves as God had intended, whereas the preeminent

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573). On her own initiative, one interviewer inspired by an upcoming Mother's Day, decided to "contact and find out about as many Black Mammies as I could." Rawick, American Slave, vol. 8, p. 882.

[25]See appendix 5 for names of black Confederate and Union veterans contained in Mississippi WPA slave narratives.

[26]Rawick, American Slave, Supp. Series 1, vol. 6, p. 389.

[27]Rawick, American Slave, Supp. Series 1, vol. 9, pp. 1879-80.

Confederate general upon dying "had a mule and a nigger brought before him and he told the folks to protect the mule and to keep the nigger down."[28]

As the WPA interviews indicate, determining from written sources the true attitudes of former slaves and their families towards their enslavement and the Civil War is a difficult proposition. White southerners, after all, recorded most of the few existing written accounts of black opinions on such matters. Thus, the assumption that blacks simply simulated the character of "faithful slaves" possesses a certain compelling logic in light of the era's oppressive climate for outspoken blacks. The temptation is strong to simply dismiss the words of newspaper editor and author Thomas D. Clark that during his Mississippi youth, the reminiscences of ex-slaves were "just as mellow" as those related by the old men who had worn the Gray, or to ignore the following passage in Mary Craig Sinclair's autobiography Southern Belle:

> I never had anything from the black people but love. I heard their stories of slavery days, and learned much about the Civil War from them. Today in memory I plainly hear the voice of white-haired 'Uncle' Henry telling a child how he was "the bodyguard" of my real Uncle William Morgan all through "de War" . . . "I done carry him off de battlefiel' when he got shot," Uncle Henry would say; "wid dese yere arms I carried him, an' he tell you I save his life."[29]

Uncle Henry probably repeated this particular tale often as a reminder of the Kimbroughs' obligations to their loyal retainer.

Still, a few accounts *not* written by white southerners exist which suggest that such black tales may not be mere facades hiding the more rebellious sentiments of the storytellers. One of these works is a 1934 book entitled Shadow of the Plantation, which relates an Alabama study conducted by black sociologist Charles S. Johnson to analyze sharecropping's pernicious effects.

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[28]Rawick, American Slave, Supp. Series 1, vol. 8, pp. 1223-25.

[29]Thomas D. Clark, "Recollections of a Mississippi Boyhood," in Mississippi Writers: Reflections of Childhood and Youth ed. Dorothy Abbott, Vol. 2 (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1986), p. 115; Mary Craig Sinclair, Southern Belle (New York: Crown Publishers, 1957), p. 2. Sinclair, the wife of Upton Sinclair, grew up in the Kimbrough family of Greenwood, Mississippi. Her father served as Varina Davis's attorney, and she once attempted to write a biography of Winnie Davis but abandoned the project after realizing the perils of writing honestly about the controversy generated by Winnie's engagement to a Yankee (pp. 59-60).

While Johnson found that some former slaves retained and retold memories which "refer to slavery as an ill which they were fortunate and grateful to escape," he also discovered the presence of others who "like many of their masters, find these memories glowing with increasing charm and romance as time separates them from the period." According to Johnson, the black sharecropping community was "divided rather sharply in their memories of slavery, and both groups have in turn passed them along in both practice and philosophy to their own offspring."[30]

In their sociological report Deep South, Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner provide the merest hint that another communal partitioning of memory might have transpired among blacks in Natchez. This time, however, class differences appear to have played a definitive role. According to the authors, the refusal of black elites to participate in the "colored Veterans' Association and its parades" as well as their "contemptuous remarks" concerning these activities represented an effort on the part of the black upper class to distinguish itself from those of inferior social rank.[31] However, further background material on the class structure of Natchez provided by that same study suggests an additional reason as to why black elites might have refrained from participating in commemorations of the Union victory and its veterans. Quite simply, the heritage which added to their social elevation detracted from their ability to comfortably celebrate with the winning side. The same light skin tones and smooth hair textures commonly accepted as hallmarks of superior status also revealed the group's genetic relations with whites. The black upper class in Natchez was unusually large for Mississippi, and rare in that its existence pre-dated the war. At the time Davis and the Gardners undertook their analysis in the 1930s, most of the older generation were the children of white fathers, some of whom had financed the

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[30]Charles S. Johnson, Shadow of the Plantation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), pp. 18-19.

[31]Allison Davis, et al., Deep South: A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 210. Willard B. Gatewood describes similar class divisions appearing in the 1880s emancipation day celebrations of Washington D.C., when upper-class blacks chose to disassociate themselves from embarrassing displays of the "unprogressive" masses. Willard B. Gatewood, Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880-1920 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), p. 51.

education of their offspring away at leading black schools or had left their progeny sizable real estate bequests. A few of the families had lived as free blacks prior to emancipation with slaves of their own, and at least two families possessed ancestors who had fought for the Confederacy.[32] Possibly the difficulty in reconciling their valued blue-blooded connections with Union commemorations contributed to the decision of the black elite to keep their distance.

Pride in blood ties to old planter families was not completely unknown among African Americans. Pauli Murray's grandmother grew up a house slave of a distinguished white North Carolina family and the daughter of one of its male members; Murray's Grandfather Fitzgerald, however, had lived as a free black up north before enlisting first in the Union navy and then its army. She wrote that living in that household was like

> . . . a continual tug of war between free-born Yankee and southern aristocrat. Grandmother was on one side reminding us that her bluebloods had owned thirty slaves in their heyday, while Grandfather was on the other letting us know his folks were of equally good stock if not better, and besides, he had fought for the Union to end slavery.[33]

Although the products of this mixed marriage chose to identify closely with their sire's involvement in the northern cause, his wife remained attached to her Confederate connections. "At times in our house, Grandfather's role as a Yankee soldier was sapped of some of its nobility by the guilty reminder of Rebel ancestors whom Grandmother never let us forget. . . . He had the pride of the victorious," Murray wrote, "hers was the defiance of one whose cause has perished. She was the last tragic symbol of aristocracy defeated on the battlefield but determined never to surrender the vestiges of its arrogant past."[34]

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[32]Davis, Deep South, pp. 244-45.

[33]Pauli Murray, Proud Shoes: The Story of an American Family [New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1978 (originally 1958)], p. 55. An account of a mirror image to this blue-gray marriage appears in the Mississippi WPA narratives, where Rose Russell, a Union nurse, married "Tom Russell, a man who had been a soldier with his marster and who was still true to the cause of his marster." "Altho nine children were born to this union," the interviewer reported, "they never got along as he would call her a 'Yankee' and she would call him a 'Reb' finally they parted and she does not know where he went to." Rawick, American Slave, Supp. Series 1, vol. 9, p. 1905.

[34]Murray, Proud Shoes,p. 156.

Thus, even within the confines of the black community or family structure, a single historic tradition on the subject of slavery and the Civil War did not exist.[35] Furthermore, in some families, elders simply remained silent or reluctant to speak about their experiences. Such was the case in the Reddix family. Born in Vancleave, Mississippi in 1897 to former slaves, Jacob L. Reddix would eventually serve as president of Jackson State College from 1940 to 1967. In his autobiography, the educator recalls how his father "never talked freely about his slave experiences" even though his children would often question him on the topic. The elder Reddix managed to convey the impression to them that enslavement was horrible and "the less he said about it, the better."[36]

In the introduction of her family history, Murray acknowledged that not every black home shared the wealth of antebellum and Civil War memories possessed by the Fitzgeralds. She blamed this vacuum on the post-war migrations that scattered families, the continued illiteracy which inhibited recordkeeping, and the simple failure of the young to pass on the oral traditions of older generations, but she also added that

> . . . among many Negroes of the South there was a self imposed silence about the past. . . . Some of the older people who had been slaves clammed up when they were asked questions. Others found that as soon as they began to reminisce, their children would change the subject. While this tendency was not universal, it helps to explain why so little has been written about black history from the inside. When the former slaves passed from the scene, their descendants were apt to blot out the family experience: it was too painful to live with.[37]

John Dollard made a similar assessment in his 1937 study of Indianola, Mississippi, stating that although some blacks evinced an interest in preserving their family history, others demonstrated a strong inhibition to discussing ancestry: "It tends to remind Negroes of slavery days, a remembrance which is bound to be painful while the pattern of Negro subordination persists as it

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[35]Berlin et al. in Remembering Slavery also make this point: "Those ex-slaves who lived to tell their stories do not all speak in one voice, nor do they share one big collective memory." (p. vii).
[36]Jacob L. Reddix, A Voice Crying in the Wilderness: The Memoirs of Jacob L. Reddix (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1974), pp. 45-46.
[37]Murray, Proud Shoes, p. ix.

does today."[38] Similarly, the reports of both Dollard and Gunnar Myrdal noted that a number of African Americans disliked spirituals because the musical genre was a "badge of slavery" which reminded audiences of the black race's previous condition of servitude.[39]

In fact, whether or not African Americans should make an effort to keep the memory of slavery alive became the topic of a debate between noted author and orator Frederick Douglass and Episcopalian minister Alexander Crummell at the 1885 commencement program of Storer College in Harper's Ferry, Virginia. Crummell wanted his race to repudiate its enslaved past in favor of concentrating on the present. Part of his reasoning for this voluntary amnesia lay in his championship of the campaign for "racial uplift" wherein the advancements of the black race would serve to impress whites, but Crummell also believed that dwelling on slavery was a painful and crippling memory. Douglass, on the other hand, was well aware of the manipulative uses of historical memory, especially as white southerners had become quite successful by then in spreading their own particular interpretation of the War Between the States. To Douglass, recalling slavery, though distressing, would serve as a national reminder which could counter the emerging reconciliationist nostalgia that tended to glamorize the plantation life of the Old South destroyed by the cataclysm of war. [40]

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[38]John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1949, originally Yale University Press, 1937), p. 89. Of course, Dollard, though not southern, was white, which might have prevented some of his black subjects from discussing the topic with him. One participant in the WPA collection, Rhoda Hunt from Lafayette County, announced that she would not discuss the Civil War, providing a revealing rationale for her silence: "Yessum, I could tell you a heap about the Civil War and when the Yankees come but I'se been thinkin' 'bout it and my conscience tells me to keep my mouth shet, let de dead rest and don't bother trouble lessen trouble troubles you. No, mam, my mistress nebber would talk 'bout dem happenings enduring the Civil War and you ain't gonna get me to talk about nothin' my white folks wouldn't talk 'bout." Rawick, American Slave, Supp. Series 1, vol. 8, p. 1075. One wonders if Hunt's reticence remained intact with a black-only audience.

[39]Dollard, Caste and Class, pp. 87-88; Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and the Modern Democracy Vol. 2 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), p. 754.

[40]David W. Blight, "'What Will Peace Among the Whites Bring?': Reunion and Race in the Struggle over the Memory of the Civil War in American Culture," Massachusetts Review 34 (Autumn 1993): 395-99; Idem, "Quarrel Forgotten or a Revolution Remembered?: Reunion and Race in the Memory of the Civil War" in Union and Emancipation: Essays on Politics and Race in the Civil War Era eds. David W. Blight and Brooks D. Simpson (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1997), pp. 160-62; Idem, Race and Reunion, pp. 315-19. Blight also recognizes that "Then as now, no single persuasion controlled African American thought; black social memories were often

Reviewing slavery's horrors, moreover, represented just one element in Douglass's efforts to shape national memory. As reunion between the two sections proceeded in the aftermath of Reconstruction, the federal government had become more and more willing to not only absolve the former Confederates of any guilt over slavery and secession but also to permit them to regain control over race relations in the South. Douglass recognized that this lack of commitment to black civil rights was in part a product of an increasingly prevalent "national forgetfulness" which suppressed the importance of slavery as a contributing factor in secession as well as the contributions of black soldiers to the northern cause. Thus, while white northern and southern audiences increasingly celebrated the common experiences shared by the fighting men of both sides, black participation in the battles slipped from the national consciousness as did the ideological issues which inaugurated the conflict. Douglass struggled against this lapse in memory, endeavoring to keep slavery, emancipation, the colored troops, the moral righteousness of the Union victory, and the black advances made during Reconstruction before the American public. He viewed national acceptance of these recollections as one means of creating greater federal concern over contemporary civil rights issues. In both arenas, however, Douglass fought a losing battle.[41]

Nevertheless, although the larger American public might have rejected the significance of these memories, versions of them did manage to survive, albeit of limited circulation. Isolated

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as diverse as were debates within the Grand Army of the Republic (G.A.R.) or among advocates of the Lost Cause tradition. As editors, ministers, community leaders, or writers, black intellectuals in the late nineteenth century were as compelled as anyone else to engage in what became an intraracial debate over the meaning and best uses of the age of emancipation." Blight, "What Will Peace," p. 397. In Race and Reunion, he identifies five different interwoven strands of black memory concerning slavery and the Civil War: the remembrance of slavery as a burden; a Booker T. Washington version that placed events in a progressive timeline; a millennial Pan-Africanism that interpreted the past as a step in Christian development and a brighter future; a belief that emancipation and the black soldier's role should become the focus of the national story; and a vision that war had incompletely transformed the country (pp. 300-1). Blight has written extensively on the subject of Douglass and the memory of the Civil War, see also "'For Something Beyond the Battlefield': Frederick Douglass and the Struggle for the Memory of the Civil War" Journal of American History 75 (March 1989): 1156-78; Frederick Douglass' Civil War: Keeping Faith with Jubilee (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989).
[41]Blight, "For Something," pp. 1156-78.

within the black community, these memories persevered -- stories of suffering and resistance under bondage, accounts of active steps taken during the war to assist the cause of freedom, and tales of political participation and attainment during Reconstruction. In Mississippi and the rest of the South, however, the ability to convey such historical interpretations often remained restricted to the private sphere. Theoretically, efforts to preserve history may utilize several methods: oral tradition, written accounts, physical memorials, public performances, ritual commemorations, and the establishment of organizations and institutions devoted to such purposes. White southerners certainly adopted all of these approaches in disseminating their interpretation of the Confederate past. What prevented blacks with an opposing viewpoint from doing the same was their lack of political and socio-economic power. After redemption from Republican rule, white southerners monopolized government power within the South at all levels. And white Mississippians with few exceptions accepted wholeheartedly the version of their past espoused by Confederate organizations. Therefore, while officials were willing to subsidize efforts to promote the Lost Cause in textbooks, monuments, official holidays, historical societies, and archives, they were quite unwilling to fund any group which offered a conflicting story. Blacks had to rely on their own impoverished resources. Even then, fear of retribution from whites more than likely curtailed attempts to impart historical interpretations that publicly challenged the dominant version of events. Thus, public commemoration of the war by non-Confederate blacks occurred in only a few Mississippi communities. As a result, transmission of this opposing version of the past relied almost exclusively upon oral tradition for a number of years.

Oral tradition, unlike oral history, is at least one generation old. Thus the WPA narratives of the 1930s epitomize *oral history* in their interviews of individuals who had direct personal experience with the events in question. Analysis of *oral traditions*, on the other hand, examines the spoken transmission of an historical consciousness across one or more generations.[42]

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[42]Jan Vansina, Oral Tradition as History (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), pp. 12-13. Historians have not always paid close attention to this distinction when discussing the memory of slavery by blacks. For instance, in their introducation to Remembering Slavery, Ira

Therefore, one cannot assume that a tale conveyed by a subject within the pages of a recorded oral history have traversed this generational divide -- specifically, that the family or community has recognized the relevance of the story by including it in the local body of knowledge requiring repetition and perpetuation.[43] And this decision to pass on memories of slavery occurred for more than just the purposes of transmitting mere history, as *all* oral traditions possess messages, whether deliberately or subconsciously, for the intended audience. For example, sharing these tales of the past helped to shape black identity. In Growing Up Black in Rural Mississippi, Chalmers Archer, Jr. relates how during the 1930s and 1940s his aunt's stories of their family lineage "helped [to] reinforce our sense of history and purpose. Frankly, with Mama Jane around we could not forget who we were . . . . The whole community, especially the family, wanted to hear this unbroken black history, in all its spectrum of colors."[44]

More specifically, black oral tradition challenged the established accounts of the past as depicted by the dominant white class. Certainly, the violence of slavery endured within the African American storytelling tradition. Archer, in fact, introduces his book with the description of a family "rite of passage." When Archer's father was about eleven years old, his own father told how his master had taken eleven year-old "Grandpa Payton" into the woods and whipped him soundly. When asked for a reason, the slaveowner explained that he was teaching the child a lesson about who was the boss of the plantation. Archer explains that this story

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Berlin, et al. draw several conclusions about the types of stories passed from the generation of former slaves to their descendants, but because the authors appear to have based these assessments only upon the oral histories of ex-slaves, the accuracy of the conclusions is doubtful (not to mention the fact that most of the stories told by the slaves were direct responses to questions asked by their interviewers). Berlin, Remembering Slavery, pp. xliii -xlv. Even Lawrence W. Levine's passage on post-emancipation stories of slavery includes a few examples drawn from eyewitness sources. Lawrence W. Levine, Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 387-97. For an examination of oral tradition in African American families, see Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), pp. 147-62.

[43]Unless, of course, the subject of the interview specifically repeats stories of the past that he or she recalls having heard from parents or some other members of society.

[44]Chalmers Archer, Jr., Growing Up Black in Rural Mississippi: Memories of a Family, Heritage of a Place (New York: Walker and Co., 1992), pp. 78-79.

> made as indelible an imprint on Papa's mind as the actual incident did on Grandpa Payton. Over the years Papa told each of us children about the event with the idea, I guess, of impressing upon us the truly exploitive, amoral nature of slavery. . . . It was an initiation our family will always remember, but one we long to forget.[45]

Born and raised in Holly Springs, Mississippi, anti-lynching activist Ida B. Wells recalled in her autobiography that her mother "used to tell us how she had been beaten by slave owners and the hard times she had as a slave."[46] Civil rights proponent Fannie Lou Hamer was the grandchild of a slave woman who gave birth to twenty-three children, twenty of whom were the products of rape by white men. Her grandmother spoke often of these trials with her granddaughters. In her later years, Hamer would allude to these family stories when denouncing the hypocrisy of segregationists who evinced alarm over the prospect that integration would promote miscegenation.[47]

A more intentional message appears in a reminiscence related by Tonea Stewart. Sitting on a front porch in the Mississippi Delta when she was a child, she asked "Papa Dallas" what had caused the ugly scars around his blind eyes. He told her that one day the overseer had caught him trying to learn the alphabet. To serve as an example to the other slaves, the overseer whipped him and then burned out his eyes. Upon hearing this story, Stewart stated that tears began to fall from her own eyes, but Papa Dallas responded by saying:

> Don't you cry for me now. . . . I want you to promise me one thing. Promise me that you gonna pick up every book you can and you gonna read it from cover to cover. . . .You see, today, daughter, ain't nobody gonna whip you or burn your eyes out because you want to learn to read. Promise me that you gonna go all the way through school, as far as you can. And one more thing, I want you to promise me that you gonna tell all the children my story.[48]

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[45]Archer, Growing Up Black, pp. 1-2.
[46]Alfreda M. Duster, ed., Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 9. Gilbert R. Mason states that "As I grew up in the 1930s, the sufferings of slavery were still living memories much talked about by the old folks in our family." Gilbert R. Mason, Beaches, Blood, and Ballots: A Black Doctor's Civil Rights Struggle (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2000), p. 10.
[47]Chana Kai Lee, For Freedom's Sake: The Life of Fannie Lou Hamer (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), pp. 8-9.
[48]Berlin, Remembering Slavery, p, 280.

Stewart went on to become a university professor, and used this personal story to begin her narration of the Smithsonian radio documentary "Remembering Slavery."

In addition to family stories, folktales offered another form of oral tradition that could possess historical overtones. During the antebellum period, slaves had often disguised their harsh commentary on bondage with tales of a "Brer Rabbit" animal world. After emancipation, however, the characters in these anecdotes often gained human status, while remaining within a pre-war plantation setting. Just as Brer Rabbit had usually outsmarted his nemesis, the slave trickster "John" often triumphed over "Old Master" using cunning and wit. Sometimes, however, this confrontation between the two became more direct and physical.[49] In July of 1953, folklorist Richard Dorson collected one such yarn from a nineteen-year-old bell hop at a Cleveland, Mississippi hotel: One cold day, Old Master sent John to the barn to harness the mules, but he lingered so long that Old Master went to the barn himself and told John to hurry up and take the team out to collect firewood. John complained that it was too cold to do anything, to which Old Master replied, "'Don't be so sassy old nigger, because if I had my pistol I would blow your brains out.' John said, 'Oh Master, you don't have your pistol? I'm going whip you this morning.'"[50]

Family legends, too, often included heroic anecdotes about slave resistance to white oppression.[51] Medgar Evers, murdered in 1963 while serving as executive-director of Mississippi's NAACP, carried the name of his mother's great-grandfather, about whom Medgar's brother Charles Evers would later write: "He was a slave, but from what I've heard he was one of the worst slaves they'd ever had. He'd just cause trouble and he just wouldn't take any abuse."[52]

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[49]Levine, Black Culture, pp. 389-91; William Reynolds Ferris, Jr., "Black Folklore from the Mississippi Delta" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1969), pp. 4 & 89-90.
[50]Richard M. Dorson, "Negro Tales from Bolivar County, Mississippi" Southern Folklore Quarterly 19 (March 1955): 108.
[51]Levine, Black Culture, pp. 389-97. Levine titled this folktale genre "Slave as Hero."
[52]Charles Evers and Grace Halsell, Evers (New York: World Publishing Co., 1971), p. 24. In her autobiography Winson Hudson relates how her grandmother, a house servant, told of warning the field workers when was the best time to try an escape. Winson Hudson and Constance Curry, Mississippi Harmony: Memoirs of a Freedom Fighter (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), pp. 14-15.

Based upon family tales, Evers' characterization of his great-grandfather contains a tremendous amount of pride in his predecessor's determined insubordination.

In some families, stories preserved the exact moment of emancipation. As Florence Green of Harrison County told a WPA interviewer about her mother, "She uster tell us a lot 'bout slavry days, but she wuz glad when freedom come."[53] Green's description of her mother's joy seems mild when compared to that of one family's ancestress, a tale repeated so often that by the time one girl was ten years old she knew it well enough to pass on to her younger cousins:

> Caddy had been sold to man in Goodman, Mississippi. . . . She was hoeing a crop when she heard General Lee had surrendered. Do you know who General Lee was? He was the man who was working for the South in the Civil War. When General Lee surrendered that meant that all the colored people were free! Caddy threw down her hoe, she marched herself up to the big house, then, she looked around and found the mistress. She went over to the mistress, she flipped up her dress and told the white woman to do something. She said it mean and ugly. This is what she said: *Kiss my ass!*[54]

Tales such as this one contrasted quite markedly with some of those favored by white southerners that described tears of sadness falling down the cheeks of newly freed slaves. In fact, African Americans all over the South deemed emancipation such a pivotal point in their race's history that many black communities commemorated the occasion with a special holiday. In northeastern Mississippi, this day of celebration fell on May eighth.[55]

Early in the twentieth century, a number of white historians in Columbus, Mississippi briefly exchanged letters to the editor debating the origins of this annual holiday in Lowndes County. Local lore suggested that these celebrations occurred on May eighth because back in 1865, that was the day area slaves learned of the war's end and their release from bondage. At issue for these local historians and the reason for their correspondence was to seek a connection

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[53]Rawick, American Slave, Supp. Series 1, vol. 8, p. 880.

[54]Levine, Black Culture, pp. 392-93.

[55]In one white man's memoir, Marion Theodore Wesley, Sr., recalls that the Pelahatchie lumber mill near Crystal Springs closed on June nineteenth during the 1920s for its black employees to celebrate emancipation at an all-day picnic. "When Technology Was a Mule," 1994, manuscript, OCSMMSS Box 13, UM.

between the day in question and any definitive military events in the area: Was it linked to a skirmish between Confederates and Union troops near Selma, or to the official surrender of the Department of Alabama, Mississippi, and East Louisiana by Lieutenant General Richard Taylor to Major General E. R. Canby?[56] Thus, what seems like a momentary diversion from that white generation's usual obsession with the minutiae of Confederate battles reveals itself as just more of the same. One of the participants in this dispute, however, did suggest that emancipation celebrations, such as those on the eighth of May, demonstrated "that the negroes remember and desire to perpetuate in memory the day their forefathers actually passed from a 'previous condition of servitude' to the blissful though generally aimless life of liberty without its cares and responsibilities."[57] Despite the aspersions this writer cast upon the lives of freedmen, he recognized their urge to set aside one day on which they and future generations could commemorate emancipation from bondage.

An actual description of the occasion does not appear until much later in 1940, when another amateur historian, E. R. Hopkins, wrote a brief article for the newspaper. Interestingly, his version of the origin implies that *whites* graciously granted their former slaves the holiday: "white housekeepers and employers of negroes, almost without exception, gave them the day to enjoy as they liked."[58] Apparently, whites even loaned the freedmen carriages, buggies, and horses for a parade, a tradition that continued down through the years. Hopkins noted that before they

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[56]"Why the 8th of May Is Celebrated," c. 1909, clipping, Vertical File: "Celebrations--Columbus--Eight-O-May," CLPL; "The Eighth of May Celebration," 10 May 1918, clipping, Vertical File: "Celebrations--Columbus--Eight-O-May," CLPL; "The Origin of the Celebration," clipping, Subject File: "Emancipation Day," MDAH. In their 1930s WPA interviews, two former slaves claimed hostilities ceased on the specific date of May eighth in 1865. Rawick, American Slave, vol. 7, p. 8; Rawick, American Slave, Supp. Series 1, vol. 10, p. 1988. Historical notes by the WPA in Noxubee County (on the southern border of Lowndes County) mentions the celebration of "Emancipation Day" in passing without any description. "Folklore," Noxubee County Historical Society, Noxubee County Mississippi Quarterly Bulletin No. 53 (March 1990): 5.

[57]W. A. Love, "The Eight of May Celebration," Columbus Commercial Dispatch, clipping, Sykes Scrapbook, CLPL.

[58]E. R. Hopkins, "Hopkins Writes on 8th of May," Columbus Commercial Dispatch 14 April 1940.

passed on, ex-slaves demonstrated a particular interest in observing the day, specifically recalling one "Aunt" Rachel Ward who always

> . . . made arrangements with some livery stable proprietor and paid in advance for one of the best carriages, horses and liveried driver. Sitting alone in the carriage and arrayed in silk dress, lace bonnet and other finery of her "Old Missis" she rode all day, all over the town, stopping only for dinner for self, driver, and horses.[59]

This parade actually represented just the first act in the day-long schedule. Accompanied by the beat of drums, carriages decorated in red, white, and blue transported well-dressed African Americans around the main streets of Columbus. The procession would terminate at one of the black churches which would then host a service. At the conclusion of all the speeches, the audience broke for a "dinner on the grounds" and a contest between rival baseball teams. Out beyond the city limits, blacks in the countryside also held services in their churches which concluded with barbeques, bonfires, and dancing to drums.[60] In fact, the owners of Waverly plantation hosted a free barbeque for their tenants for which "[f]olk would come from far and near."[61] There also, the celebration featured baseball.

The events that transpired on the eighths of May in Columbus, Mississippi and surrounding counties bear a striking resemblance to similar emancipation commemorations throughout the South. The actual date set aside for the holiday might differ -- Florida tended to opt for May twenty-second, Alabama and Georgia for May twenty-eighth, Tennessee chose August eighth, while Texas celebrated June nineteenth -- but many of these commemorations followed a ritualistic format that was heavy with symbolism.[62] At its most basic level, taking a

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[59]ibid.

[60]Mary Ann Dazey, "Eight O'May, 1865-1980," Mississippi Folklore Register 14 (Spring 1980): 36-40.

[61]William Hampton Adams, ed., Waverly Plantation: Ethnoarchaeology of a Tenant Farming Community (N.p.: Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, 1980), p. 141, Vertical File: "Celebration--Columbus--Eight-O-May," CLPL.

[62]Dates for other states based on William H. Wiggins, Jr., "From Galveston to Washington: Charting Juneteenth's Freedom Trail" in Jubiliation!: African American Celebrations in the Southeast eds. William H. Wiggins, Jr. and Douglas DeNatale (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1993). The general analysis of the emancipation day rituals that follows relies heavily on

holiday was in itself a statement of freedom, a refusal to work that under slavery would have resulted in dire consequences.[63] The high fashion of the parade participants served as an expression of social equality with whites. Slaveowners had typically provided their field hands with drab, poorly constructed clothing in cheap fabrics.[64] On the anniversary of emancipation, then, the

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the scholarship of Wiggins who has written often on the subject: "'Lift Every Voice': A Study of Afro-American Emancipation Celebrations" in Discovering Afro-America eds. Roger D. Abrahams and John F. Szwed (Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1975), pp. 46-47; "January 1: The Afro-American's 'Day of Days'" Prospects 4 (1979): 330-53; "'They Closed the Town Up, Man!': Reflections on the Civic and Political Dimensions of Juneteenth" in Celebration: Studies in Festivity and Ritual ed. Victor Turner (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Press, 1982), pp. 284-95; O Freedom!: Afro-American Emancipation Celebrations (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987); "*African American Celebrations*: An Historical and Cultural Overview (1865-1969)," in Jubiliation!; "Juneteenth: A Red Spot Day on the Texas Calendar" in Juneteenth Texas: Essays in African-American Folklore, pp. 236-53, eds. Francis Edward Abernathy, et al. (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 1996). See also, Antoinette G. Van Zelm, "Virginia Women as Public Citizens: Emancipation Day Celebrations and Lost Cause Commemorations, 1863-1890," in Negotiating Boundaries: Dealing with the Powers That Be, eds. Janet L. Coryell, Thomas H. Appleton, Jr., Anastatia Sims, Sandra Gioia Treadway (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000), pp. 71-88; Idem, "On the Front Lines of Freedom: Black and White Women Shape Emancipation in Virginia, 1861-1890" (Ph.D. dissertation, College of William and Mary in Virginia, 1998), pp. 276-316; Kathleen Clark, "Celebrating Freedom: Emancipation Day Celebrations and African American Memory in the Early Reconstruction South" in Where These Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity ed. W. Fitzhugh Brundage (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), pp. 107-32; Courtney Adkins, "Juneteenth in Louisiana: 'If I Found Out It Was a Holiday, I'd Try to Celebrate It'" Southern Folklore 56, no. 3 (1999): 195-207; Elsa Barkley Brown and Gregg D. Kimball, "Mapping the Terrain of Black Richmond," in The New African American Urban History eds. Kenneth W. Goings and Raymond A. Mohl (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1996), pp. 72-79; Wendy Watriss, "Celebrate Freedom: Juneteenth" Southern Exposure 5, no. 1 (1977): 80-87; Benjamin Quarles, "Historic Afro-American Holidays" Negro Digest 16 (February 1967): 13-19. Aside from these works, scholarship on the topic of black freedom holidays tends to concentrate exclusively on the antebellum and Reconstruction era: William B. Gravely, "The Dialectics of Double-Consciousness in Black American Freedom Celebrations, 1808-1863," Journal of Negro History 6 (Winter 1982): 302-16; Genevieve Fabre, "African-American Commemorative Celebrations in the Nineteenth Century" in History and Memory in African-American Culture eds. Genevieve Fabre and Robert O'Meally (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 72-91; Leonard I. Sweet, "The Fourth of July and Black Americans in the Nineteenth Century: Northern Leadership Opinion Within the Context of the Black Experience," Journal of Negro History 61 (July 1976): 256-75; Richard White, "Civil Rights Agitation: Emancipation Days in Central New York in the 1880s," Journal of Negro History 78 (Winter 1993): 16-24. Brief discussions or descriptions of commemorative episodes that merit *attention occur in the following works: Elsa Barkley Brown, "Negotiating and Transforming the* Public Sphere: African American Political Life in the Transition from Slavery to Freedom," Public Culture 7 (Fall 1994): 115; Jordan, Black Confederates, p. 256; Harold S. Forsythe, "'But My Friends Are Poor': Ross Hamilton and Freedpeople's Politics in Mecklenburg County, Virginia, 1869-1901," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 105 (Autumn 1997): 430-32.

[63]Wiggins, "They Closed Up the Town, Man!," p. 291.

[64]Patricia K. Hunt, "The Struggle to Achieve Individual Expression Through Clothing and Adornment: African American Women Under and After Slavery," in Discovering the Women in Slavery: Emancipating Perspectives on the American Past ed. Patricia Morton (Athens: University

black women of Columbus took care to wear fine white dresses with bright sashes at their waists. The patriotic colors that decorated the carriages clearly announced a claim to citizenship, while the route through the public streets quite forcibly subjected white bystanders to visible proof that the status of blacks had changed. Even those within doors could not escape the beating of the drums.[65]

Although Columbus sources do not provide details about the services in the church, the common pattern followed at other locales offers a probable program. Generally, such ceremonies began with an invocation and included a reading of a freedom document, usually the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation, and the singing of songs associated with freedom -- sometimes spirituals like "Go Down Moses," abolitionist tunes such as "John Brown," or patriotic anthems in the vein of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" or "The Star Spangled Banner." Finally, one or several orations would take place which typically charted the course of black history in the United States as an ongoing struggle for freedom, a tale of racial progress designed to inspire hope for the future and to remind the audience that they were now American citizens.[66]

Even the post-service activities possessed symbolic overtones. The feasts contrasted with the quality of diet and quantity of food available to slaves. Barbeque in particular offered diners the possibility of sampling the choice cuts of pork usually denied to slaves, "eating higher on the hog" as per the popular saying. Finally, while the drumming harkened back to the musical legacy of blacks' African origins, baseball represented the quintessential American pastime. The entire day demonstrated the desire of blacks in Columbus and Lowndes County to commemorate an important milestone for their race.[67]

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of Georgia Press, 1996), pp. 229-30; Gerilyn Tandberg, "Field Hand Clothing in Louisiana and Mississippi During the Ante-Bellum Period" Dress 6 (1980): 89-103; Lucy Roy Sibley, "A Historical Study of Clothing Practices on Some Mississippi Plantations, 1838-1861" (M.S. thesis, Auburn University, 1958), pp. 19-32 & 40-41.

[65]Wiggins, "They Closed the Town Up, Man!," p. 287; Idem, O Freedom!, pp. 93-96.

[66]Wiggins, "Lift Every Voice," pp. 50-51; Idem, "January 1," pp. 337-346; Idem, O Freedom!, pp. 177-86.

[67]Wiggins, "They Closed the Town Up, Man!," pp. 288-89; Idem, O Freedom!, p. 82 & 96.

The response of whites in the community to this holiday appears a bit ambivalent. The 1940 article by Hoskins seems to suggest the highly unlikely scenario that former masters, of their own volition, bestowed the day upon the freedmen. Certainly, in later years employers permitted the use of their horses and conveyances for the parade, and the owners of Waverly not only hosted the local celebration but also supplied the plentiful meal. Yet, conceivably, whites could also view the entire event as a nuisance which distracted their employees and tenants. By the 1880s, white women in Columbus, resigned to the loss of their cooks on May eighth, adapted to the holiday by starting their own annual event, an Eight O' May Luncheon prepared by themselves at St. Paul's Episcopal Church.[68] The various titles given to the holiday by whites, furthermore, demonstrated a hint of disparagement. The most hostile label was "Nigger Day," a fairly common epithet for emancipation days throughout the white South.[69] More benign appellations for the Columbus holiday were "Eight O' May," "Ada May," or "Adamay" which parodied the dialect of southern blacks. For their own part, blacks tended to refer to the holiday as either "Emancipation Day," "Freedom Day," or "Mr. Lincoln's Day:"[70]

Rather obviously, one of the most significant yet easily overlooked characteristics of the commemoration was its segregated nature. This holiday was for blacks alone. The white citizens of Lowndes County did not take part in the celebration. Even a reminiscence about the feasts at Waverly indicates that the role adopted by its white patron was strictly that of an onlooker: "He

[68]The traditional fare includes a special chicken salad recipe, barbeque, ice cream, and homemade cakes, and many of the families involved have passed down specific chores from one generation to the next. The luncheon, which continues to this day, evolved into a popular event in the community and an important fundraiser for the church. M. L. Harris, "Eight O 'May Luncheon," Columbus Commercial Dispatch, 15 May 1975; Hoskins, "Hoskins Writes"; Dazey, "Eight O' May," p. 38. Nothing in written sources discovered thus far indicates any outright hostility to the holiday in northeast Mississippi, unlike Norfolk, Virginia where an 1866 newspaper editorial called for white employers to fire blacks who left work in order to participate in the various freedom holidays. Alrutheus Ambush Taylor, The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia (Washington, DC: Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1926), pp. 62-67.
[69]Reference to the "Nigger Day" label appears in Sam Wilburn Crawford, Something Good About the Thirties (Aberdeen, MS: Aberdeen Printing Co., 1983), p. 224. Wiggins mentions its common usage in "They Closed the Town Up, Man!," p. 293. Adams in "Waverly Plantation" suggests that Columbus and the West Point area referred to the holiday as "Colored People's Day" but fails to reveal whether whites, blacks, or both races used that particular name.
[70]Dazey, "Eight O'May," p. 36.

[the owner] would be down there to it himself lookin', you know, he and some of his white friends. Walkin' around there among the colored people smokin' his pipe."[71] In fact, his largesse and bystander status cast the plantation owner in a role remarkably similar to that of slaveowners at corn shucking parties and other festivities granted by masters to their labor -- that of observing the amusing antics of exotics or primitives at play.[72] Regardless, the freeing of slaves was not a moment in history that white southerners would choose to memorialize, especially as the event was so intimately connected with Confederate defeat.

May eighth emancipation observations never spread much beyond Lowndes County and its immediate vicinity, remaining concentrated in the northeastern quadrant of the Mississippi as it bordered Alabama. Two other black communities in the southwestern reaches of the state along the Mississippi River, however, publicly commemorated black soldiers who had fought in the Civil War for the freedom of their race. In both Natchez and Vicksburg the federal government had created National Cemeteries after the war, and both burial grounds possessed the remains of United States Colored Troops.[73] In Natchez, the national cemetery was the destination of an annual Memorial Day march that initially passed through the town. Novelist Ellen Douglas has written, "When I was a child, I remember black people used to gather from all around the country on Memorial Day and march there to lay wreaths on the graves of black soldiers."[74] Until World War II, most southern whites refused to participate in the national Memorial Day holiday because

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[71]Adams, Waverly Plantation, p. 141. As a child, Catherine Cocke Moyano Maldonado remembers attending the festivities one year with her "Mammy" in The Malvern Stories (N.p.: privately printed: 2000), pp. 18-19.
[72]Roger D. Abrahams, Singing the Master: The Emergence of African American Culture in the Plantation South (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992), pp. 23-29 & 155-56.
[73]For Vicksburg, see Mildred E. Nero Drinkard, Contributions of Blacks in Building Vicksburg, Mississippi and Its Environmental Systems: 1820-1989 (N.p.: Mandala Publications, 1989), p. 81; Meyers, Vicksburg National Cemetery, p. 36. Unlike Vicksburg, the National Cemetery at Natchez did not place the remains of the USCT in a separate plot. Mary Munsell Abroe notes that, as a rule, national cemeteries segregated the races. "All the Profound," pp. 172-73.
[74]Ellen Douglas, Truth: Four Stories I Am Finally Old Enough to Tell (Chapel Hill: Algonquin Books, 1998), pp. 215-16. In the 1960s, announcements and programs for the annual event appeared in the following issues of the black Natchez newspaper Bluff City Bulletin: no month 1961, p. 1; 25 May 1963, p. 5; 29 May 1965, p. 4.

of its association with Union veterans. They chose instead to hold their own separate Decoration Days to honor the Confederate dead. Edwin King, a white civil rights activist who grew up in Vicksburg, specifically recalled the bifurcated nature of the two holidays, stating

> The late May Memorial Day was celebrated only by blacks; it was to honor the Union soldiers -- and, perhaps, the only way blacks showed any defiance, the only survival from the Reconstruction era. Stories were told that blacks even had some sort of parade downtown. These were the only parades I ever missed as a child, the only parades my great uncle . . . did not take me to . . . white children just did not go near black ceremonies of that sort. Whites . . . observe[d] a legal holiday in April as Confederate Memorial Day.[75]

This demarcation of different days to honor the two sides of the Civil War represents the fundamental cleavage that commonly existed in how white and black southerners interpreted that era in history -- a difference that King's great uncle clearly did not intend his young nephew to see. And aside from these isolated examples of black commemorations in public, white Mississippians rarely saw manifestations of the African American version of Civil War history.

Until the late twentieth century, the only physical acknowledgment on the Mississippi landscape that black Union soldiers had participated in the conflict that freed their race from bondage, the only tangible memorial to their deeds, were those marble headstones of the USCT in the National Cemeteries at Natchez, Vicksburg, and Corinth.[76] The only exceptions were two

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[75]Edwin King, "Growing Up in Mississippi in a Time of Change," in Mississippi Writers: Reflections of Childhood and Youth, ed. Dorothy Abbott, Vol. 2 (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1986), pp. 378-79. In fact, an 1893 letter from the Vicksburg cemetery superintendent to a New Orleans officer in the Grand Army of the Republic notes that two ceremonies occurred on Memorial Day--one for whites, presumably for transplanted Union veterans and Northern visitors, and one for blacks; similar practices occurred at Gettysburg and Chickamauga, see Abroe, p. 174; Meyers, p. 144. An undated clipping, possibly circa 1874, mentions the "colored" service numbering about ten thousand followed by a short service hosted by the local Confederate organizations honoring "the memories of the former foes" "Vicksburg National Cemetery," Vicksburg National Military Park Records, R168-B09-S1-00456, MDAH. Two black union veterans interviewed by the WPA participated in the Vicksburg Memorial Day parades. Rawick, American Slave, Supp. Series 1, vol. 8, pp. 972-73; Rawick, American Slave, Supp. Series 1, Vol. 9, pp. 1879-80. As late as 1998, whites in Natchez and Vicksburg avoided participating in Memorial Day ceremonies held at the national cemeteries, preferring instead to honor soldiers on Veteran's Day. Tony Horwitz, "In Vicksburg, Miss., Memorial Day Has a Separate Meaning," Wall Street Journal, 22 May 1998, pp. A1 & A6.

[76]Interestingly, the only state-sponsored "memorial" to black activities during Reconstruction is also a gravemarker. In 1875, the Republican-controlled legislature appropriated $1,000 to erect a monument over the grave of James Lynch, a popular black orator and politician who had died two

cast-iron plaques in the Vicksburg National Military Park which recognized the role played by the African Brigade in Grant's campaign for that strategic river city. *Two* plaques out of the many *hundreds* that attempted to inform tourists about the siege and battle tactics of both armies. And those two memorials were among the 250 plaques that the park removed as its contribution to a World War II metal drive, a clear comment on how negligible park officials deemed the topic.[77] Despite this disregard and the segregationist policies of several national cemeteries, these federally mandated reserves offered the only asylums for physical memorials to black participation as Union soldiers in the Civil War. These were asylums of a limited nature under the authority of disinterested government bureaucrats, but nonetheless, still havens beyond any possible white southern retribution against the erection of artifacts that contradicted Confederate interpretation.

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years earlier and lay buried in Jackson's white Greenwood Cemetery. Under the bas relief of Lynch, the inscription reads: "True to the Public Trust." In 1900, the legislature authorized the Ladies Auxiliary Cemetery Association to remove Lynch's remains and marker to a local black cemetery. As the marker remains at Greenwood, it is uncertain whether the association ever accomplished the rest of its task. See, Laws of Mississippi (1875), pp. 176-77; Laws of Mississippi (1900), p. 171; Mississippi Senate Journal (1874), p. 294; Buford Satcher, "Blacks in Mississippi Politics," (M.A. thesis, North Carolina Central University, 1970), p. 77; William C. Harris, "James Lynch: Black Leader in Southern Reconstruction," Historian 34 (November 1971): 60-61.

[77]Drinkard, Contributions of Blacks, p. 65; Bala James Baptiste, "Black Soldiers' Markers Return to Military Park," Hattiesburg American, 19 August 1993. Baptiste's article announces the replacement of those plaques almost fifty years later. See also, Gary Pettus, "Rightful Place in History," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 17 November 1989, pp. 1D & 3D; Lisa M. Ross, "Veteran Plans Return of Markers Honoring Blacks," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 15 February 1990, Subject File: "Afro-American War Veterans," MDAH; Tara Jennings, "Black Union Soldiers Honored with Plaque at Military Park," Vicksburg Evening Post, 28 February 1994, Subject File: "Vicksburg National Park, 1990-," MDAH; Associated Press, "Tablets Will Honor Civil War's Black Soldiers," Jackson Clarion Ledger 7 February 1999, p. 2B. A study of black military memorials by John McGlone stresses that this dearth in public recognition of black participation was a nationwide phenomenon, an attitude transformed only after the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, see "Monuments and Memorials to Black Military History 1775 to 1891" (Ph.D. dissertation, Middle Tennessee State University, 1985), pp. 162-77; See also, Kirk Savage, "The Politics of Memory: Black Emancipation and the Civil War Monument," in Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity ed., John R. Gillis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 127-49; Savage, Standing Soldiers, pp. 186-208. Congress authorized the first national park commemorating a black American in 1943--the George Washington Carver National Monument at the noncontroversial scientist's Missouri birthplace; the second occurred in 1956, at the Virginia birthplace of Booker T. Washington, an "accomodationist" spokesman; and the third, the Washington D.C. home of abolitionist Frederick Douglass entered the national park service program in 1963. MacKintosh, National Park Service, p. 51. National Park sites commemorating black Americans increased further after the Civil Rights Movement.

While veteran organizations for former Confederates flourished throughout the state in the late nineteenth century, camps of the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) and other Union veteran organizations were few and far between. Those posts established in the region during Reconstruction certainly did not last very long after white southerners redeemed their state governments from Republican control.[78] By the mid-1880s, however, a resurgence in southern GAR membership had occurred, for along with the former USCT soldiers who remained in the region a sizable number of white Union veterans had migrated south in search of economic opportunity. By 1889, the combined Department of Louisiana-Mississippi boasted eight posts with a total membership of 556 men. At that time the only post in Mississippi resided at Vicksburg, but by 1903, when available records on the subject end, veterans had established twenty-two GAR posts in the state. Still, several of these posts disbanded during that period, and the total membership of the entire combined department seems never to have exceeded 1,500.[79]

While Jim Crow laws succeeded in separating whites from blacks across the South, the GAR succumbed to southern social pressures as well. Just as race had divided the rank-and-file during the war, it sundered the veterans into white and colored posts. In 1890, the commander of the Department of Louisiana and Mississippi registered five black posts in an attempt to stave off an electoral defeat. The older white posts refused to seat the newcomers at the departmental convention, and the commander lost his office. The national GAR upheld that decision on appeal,

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[78]Harris mentions Mississippi newspapers listing GAR memberships in Day of the Carpetbagger, p. 91. Beath contends that the department contained ten posts "mainly composed of men still in the military service, and these largely of colored soldiers. As they were from time to time mustered out of service, the Posts gradually disbanded, a natural result under the circumstances, yet hastened by the intense feeling of opposition then manifested to any meetings of Union soldiers and sailors in that section." Robert G. Beath, History of the Grand Army of the Republic (New York: Bryan Taylor, & Co., 1889), p. 639. See also, McConnell, Glorious Contentment, pp. 214-15.

[79]See appendix 6 for a list of Grand Army of the Republic Posts in Mississippi. Membership totals, when available, derive from statistics kept in the convention minutes of the Louisiana-Mississippi Department of the GAR between 1891 and 1903. In the tabulations of Union veterans in the 1890 census, Mississippi reported a total of 6,362 with blacks (5,216) far outnumbering whites (1,146). U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890 Part III (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1897), p. 576. The Census Bureau attempted a similar calculation in 1910, but the obvious undercount caused officials to withold their findings. Logue, "Confederate Survivors."

but denied the request of the older posts for maintaining separate departments.[80] Both races would meet together at subsequent conventions. The commander of the department would even announce himself "agreeably surprised" at the condition of the new posts after his inspection, reporting "a really intelligent body of comrades in each Post, with soldierly and respectful bearing."[81] Like the UCV, the GAR also developed offshoots, and at least two branches of the Women's Relief Corps Auxiliary existed within Mississippi.[82] Together, these organizations provided a social outlet for a membership united in their desire to preserve the national memory of their armed service. In a region where these aims lacked official state support, the GAR's only major public endeavor was the observation of Memorial Day. On this occasion, the department could boast that not one of the national cemeteries within its borders lacked patriotic decorations or an appropriate service.[83]

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[80]Wallace E. Davies, "The Problem of Race Segregation in the Grand Army of the Republic," Journal of Southern History 13 (August 1947): 354-72; McConnell, Glorious Contentment, pp. 213-18; Mary R. Dearing, Veterans in Politics: The Story of the G.A.R. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1952), pp. 411-22. In all three of these works, the authors focus most of their attention on the debate at the national GAR encampment over the proposed racial segregation of departments which delegates eventually voted down. No scholarship exists which closely examines any southern department or post of the GAR--a vacuum in need of filling. One article reproduces the text of a Georgia GAR speech delivered in 1901. Sion Darnell and Robert S. Davis, Jr., "Memoirs of a Partisan War: Sion Darnell Remembers North Georgia, 1861-1865," Georgia Historical Quarterly 80 (Spring 1996): 3-16. For specific details on the crisis in the Department of Louisiana and Mississippi, see LA-MS Department GAR Minutes (1891), pp. 7-17. In these records, the older posts claimed that "a large percentage of the so-called Colored Posts were from various causes not eligible to become members of this Order; that they are aggressive and insolent in manner; that they have not any idea or conception of what the true meaning of the objects of the Order are, that they were admitted through spirit of revenge" (p. 8-9). While claiming that they had fought for the civil rights of blacks, the "social conditions" of the region in which they lived meant that any interaction with their fellow black veterans would lead to "social annihilation and abject poverty" (p.16). The Mississippi posts clearly identified during this incident at "colored" were No. 16 in Natchez and No. 17 in Vicksburg.

[81]LA-MS Department GAR Minutes (1892), p. 13.

[82]One attached to the John A. Logan Post in Natchez and the other Corps named Isiah Kelly in Vicksburg. LA-MS Department GAR Minutes (1895), p. 16; LA-MS Department GAR Minutes (1899), p. 13. The Order of the Sons of Veterans did exist within the department, but whether Mississippi possessed any posts is unclear.

[83]The centrality of Memorial Day is evident throughout the LA-MS Department GAR Minutes. The rest of the organization's public agenda during the 1890s--Flag Day and military drill in public schools--was unsuccessful in the South. One member in the department in charge of promoting military instruction reported abject failure after receiving numerous letters from teachers throughout the two states "beseeching and enjoining me for their own sake to desist in my

But these few veterans camps, the National Cemeteries, and Memorial Day parades, were not the only evidence that black Mississippians remembered the war's significance. In her WPA interview, Polly Turner Cancer of Lafayette County termed the climactic event the "Freedom War," while Hannah Chapman of Simpson County referred to the struggle as "De war to free us."[84] Congressman Frank E. Smith, a white moderate during the turbulent 1960s, recalled as a child growing up in Greenwood that "Aunt Zoury," the family's black servant, ". . . was the first one to tell me about the Yankees, those soldiers who came to Siddon during the Confederate War. Her Yankees were good Yankees, for they let the slaves go free and gave them and their children lumps of sugar."[85]

Just as with slavery, family stories played a role in resurrecting memories of the struggle. Eugenia Weatherall told her WPA interviewer that, "My mother useter put me to sleep telling me 'bout de soldiers going through our place and 'bout de fierce battles what was fought there where we lived at and when I was a child we useter go out and look for bullets on de ground and find lots of them."[86] Richard Wright spent part of his childhood in Jackson, Mississippi with his grandmother and his grandfather, who was a veteran of the Union Army. As the noted author relates in Black Boy, the federal government's refusal to provide Grandpa with a disability pension because of an error on his discharge papers had created such bitterness within the former soldier that he refused to answer his grandson's questions about the war. Granny instead provided the child with the detail's of her husband's adventures:

> When the Civil War broke out, he [Grandpa] ran off from his master and groped his way through the Confederate lines to the North. He darkly boasted of having killed "mo'n mah fair share of them damn rebels" while en route to enlist in the

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attempts on account of its impracticability and danger of their official heads." LA-MS Department GAR Minutes (1896), p. 34.

[84]Rawick, American Slave, Supp. Series 1, vol. 7, pp. 347 & 382.

[85]Frank E. Smith, Congressman from Mississippi (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964), p. 16. Smith prefaced this recollection by stating that "The only Negroes who were ever allowed to break traditional barriers were the very old with strong characters and strong attachments to families for whom they had worked many years."

[86]Rawick, American Slave, Supp. Series 1, vol. 10, p. 2215. See also, Mason, Beaches, Blood, and Ballots, p. 12.

> Union Army. Militantly resentful of slavery, he joined the Union Army to kill southern whites; he waded in icy streams, slept in mud; suffered, fought. . . Mustered out, he returned to the South and, during elections, guarded ballot boxes with his army rifle so that Negroes could vote. But when the Negro had been driven from power, his spirit had been crushed. He was convinced that the war had not really ended, that it would start again.[87]

Pauli Murray also heard stories of her grandfather's championship of freedom during the war and Reconstruction:

> . . . he would tell me true stories of himself . . . when he fought as a Yankee sailor and soldier in the Civil War and when he first came to North Carolina to set up schools for Negro children. He would tell how the Ku Klux Klan dressed up in bed sheets like ghosts and rode around his little schoolhouse trying to scare him away and how he always kept his musket loaded and ready to shoot. My eyes bulged and my spine tingled. I loved these stories best of all. It made me feel very proud to know how brave Grandfather was and how he had fought for freedom . . .[88]

Murray wrote that "If the Rebels had their monuments and symbols, we had ours."[89] Especially treasured within her family was her grandfather's musket, his saber, and the diary he had kept during the war. Even his pension check symbolized the "government's recognition of honored service and of the disability he had suffered in his country's cause."[90]

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[87]Richard Wright, Black Boy: A Record of Childhood and Youth [New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1945], pp. 121-23. Wright's grandfather was not the only black Union veteran to have difficulties obtaining a pension, see Donald R. Shaffer, "'I Do Not Suppose that Uncle Sam Looks at the Skin': African Americans and the Civil War Pension System, 1865-1934," Civil War History 46 (June 2000): 133-47; Michelle A. Krowl, "'Her Just Dues': Civil War Pensions of African American Women in Virginia" in Negotiating Boundaries of Southern Womanhood: Dealing with the Powers That Be eds. Janet L. Cornell, et al. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000), pp. 48-70; Noralee Frankel, Freedom's Women: Black Women and Families in Civil War Era Mississippi (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999): 87-90.

[88]Murray, Proud Shoes, pp. 9-10. William H. Holtzclaw, the founder and principal of the Utica Normal and Industrial Institute for the Training of Colored Young Men and Women, wrote in 1915 that "That there are many stories told in Utica about the Reconstruction period of 1876. I have heard many of them from the lips of old residents, both white and colored . . ." William H. Holtzclaw, The Black Man's Burden (New York: Neale Publishing Co., 1915), p. 107. See also, Archer, Growing Up Black, pp. 32-35, 79, & 84. Eric Foner briefly discusses the collective memory of Reconstruction among blacks in the epilogue of Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877 (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), pp. 610-12.

[89]Murray, Proud Shoes, p. 112.

[90]Murray, Proud Shoes, p. 268. For similar sentiment regarding pensions, see Jane E. Schultz, "Race, Gender, and Bureaucracy: Civil War Army Nurses and the Pension Bureau," Journal of Women's History 6 (Summer 1994): 53-61.

Until the early twentieth century, black southerners had to rely mainly on their own folk culture of storytelling and holidays in order to preserve a version of history that challenged the tales told by textbooks. In those carefully chosen school publications, blacks appeared either as happy, docile slaves or depraved, profligate freedmen. Northern aggression caused the Civil War, and the experiment called Reconstruction failed miserably.[91] This then was the story of America that black children received -- that is, if the black child went to school, had access to a textbook, and attended a history class. For, in addition to the low attendance and the poor resources of the black schools in the segregated educational system of Mississippi, some white southerners showed little enthusiasm for having African Americans learn about the past.

In a 1926 study of the public educational system in Mississippi, M. V. O'Shea claimed that the time black pupils spent on history was "usually wasted, when it is borne in mind that they do not gain in school the knowledge that will be of value to them in their social contacts among their own people and in the performance of the duties that devolve upon them in their life work."[92] What use, after all, could a black child have for names, dates, and events if destiny had fated him or her to work all day in the cotton fields? O'Shea therefore recommended that the study of

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[91]Lawrence D. Reddick, "Racial Attitudes in American History Textbooks of the South," Journal of Negro History 19 (July 1934): 225-65; Rolfe Lanier Hunt, "What Do We Teach about the Negro?," Journal of the National Education Association 28 (January 1939): 11-12; Marie Elizabeth Carpenter, The Treatment of the Negro in American History School Textbooks (Menasha, WA: George Banta Publishing Co., 1941), pp. 75, 85, & 91; Ivory Paul Phillips, "Powelessness and Enslavement as Problems Facing Black Americans: A Proposed Course of Study for Black Secondary Students in the State of Mississippi" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1971), p. 3. In 1941, Richard Wright wrote "Deep down we distrust the schools that the Lords of the Land build for us and we do not really feel that they are ours. In many states they edit the textbooks that our children study, for the most part deleting all references to government, voting, citizenship, and civil rights." Richard Wright, 12 Million Black Voices: A Folk History of the Negro in the United States (New York: Viking Press, 1941), p. 64. Chalmer Archer, Jr. recalled that "When we opened falling-apart, hand-me-down history books from white public schoolchildren . . . we found no information about black people. There was nothing about black artists, writers, scientists, political leaders, or military heroes. Unless we learned about them at home or directly from our teachers, we had no role models to admire and emulate. Archer, Growing Up Black, p. 117.

[92]M. V. O'Shea, Public Education in Mississippi: Report of a Study of the Public Education System (Jackson, MS: Jackson Printing Co., c.1925), p. 328. See also, Neil R. McMillen, Dark Journey: Black Mississippians in the Age of Jim Crow (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), pp. 89-94.

history "should be confined to those aspects of United States history, and especially to the history of Mississippi, that will explain the status and relationship of the negro and make him familiar with our American institutions, ideals, and objectives."[93] Plainly, O'Shea's suggestion was not meant to imply any free-ranging discussion on the rights, duties, and privileges of citizenship which might naively raise certain unhealthy expectations in Mississippi's black population. No, as Gunnar Myrdal observed in his study of blacks in the United States, white southerners sought to avoid the introduction of such hazardous topics to black students. He noted specifically that in some locales the two races even received different textbooks in the social sciences, and that while "white students are taught the Constitution and the structure of governments, Negroes are given courses in 'character building,' by which is meant courtesy, humility, self-control, satisfaction with the poorer things of life, and all the traits which mark a 'good nigger' in the eyes of the Southern whites."[94]

Yet, by the 1920s, popular and scholarly accounts of black history began to circulate widely among African Americans, even within the South. Prior to the Civil War, literary societies composed of free blacks in northern cities had collected books, offered lectures, and sponsored debates on historical topics that focused on black achievements in the United States. But the audience for these efforts was small and would remain limited even in the decades that followed emancipation. In 1915, however, Carter G. Woodson founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) and began publishing the Journal of Negro History. For the first ten years of the organization's existence, Woodson and ASNLH's black middle class membership focused almost exclusively on countering the biases found in white scholarship by providing a forum for academic works written by African Americans. But the Great Migration sparked by the booming economy of the First World War brought large numbers of rural blacks from the south to

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[93]O'Shea, Public Education, pp. 332-33. In 1918, Stuart Grayson Noble described the average curriculum available to black students in the state as "formal instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, and spelling, with possibly a smattering of United States history, geography, and physiology. . ." Noble, Forty Years, p. 101.

[94]Mrydal, American Dilemma, Vol. 2, p. 949.

the urban centers of the north, and these masses eagerly began to devour the popular works of history produced in tandem with Marcus Garvey's black nationalism movement of the 1920s, works that told of great African civilizations and black contributions to world history. Realizing that the ASNLH needed to expand its mission to include projects which would have broader appeal, Woodson redirected some of the organization's energies into programs geared towards the black public, programs that would stimulate racial pride and inspire political activism. His most successful endeavor was the introduction of Negro History Week in 1926.[95]

Falling between the February birthdays of Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass, the observance promoted black history, and the ASNLH promoted the observance by serving as a clearinghouse for the books, pamphlets, photographs, and bibliographies used by black clubs, schools, churches, and newspapers throughout the nation.[96] To what degree Negro History Week filtered down to Mississippi during the first half of the twentieth century remains unknown, but Hortense Powdermaker's 1930s study confirms that in Indianola, at least, many of the larger black schools attempted "to emphasize Negro history." She even noted the celebration of Negro History Week "during which race consciousness and race pride come to the fore." Powdermaker recognized the significance of this experience, writing that "The knowledge of Negro achievement increases the student's self-respect and gives him a respect for his race, beyond anything his parents and grandparents had. More than this, it enhances his own expectations . . . . [and as] his expectations enlarge, so do his demands."[97] By 1933, two of the three suggested curriculums for

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[95]Jeffrey C. Stewart and Fath Davis Ruffins, "A Faithful Witness: Afro-American Public History in Historical Perspective, 1828-1984," in Presenting the Past: Essays on History and the Public eds. Susan Porter Benson, et al. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), pp. 307-18; Ruffins, "Mythos, Memory, and History: African American Preservation Efforts, 1820-1990" in Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture eds. Ivan Karp, et al. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992): 536-546; Idem, "'Lifting as We Climb': Black Women and the Preservation of African American History and Culture," Gender & History 6 (November 1994): 376-96. See also, Johnson, "Drill into Us," pp. 525-62.
[96]Stewart and Ruffins, "A Faithful Witness," p. 316.
[97]Hortense Powdermaker, After Freedom: A Cultural Study in the Deep South (New York: Viking Press, 1939), pp. 320-21.

black twelfth graders within the state included "Negro History."[98] President of the state NAACP for several decades, Aaron Henry recalled that during his youth in the late 1930s and early 1940s, teachers made sure their students were familiar with prominent black figures in history and literature: "The lesson was 'You are as good as anybody. You must believe in your personal worth and that you are equal to any other man. Racial superiority is a myth.'"[99]

A few notable Mississippians also contributed to this early field of black history. One of the first was John Roy Lynch's The Facts of Reconstruction, published in 1913. The author knew his topic at first hand, having served first as a representative in the state legislature during that era and then as Mississippi's first black U.S. representative to Congress. The consensus among contemporary white scholars that Reconstruction was a tragic mistake disturbed Lynch, who sought to correct the record by presenting "the other side" of the story.[100] And although he received almost no acknowledgment from white academia, Lynch continued his efforts to contradict the negative assessment of Reconstruction governments, contributing articles to the Journal of Negro History which pointed out errors in other historians' works; writing his own autobiography, Reminiscences of an Active Life; and speaking at a mass rally in Washington, DC on the occasion of Negro History Week in 1930. During his speech, he

> characterized as honorable the records made by the Negro in congress and carefully discriminated between the actual facts of history and the perversion of it by propagandists who for more than three generations have been trying to discredit the Negro through slander.[101]

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[98]Charles H. Wilson, Sr., Education for Negroes in Mississippi Since 1910 (Boston: Meador Publishing Co., 1947), pp. 264-67.

[99]Aaron Henry with Constance Curry, Aaron Henry: The Fire Ever Burning (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2000), p. 44. Henry also remembered his maternal grandmother "telling stories of slavery days, of murders and lynchings and white authority that went completely unchallenged" (p. 4).

[100]Lynch, Facts of Reconstruction, p. 10.

[101]"Negro History Week Celebration" Journal of Negro History 15 (April 1930): 129; For John Roy Lynch's written works, see "Some Historical Errors of James Ford Rhodes" Journal of Negro History 2 (October 1917): 345-68; "More about the Historical Errors of James Ford Rhodes" Journal of Negro History 3 (April 1918): 139-57; Some Historical Errors of James Ford Rhodes (Boston: Cornhill, 1922); "The Tragic Era" Journal of Negro History 16 (January 1931): 103-20;

A few years earlier, Ida B. Wells had begun to write her autobiography Crusade for Justice, as she said "for the young people who have so little of our race's history."[102] In particular, she sought to engender race pride in her readers by outlining a heritage which otherwise lay "buried in oblivion" because "only the southern white man's misrepresentations are in the public libraries and college textbooks of the land."[103]

The first book on black Mississippi history written by an African American and published within the state appeared in 1950. The author of The Negro in Mississippi History was Mrs. Charles C. Mosley, the Dean of Students at Southern Christian Institute in Edwards, Mississippi.[104] During her years as an educator in both the private and public schools of the state, Mosley's distress over the "lack of knowledge and interest on the part of the students concerning their past" inspired her to undertake the project.[105] The era's white supremacy and the fact that her printers, the Hederman Brothers, ran the conservative, white-owned JacksonClarion Ledger, meant that Mosley had to walk a fine line narrating facts. In her introduction, Mosley announced that the book "is not written to incite conflict over already existing problems" but "to remind some and acquaint others of the contributions and achievements of the Negro within the State of Mississippi and to create a better understanding between the races."[106]

John Hope Franklin, ed., Reiminiscences of an Active Life: The Autobiography of John Roy Lynch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

[102]Duster, Crusade for Justice, p. 4.

[103]ibid., p. 5.

[104]Mrs. Charles C. Mosley, The Negro in Mississippi History (Jackson, MS: Hederman Brothers, 1950); James B. Lloyd, ed., Lives of Mississippi Authors, 1817-1967 (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1981), p. 348. Around 1950, Mosley (as President pro-tem) appeared at the center of an attempt to establish an organization called "The Negro in Mississippi Historical Society." The prospectus for the group outlined the objectives of conducting research and disseminating the facts "to the masses." Announcing "WE DO NOT PURPOSE [sic] TO DEAL IN CRITICISM OF ANY PEOPLE. WE SIMPLY HOLD THAT THE GOOD THE NEGRO HAS DONE, AND IS DOING, SHOULD NOT BE BURIED WITH HIS BONES," the pamphlet also contained the quote "Ye Shall Know The Truth And The Truth Shall Make You Free" "The Negro in Mississippi Historical Society," c.1951, pamphlet, OCSMMSS Box 23, UM. The group was reorganized in 1963 "History the Basis of the New Freedom," (Jackson, MS: Negro in Mississippi Historical Society, 1964), pamphlet, Subject File: "Historical Societies (Negro)," MDAH.

[105]"Second Edition State Negro History Issued," Jackson Clarion Ledger 24 August 1963.

[106]Mosley, Negro in Mississippi, p. 5.

Most of the volume, in fact, dwells upon the accomplishments of Mississippi blacks in arenas ranging from education, music, art, literature, law, health, industry, agriculture, business, churches, and inventions. When discussing slavery and the Civil War, Mosley concentrates on the contributions of slaves to the region's wealth and defense. While she spends quite a bit more space on the "Faithful Slave" than African American enrollment in the Union Army, she apparently felt quite comfortable providing a complete recitation of the Emancipation Proclamation -- an undeniable historical fact. Perhaps the most potentially controversial section of The Negro in Mississippi History involved Mosely's treatment of Reconstruction. There, the author took the rather bold step of denying the characterizations of that era typically related by white historians. Calling the period the "Golden Era," Mosley's described Reconstruction as "a day in our State when the laws granted to all citizens equal rights and privileges, and that the Negro served creditably in most instances while in office."[107]

Poet and novelist Margaret Walker would eventually augment these written records of black history, but while growing up in Alabama she first served as a recipient of historical accounts delivered on the page and in person by older generations. Living in the same household with her grandmother, Walker later wrote, "it was natural throughout my formative years for me to hear stories of slave life in Georgia" involving ancestors. When her father once remarked, "Telling her all those harrowing tales, just nothing but tall tales," her grandmother grew angry, responding "I'm not telling her tales, I'm telling her the naked truth." As Walker grew older, she asked even more questions, and early in her adolescence, "I promised my grandmother that when I grew up I would write her mother's story."[108] Yet, the family tales she heard were not the only motivations that led to her determination to write, for she also attributed her ambition to the fact that "As a child,

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[107]Mosley, Negro in Mississippi, pp. 56 & 48. In 1969, the Clarion Ledger announced as "forthcoming" the second, revised edition of Mosley's work which would expand the chronology covered, see "Second Edition State Negro History". Unable to locate a copy of this volume, it is interesting to speculate how much revision transpired in the greater freedom of that period.

[108]Margaret Walker, How I Wrote "Jubilee" and Other Essays on Life and Literature (New York: Feminist Press, 1990), p. 51.

reading the history books in the South, I was humiliated by some unhappy picture or reference to a Negro. They made me burn all over. It was as if we were cut off from humanity, without sensitivity."[109] Thus, Walker vowed she would "write books that will prove the history texts were distorted. . . . books about colored people, who have colored faces, books that will not make me ashamed when I read them."[110] Still, the texts at school were not the only written accounts Walker saw, for both of her parents were teachers, and they trained her "to read books at school from the southern viewpoint and books at home from the Negro viewpoint."[111]

In 1934, Walker began to fulfill that oath she had made to her grandmother. Beginning while she was a senior at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois, she finally finished her project in 1965 while teaching at Mississippi's Jackson State College.[112] Her novel Jubilee relates the life of a black woman named Vyry -- a fictionalized representation of her great-grandmother -- who lives through slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. Vyry is the product of miscegenation between her master, John Dutton, and her slave mother, a lineage which by no means shields Vyry from the brutality of plantation life. When her first husband leaves to eventually enlist with the Union Army and fight for freedom, Vyry remains behind assisting other slaves in preparing uniforms for the Confederate troops and later suffering from the same havoc that the war inflicted upon all southern civilians. A twenty-eight year old mother when freedom finds her, she remains on the plantation waiting for her husband, but as the seasons pass Vyry eventually agrees to leave for Alabama with another man, whom she takes as her second husband. Over the course of the next few years, the family experiences numerous trials, including poor harvests, a miscarriage, a cheating landlord, and a visit from the local Ku Klux Klan which burns their home.[113] Published in 1966, the hardback version underwent twelve reprints and the

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[109]Margaret Walker, "Growing out of Shadow," in Mississippi Writers: Reflections on Childhood and Youth, ed. Dorothy Abbott, Vol. 2 (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi) p. 606.
[110]ibid., pp. 601-2.
[111]Walker, How I Wrote "Jubilee", p. 52.
[112]ibid., pp. 51-61.
[113]Margaret Walker, Jubilee (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1966).

paperback thirty-six. In a 1984 poll, Jubilee was one of fifteen books that one hundred black scholars, administrators, and writers said had influenced their lives.[114] As one reviewer stated at the time of its publication, "Jubilee is written from the other side of the coin. It might be called the 'Gone with the Wind' of 1966."[115]

Despite impoverished economic resources and a complete lack of state government support, African Americans in Mississippi and the rest of the South were able to preserve an historical memory of slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction that differed quite dramatically from the story of faithful, happy slaves and brutish, incompetent freedmen recalled by white southerners. Through oral tradition, holiday commemorations, fraternal organizations, and even the written record, this alternate version survived within the black community. And just as the Lost Cause helped to define white southern identity, tales of black participation in the Union effort and Reconstruction governments bolstered African American pride and sense of community.

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[114]Jacqueline Miller Carmichael, Trumpeting a Fiery Sound: History and Folklore in Margaret Walker's "Jubilee" (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998), pp. 5 & 15. See also, Elizabeth Young, Disarming the Nation: Women's Writing and the American Civil War (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. 275-80.
[115]Carmichael, Trumpeting, p. 26.

Chapter 3

Winning the Centennial

The South may have lost the War -- but it's sure going to win the Centennial. -- Karl Betts, executive director of the national Civil War Centennial Commission, in a 1960 interview.[1]

On March 28, 1961, Jackson, Mississippi witnessed the largest parade in the state's history. The occasion, Secession Day, commemorated the one hundredth anniversary of Mississippi's separation from the Union and kicked-off a four-and-a-half year observance of the Civil War Centennial by the state. Riding in a horse-drawn carriage and resplendent in his Confederate-gray uniform, Governor Ross Barnett led the parade up Capitol Street until he reached the reviewing stand in front of the Governor's Mansion. A crowd, estimated at twenty-five to one hundred thousand, lined the mile-long parade route while precocious lads sporting Confederate caps perched on top of building parapets and flagpoles. Members of the crowd grasped rebel flags and munched on peanuts and candied apples.

Immediately behind the governor came the half-block long Ole Miss Rebel Band Flag that usually only appeared at half-time shows, followed by the band itself and the University Grays, the first of eighty-nine different Confederate-clad regiments recreated in communities across Mississippi as a living memorial to the soldiers of a conflict then a century past. Thirty-six bands from junior highs, high schools, and colleges maintained a cadence that kept the various infantry units of the Mississippi Greys in step.[2] Occasionally, the blaring of "Dixie" and "The Bonnie Blue Flag" competed with the boom of cannons fired by artillery units. One regiment even boasted a patchwork, gas-filled balloon for spying on the enemy. Interspersed among the Mississippi Greys

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[1]"Dixie Cashes in on Civil War," Business Week (August 20, 1960): 60. Quote also appears in "South Is Winning the Centennial," Fulton Ittawamba County Times, 13 April 1961, Records of the Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States (hereafter, MCWBS Records), R167-B20-S5-00735, MDAH.

[2]The state commission adopted this particular spelling variation of "Grey" with regards to the Mississippi Greys. The University Grays was based on a real unit, which traditionally used the other spelling.

and bands were cars carrying real daughters of Confederate veterans and various floats. One decorated barge showcased a mint julep party held before the men left for war, while another claimed "The South Shall Rise Again." Spectators roared with delight whenever a cavalry man stopped his horse, pointed into the crowd, and shouted "There's a Yankee. Shoot him!"

After the two hour parade, a seven thousand member audience watched a cast of one hundred perform an outdoor production entitled "The Outset." The production reenacted highlights of the 1861 secession convention of the Mississippi legislature and concluded with Jefferson Davis's stirring farewell speech to that same government body in 1884. Large crowds also drifted through the Old Capitol, newly renovated to serve as the state's museum of history. That afternoon, the governor and his wife hosted a tea at the mansion, and in the evening, silk hoop-skirts swirled amidst gray uniforms as four separate Confederate Balls entertained the Mississippi Greys and their dates.[3]

Barnett told the Jackson State Times that Secession Day marked "the high point in my administration" and also declared that Mississippians were "just as sincere with their ideals and principles as they were in 1861."[4] Recounting the trip made by Louisville students to enjoy the festivities at the capital, their local newspaper suggested that the program "made the students realize a little of what it means to be a Mississippian and also a Southerner."[5] One newspaper

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[3]All details of the parade description appear in the following newspaper clippings from Subject File: "Civil War Centennial--Secession Day," MDAH: "'Confederates' To March in Civil War Salute Today," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 28 March 1961, p. 11; Cal Turner, "Thousands Cheer Greys; Secession Day Revived," Jackson State Times, 28 March 1961, p. 1; Pat Flynn, "Reb Yells Enliven Mammoth Parade," Jackson Daily News, 28 March 1961, p. 1; Dave Maddux, "High Point in Term, Barnett Says," Jackson State Times, 28 March 1961, p. 10A; "Here's How Parade Units Lined Up," Jackson Daily News, 28 March 1961; Jerry DeLaughter, "Mississippi 'Quits' U.S. as State Relives Past," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 29 March 1961; Bob Pittman, "Secession Drama Re-Enacted Here," Jackson Daily News, 29 March 1961; "Four Brilliant Confederate Balls Climax Secession Day Activities," Jackson Daily News, 29 March 1961; Tommy Herrington, "Giant Parade Draws Crowd to Centennial," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 19 March 1961; Pat Flynn, "Merry-Making Features Balls" Jackson Daily News, 29 March 1961; Kenneth Toler, "Jackson Event Gives No Hint of 'Lost Cause,'" Memphis Commercial Appeal, 29 March 1961, p. 1; "Grey Ghosts Ride Again in Jackson," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 29 March 1961, p. 15.

[4]Dave Maddux, "High Point in Term, Barnett Says," Jackson State Times, 28 March 1961, p. 10A.

[5]"Students Attend Centennial," Louisville Winston County Journal, 6 April 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B20-S5-00735, MDAH.

column recounted the reaction of a Jackson business man, "Yankee by birth," who stated that he had never seen such an enthusiastic crowd and confessed confusion regarding the attitude of Southerners towards a war in which their side suffered defeat. Attempting to respond, the columnist admitted,

> Frankly, we can't find an answer to what makes us proud of ancestors, proud of our Southern heritage, and the very land itself. Maybe in defeat, we found a spirit of noble endeavor . . . one which gives to us a feeling of 'close communication' with our fellow Southerners, and makes us revere a group of men and women who fought bravely and proudly for a principle they believed in.[6]

The political cartoon in the Jackson Daily News depicted a bifocaled, cigar-smoking gentleman in a Confederate cap beaming before a rebel flag backdrop. The artist appended the label "All of Us" to the portrait.[7]

And yet, this sense of solidarity only encompassed one segment of Mississippi society. For even as thousands cheered the reenactment of secession and the revival of Confederate military units, fifty black students from Jackson State attempted to march in protest from their campus to the city jail. The day before, police had arrested and retained in custody nine students from Tougaloo, a black private college in the city, for attempting to integrate a local public library. Had the students maintained their course, the march would have intercepted the parade downtown.[8] Numerical superiority alone forecast the victor of any battle for access to the streets as public space. Such conflict between the officially-sanctioned parade and the unofficial protest march, however, never arose. Ten blocks from the jail, police ordered the dispersal of the students and used clubs, tear gas, and dogs to enforce their authority.

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[6]Calhoun City Monitor Herald, 6 April 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B20-S5-00735, MDAH.

[7]Jackson Daily News, 28 March 1961, Subject Folder: "Civil War Centennial--Secession Day," MDAH.

[8]John Dittmer first noted the coincidence of the two parades in his book Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), pp. 87-89. For an examination of parades and marches as political acts, see Susan G. Davis, Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1986).

In one of those strange, inexplicable coincidences of history, the centennial of the Civil War coincided with the most climactic decade of the Civil Rights Movement. Southern officials viewed the anniversary's commemoration as an opportunity, not only to lure tourists, but also to improve the region's tarnished national image by highlighting its romantic antebellum and Confederate past -- a seductively nostalgic vision with a proven track record in American culture. Planners also hoped centennial events would have the additional benefit of bolstering a sense of regional identity and loyalty among white southerners. That the centennial ultimately realized either of these two objectives to any significant degree is dubious, but there can be little doubt that the South's efforts prevented civil rights proponents from completely exploiting the propaganda naturally inherent in the occasion. Within Mississippi, the Confederate perspective on the Civil War completely dominated the public realm, while political sensistivities tempered more liberal interpretations at the federal level.[9]

Prior to 1961, anticipation of the centennial generated a flurry of articles on the Civil War that appeared in an array of periodicals. The publishing industry also began to release an astonishing number of books on the subject. Scenting the profit possibilities, other commercial vendors from flag to toy makers geared up to take advantage of public interest. Noting the frenetic speculation connected to the centennial, Business Week declared that "anything related to the Civil War has become something of value as America heads into four years of the biggest

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[9]Few scholars have shown any interest in the Civil War Centennial. In preparation for the upcoming Bicentennial of the American Revolution, Robert G. Hartje analyzed the pitfalls and failures of the Civil War Centennial in Bicentennial USA: Pathways to Celebration (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1973), pp. 60-95. In his discussion of the commemoration, Kammen briefly examines the tensions induced by sectionalism, racism, and commercialism. Kammen, Mystic Chords, pp. 588-610. Richard M. Fried examines the commemoration in light of the era's rampant anticommunism in The Russians Are Coming! The Russians Are Coming!: Pageantry and Patriotism in Cold-War America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 122-37. See also, Robert Cook, "From Shiloh to Selma: The Impact of the Civil War Centennial on the Black Freedom Struggle in the United States, 1961-65" in The Making of Martin Luther King and the Civil Rights Movement eds. Brian Ward and Tony Badger (New York: New York University Press, 1996); Robin M. Morris's "Memory and Manhood: The Citadel and the Civil War Centennial 1961" (M.A. thesis, University of Mississippi, 2001), p. 5; William M. Johnston, Celebrations: The Cult of Anniversaries in Europe and the United States Today (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1991).

commemoration in its history."[10] Images and accounts of the one hundred year old conflict inundated the American public consciousness at the start of the decade.

Seemingly, the country might have avoided commemorating the anniversary of this fratricidal conflict simply by failing to vote the funds necessary to sustain the organizational structures that encouraged and coordinated the centennial. The 1968 report to Congress by the Civil War Centennial Commission (CWCC), however, suggested that increasing national interest in the conflict -- suggested by the rise of Civil War Roundtables and the popularity of publications on the topic -- dictated that ceremonies marking the occasion by both public and private organizations was inevitable. The CWCC thus justified its creation as necessary for preventing confusion, elevating the level of discourse, and directing attention to the outcome of union rather than the aberration of division. In 1957, Public Law 85-105 introduced by Senator Bricker of Ohio created the U.S. Civil War Centennial Commission (CWCC). At its first meeting in December of 1957, the CWCC unanimously elected Major General Ulysses S. Grant III, the grandson of the Union commander, as chairman and William M. Tuck, a Congressman from Virginia, as vice-chairman.[11] Karl S. Betts, a founder and past president of the District of Columbia Civil War Roundtable as well an experienced professional in advertising and public relations, received the paid position of executive director.[12] As the members usually only met once a month and at the annual General Assemblies, Betts and his staff handled the day-to-day details while the Commission concerned itself primarily with setting goals and developing the larger agenda.

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[10]"Dixie Cashes In on Civil War," Business Week (August 20, 1960): 60.

[11]The President, Vice-President, and Speaker of the House served in an ex-officio capacity. Other members included four Senators and three others from the House besides Tuck, as well as the Director of the National Park Service and the Chief of Manuscripts from the Library of Congress. Representatives from the Department of Defense and prominent historians such as Avery O. Craven, Bruce Catton, and Bell I. Wiley also received appointments to the commission. U.S. Civil War Centennial Commission, The Civil War Centennial: A Report to Congress (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968). See also, Dennis J. Mitchell, Mississippi Liberal: A Biography of Frank E. Smith (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001), pp. 153-54.

[12]Victor Gondos, Jr., "Karl S. Betts and the Civil War Centennial Commission," Military Affairs 27 (Summer 1963): 49-70. For more background on Grant and Betts, see Kammen, Mystic Chords, pp. 592-94.

Grant and Betts, however, articulated that agenda to the media, and they consistently expressed the same reconciliationist mission for the Civil War's commemoration. Acting as spokesmen for the CWCC, both men emphasized the "heroism and sacrifice" demonstrated by each side in the conflict, while simultaneously shifting focus to the war's conclusion in a reunification that strengthened the country for its future, dominant role in world history. Generally, the speaker made an observation concerning the opportunity the centennial provided for a "new study of patriotism" that would permit a greater "understanding of the immense reserves of bravery, of sacrifice and of idealism which lie in the American character."[13] Hence, the anniversary rites would avoid becoming a divisive "series of holidays, reviving here the exultation of victory and there the sadness of defeat" and instead would serve as a unifying experience and a patriotic reference point.[14] No official mention appeared concerning the role of slavery and the result of emancipation, apparently a topic deemed either too insignificant or too schismatic for consideration.

The prominent usage of the term "patriotism" and related phrases represents a subtle indication of the era's Cold War atmosphere and the propaganda profits and pitfalls the Centennial generated. At the 1959 Assembly meeting in Richmond, one of the Department of Defense's representatives on the Commission, Dewey Short, more explicitly acknowledged concern about the communist threat:

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[13]CWCC, "Statement of Objectives and Suggestions for Civil War Centennial Commemorations," January 1958, p. 1, manuscript, MCWBS Records, R167-B13-S3-00723, MDAH. Other sources for identical or similar goal statements: Nancy Lee Callender, Secretary, to Members of the National Commission, to Members of the Advisory Council, Members of the State Commission, Presidents of Civil War Round Tables, 11 December 1958, MCWBS Records, R001-B18-S2-00731, MDAH; CWCC Press Release, February 22, 1959; CWCC, "Statement of Objectives and Suggestions for Civil War Centennial Commemorations," March 1959, manuscript, MCWBS Records, R001-B18-S2-00731, MDAH; CWCC Press Release No. 129, 27 January 1960, MCWBS Records, R001-B18-S2-00731, MDAH; CWCC Press Release No. 152, 5 March 1961, MCWBS Records, MDAH. The CWCC also published Guide for the Observance of the Centennial of the Civil War (Washington, DC: n.p., 1958), which alludes to "the great lessons in Americanism" that citizens can obtain from the Civil War, as well as the "meaning of united action" and the "value of complete dedication to the principles upon which our Nation was founded" (p. 3).

[14]ibid. Kammen states that under Grant and Betts the theme of reconciliation was "remarkably pervasive" and that "Balance became virtually an obsession with the Commission." Mystic Chords, p. 597.

> We face an enemy determined in purpose; and that purpose is our destruction -- moral, economic, physical and intellectual. In this struggle we have the strongest weapon of war -- conviction . . . . In binding together, in founding an ever stronger nation, she [America] proved to herself and to the world that, by God, under God and with the help of God our American Constitutional Republic is the finest form of government the world has yet seen . . . . In our centennial, then, let us insure that all Americans learn how we gained this conviction; by doing so we shall be shoring the foundations of our country at a time when we need all the strength and unity we can muster.[15]

Betts and Grant so embraced his message that they sent a copy of the speech to all members of the CWCC, the Advisory Council, and state commissions, stating that, "We wish every American could read this inspiring message, as it contains so much of the idealism behind the Centennial program and so admirably expresses the desire of all of us to commemorate the true lessons of the war."[16]

Regardless of how the national CWCC viewed the meaning of the centennial, the function of the commission limited its ability to influence actual programs. With only a few exceptions, the Commission itself refrained from organizing commemorative exercises, adopting instead the role of a "coordinating agency or clearing house."[17] Fostering a grassroots approach, the CWCC promoted the organization of state commissions and local committees for which it promised to supply historical information, national publicity, and liaison assistance with various governmental departments.[18] As it failed to provide funds for these state and local efforts, the national commission thus lacked any real authority aside from moral suasion to dictate the resultant program of centennial ceremonies -- a weakness that only became more apparent as time passed.[19]

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[15]CWCC Bulletin No. 6-9 (April 24, 1959), MCWBS Records, R001-B18-S2-00731, MDAH.

[16]ibid. See also, Fried, pp. 122-37.

[17]CWCC, Guide for the Observance, p. 14.

[18]CWCC, Centennial Observance Unfolds, Faithful to Past and Present: A Summary Report, May, 1961 (Washington DC: n.p., 1961).

[19]Mississippi's centennial commission asserted its autonomy in a 1963 report: "Although the National Centennial Commission opened the nationwide observance, there is no provision or design for Mississippi to be influenced by the national program. Mississippi has its own rich heritage and can carry out its own plans, programs and observances, independent of any other agency or outside influence." "Biennial Report of the Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States (July 1, 1961-June 30, 1963)," Biennial Reports 1961-1963 Vol. 2 (Jackson,

By 1961, forty-four states had established centennial commissions through legislative enactments and state appropriations.[20] Fears by some that the South might refrain from observing the anniversary of a war which it had lost proved groundless. All the former Confederate states quickly created their own generously-endowed commissions. Besides offering a platform to continue the region's traditional self-absorption with its Confederate past, southern leaders viewed the centennial as a chance to increase tourist dollars and an opportunity to convey to a national as well as a regional audience their own spin on the message of reconciliation.

Newspapers throughout Mississippi discussed the merits of commemorating the anniversary, thus providing an avenue for discerning the attitudes of at least some Mississippians towards the centennial. Very few mentioned the benefits of increased tourism and boosterism.[21] Instead, most editorialists -- for *and* against the centennial -- demonstrated a preoccupation with the preservation of national unity during a period of increasing sectionalism over civil rights. Capturing this anxiety, a cartoon appearing in the Aberdeen Examiner entitled "Return of 'Reb' Van Winkle," depicted the continental U.S. or "us" slashed in half by a sword labeled "Civil War Centennial 1861-1961."[22]

A few authors made direct references to communism as a common enemy and hence as a reason for caution in commemorating a civil war. The Tupelo Journal, for instance, urged Americans to "lay aside the attitudes of a hundred years ago . . . to present a united front to pagan

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MS: 1963), p. 26. The rest of this chapter will show, however, that the Mississippi commission did follow the lead of the federal commission in several, if not all, matters.

[20]ibid. A significant factor in the development of state commissions occurred at the 1958 Governor's Conference where Governor Almond of Virginia received unanimous support for his resolution urging all states to appoint Civil War centennial commissions. For a description of Viginia's commemoration written by the executive director of the Virginia Civil War Commission, see James J. Geary, "'When Dedication Was Fierce and from the Heart': Planning Virginia's Civil War Centennial, 1958-1965," Virginia Cavalcade 50 (Spring 2001): 77-87.

[21]Carolyn Decell, "Trimmed In Lace," Deer Creek Pilot, 3 February 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B17-S3-18075, MDAH; "Centennial Talk," Winona Times, 6 April 1964, MCWBS Records, R167-B20-S5-00735, MDAH; "Huge Dollar Harvest," Meridian Star, 25 April 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B20-S5-00735, MDAH; "Golden Opportunity . . .," Winona Times, 27 April 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B20-S5-00735 MDAH.

[22]"Return of 'Reb' Van Winkle," Aberdeen Examiner, 5 January 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B17-S3-18075, MDAH.

communism rather than wasting so much of our energy on the endless scrapping between North and South."[23] Several of the editorials opposed to the centennial actually described the war as "a stupendous, tragic mistake" and predicted that the occasion of its commemoration would further widen the gulf between the two regions.[24] With great clarity, the Tylertown Times explained that

> The reason we have had misgivings about the Centennial Celebration is that we have too many people in Mississippi who still conceive of secession, withdrawal from the Union, as the final solution to the problems that beset us. If the recollection of that event on January 9, 1861, encourages that feeling among our people, then Mississippians may be further deluded about this state's role among the 50 states of the Union.[25]

Acknowledging that officials intended "a friendly extravaganza of ever-loving pageantry, with Northerners and Southerners whooping things up in fine brotherhood fervor," the Biloxi-Gulfport Daily Herald doubted the endurance of such fine amity and accord, announcing that "just in case the scrap revives in earnest, we're keeping our powder dry.[26]

Most editorials, however, supported centennial commemoration. Even so, many advocates expressed concern about the potential for discord. The Ripley Southern Sentinel wrote: "we hope that the enmity and the fires of hatred that have burned for lo, these hundred of years will not be rekindled and that peace and understanding will ensue from the celebration."[27]

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[23]"After 100 Years Time to Let Bitterness Die," Tupelo Journal, 13 April 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B20-S5-00735, MDAH. See also the editorial in Coffeeville Courier, 13 April 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B20-S5-00735, MDAH.

[24]"Why?," Greenville Delta Democrat Times, 4 August 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B20-S5-00735, MDAH.

[25]"Centennial Is Time for a Summit Conference," Tylertown Times, 12 January 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B17-S3-18075, MDAH.

[26]"United We Stand -- Or Do We?," Biloxi-Gulfport Daily Herald, 30 January 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B17-S3-18075, MDAH. Although this editorial was a reprint from the Asheville Citizen in North Carolina, the sentiment obviously appealed to the Mississippi editor.

[27]"We Should Remember . . . And Bear in Mind . . . That the Same Thing Could Happen Again With the World in Turmoil as It Is Today," Ripley Southern Sentinel, 8 June 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B20-S5-00735, MDAH. See also, Oliver Emmerich, "Celebrate? Yes--But Let's Not Fight War Over Again," Jackson State Times, 17 June 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B20-S5-00735, MDAH. This editorial also appeared in Emmerich's newspaper, the McComb Enterprise-Journal, 20 June 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B20-S5-00735, MDAH. Emmerich also wrote an editorial in which he blamed the Civil War on "Southern hot-headedness, impulsive action and complete disregard for the state and region's lasting interests." "After 100 Years We Should Treat Civil War Truthfully," Jackson State Times, 11 May 1960.

Several commentaries used the term "bitterness" to describe the persistent feeling among white southerners about the war, but optimistically hoped that a study of the bloody tragedy would induce a greater appreciation for unity. The Port Gibson Reveille observed that

> Where great was the bitterness engendered by the quarrels which our ancestors were embroiled in at the time, and whereas, a certain residue of the same old bitterness has been passed down through the years, we do not honestly feel that that residue has come down undiminished . . . . Therefore it is appropriate that through the formalities of the many Civil War Centennial observances that we show forth not only remembrance of the most fratricidal conflict in our history but knowledge of the certain national unity which it so ineradicably sealed in blood.[28]

Delle C. Dale of the Jackson Daily News declared: "This Centennial should serve well as a reminder of the horror of war on our own soil, the futility of death as a solution to political and social evils, the inevitable struggles of mankind to live together harmoniously." Yet, despite a stated support for the centennial and a belief in its ability to tie binds of unity, Dale warned that unless the North and the South "can come to peace and tolerant understanding on issues continually harassing and not solved by the Civil War . . . . the South may again be forced to defend its rights with sword and cannon."[29]

Ostensibly, the Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States (MCWBS), created in 1958, echoed the same reconciliationist rhetoric as the federal CWCC. A resolution adopted by the MCWBS at a meeting on December 6, 1958, suggested that while the commission should provide a greater understanding of the role of Mississippi in the war, it should "at the same time, serve to strengthen the bonds of unity that now join together all patriotic Americans in a common love of country." The resolution later repeated this idea by stating that activities should "Promote better understanding between the peoples of the various states and sections of the

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[28]"Centennial Observances Make for Increase in Mutual Understanding," Port Gibson Reveille, 13 July 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B120-S5-00735, MDAH. See also, "We Are to Celebrate," Ripley Southern Sentinel, 19 January 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B17-S3-18075, MDAH; "Why Commemorate Event?," Newton Record, 29 March 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B17-S3-18075, MDAH.

[29]Delle C. Dale, "Centennial Observance Offers Opportunity for Good Will," Jackson Daily News, 30 March 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B17-S3-18075, MDAH.

country through exchange of ideas, materials, and information . . ." Concluding, this summation of goals suggested that the observances of the centennial should "reflect the commemoration of a century of progress."[30] These phrases and similarly worded mission statements made by the commission through 1961, suggest a commitment to the "bonds of unity" tying the state to the nation.

Beyond mere words of friendship, the Mississippi Commission arranged a fifteen week program throughout the spring and summer of 1961 to honor the fifteen Northern and Mid-western states that had erected monuments to their soldiers in the Vicksburg National Military Park.[31] Either Sidney T. Roebuck, director of the MCWBS, or another commission member made a personal visit to the governors of the fifteen states to extend an official invitation to visit Mississippi and take part in the ceremonies. These visits received press coverage in all fifteen states. Along with tours of the park and presentation of the Vicksburg's Civil War pageant "Gunboats 'Round the Bend," each week ended with an outdoor wreath-laying ceremony at the state's monument with addresses given by representatives from Mississippi and the honored state. Roebuck wrote to Betts that the Mississippi Commission

> . . . conceived this program to honor these men [Union soldiers] and their states in an effort to bring about better understanding between the different sections of our country. The Commission feels that this program had been in keeping with the spirit and one of the purposes of the Civil War Centennial.[32]

Indeed, letters from northern participants in the programs seem to suggest that Mississippi's efforts succeeded. The executive secretary of the Iowa Civil War Centennial Commission wrote Roebuck that Iowa's commemoration at Vicksburg "did much to bring to each of us a deeper understanding of the meaning of the War and the part it played in all of our lives.

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[30]"Resolution," manuscript, MCWBS Records, R001-B18-S2-00731, MDAH. For further discussion of the resolution, see also, MCWBS minutes, 6 December 1958, MCWBS Records, R001-B18-S2-00731, MDAH.

[31]These states were Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, West Virginia, and Wisconsin.

[32]S. T. Roebuck to Karl S. Betts, 24 July 1961, MCWBS Records, MDAH.

The bonds of friendship we all feel were most strongly cemented between our two states during our stay there."[33] After his visit, Clyde C. Walton from Illinois wrote the Vicksburg Evening Post that "This is the way that centennial observances ought to be conducted." He further added, "We look forward to being in Mississippi at the time of other centennial observances not only because things are so beautifully handled but because we will never forget your particular brand of southern charm and hospitality."[34]

Yet, the private correspondence of Roebuck suggests an ulterior motive for the programs, and indeed for any encouragement of visits by non-southern tourists:

> We know that we can not fight the War over again with bullets, even though we might want to. We do know that if we can get the best people of the North, East, and the West to come to the State, it could be helpful in getting them to understand our people.[35]

As Roebuck stated in a speech in Pascagoula, the centennial would result in bringing visitors "who will learn the good things about us, and that these good things will offset the bad things which they have heard from outside sources."[36] At first glance, exactly what "understanding" or "good things" centennial organizers hoped non-southerners would discern appears uncertain and elusive, but in the era's context and in conjunction with other remarks made by MCWBS officials, the meaning of these references becomes clear. For instance, in writing to the president of Tupelo's Community Development Foundation, Roebuck insisted that tourists for the centennial "will be the best people of the Northern states" and that visitors "whom we classify as undesirables

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[33]Edith Wasson McElroy, Executive Secretary of the Iowa Civil War Centennial Commission, to Sidney T. Roebuck, 10 May 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S1-00713, MDAH.
[34]Clyde C. Walton to Louis P. Cashman, Vicksburg Evening Post, 7 July 1961, MCWBS Records, MDAH.
[35]S. T. Roebuck to Honorable Frank E. Smith, Member of Congress, 11 August 1960, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S3-00720, MDAH. This desire to favorably impress tourists was also a goal adopted by the state organ to resist integration -- the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission. See, Leesha Faulkner, "To Stem the Tide: The Mississippi Sovereignty Commission and Civil Rights, 1956-1973" (M.A. thesis, Mississippi College, 1994), p. 21.
[36]"The Meaning of the Civil War Centennial--a Re-dedication to Our Fundamental Ideals," p. 3, manuscript, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S2-00717, MDAH.

will not come to a Southern state to commemorate the War Between the States."[37] Declaring that "'The Centennial is the first opportunity we have had in a hundred years to make the Yankees pay for the war and like it,'" Barnett delivered an address on the centennial in which he explained to a Hattiesburg audience:

> I believe that the kind of people who can and will come to Mississippi will be the kind of people we want to come. If we greet them when they come as warmly (although in a different way) as our Confederate forefathers did, they will return home with a new appreciation of Mississippi, of Mississippians and of our problems.[38]

In the context of civil rights agitation occurring during this period, the qualifications as to the types of tourists expected ("best people" as opposed to "undesirables") contrasts by implication with the suspicious "outside agitators" whom southerners considered invaders of their communities intent upon "stirring-up" local blacks. Centennial organizers thus hoped to counter the negative impressions created by national press stories of violent white supremacy with warm welcomes of hospitality and charming recitations of life in antebellum and Confederate Mississippi. The Jackson Clarion-Ledger declared the centennial a "secret weapon" in the battle to stem the tide of bad press the South had received since the 1954 Supreme Court decision on integration:

> Since that fateful Monday it has become just about a fulltime job of loyal Southerners to hold the ugly-picture makers in check. Once again, however, there are indications that the South is withstanding the assault. This time, it may be Dixie will actually win the Civil War.[39]

Creating sympathy for the South or even more explicitly the Southern position on segregation was not merely a side benefit of the Centennial, this goal was in fact a major incentive for the commemoration. Roebuck once stated, "If we gain no other objective than to get these people

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[37]S. T. Roebuck to Bill Beasley, president of the Community Development Foundation of Tupelo, Mississippi, 29 August 1960, MCWBS Records, MDAH.

[38]"Friends, I want to thank you for this opportunity to come to Hattiesburg and Forrest County . . .," p. 2, untitled manuscript, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S3-00721, MDAH.

[39]"We Love This Yankee Editor," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 26 March 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B17-S3-18075, MDAH.

here in our midst and let them learn of us, to know our ways, and to understand our motives, then the time, money and effort spent by the state and various communities will be worth while."[40] Thus, the reconciliation articulated by Mississippians, though apparently identical to the federal commission, actually entailed the rest of the nation "understanding" or, rather, tacitly accepting the South as it was, segregation and all.

Mississippi demonstrated yet another divergence from national centennial objectives when observances not only honored Confederate soldiers but the principles for which the men had fought as well. True, the federal commission, by recognizing the "heroism and sacrifice" of both sides and by emphasizing unity, refrained from any outright condemnation of the Confederate cause. Yet, such abstention was a far cry from actually esteeming the principles that led to secession. Any mention of "principles" by southerners was usually code for "states rights," a topic that exerted a continual hold on the white southern population as a key argument for preventing federal meddling in segregation. While outsiders' attitudes might conceivably improve with exposure to southern principles, most centennial commemorations and speeches on such topics directed their attention to firing a renewed zeal in their southern audiences. The Centennial thus sought another goal beyond encouraging sympathy for the region among non-southerners -- that of enhancing an already strong concord among southern whites. The Mississippi commission recognized that the ceremonies surrounding the anniversary represented an "opportunity to unite all of our people, young and old, in a state-wide effort of great emotional appeal."[41] In the midst of turbulent battles against the federal government over integration and voting rights, strengthening

[40]"Meaning of the Civil War Centennial," p. 3.

[41]"Suggested Program: Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States," 10 May 1960, p. 5, manuscript, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S2-00719, MDAH. An undated, unattributed typed memo entitled "Mississippi--Sovereign State: Mississippi Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow," discusses the possible publication of a book that would "capitalize on this Centennial" by meeting a need for an "interpretation of Mississippi to offset the unfavorable publicity the state has suffered from so many directions" and would thus "serve the double purpose of inspiring our own people while making converts elsewhere." The memo suggests that "copies might be effectively used by the A & I Board [Agriculture and Industry Board], the Sovereignty Commission and in the schools." "Mississippi--Sovereign State: Mississippi Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow," MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S3-00720, MDAH.

the identification of white southerners with their secessionist forebears could only intensify determination to oppose federal intervention.

Although Mississippi had aspired to hold Secession day on the true anniversary of the occasion, January ninth, a delay in uniform delivery to the Mississippi Greys forced the event's postponement until March twenty-eighth.[42] Instead, a smaller commemoration held by state and centennial officials took place in the Old Capitol in January, where one hundred years earlier the Mississippi legislature had voted to withdraw from the Union. During his address, Governor Barnett described the centennial as a period during which "Mississippians of the present will honor devotion to principle, adherence to faith, and courage in adversity -- qualities which served our forebears well and can serve our generation equally well."[43] *Devotion* to principle was part and parcel of the national commission's determination to honor the Gray as well as the Blue, but then the governor went a step further. Praising the act of secession one hundred years previously, he militantly asserted that the state "had not compromised sound principles on which there can be no compromise."[44] Dr. Albert Sidney Johnson, son of General William A. Johnson who fought with Nathan Bedford Forrest at the Battle of Brice's Cross Roads, declared in the closing invocation that the ceremony's participants stood on "hallowed ground."[45]

And while the state sought to publicize the schedule of the grander March twenty-eighth Secession Day to a national audience, the event naturally drew spectators primarily from within Mississippi. The festivity surrounding the parade in which thousands of men marched in Confederate uniforms and multiple bands performed popular war anthems as well as the gala of the four Confederate Balls created an atmosphere that embraced the historical event of Mississippi's withdrawal from the Union. Similarly, the reenactment of the secession convention

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[42]100 Years After (January 1961): 3. 100 Years After was the newsletter of the CWCC [copies in MCWBS Records, R001-B19-S2-00730, MDAH.
[43]"Outline: Commemoration of Mississippi's Secession from the Union, January 9, 1861" Mississippi Civil War Centennial News (January 9, 1961): 4.
[44]James Saggus, "Barnett in Call for Courage Seen Once Century Ago," Vicksburg Evening Post, 9 January 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B17-S3-18075, MDAH.
[45]ibid.

demonstrated the organizers' approval of the action. Clearly expecting to invoke the belligerent sentiments of the past, the commission's press release earlier in the month declared that "The militant spirit of independence that marked the original secession will again fill the air as re-enactment ceremonies unfold at the restored Old Capitol . . ."[46] A spirit willingly revived, despite that day's pronouncement by Roebuck who echoed the national Commission party line that the centennial was "no time for finding fault or placing blame or fighting the issues all over again."[47]

Likewise, the revival of Confederate units in the "Mississippi Centennial Military Force, In Memoriam," known informally as the "Mississippi Greys," appeared consistent with the national Commission's desire to honor the soldiers of the Gray as well as the Blue. Originally conceived by George A. Godwin of the Godwin Advertising Agency and outlined in a 1959 Jackson Daily News editorial, this suggested remobilization would occur across the South:

> Every company, regiment, battalion, division of the army, cavalry, artillery, navy, etc., would be reactivated, including the general staff and Military Department. From the Commander-in-Chief to the drummer boys and flag-bearers, every unit would come alive again, properly uniformed, with their flags, insignia and battle cry.[48]

Besides drilling and taking part in centennial ceremonies, the proposal called for troops to research their unit's particular history in order to achieve greater accuracy in their impersonations. True to his calling, Godwin stressed the publicity potential inherent in his idea, while also noting the increased involvement participating "thousands upon thousands" of individuals would have in the centennial.[49]

Although several prominent Mississippians quickly endorsed the idea, mention of the concept at the 1959 General Assembly in Richmond caused the Richmond Times-Dispatch to

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[46]"Secession Day Program in Jackson Major Event in State's Civil War Centennial," Civil War Centennial Mississippi News (March 12, 1961).
[47]"Grey Ghosts Ride Again in Jackson," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 29 March 1961, Subject Folder: "Civil War Centennial--Secession Day," MDAH.
[48]"Let the South Mobilize Again," Jackson Daily News, 9 April 1959, Subject Folder: "Civil War Centennial--Secession Day, MDAH.
[49]ibid.

proclaim the suggestion a "nightmare" that would cost billions of dollars.[50] The Mississippi Commission, however, decided to proceed with the plan, albeit in a simpler, modified format. Despite estimates that 80,000 Mississippians had fought for the Confederacy in the war, the earliest projections of the Commission called for 100,000 men in the revitalized centennial army. A 1960 outline suggested that organizers replicate "the name of the units, location, uniforms, battle flags, etc.," and that enlistees become proficient in required drills. Yet, despite this expressed concern for authenticity, the Commission expected the formation of women's auxiliaries as well as units of school children, and dictated that "all members of all units will have the rank of Colonel, except the one General, who will be the Commander-in-Chief."[51] By August, reality forced Roebuck to downgrade the forecasted enrollment to ten thousand men.[52] As to authenticity, practical manufacturing requirements demanded the standardization of a single uniform pattern with three color variations in cuffs, collars, and sashes to distinguish between artillery, cavalry, and infantry troops.[53] After mailing charters and membership certificates to those who had completed the requisite forms, the Commission tallied over 3,200 men in 89 units from 49 different communities.[54]

Intended to honor the state's men who fought for the Confederacy, the Mississippi Greys were a "living memorial" in a greater sense than even the charitable institutions and educational scholarships that usually received such a description. For no matter the equality in rank or how

[50]"Confederacy May March Again; Idea Taking Hold," Jackson Daily News, 11 April 1959, Subject Folder: "Civil War Centennial--Secession Day," MDAH. The account of the Richmond Times-Dispatch's reaction in "Dramatic Salute to Wearers of Gray; and Idea in Action," Jackson Daily News, 29 March 1961, Subject Folder: "Civil War Centennial--Secession Day," MDAH.

[51]"Suggested Program Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States," p. 2.

[52]S. T. Roebuck to Peary Cohen, Waterbury Companies, 30 August 1960, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S1-00709, MDAH.

[53]Made by the Mississippi Manufacturers' Committee, each outfit cost $21.50. For specifications, see "Join the Mississippi Greys: A Guide for the Organization of Units of Mississippi's Centennial Military Force in Memoriam" (Jackson, MS: Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States, 1960), MCWBS Records, R001-B18-S2-00732, MDAH.

[54]Although some newspaper reports of Secession Day indicated five thousand Mississippi Greys marched, a manuscript entitled "Alphabetical Listing" shows otherwise. MCWBS Records, R001-B19-S2-00730, MDAH.

unrealistically clean and formal the uniforms, the Greys were real, living, breathing men. Their appearance as a group at centennial ceremonies achieved an immediate emotional impact for both members and observers, and their presence in toto at Secession Day only magnified the effect. As one editorialist wrote, "Each person who wore a suit of gray in the parade Tuesday represented a soldier of the Confederacy. Imagination prompted us to consider the fate of each of those men." Referring to one of his acquaintances in the parade, the author mused: "By nature he is soft-spoken and gentle. But clothed in his colonel's suit of gray he was the embodiment of the spirit of Shiloh. He breathed this spirit as he marched . . ."[55] By emulating Confederate troops, the Mississippi Greys accomplished more than mere memorialization of their precursors. Their marching in parades, their service as color bearers and escorts at commemorative ceremonies, and their reenactments of swearing-ins and battles throughout the state during the centennial invoked a martial spirit, easily tapping into and enhancing southerners' regional pride and loyalty.

In addition, the commission conceived the central theme of 1962 as honoring "the memory of Mississippians who fought for the Confederacy and the principles for which they fought and died."[56] More specifically, it asked local committees to schedule a "Rededication Day" with a memorial service as a central feature. A suggested outline of the day's program provided by the commission even proffered the title of the main address -- "The Meaning of the Civil War Centennial -- A Rededication to our Fundamental Ideals."[57] This was actually the title that Roebuck used on at least one occasion for a talk in Pascagoula, thus providing a glimpse of the subject matter intended by the organizers. In the speech, he explicitly compared the beliefs of Confederates to those of the present generation:

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[55]Oliver Emmerich, "Observations Made During Our Centennial Parade," Jackson State Times, 31 March 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B17-S3-18075, MDAH.

[56]Civil War Centennial Mississippi News, Press Release No. 49 ,21 August 1961, MCWBS Records, MDAH.

[57]Civil War Centennial Mississippi Bulletin, No. 11, 19 June 1961, MCWBS Records, MDAH.

> The men and women to whom we pay homage devoutly believed in the democratic doctrines that a state has the right to choose and maintain its own institutions, without interference from the national government . . . . in these days when federal powers are increasing at a terrifying rate, we must not be complacent about present accomplishments. We must instead re-dedicate ourselves to a devotion of principles . . . a devotion as sincere as that which our forefathers demonstrated . . .[58]

Roebuck never did clarify whether such "sincere" devotion entailed actually bearing arms to defend southern beliefs, although an officer in the Mississippi Sons of Confederate Veterans certainly followed the analogy to its logical conclusion, writing to Roebuck: "I want to agree with you that we do not want to fight this war over, however, if the iron heel of tyranny of the impatient radicals of both National Political Parties are successful in putting across the Civil Rights planks in their platforms, there will again be bloodshed in the South before the end of 1965."[59]

The 1962 ceremonies organized by the Mississippi Commission at the Vicksburg National Military Park were designed to specifically honor Confederate forces. Originally intended as a mirror image of the Northern and Midwestern commemorations that took place in 1961 -- one week for every southern state that fought at Vicksburg -- practical considerations eventually whittled the schedule down to just two days. A joint project with Louisiana's centennial commission resulted in Louisiana-Mississippi Day on June second. Governor Barnett appeared as principal speaker at a program in Tallulah, Louisiana, and later that morning Louisiana dedicated historic markers noting Grant's trail to Vicksburg on the Western bank of the Mississippi River. During the Governor's Luncheon at Vicksburg, Governor Welsh of Indiana returned a Mississippi battleflag captured at the city by his state's forces. That evening an impressive fire-works display emblazoned the sky as a recreation of the bombardment that had rained on

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[58][Sidney T. Roebuck], "The Meaning of the Civil War Centennial--A Re-dedication To Our Fundamental Ideas," c. April 1961, pp. 6 & 8, manuscript, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S2-00717, MDAH.

[59]Jim B. Collier to S. T. Roebuck, 18 July 1960, MCWBS Records, MDAH. Although Collier wrote this letter prior to the commission's 1961 requests for local committees to organized rededication days, the application of Collier's sentiment is quite consistent to the logic of the text, as his next words were "As you say let us all join together in a rededication to the principles for which our forefathers fought and to acquire a better understanding of the war, its causes, developments and implications."

Vicksburg during the war. On August ninth, the commission honored all other southern states with troops present at the siege and battle for Vicksburg, with Senator Strom Thurmond, former presidential nominee of the Dixiecrat party, acting as principal speaker.[60]

From the start, several individuals with access to the national media called attention to the southern commissions intent to use the anniversary to heighten Confederate identification among regional inhabitants. Hence, the centennial was not such a "secret weapon" after all. As early as June of 1958, a minister in Atlanta wrote the New York Times that "attention to the centennial in the Southern press indicates that observances will be utilized for sounding off on present-day issues more than for commemorating a bygone event." He added, "The passions that brought forth the war between Americans are not dead and will only be exploited by many who are still grieving that the South failed to win."[61] At a 1961 meeting of the West Virginia Historical Society, an assistant dean of a West Virginia college suggested that little political sophistication was necessary to recognize the "ulterior motive" of the South and implied that a direct link to Virginia's Massive Resistance to integration existed: "As the cheers at Bull Run ring out again at the sight of the Yankee debacle, we may anticipate still further arrests of negro sit-ins and a renewed determination of the Old Dominion to keep the public schools of Prince Edward County closed."[62] North Carolina humorist Harry Golden concurred, suspecting that Confederate battle reenactors

> . . . secretly hope one day the batteries will load real projectiles in the cannons, and the bayonets will be cold steel, not rubber. And this time they will take Washington, D.C. Once they take the capital, they can force upon the Supreme Court the decisions that will restore the old plantations, the crinolines, the dueling pistols, the house on the hill with smoke coming out the chimney at twilight and little Sambo rolling in laughter under the magnolias . . .[63]

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[60]"Thurmond Says Individuals Must Join Commie Fight," Jackson Daily News, 20 August 1962, p. 18.

[61]Rev. John B. Morris, "Centennial Observance Queried," New York Times, 7 June 1958, p. IV 10.

[62]"War Centennial Critic," New York Times, 1 May 1961, p. 29. For an identical assessment of centennial ceremonies' ability to invoke a "renewed determination" among southerners, see Southern Regional Council, A Hundred Years Later (N.p., c. 1962), p. 5.

[63]Harry Golden, "Let's End the Civil War," Saturday Evening Post 235 (August 11, 1962): 10. In a letter dated August 14, 1962, Jim B. Collier of Mississippi wrote "As for the reactivated units attempting to invade and take over the National Capitol in Washington, D.C. I am sure that Harry

He added that, "Civil War centennialists have some vague idea that, if they can mount a sufficient show of force, they may not have to deal with the more aggravating and immediate problems of Southern life."[64]

In a 1961 Commonweal article entitled "Rally Round What Flag?," an examination of the centennial recounted how a Congress dominated by Southern Democrats created the CWCC; how President Eisenhower, Vice-President Nixon, and Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn, all sympathetic to the South, appointed its membership; and how the resultant outcome was a commemorative body that decided to "suppress all reference to the moral and political issues at stake" in the war. Furthermore, the decision to operate the federal commission as a coordinating agency permitted "the heirs of the secessionists in the state governments of the South . . . to control the ideological content of all ceremonies."[65] Viewed in this conspiratorial light, the author, Howard N. Meyer, ascribed an awesome significance to the CWCC's abdication of control. He, too, recognized that ceremonies such as the commemoration of Jefferson Davis's inaugural or reenactments of battles such as Bull Run, possessed "overtones of incitation or resistance to federal authority."[66]

A more vehement accusation appeared in a 1961 booklet published by the Vanguard Society of America in Los Angeles entitled The Civil War Centennial and the Negro. Describing the centennial as "the biggest propaganda campaign of the decade," the authors suggested that commemorative efforts in the South sought to strengthen "Dixiecrats," to enrich their coffers with tourist money, and to disrupt the civil rights movement.[67] The booklet then proceeded to explain

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Golden knows that we know that he and his friends, the NAACP, ADA, Civil Liberties Union and many more his kind have already taken over the Capitol City and have made of it an African Jungle surpassed only by the Congo." MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S1-00709, MDAH.

[64]ibid.

[65]Howard N. Meyer, "Rally Round What Flag?," Commonweal 74 (June 9, 1961): 271.

[66]ibid, p. 274.

[67]The Civil War Centennial and the Negro (Los Angeles: Vanguard Society of America, 1960), p. 3. For similar sentiments about the propaganda value of the centennial to the South, see "Freedom 1961," Negro History Bulletin 24 (March 1961): 122; "Civil War Celebrations," Commonweal 74 (April 21, 1961): 93; Dorothy Sterling, "Negro History Week Radio Broadcast," Negro History Bulletin 24 (April 1961): 161-63; "Centennial and the Negro," Negro History Bulletin

just how organizers would accomplish such goals -- by ignoring slavery and black contributions to Confederate defeat and thus presenting the Blue and the Gray "as brothers who got into a friendly little argument, motivated by essentially the same high ideals." Attributing calculated intent to southern centennial officials, the authors asserted that "[h]aving clear-cut purposes, and knowing just what they wanted to include and what they wanted to leave out -- what to emphasize and what to play down -- the white supremacists have set up, with Congressional assistance, a national Civil War Centennial Commission . . ."[68] The booklet further declared that "today the racists, the white supremacists, are in full and *unchallenged* control of the Civil War Centennial."[69]

Yet, even as ceremonies commenced in Mississippi during the spring of 1961, the centennial encountered a crisis at the national level that brought sectional divisions out into the open and that eventually brought about an apparent revolution in personnel and goals. As chairman of the CWCC, Grant had already defended the anniversary rites against two different charges. First, the retired general countered fears that organizers appeared to be making the centennial into "a mere series of battle reenactments."[70] In a February 1959 press release, he professed himself "disturbed by the knowledge that people think of the Centennial as only a giant refighting of the war."[71] Acknowledging that some states (understood by all as a reference to the South) might go overboard promoting reenactments, Grant emphasized that the national commission had no authority to prevent such plans, although he advised states against planning

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24 (May 1961): 170; John Hope Franklin, "A Century of Civil War Observations," Journal of Negro History 47 (April 1962): 103-7; Charles H. Wesley, "The Civil War and the Negro-American," Journal of Negro History 47 (April 1962): 78-79; J. A. Rogers, "Civil War Centennial, Myth and Reality," Freedomways 3 (Winter 1963): 7-18; Melvin Drimmer, "Thoughts on the Civil War Centennial," Freedomways 4 (Fall 1964): 540-45; Charles Preston, "On the Civil War Centennial," Freedomways 5 (Summer 1965): 426-29.

[68]The Civil War Centennial and the Negro, p. 4. In support of their claim that centennial commemoration suppressed the causality of slavery and African American involvement, the authors specifically cited an official Mississippi centennial pamphlet with absolutely no depiction of blacks: "The Negro has been eliminated. . . . this Centennial brochure presents the South as if the Negro does not exist -- and never did exist" (p. 5).

[69]ibid., 6. Emphasis added.

[70]CWCC Press Release No. 71, 22 February 1959, MCWBS Records, R001-B18-S2-00731, MDAH.

[71]ibid.

too many reenactments due to their expense. The second accusation involved the use of the term "celebrate" in conjunction with the Civil War Centennial, a usage that implied a jubilant air surrounded the anniversary of this tragic national event. Blaming the semantics of reporters who employed the verb in their centennial accounts, Grant resorted to a reminder of the commemoration's ability to teach present generations the lessons of history, and suggested that, "It is now our duty to pay tribute to them for the sacrifices they made in order that the nation founded by the Revolution might live more securely today, and become, as it has, the symbol of freedom and individual rights for all the people of the world."[72]

Interestingly, divergent interpretations of this democratic ideal lay behind the crisis that began to develop in March of 1961. On the tenth of that month, New Jersey announced a boycott of the 1961 National Assembly meeting in Charleston, South Carolina after a black member of the New Jersey Centennial Commission claimed segregation practices prevented her from obtaining hotel reservations. Asserting that the federal commission had no jurisdiction over the management policies of hotels, the executive committee refused to consider changing the location of the meeting. Urging other states to joint the boycott, the NAACP responded that although the national commission might not have authority over hotels, it did control the choice of meeting sites. By March twenty-sixth -- after the boycott list grew to include New York, California, and Illinois -- the federal commission assented to repeated requests from President Kennedy to end the conflict, changing the location to the U.S. Naval Station at Charleston, which, as a federal facility, prohibited segregation.[73] Despite the apparent success of the boycott, a New York Times editorial noted that

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[72]CWCC Press Release No. 152, 1 March 1961, MCWBS Records, R001-B18-S2-00732, MDAH.
[73]For an almost daily breakdown of the crisis, see the following articles in the New York Times: "Jerseyans Spurn Civil War Parley," 10 March 1961, p. 29; "Case Protests Segregation Rule in Sumter Civil War Centennial," 15 March 1961, pp. 1 & 33; W. H. Lawrence, "Kennedy Prods Civil War Unit on Housing Segregation Charge," 18 March 1961, p. 1; "What Are We Celebrating," 19 March 1961, p. IV: 10; Alvin Shuster, "Civil War Centennial Rebuffs Kennedy's Desegregation Plea," 22 March 1961, pp. 1 & 34; "N.A.A.C.P. Rebukes Centennial Group," 23 March 1961, p. 26; Alvin Shuster, "President Tells Civil War Unit Not to Hold Segregated Meeting," 24 March 1961,

> The Charleston hotels will thus not be compelled to recognize that nearly a century ago 'this nation, under God [had] a new birth of freedom.' They will not have to violate local principles and customs by admitting Negro members of a federally sponsored agency, coming in good faith to honor the heroic dead of the South as well as the North and to celebrate a hundred slow years of reconciliation . . . . this is a bad start for a five year observance.[74]

And matters only became worse when the National Assembly actually met.

In April, the CWCC and delegates from state commissions assembled in Charleston to mark the one hundredth year since the Confederate artillery barrage on Fort Sumter. Half in jest, one of the preliminary orators urged, "Please don't start another war while you're here."[75] Unfortunately, the next day Ashley Halsey, Jr., the Charleston-born associate editor of the Saturday Evening Post, rebuked New Jersey at a luncheon in a segregated downtown restaurant sponsored by the South Carolina Confederate Centennial Commission. Declaring that New Jersey's "right hand didn't know what the left wing is doing," Halsey labeled the state's boycott as hypocritical in light of New Jersey's own discriminatory practices.[76] That evening in a prepared speech before the entire assembly at the Navy Yard, he made a tasteless joke about Lincoln. Furthermore, although Halsey had dropped a portion of his address criticizing federal intervention in Little Rock and his suggestion that a popular vote settle school integration, a complete text of the speech had already circulated to guests and reporters. An attempted rejoinder by the leader of the New Jersey delegation, Donald Flamm, developed into a standing debate with Grant who demanded that Flamm restrain his comments until the next day's business meeting. Later that evening at a spontaneous press conference, Flamm and the New Jersey delegation accused the CWCC of "pathetic mismanagement" and demanded the removal of Grant as chairman.[77]

The southern states, in a separate meeting of the Confederate States Centennial Conference (established back in 1960), quickly passed a resolution supporting Grant's

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pp. 1 & 18; Alvin Shuster, "Civil War Parley Bows to Kennedy," 26 March 1961, pp. 1 & 72. See also, Gondos, pp. 64-67; Kammen, pp. 598-99; Hartje, p. 71.

[74]"Fort Sumter Revisited," New York Times, 27 March 1961, p. 30.

[75]"Please Don't Start Another War," Newsweek 57 (April 24, 1961): 40.

[76]ibid.

[77]"Centennial of War Rocked by Dispute," New York Times, 12 April 1961, pp. 1 & 36.

administration of the federal commission.[78] Such support for the grandson of their Appomattox conqueror did not appear all that inconceivable in light of Grant's demonstrated sympathy for the southern states and the prospect that any new leader would possess a liberal bias. Back in Mississippi, Sidney Roebuck and Gladys Slayden reported on the Charleston meeting to the MCWBS, blaming the New Jersey commission for the entire affair and extolling Grant who "stayed with the Southern states."[79] A few days later, Roebuck wrote Terry Sanford, governor of North Carolina: "We want to cooperate with the other Southern states in all Centennial matters since New Jersey has tried to throw a stumbling block in the Centennial path. It could be possible that the Southern states will have to work more closely together than was at first anticipated."[80] And indeed, dating from Charleston, cooperation and communication among the southern states showed a marked increase.[81] In addition, correspondence among members of southern centennial commissions demonstrated a growing combativeness against the national commission and all non-southern state commissions, particularly after September when Grant announced his resignation (supposedly due to his wife's illness and not the crescendo of criticism directed at the centennial and the CWCC). A few weeks later, Betts decided to resign rather than accept a demotion to a consultancy position.[82]

While southern officials viewed the displacements of Grant and Betts as the result of lamentable pressure from "radical groups," Congressman Frank Smith of Mississippi, a moderate

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[78]"South Supports Grant," New York Times, 15 April 1961, p. 10. See also, Bell Wiley, professor of history at Emory University and member of the national CWCC, to James W. Silver, professor of history at the University of Mississippi, 2 May 1961, James W. Silver Collection, Box 26, Folder 9, UM.
[79]"Minutes of the Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States," 6 May 1961, pp. 4-5, manuscript, MCWBS Records, R001-B17-S2-000734, MDAH.
[80]S. T. Roebuck to Terry Sanford, Governor of North Carolina, 10 May 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S2-00718 MDAH.
[81]Not only did correspondence increase, but numerous copies of correspondence southern officials had with the federal commission and with each other evidently circulated widely among the southern contingent. Thus, the MCWBS Collection alone provides an extensive sample of the perceptions of non-Mississippi southern centennial officials and demonstrates the esprit de corps that developed among the members of the CSCC.
[82]Gondos, "Karl S. Betts," pp. 67-68.

on racial issues, wrote Roebuck that Betts's removal officially resulted from the director's emphasis on "carnival and commercial aspects," his misuse of funds, and a failure to keep members informed of activities.[83] Although some southerners privately expressed the hope that former President Eisenhower might assume the chairmanship, Kennedy appointed esteemed historian Allan Nevins to the post in October.[84] Another college professor and former editor of Civil War History, James I. Robertson, became executive director. This switch in the background of the leadership from military and public relations to academia indicated an attempt to reorientate the direction of the commemoration. While maintaining that the central theme would be "unity, not division," Nevins announced that emancipation and the role of black troops would receive due recognition. Furthermore, he asserted that the commission would "discourage observances that are cheap and tawdry, or that are divisive in temper," such as reenactments, favoring instead the development of scholarship that expanded popular understanding of the cultural, economic, and social history of the war.[85]

In reaction to Nevins' comments, rumors spread among southern members that the national commission planned to turn the centennial "into a 'springboard' for more Civil Rights propaganda."[86] Roebuck wrote to Smith, who had recently received an appointment to the federal commission, that

> We have even heard that the President is contemplating an issuance of another 'emancipation proclamation' and that the National Commission would be the

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[83]S. T. Roebuck to Frank E. Smith, Mississippi Congressman, 5 September 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S3-00720, MDAH; Frank E. Smith to S. T. Roebuck, 6 September 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S3-00720, MDAH; Frank E. Smith to S. T. Roebuck, 7 September 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S3-00720, MDAH.

[84]Mention of Eisenhower appears in "Minutes of the Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States," 19 September 1961, p. 2, MCWBS Records, R001-B17-S2-000734, MDAH; Campbell H. Brown, executive director of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, to Gladys Slayden, 14 September 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B13-S3-0-722 MDAH.

[85]The Civil War Centennial: A Report to the Congress, pp. 13-14; Hartje, Bicentennial USA, p. 72.

[86]S. T. Roebuck to Frank E. Smith, 7 November 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S3-00720, MDAH. See also, Sam Dickinson, Arkansas Civil War Centennial Commission, to Sidney T. Roebuck, 28 August 1961, MCWBS Records, MDAH: "I understand that the groups which are trying to convert the National Civil War Centennial Commission into a civil rights pressure agency are still harassing our friends."

> medium through which the proclamation would be issued. All of the Southern States feel that if this is done, it will kill all interest in the Centennial insofar as the Southern states are concerned.[87]

As the one hundredth anniversary of emancipation approached, members of the Confederate States Centennial Conference grew increasingly anxious. John A. May, chairman of the South Carolina Confederate War Centennial Commission, wrote Roebuck in December that, "we should not sit idly by and permit the National Commission to turn our Centennial into a political deal."[88]

Meanwhile, between the Charleston assembly and the changing of the guard, the MCWBS actively took exception to several unfavorable depictions of the centennial commemoration in Holiday, a national travel magazine. In a promotional piece published primarily for the trade, Holiday printed a humorous rhyme that offended southern sensibilities in a callous reference to General Robert E. Lee and then warned prospective tourists about the propensity of southern law enforcement to set speed traps. The primary insult, however, appeared in the July issue of the magazine itself. There, an editorial traced the cause of the Civil War to southerners' desire to preserve slavery. Deriding centennial ceremonies as a theatrical farce of romanticism and commercialism, the piece then reminded readers that "some of us even now are being brutally denied certain personal freedoms," concluding that "it would be hard to find another nation that would mock itself with such cheerful cynicism."[89]

Oddly enough, Curtis Publishing, the parent company of Holiday, was actively involved in the centennial, even loaning one of its employees to the national commission. The chairman of the board, Kermit Sloan, served as chairman of the Advertising Committee, and Curtis Publishing paid the commission's printing costs on the brochure "Aids to Advertisers" that sought to promote tasteful tie-ins to the anniversary. Furthermore, the company published one of the periodicals

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[87]S. T. Roebuck to Frank E. Smith, 7 November 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S3-00720, MDAH.

[88]John A. May to Sidney T. Roebuck, 13 December 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S3-00721, MDAH.

[89]"A Word with Our Readers," Holiday 30 (July 1961): 25.

most supportive of the centennial, the Saturday Evening Post.[90] Separate letters to the president of Curtis Publishing from Roebuck and Ned O'Brien at Mississippi's Agricultural & Industrial Board spelled out their complaints against the attack on their region and the potential harm to Mississippi's tourist industry. Both men requested a retraction. Roebuck cited the solemnity of his commission's Vicksburg commemorations for Northern and Midwestern states as evidence of the state's efforts to realize the national scope and objectives of the centennial, and included the commission's publications to demonstrate their "decency and propriety."[91] O'Brien, manager of the A & I Board's Travel Department, detailed the amount spent advertising the state's centennial program in Holiday, and threatened cancellation of future advertising if a retraction was not forthcoming.[92] MacNeal's response to Roebuck outlined the concept of editorial freedom and reminded him of Curtis Publishing's advocacy of the centennial and Holiday's past favorable reporting on the South. Regarding the monetary sanction threatened by O'Brien, MacNeil wrote, "The lessons of the horrible conflict now being commemorated do not seem to have mitigated the warlike power of the wrath suddenly directed towards friends of long standing."[93] A few days later, the Jackson Daily News, providing an excerpt of the magazine's editorial and a remonstrance of the content, incited the public to start a letter writing campaign to the company.[94]

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[90]As Karl Betts tactfully reminded Roebuck after receiving complaints against Holiday. See, Karl S. Betts to S. T. Roebuck, 27 June 1961, MCWBS Records, MDAH.
[91]S. T. Roebuck to Robert E. MacNeal, President of Curtis Publishing Company, 28 June 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S2-00715, MDAH.
[92]Ned O'Brien to Robert E. MacNeal, 28 June 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S2-00715, MDAH.
[93]Robert E. MacNeil to S. T. Roebuck, 5 July 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S2-OO715, MDAH. Other correspondence regarding Holiday includes S. T. Roebuck to Karl S. Betts, 22 June 1961; S. T. Roebuck to A. B. Moore, executive director of the Alabama Civil War Centennial Commission, 28 June 1961; S. T. Roebuck to Karl S. Betts, no date; Karl S. Betts to Sidney Roebuck, 5 July 1961; A. B. Moore to the editors of Holiday, 13 July 1961 (all in MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S2-00715, MDAH).
[94]"Dripping Acid on Dixie," Jackson Daily News, 12 July 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B20-S5-00735, MDAH. On the other hand, an editorial in the Durant News found nothing insulting with Holiday's views and deemed the cancellation of ads by the A & I Board a ridiculous overreaction. "Holiday Gets the Boot from Mississippi," Durant News, 20 July 1961, MCWBS Records, MDAH.

Although this incident involved publishing, the reaction by Mississippi officials demonstrated the rationale behind the television industry's decision not to join the flurry of centennial coverage by airing productions devoted to the Civil War. More precisely, sponsors, not programmers, made that determination. National broadcasters had planned four television series based on the historical facts of the conflict, but lack of interest from sponsors forced them to abandon these plans. Advertisers feared the potential for controversy, particularly the potential for adverse reaction by white southerners to statements or portrayals deemed objectionable. As one reporter wrote,

> From the advertiser's point of view the problem is not simply one of giving equal time to the Blue and Gray. All that is required to precipitate an office crisis is a mere mention of the war's resolution. If it is indicated that the North did win, some sensitives in the South, especially in light of today's difficulties, may be rubbed raw. And the purchasing power of every Southern viewer must be nurtured and solicited.[95]

Thus, as the author noted, the interdependent financing of national networks enabled "a relatively small band of individuals to exercise a silent veto of subject matter sight unseen."[96] Of course, local broadcasters, with greater confidence in their ability to determine and avoid touchy topics, would occasionally provide a forum, as did WJTV in Jackson on the eve of Secession Day when it aired one and a half hours of programming on the Civil War.[97] As the furor generated by Holiday showcased, however, television advertisers wisely recognized the South's tendency to exhibit a hostile backlash to any imagined slight or disreputable interpretation. Consequently, they understood the minefield Civil War history was for retailers who wanted to avoid alienating consumers at all costs.

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[95]Jack Gould, "Hands Off the Civil War," New York Times, 22 January 1961, p. II: 11.
[96]ibid. Other articles dealing with television and the centennial include: Robert Alden, "Civil War Too Controversial?," New York Times, 12 December 1960, p. 46; Robert Alden, "Advertising: An Account Goes Home Again," New York Times, 12 April 1961, p. 56. See also, Kammen, Mystic Chords, p. 607.
[97]Mississippi Civil War Centennial News Press Release No. 9, 24 February 1961, MCWBS Records, R001-B18-S2-00731, MDAH.

But fear that the federal commission would neglect to show similar consideration to their region heightened considerably among southern centennial officials in 1962. The new executive's stated determination to duly honor the role of blacks alarmed white southerners. Back in December of 1961, May had written Nevins about the news stories that purported the commission's desire to emphasize the Emancipation Proclamation, the possibility of inviting speakers from Africa to federal ceremonies, and Nevin's declaration of a "new attitude in the South."[98] To that last statement, May responded: "I do know, of my own knowledge, that we in the South will vigorously oppose any effort to turn our Commemoration of the Civil War into a political issue of any kind -- whether favorable to the North or the South."[99] He added further that he failed to see what speakers from Africa could contribute to the centennial. A few days later, ex-director Betts warned May:

> . . . I would be extremely cautious about any commitments to the new Centennial regime which would involve the Southern States . . . . I can assure you that the only events receiving any attention are the promotion of the civil rights-emancipation proclamation.[100]

Whether Betts's news flowed from sour grapes or not, the information only added to the apprehension southern officials experienced. Right before Christmas, Governor Barnett requested that the commission keep him apprised on the activities of the national commission, and urged the members not to "give an inch on its present policies," indicating the level of seriousness he assigned to the matter.[101]

The first month of the new year proved a particularly anxious period when no agenda arrived for the special national convention scheduled for January thirty-first, despite Nevins's personal assurance to May that the commission had no plans as of yet to commemorate

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[98]John A. May to Allan Nevins, 13 December 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S3-00721, MDAH.
[99]ibid.
[100]Karl S. Betts to John A. May, 29 December 1961, MCWBS Records, MDAH.
[101]"Minutes of the Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States," 21 December 1961, p. 7, MSCWBS Records, R001-B17-S2-000734, MDAH.

emancipation.[102] Assuming the worst, Roebuck, wrote Smith that the South would "object strenuously to any program which had political or partisan aspects." Mississippi, after all, had made every effort to avoid showing animosity to other states or peoples; Roebuck referred specifically to the Vicksburg commemorations as a demonstration of the state's cooperation and good will. Any effort by the national commission to develop a "political" program would only "create friction" between the North and the South. He added, "There has been some suggestion among the Southern states that if this matter is to be brought up and passed at the January 31 meeting, then the Southern states should refrain from attending."[103] Smith responded from Washington that "I do not know of any way in which the observance of the Emancipation Proclamation can be avoided," adding that Congress would probably set up a special committee to assume responsibility.[104] Later, in a letter to Betts stating that most of the southern states had decided to attend the meeting, Roebuck expressed fear about not attending, presumably because the absence of southern representation would relinquish all control over the commemoration. But he rallied by asserting that "if the going gets too rough, we might be able to secede again and proceed with our Southern Conference."[105] Apparently, something, perhaps the letter from Smith, had convinced Roebuck that some sort of observance of Lincoln's proclamation would happen regardless of southern protests. He now urged May and others to prepare a "counter move" and a "united front" to modify anything already planned. More specifically, he suggested that they become familiar with the historical background of emancipation and the proclamation specifically, as a means of becoming "forearmed."[106] Meanwhile, the Mississippi commission unanimously

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[102]John A. May to Sam Dickenson, Arkansas Confederate Centennial Commission, 2 January 1962, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S3-00721, MDAH.
[103]S. T. Roebuck to Frank E. Smith, 12 January 1962, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S3-00720, MDAH.
[104]Frank E. Smith to Sidney T. Roebuck, 15 January 1962, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S3-00720, MDAH.
[105]S. T. Roebuck to Karl Betts, 22 January 1962, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S3-00721, MDAH.
[106]S. T. Roebuck to John A. May, 22 January 1962, MCWBS Records, MDAH.

agreed to "stand pat" in opposition to any national plans that emphasized the Emancipation Proclamation.[107]

Thus, from their initial impulse to either aggressively oppose or openly secede, the southern states determined that their best interest lay in fighting a rear guard action that might mitigate the possible use of the centennial to promote civil rights. When the national CWCC announced plans for specific ceremonies on September 22, 1962 in honor of the hundredth year since the announcement of the Emancipation Proclamation, the southern states acted in concert. A resolution adopted by the Confederate States Centennial Conference announced their united opposition. Citing the same reconciliationist goals the federal commission had outlined a few years earlier, the southern conference suggested that the CWCC should refrain from any "departure from the real purpose of the Centennial Commemoration" -- in other words, honoring the men of both sides and furthering the appreciation of the public for the strong nation that resulted. Yet, if any observance should occur, it should do so under the auspices of local organizers, continuing the policy "established in the past of leaving all commemorative programs to State Centennial Commissions."[108] More explicitly, May, as CSCC chairman, told the national commission and other states that "his group had no objection to any state putting on any sort of program it desired, just so long as the rights and feelings of other states and regions were respected."[109] Nevins, assuring May that any plans would show due respect, appointed him to a special committee created to study the issue.[110]

In February, Robertson communicated to May that CWCC officers intended to recommend to the full commission that the Emancipation Proclamation ceremony proceed under the sponsorship of the District of Columbia Centennial Commission, the National Park Service,

[107]"Minutes of the Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States," 24 January 1962, pp. 1-2, MCWBS Records, R001-B17-S2-000734, MDAH.
[108]"Resolution of the Confederate States Centennial Conference," 31 January 1962, manuscript, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S2-0716, MDAH.
[109]"Minutes of the Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States," 8 February 1962, MCWBS Records, R001-B17-S2-000734, MDAH.
[110]ibid.

and other local organizations in cooperation with the federal commission. May wrote Roebuck, "This action, while complying with the substance of our resolution, would at the same time not obligate any state or section to participate in a program unacceptable to any section . . . . I see no objection to it being handled in that manner."[111] He also confided his impression that Robertson truly sympathized with the contention of southern officials that "politics" had no place in centennial events. In a lengthy letter to Robertson at the beginning of March, A. B. Moore of Alabama reiterated that the CSCC did not object to the commemoration itself (because of its acknowledged historical importance), but to the National Commission's involvement. He further asserted, "To read present notions about the race question and projected solutions into the thinking upon the question at the time the Proclamation was issued would be a distortion of historical perspective." In support of this opinion, he proceeded to explicate the historical background of the proclamation, mentioning Northern discrimination and Lincoln's views on the black race. Describing the common misconception that the Emancipation Proclamation freed all slaves, he wrote "It would be deplorable if this impression should tend to be perpetuated by the commemoration of the Proclamation. The Proclamation was clearly a war measure of limited scope and, it might be added, doubtful legality."[112] Apparently, Moore had taken Roebuck's advice that greater knowledge of the declaration's history might provide useful ammunition for the southern cause.

May called a special meeting of the CSCC to determine the southern position on the emancipation commemoration proceeding under the control of the District of Columbia. In good states' rights tradition, the conference adopted a statement of policy that accepted the right of any state or locality to commemorate any Civil War episode. Then, the group reversed the spirit of this high-minded declaration by suggesting that such events should occur "in good taste, with

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[111]John A. May to Sidney T. Roebuck, 26 February 1962, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S3-00712, MDAH.

[112]A. B. Moore to Dr. James I. Robertson, Jr., 6 March 1962, MCWBS Records, MDAH. See also, A. B. Moore to S. T. Roebuck, 30 March 1962, which acknowledges receipt of historical material on Lincoln and the Emancipation Proclamation apparently distributed by Roebuck to the southern commissions.

dignity, based on historical fact, and inoffensive to every other state, district, community, or county." Further qualifications stressed opposition to any ceremony "which is purely political in nature and which distorts or seeks to distort the actual facts as recorded in history . . ." The policy statement also maintained, yet again, that the federal commission's function as a coordinating body should prevent it from assuming sponsorship of the Proclamation's commemoration ceremony in Washington.[113]

After hearing a report on the session, members of the Mississippi Commission decided the Governor needed a brief on the situation. In April, continued fear that Kennedy would use the opportunity to mount a civil rights platform at the emancipation commemoration inspired Roebuck to write May that the southern states should do even more historical research and "beat Kennedy to the punch by giving publicity to the events surrounding the Emancipation Proclamation."[114] Roebuck, however, failed to implement his own suggestion in Mississippi, as publications and ceremonies gave no coverage to the anniversary. Correspondence among southern officials about the ceremony then disappeared until brief postmortem discussions took place in September. Evidently, apprehension on the matter faded among white southerners involved in the centennial.

Yet white southerners were not the only people to express dissatisfaction with the planned observance. For, another faction saw the propaganda potential in making connections between past and present circumstances, and this group also disliked the arrangements of the commission. The difference was that while the white South wanted to suppress or at least diminish the parallel, African Americans and their white liberal supporters wanted to capitalize on it. Hence, the federal commission in mediating between the two factions was truly between a rock and a hard place. Previously, national centennial organizers had successfully shunted most

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[113]"Minutes of the Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States," 13 March 1962, pp. 4-5, MCWBS Records, R001-B17-S2-000734, MDAH.

[114]S. T. Roebuck to John A. May, 16 May 1962, MCWBS Records, MDAH. Previous expressions of concern about Kennedy appear S. T. Roebuck to Karl S. Betts, 27 February 1962.

black participation and topics into separate, segregated arenas under the umbrella of black organizations. In an April 1962 article on the centennial in the Journal of Negro History, Charles H. Wesley wrote that "the Commission's plan seems to have placed us on another separate-but-equal basis, in line with the philosophy so typical of the Negro's participation in many activities."[115] By neglecting to emphasize and evaluate the role of slavery as a cause of the conflict and the part African Americans played in the war itself, the CWCC had thus necessarily relegated that work to black organizations and publications which in turn tended to limit the audience of the message to blacks.[116] Yet, with his determination to acknowledge the role of African Americans in the Civil War, Nevins transformed these dynamics, especially with the announcement of a national ceremony to commemorate emancipation.

Instead of gratefully accepting the plans of the federal commission, black leaders pushed for further concessions when they became aware that the initial program for the event at the Lincoln Memorial included no black speakers. The only African American representation on the program was in the entertainment segment when Mahalia Jackson was slated to sing, and the U.S. Marine Band was scheduled to play a piece by black composer Ulysses Kay. With the approval of Martin Luther King, Jr., the president of the District of Columbia branch of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, called for a boycott of the Washington event which he termed a "mockery." A few days later on September eighteenth, a three-hour conference among black leaders, CWCC representatives, White House and Justice Department aides, and an official of the Civil Rights Commission resolved the threatened boycott with a compromise agreement to add a black speaker to the program -- Thurgood Marshall, currently serving as a justice on the

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[115]Wesley, "The Civil War," p. 85. In December of 1959, Negro History Bulletin reported that Grant and Betts had "authorized the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History to coordinate the Negro History aspects of the Centennial observance." "A.S.N.H.L. and the Civil War Centennial," Negro History Bulletin 23 (December 1959): 71-72. See also, Hartje, Bicentennial USA, pp. 69- 71.

[116]However, a few northern and midwestern states chose on their own initiative to discuss slavery and black involvement in the war.

U.S. Court of Appeals and formerly the NAACP's lead lawyer in school desegregation cases.[117] Thus, the potential embarrassment of celebrating the one hundredth birthday of the document that freed the slaves without the presence of its contemporary beneficiaries, provided black activists with the power to demand greater involvement in the ceremony.

On September twenty-second, a crowd of three thousand turned out to witness the hour-long program at the Lincoln Memorial, and an estimated twelve million viewed the television broadcast of the event.[118] Initially, President Kennedy had promised to speak at the ceremony and had even considered using the occasion to announce an executive order to ban housing discrimination in federally funded projects. Fear that such loaded symbolism might upset the southern contingent of a precariously balanced Democratic party caused Kennedy to renege on his appearance and to delay the announcement.[119] Instead, Adlai E. Stevenson, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, served as keynote speaker. Yet, Kennedy did not distance himself entirely from the event, as organizers presented a strongly worded prerecorded message from the President that compared the contemporary situation with the past:

> It can be said, I believe that Abraham Lincoln emancipated the slaves, but that, in this century since, our Negro citizens have emancipated themselves. And the task is not finished. Much remains to be done to eradicate the vestiges of discrimination and segregation, to make equal rights a reality for all our people, to fulfill finally the promise of the Declaration of Independence. Like the proclamation we celebrate, this observance must be regarded not as an end, but a beginning.[120]

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[117]"Negroes' Boycott in Capital Stands," New York Times, 18 September 1962, p. 25; "Negro Judge Named to Centennial Rite," New York Times, 19 September 1962, p. 27.

[118]100 Years After (October 1962): 1-2; Fried, Russians Are Coming, p. 135.

[119]For a similar impression of Kennedy's nonappearance at the commemoration, see Fried, Russians Are Coming, p. 135; Kammen, Mystic Chords, p. 599.

[120]"Text of Kennedy Emancipation Message," New York Times, 23 September 1962, p. 50. For discussion on making the announcement of the ban on discrimination in federal housing on the anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, see "Rites Today Mark 100th Year of Emancipation Proclamation," New York Times, 22 September 1962, p. 12. Kennedy postponed signing the executive order until November. The Times noted that critics of the delay complained that the president "had mulled over the order longer than Abraham Lincoln had over the Emancipation Proclamation." "Random Notes in Washington," New York Times, 26 November 1962, p. 24.

In addition to the speeches by Stevenson, Kennedy, and Marshall, Governor Nelson Rockerfeller of New York returned the original Emancipation Proclamation to the Library of Congress for exhibition, and Archibald MacLeish, the Poet Laureate, read a poem written especially for the occasion.

Particularly enjoyed by the audience was the performance by Mahalia Jackson, providing an eerie echo of Marion Anderson's 1939 concert in front of the Great Emancipator's monument after the Daughters of the American Revolution barred her use of Constitution Hall. As on other occasions, the Lincoln Memorial provided black activists with an opportunity to insert civil rights into the country's consciousness through symbolic association of their cause with a national hero.[121] The commemoration of the Emancipation Proclamation, nevertheless, failed to attain the emotional fervor and impact made by the following year's March on Washington when King's "I Have A Dream" address would mesmerize over 200,000 spectators and graft a lasting legacy onto the American consciousness. To be fair, centennial organizers only allowed Thurgood Marshall two minutes.

Despite southern officials' reservations, the national commission never intended that the event become a rally for civil rights -- as indicated by their original program and by their continued adherence to the goal of unity. In the end, John May himself acknowledged the ameliorating influence of the federal commission. Two days after the program, May wrote Roebuck:

> The reason that I did not call you after Saturday's ceremonies is because I did not think it was of sufficient importance. I think that our friends on the National Commission wish that they had taken our advice and followed our Washington resolution advocating a hands-off policy rather then the policy they persued [sic]. Now I think that the National Commission is throughly [sic] disgusted, and I mean by that, Nevins, Schwengel, and Company, because the Negroes did just what we predicted -- attempted to take over the celebration . . . . I must say in all fairness that 'Bud' Robertson, and the Commission itself, did a wonderful job in holding the radicals down as much as possible. They were positive with the radicals in definitely refusing Martin Luther King equal time with Adlai Stevenson,

[121]For an examination of the black rallies held at the Lincoln Memorial between 1939 and 1963, see Scott A. Sandage, "A Marble House Divided: The Lincoln Memorial, the Civil Rights Movement, and the Politics of Memory, 1939-1963" Journal of American History 80 (June 1993): 135-67.

> even though they had to yield to Kennedy's demand that Thurgood Marshall speak for two minutes, and that Kennedy himself deliver a four minute remote control message.[122]

Either southern official's fears remained unrealized, or a reevaluation of the spectacle's power deflated concerns. Most likely, the latter transpired. Civil rights language and representations did dominate the event, but the message seemingly ignited no national reaction as the participants appeared to preach to a choir of blacks and liberals.[123] Previously concerned southerners, such as May, could thus downplay the entire affair as nonthreatening and insignificant, no more than a blip on a centennial screen that primarily showcased the South's favored syrupy sentimentalism.

In December, the federal commission retreated even further from its determination to place emancipation on the centennial agenda when Robertson conveyed to James J. Geary, executive director of the Virginia Civil War Commission, that the 1963 National Assembly in Boston would *not* hold a panel discussion on the Proclamation or on abolitionism.[124] Although he accepted May's qualified approval of Nevins and Robertson, Roebuck, nonetheless, voiced apprehension that the federal commission could retain control over the situation at Boston, remarking that he was "a bit skeptical about the attitudes [of] some of the people in the National Commission, because we all realize that Robertson and Nevins are under pressure from the Kennedy Clan."[125] While Nevins and Robertson did indeed hold the line at the Boston Assembly,

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[122]John A. May to Sidney T. Roebuck, 24 September 1962, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S3-00721, MDAH. May also explained his attendance by stating, "I think that fact that the South was represented might have toned down things a little bit." He concluded, "All in all I would say it was regrettable, but at the same time it made our friends on the National Commission realize that they cannot appease the Negroes." The accuracy of May's account of the commission's actions and reactions are debatable, but that he believed and communicated these perceptions to others remains significant.

[123]One footnote to the occasion appeared in the New York Times a week later when it reported that "Vandals have defaced the white marble Lincoln Memorial, painting 'nigger lover' in foot-high pink letters on the rear wall." "Lincoln Memorial Marred by Vandals," New York Times, 28 November 1962, p. 30.

[124]James I. Robertson to James J. Geary, 3 December 1962, MCWBS Records, R167-B13-S3-0722, MDAH.

[125]S. T. Roebuck to John M. May, 24 January 1963, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S3-00721, MDAH. Roebuck continued: "I would call it the KENNEDY KLAN, but I am afraid that I would do a disservice to the Ku Klux Klan be making this comparison."

the 1963 Gettysburg commemoration became yet another contested arena for the oratorical flourishes of segregationists and civil rights proponents alike.[126] By that point, however, officials on the southern commissions demonstrated much greater concern over the public's declining interest in the centennial than over the potential of liberals to hijack commemorative efforts.[127]

By mid-1962, sagging public interest in the centennial became apparent throughout the nation. For a number of reasons, attention to the anniversary in northern and western states had proved slight from the beginning and diminished dramatically as time passed. States outside the south contained few battlefields and historic sites to act as focal points for observances, and the CWCC's determination to emphasize unity and reconciliation inhibited the ability of state commissions to play up their role as the winner. Furthermore, the states in these regions demonstrated their relatively weaker interest in the centennial early on by voting much smaller budgets for their commissions than those in the South, in turn preventing extensive expenditures on programs and publicity that would excite and inspire their citizens.

Eventually, other factors entered into the equation, and southerners' near-monopoly of war sites and their traditional reverence for Civil War history failed to maintain centennial interest even in the South. In reaction, May appointed Roebuck in late 1962 to direct a panel entitled "How to Maintain Public Interest in the Centennial, or Where Do We Go From Here?" at a forthcoming CSCC assembly in New Orleans. To prepare for his upcoming duties, Roebuck wrote several southern officials as well as Robertson, for their opinions on the subject. The replies tallied an almost unanimous resignation on the inability of commissions to revive flagging attention. Several respondents mentioned current events as a reason for dwindling popular interest, specifically naming the Cuban Missile Crisis and the Civil Rights Movement -- as A. B.

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[126]Brief accounts of the Gettysburg commemoration appear in Fried, pp. 135-36; Cook, pp. 143-44.

[127]The MCWBS Records provides little evidence that Mississippi officials demonstrated any significant concern about the Gettysburg commemoration, probably because the anniversary of Vicksburg's surrender--which occurred on the same date as the last day of the Battle of Gettysburg--captured their attention.

Moore apprehended, "Many no doubt feel that we should focus our attention on the exceedingly difficult problems of the present instead of studying the past."[128] In addition, the inevitability of public attention gradually eroding during a five-year observance received comments.[129] Several of the letters suggested that the remaining years should focus on the publication and dissemination of historical works.[130]

Not that southern states had failed to support scholarship previously. Mississippi, after all, had published several works during the early years of the centennial. In 1960, besides its manual for local committees, the MCWBS also produced ten thousand copies of Mississippi in the War Between the States: A Booklet of Facts for the Information of Mississippians in Connection with the Observance of the Civil War Centennial 1961-1965. This thirty-eight page work provided brief summations on secession, Jefferson Davis, and war activities within the state, as well as a listing of the state's battles, military units, and historic markers.[131] In addition, the commission printed two thousand facsimiles of the original Journal of the Secession Convention, distributing copies to city and school libraries, public officials, and the news media throughout the state.[132] As

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[128]A. B. Moore to S. T. Roebuck, 8 November 1962, MCWBS Records, MDAH. Moore, of course, viewed the global situation as just another reason to educate Americans about their past, stating that "To understand and cherish our great traditions is our best defense against Communism." Similar allusions to current events appear in letter from Sam Dickinson to Sidney T. Roebuck, 2 November 1962, and a letter from S. T. Roebuck to Governor Ross R. Barnett, 30 May 1963, MCWBS Records, MDAH.

[129]A. B. Moore to Sidney T. Roebuck, 8 November 1962; Park W. T. Loy, Executive Director of the Maryland Civil War Centennial Commission, to S. T. Roebuck, 19 November 1962; Hambleton Tapp, Chairman of the Kentucky Civil War Centennial Commission, to Sidney T. Roebuck, 13 November 1962, MCWBS Records, MDAH.

[130]Sam Dickinson to Sidney T. Roebuck, 2 November 1962; A. B. Moore to Sidney T. Roebuck, 8 November 1962; James I. Robertson Jr. to S. T. Roebuck, 7 November 1962, MCWBS Records, MDAH. After this exchange, correspondence among southern centennial officials dwindled to mere matters of routine centennial business.

[131]Mississippi in the War Between the States: A Booklet of Facts for the Information of Mississippians in Connection with the Observance of the Civil War Centennial 1961-1965 (Jackson: Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States, 1960). Mississippi Civil War Centennial News, "Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States" (c.1962) cites the number of copies published (MCWBS Records, MDAH).

[132]Journal of the Mississippi Secession Convention, January 1861 (Jackson: Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States, 1962); "Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States Report of Activities March 1962-March1963," manuscript, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S2-00719 MDAH.

early as July of 1961, the MCWBS indicated a desire to leave a more "permanent contribution" in the form of a hard-back book. It eventually commissioned National Park Service historian Edwin C. Bearss to write Decision in Mississippi, a volume which explains in six hundred plus pages why the state had played a pivotal role in the military conflict.[133] Again, libraries, officials, and the media were the designated recipients of two thousand free copies.[134] Bearrs also wrote a brief children's history of the war that the commission distributed to schools.[135]

These four works, all conceived prior to 1962, constituted the sum of historical publications subsidized by the Mississippi commission. Despite the decision by Nevins to encourage scholarship in economic, social, and cultural fields and to deemphasize military history, the MCWBS never followed suit and never published anything else in the latter half of the centennial. In essence, the lack of greater historical output resulted from the commission's accentuation on events, from solemn memorial services to energetic reenactments to spectacular pageants. Explaining this preference, Roebuck once wrote that "The Chinese proverb, 'one picture is worth a thousand words' . . . is still true. Thousands will attend some ceremony where only a dozen or so will read a book. I am not discrediting the importance of books, but I think the two should go together."[136]

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[133]"Minutes of the Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States," 11 July 1961, p. 7, MCWBS Records, R001-B17-S2-000734, MDAH; "The Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States" Mississippi Civil War Centennial News (c.1962), p. 6, MCWBS Records, MDAH; Edwin Bearss, Decision in Mississippi: Mississippi's Important Role in the War Between the States (Jackson: Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States, 1962). Prior to the formation of the MCWBS, the state legislature had appropriated $15,000 to the Mississippi Department of Archives and History "for a centenary publication or publications commemorating Mississippi's part in the War Between the States." Laws of Mississippi (1958), p. 80. The result was a two volume set completed in 1961. John K. Betterworth and James W. Silver, eds., Mississippi in the Confederacy 2 vols. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961).

[134]"Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States Report of Activities March 1962-March 1963," manuscript, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S2-00719 MDAH.

[135]ibid.

[136]S. T. Roebuck to Paul J. Sedgwick, 4 October 1961, MCWBS Records, R167-B13-S3-00723, MDAH. In discussing the new CWCC administration, Betts wrote Roebuck, whom he must have presumed to possess a sympathetic ear: "It is quite apparent that any budget allowed the National Commission will be spent by Schwengel, Wiley, Nevins and others in traveling to and from Washington and in paying fees to historians to write more about the Civil War. In other words, a fraction of 1% of the American people will have any active part in the Centennial which is

In 1963, the Mississippi commission maintained its preference for public functions of a transient nature, despite the advent of public apathy. Early on, the CWCC had suggested that commemorative efforts during the third year of the centennial concentrate on the women of both the north and the south. Although southern states adopted this thematic approach, they tended to focus exclusively on the Confederate side of the equation. The MCWBS urged local committees to conduct ceremonies honoring Mississippi Confederate women and sponsored a small memorial service itself in June on the New Capitol grounds at the site of the Monument to Mississippi Confederate Women.[137] The major production of 1963, however, was the commemoration of the Vicksburg Siege and Battle. Held over a period of five days, the ceremonies began with religious services on Sunday, June thirtieth, and continued over the next few days with historical seminars, field trips, a Ladies' Day Program, and a Gala Confederate Ball. It climaxed on July fourth with a parade attended by special guests General Ulysses S. Grant, III and John C. Pemberton as descendants of the opposing commanders, addresses given by Governor Ross Barnett and Senator James O. Eastland, and a fireworks display designed to reenact the city's bombardment. Estimates for the function projected over 80,000 in attendance at the various events.[138]

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exactly contrary to the nationwide approach which we had organized." Karl S. Betts to Sidney T. Roebuck, 15 March 1962, MCWBS Records, MDAH.

[137]"Mississippi Women of the Confederacy Will Be Honored," Mississippi Civil War Centennial News, c. May 1963, MCWBS Records, R001-B18-S2-00732, MDAH.

[138]Minutes of the MCWBS, 16 October 1963, pp. 1-2, MCWBS Records, R001-B17-S2-000734, MDAH. For a while, segregation customs appeared likely to prove a problem in Vicksburg as they had at Charleston. Correspondence shows that Robertson inquired as to whether the program would have hotel accommodations for blacks. Roebuck later wrote May on the matter that from what Robertson had said "it appears that the Kennedys had stuck their nose into the matter. I told him that the people of Vicksburg would continue to maintain their customs regardless of whether or not we had a program at Vicksburg; that there were motels for both white and colored races in Vicksburg and that I felt that all of those who really wanted to attend the programs there could be accommodated" S. T. Roebuck to John M. May, 19 February 1963, MCWBS Records, R167-B14-S3-00721, MDAH. This belies Robertson's report to Nevins that southern officials had reassured him that "certain hotels and motels will *quietly*--and unknown to the public--accept negroes who are members of state commissions or serving in some other official capacity. I think this last-named development is truly one of the miracles of our century." Robertson letter quoted in Kammen, p. 601. In his speech, Barnett complained of the federal government "whittling away, piecemeal by piecemeal, the great and fundamental principles of our Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. . . . in an effort to capture the vote of minority pressure

The Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States dissolved in mid-1964, and no centennial activities occurred in the state during 1965 which meant that no program conducted by the MCWBS commemorated the end of the Civil War. This ommission, like the silence of Conan Doyle's Baskerville Hound, illuminates to a degree the insincerity of the Mississippi commission in its recitations of the federal commission's reconciliationist themes. In Mississippi, centennial activities never shifted focus from the war itself to the conclusion of hostilities and the resultant progress of the nation under unity. In fact, the minutes of the Mississippi commission reveal that officials considered the reenactment of the Battle of Brice's Cross Roads a fitting conclusion for the state's commemorative program.[139] Ending the centennial with Forrest's stunning Confederate victory over superior Union forces subliminally suggested an alternate scenario for the nineteenth-century conflict that at least offered a theatrical fulfillment of white southerners' wishful thinking.

Despite their reliance on public ceremonies, by mid-1963 members of the Mississippi commission expressed a desire to leave a more permanent contribution that would outlast the centennial. From the beginning, the working outline of tangible goals drawn up by the federal commission had included the marking of all historic sites connected to the conflict and the preservation of battlefields not already subsumed by development.[140] Mississippi officials, too, had added both objectives to their agendas; indeed, the legislative bill creating the MCWBS

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groups." "No Holiday for Barnett on Thursday," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 5 July 1963, pp. 1A & 10A.

[139]Minutes of the MCWBS, 6 June 1963, p. 6, MCWBS Records, R001-B17-S3-000734, MDAH. The reference refers to the commission giving money to Baldwyn for the 1964 reenactment: ". . . this could be the grand finale of this Commission's activities." For the reenactment see, Bonita Appleton, "Battle Re-enactment at Brice's Crossroads," 31 May 1964, Vertical File: "Lee County--History--Battles--Brice's Crossroads," Lee County Libary; "Crowd of 15,000 Watches Re-enactment of the Battle of Brice's Cross Roads End Three Days of Centennial Observances," Baldwyn Weekly News, 11 June 1964, Vertical File: "Lee County--History--Battles--Brice's Crossroads," Lee County Libary. The Appomattox program (jointly sponsored by the Virginia Centennial Commission, the local commission, and the National Park Service) made no mention of the Confederacy's defeat but instead touted a reunited nation destined to become a world power. Kammen, Mystic Chords, p. 603.

[140]"Statement of Objectives and Suggestions for Civil War Centennial Commemorations," January 1958, manuscript, MCWBS Records, MDAH; U.S. Civil War Centennial Commission, Guide for the Observance, p. 7.

specifically directed that "the Commission shall give special attention to the further preservation and development of battlefields and sites in this state, and the graphic marking thereof . . ."[141] Back in 1958, Charlotte Capers had proposed marking the routes, battles, and skirmishes of Grant's Vicksburg campaign, Sherman's Meridian Expedition, Forrest's 1864 activities in northern Mississippi, Grierson's Raids in 1863 and 1864, and Van Dorn's raid on Holly Springs.[142] Mississippi's Greatest Hour also urged local committees to pay special attention to battlefields, historic sites, and Confederate graves.[143] The MCWBS itself, however, accomplished nothing along these lines until 1963 when it spent a little over a thousand dollars funding ninety highway signs that marked Grant's march from Bruinsburg, to Jackson, and onto Vicksburg -- suggesting that this route would serve "as one of the permanent monuments to the work of this Commission."[144]

Apparently dissatisfied with this minor achievement, the commission steadily fixated on bequeathing some sort of reminder of the centennial itself to future generations. In June of 1963, John D. Holland, the mayor of Vicksburg and the chairman of the MCWBS, told the governor that the commission "should have a lasting plaque for posterity showing that the Centennial was an appropriate series of events 100 years after the War."[145] For a while, the possibility of placing a Civil War battle diorama with an accompanying centennial plaque in the Old Capitol museum

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[141]Laws of Mississippi (1960), pp. 577-78.

[142]Minutes of MCWBS, 15 October 1958, p. 2, MCWBS Records, R001-B17-S2-000734, MDAH; More general statements concerning markers and battlefield preservation appear in "Resolution," 1958, manuscript, MCWBS Records, MDAH; Minutes of MCWBS, 6 December 1958, p. 1, MCWBS Records, R001-B17-S2-000734, MDAH.

[143]Mississippi's Greatest Hour, pp. 16-17 & 34-35.

[144]"Report of Activities July 1, 1962-June 30, 1963," p. 4, manuscript, MCWBS Records, R001-B18-S2-00732, MDAH. See also, "Biennial Report," pp. 26-27. As for battlefields, two discussions took place during commission meetings over the feasibility of preserving Champion Hill and Fort Adams, but no action transpired. Minutes of MCWBS, 11 June 1962, p. 5, MCWBS Records, R001-B17-S2-000734, MDAH; Minutes of MCWBS, 29 January 1964, p. 5, MCWBS Records, R001-B17-S2-000734, MDAH. The opening of Grand Gulf Military Park in 1962, although listed in centennial publicity, resulted from efforts and plans made by the legislature prior to the centennial.

[145]Minutes of MCWBS, 6 June 1963, pp. 6-7, MCWBS Records, R001-B17-S2-000734, MDAH.

received consideration.[146] Nevertheless, by April of 1964, the commission decided to order an actual monument built "as a lasting memorial to the 100th anniversary."[147] In fact, for a time the plan called for two monuments, one on the grounds of the Old Capitol and one at Vicksburg's National Military Park. The National Park Service, however, rejected the request. Instead, Capers persuaded the commission to provide funds for restoration work on the Mississippi Confederate Monument on the grounds of the Old Capitol in return for placing the centennial marker in its proximity.[148]

The MCWBS minutes indicate that what members emphasized most was a desire to leave a "lasting monument" in order to show

> future generations that the people of Mississippi did have a commemoration of the War Between the States, with appropriate Centennial observances in all parts of the State, and that a Commission was set up by the Legislature to carry out the commemorative program for the State of Mississippi.[149]

These particular aspirations reveal the members' insecurity over the legacy of their work. Although public ceremonies might touch a larger audience and reach individuals not prone to reading historical discourse, the experience is fleeting unless ritually repeated on a seasonal basis. The impression made by such events, therefore, is rarely *lasting*. By definition, however, a monument provides a constant reminder, physical evidence. At the very least, proof that the person or event memorialized existed. In addition, the appearance in the deliberation twice of the adjective "appropriate" as the exclusive modifier used for the term "centennial" implies a certain

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[146]ibid.; Minutes of MCWBS, 16 October 1963, p. 3, MCWBS Recrods, R001-B17-S2-000734, MDAH.

[147]Minutes of MCWBS, 8 April 1964, p. 4, MCWBS Records, R001-B17-S2-000734, MDAH.

[148]Minutes of MCWBS, 24 June 1964, pp. 5-6, MCWBS Records, R001-B17-S2-000734, MDAH. The Maryland Civil War Centennial Commission dedicated a bronze plaque in the lobby of the Anapolis State House. Its inscription reads in part that the commission "did not attempt to decide who was right and who was wrong, or to make decisions on other controversial issues" but sought "to pay tribute to those who fought and died, as well as to the citizens who, during the Civil War, tried to do their duty as they saw it." Susan Cocke Soderberg, Lest We Forget: A Guide to Civil War Monuments in Maryland (Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Publishing Co., 1995), pp. 113-14.

[149]Minutes of MCWBS, 16 October 1963, p. 3, MCWBS Records, R001-B17-S2-000734, MDAH; Minutes of MCWBS, 24 June 1964, p. 4, MCWBS Records, R001-B17-S2-000734, MDAH.

defensiveness about the course adopted by the commission. Attributing this state of mind to a reversal of racial attitudes on the part of the members that caused them to regret their use of the centennial as propaganda seems preposterous. Rather, the more likely interpretation is that the commission reacted instead to criticisms that its program was ephemeral with few permanent accomplishments. In 1964, A. P. Andrews made just such an accusation in the Jackson Clarion Ledger, lambasting Mississippi centennial officials and specifically noting that despite a large budget, the commission had failed to spend the money as directed by the state legislature to mark historic sites and confederate graves:

> Time marches on and the Mississippi dead Confederate Soldiers lie in their graves not knowing that their memory is not adequately preserved and the sites of their battles where they displayed their valor and shed their blood for the preservation of the Constitutional Government and the Southern Way of Life lie unattended and forgotten.[150]

Roebuck's response was a six-page letter that inventoried the commission's attainments: widespread community involvement in local committees and Mississippi Grey units, publications, pageants throughout the state, and of course those ninety markers tracing Grant's route. Roebuck concluded his list by crowing over tourism statistics.[151]

Capturing the wallets as well as the hearts of visitors was always a prominent goal of the Mississippi commission. Fond of noting that after Virginia, Mississippi possessed more Civil War points of interest than any other southern state, the MCWBS intended to capitalize on these assets through publicity and programs that would attract tourists and their dollars. By all accounts, they succeeded. From an investment of $300,000 -- the amount appropriated for the MCWBS by the legislature -- attendance at Civil War sites increased dramatically.[152] For

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[150]"Voice of the People," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 27 June 1964. Previous accusations by Andrews appeared in Tom Etheridge's column "Mississippi Notebook" Jackson Clarion Ledger, 16 June 1964, MCWBS Records, R001-B18-S2-00732, MDAH; S. T. Roebuck's response appeared in the same column on June 20, 1964.

[151]S. T. Roebuck to Thomas Etheridge, 18 June 1964, MCWBS Records, R001-B18-S2-00732, MDAH.

[152]In 1960, the Mississippi Legislature provided a biennial appropriation of $200,000 through June, 1962. Laws of Mississippi (1960), p. 92. Several critics of the centennial in the national press

example, Vicksburg National Military Park received less than 500,000 visitors annually prior to 1961, but during the centennial those numbers doubled.[153] The Commission reported that alone, this increase in visitors to the park resulted in at least $150,000 generated in new sales tax income.[154] By 1964, Roebuck could state with some justification that

> Mississippi's tourist business is now estimated at over $400,000,000 annually and our Centennial observances have made an important contribution to this figure. From the standpoint of cold dollars and cents, Mississippi's expenditure for the observance of the Centennial has been a highly profitable investment for our State.[155]

Hence, the centennial seemed to attain at least one of its goals.

The rest of the commission's record, however, remains ambiguous. Measuring the impact of the centennial on southern society is difficult, and calculating the degree to which these commemorations might have contributed to the determined rectitude and responses of white southerners to the Civil Rights Movement, even more indiscernable. Examination of grass roots involvement offers at least one approach to this conundrum and at least indicates the level of participation in centennial programs. After all, the organization of the centennial commemoration had many levels: the federal CWCC, regional conferences like the CSCC, state commissions, and finally, local committees in cities and towns across the United States. The very nature of the federal commission as a coordinating body permitted the state commissions autonomy in the development of their agendas and programs. Yet, these commissions, too, lacked the

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mentioned that Mississippi had appropriated two million dollars to the MCWBS--an error that probably evolved from a misreading of the 1960 budget which other media outlets picked up and repeated as an effective means of demonstrating the monetary as well as emotional investment southerners had in the centennial. In 1962, the legislature appropriated another $100,000 for the use of the MCWBS. Laws of Mississippi (1962), pp. 64-65. Mississippi's A & I Board spent at least $88,490.28 advertising the state's centennial programs. "Mississippi A & I Board Centennial Ads," manuscript, MCWBS Records, MDAH.

[153] S. T. Roebuck to Thomas Ethridge, 18 June 1964, MCWBS Records, R001-B18-S2-00732, MDAH.

[154] "Biennial Report of the Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States," p. 26.

[155] S. T. Roebuck to Thomas Etheridge, 18 June 1964, MCWBS Records, R001-B18-S2-00732, MDAH.

wherewithal to plan and produce programs within their borders beyond a limited number, hence abdicating control of community programs to local committees.

Just organizing a committee indicated a town possessed at least some interest in the anniversary; conversely, abstention denoted a definite lack of concern. Letters mailed by the MCWBS in 1960 to all mayors in the state requested the formation of centennial committees, and records show that 152 communities, including every county seat but one, responded by organizing. Apparently, aside from service as a county seat, size also proved an important factor in a community's plans to participate in the centennial. Every Mississippi city with more than 10,000 inhabitants -- eighteen in all -- established committees, as did twenty of twenty-one cities with populations between 5,000 and 10,000. In a state that only consisted of 262 cities, the Mississippi commission could seemingly boast a 58% involvement rate among its municipalities.[156]

Yet, only ninety-five of these communities ever developed a centennial program, decreasing that statistic to 36%. In 1961, fifty-seven cities participated in the anniversary: units of the Mississippi Greys mobilized in forty-nine locations and thirty-six communities developed a variety of commemorative programs. While several towns simply sponsored a Civil War exhibit or a memorial service, a few communities planned an impressive array of events that included tours of homes and historic sites, parades, music festivals, dramatic pageants, Centennial Balls, film showings, and fashion shows. Corinth even elected a Miss Centennial. In 1962, involvement in the centennial peaked when ninety communities scheduled commemorations. Most of the programs included a memorial service -- several locales even adopted the state commission's

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[156]Minutes of MCWBS, 25 July 1960, p. 2, MCWBS Records, R001-B17-S2-000734, MDAH. For the total of local committees, see Frank Wallace to Bob Baehler, Publisher of the Jackson Times, MCWBS Records, R167-B13-S3-00724, MDAH; "Report of Centennial Committees," manuscripts and forms, MCWBS Records, R167-B13-S3-00724, MDAH. The only county seat not to organize was Paulding in Jasper County; however, the other seat in that county, Bay Springs, did form a committee. Pearl in Hinds County was the only town with a population between five thousand and ten thousand that did not organize one. Sixty-six of eighty-four towns between one thousand and five thousand established a committee. Forty-seven towns with less than one thousand drew up committees--twelve of which were county seats. Populations based on the 1960 census. U.S. Department of Commerce, The Eighteenth Decennial Census of the United States: Census of Population: 1960 Vol. I, Part XXVI: Mississippi (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), pp. 47 (Table 23), 107 (Table 32), & 109 (Table 34).

suggestion and conducted special Rededication Days. Brandon, Corinth, and Iuka specifically commemorated the anniversary of local battles and skirmishes, and Lorman actually chose to reenact its skirmish. Again, some communities offered a number of activities, while others only planned one event, usually a memorial service. Biloxi contented itself with proclaiming a Confederate theme for its annual Mardi Gras celebration, while Starkville's centennial program became mixed up with Snuffy Smith week (a popular cartoon character of the time) and included such anachronistic activities an archery contest and a rodeo.

The following year showed a marked decline with just thirty cities scheduling events. Only Gautier and Beulah had not previously participated in the commemoration. Memorial services remained the most popular format, with ten communities specifically conducting such programs to honor Confederate women, following the state commission's announced theme for 1963. Baldwyn, Port Gibson, Raymond, and of course Vicksburg commemorated the anniversary of local battles.

In 1964, the number of communities involved decreased to twenty-six, and the only new participant was Pass Christian, along the Gulf Coast. Newton commemorated Grierson's Raid, and Baldwyn reenacted the Battle of Brice's Cross Roads. Although balls, pageants, and tours continued, most cities simply offered a memorial service.

From 1961 to 1964, only sixteen communities in Mississippi sponsored commemorative programs each year of the centennial.[157] Most of these cities shared two seemingly determinative factors: their heritage as sites of Civil War activity and/or their contemporary involvement in a tourist industry that showcased pilgrimage's to antebellum houses. These characteristics indicate two possible reasons for the continuity of these communities' centennial offerings. First, antebellum mansions acted as physical reminders of a more prosperous era whose glorious lifestyle the Civil War had terminated and perhaps produced a greater sensitivity among a

[157]These cities were Baldwyn, Booneville, Carrolton, Columbus, Corinth, Hattiesburg, Jackson, Meridian, Natchez, Newton, Oxford, Philadelphia, Port Gibson, Raymond, Vicksburg, and Yazoo City.

community's inhabitants to honor their Confederate legacy. Second, the centennial provided these cities an opportunity to attract even more tourist dollars with the promotion of their historical assets. As demonstrated by the interests of the MCWBS, the pecuniary interest of the latter incentive did not necessarily preclude the legitimate sincerity of the former.

The question remains as to whether the efforts of the Mississippi Commission on the War Between the States had a significant impact on the indigenous white population -- whether the southern version of the commemoration reinforced determination to repel federal intervention and strengthened communal accord. James McBride Dabbs, a white liberal, wrote of the Civil War commemorations, "These are for the most part but remembered bonfires and what they whisper to our hearts while saying nothing to our heads is 'Resist, resist.'"[158] Statistically, a small minority of communities in the state participated in the centennial, and fewer still consistently planned a wide variety of programs throughout the five-year anniversary. Most towns simply conducted a few memorial services. Even those towns operating programs on a grand scale possessed inhabitants who felt no involvement in the anniversary. In a photo-interview of Natchez residents that asked "What meaning does the South's celebration of the Civil War Centennial hold for you?" Charles James admitted that though he supported the commemoration, "I don't feel a real part of the Centennial."[159]

Still, a number of individuals did participate at the local level and at state-sponsored events; furthermore, newspaper and magazine features subjected an even larger audience to the topic of the Civil War. One can state with some certainty that the centennial contributed to the proud identification white southerners felt with secessionist ancestors. In addition, the simultaneity of the commemoration of the Civil War's anniversary and the increased agitation for civil rights permitted southern officials the opportunity to co-opt the centennial for propaganda

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[158]James McBride Dabbs, Who Speaks for the South? (New York: Funk & Wagnall's Co., 1964), p. 320.

[159]"Pilgrimage Adds Meaning to South's Observance of War Centennial Years," Natchez Times, 3 March 1961.

purposes. If nothing else, the success of racial conservatives in this arena prevented opposing voices from exploiting the commemoration. While southern state commissions eventually had to cede a certain latitude in this regard to liberals on the national level, centennial programs within Mississippi borders certainly incorporated the spirit promoted by the MCWBS.[160]

Another question is whether Mississippi's centennial commemoration successfully induced a sympathetic resonance for the beleaguered region among nonsouthern visitors. As previously noted, officials realized that most tourists drawn to the area by centennial programs were predisposed to the southern viewpoint, prisoners captured in earlier literary battles to romanticize the southern cause. Individuals with liberal leanings, on the other hand, were unlikely to subject themselves to the centennial volleys of the southern commissions. Hence, in all probability the commemorative programs of the South failed to significantly alter the mindset of visitors. Furthermore, during the course of the centennial, American public opinion swung in favor of extending civil rights to blacks. Apparently, contemporary images of white brutality and black suffering penetrated farther than staged musket fights between men in outdated uniforms. In a propaganda battle whose lines had shifted, contemporary nonviolent tactics against segregationist violence trumped the reenactment of nineteenth-century battles. The white South may have won the centennial, but it would ultimately lose the struggle to preserve white supremacy.

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[160]Very few traces exist in written records of any African American centennial commemorations in Mississippi. Rust College in Holly Springs evidently held a series of lectures on the Civil War. James D. Lockett, librarian at Rust College, to Dr. James W. Silver, 11 February 1962, James W. Silver Collection, Box 7, Folder 1, UM. Augusta Austin Wheadon of Columbus, Mississippi wrote a pamphlet "designed especially for Negroes to read in 1963, the Centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation." The Negro from 1863 to 1963 (New York: Vantage Press, 1963). Evidently Aaron Henry, a pharmacist and a prominent leader in the state's NAACP, showcased the Emancipation Proclamation in his Clarksdale store window--resulting one night in vandals tossing bricks through the glass plates James W. Silver, Mississippi: The Closed Society (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964), p. 212.

Chapter 4

Chasing Ghosts

Once an entire state has seceded from history -- which is, in a sense, to secede from reason -- almost anything can happen. Archibald MacLeish reacting to the 1962 Meredith crisis at the University of Mississippi.[1]

On the evening of September 29, 1962, a crowd of white southerners -- some students and locals, others drawn from across Mississippi and even from beyond the state's borders -- gathered at Oxford to protest the enrollment of a black man at the University of Mississippi. James Meredith, with the aid of legal counsel provided by the NAACP, had fought a long court battle to enforce his right to attend the state's oldest university. By the night's end, however, another battle of a more physical and violent nature would take place on the campus between federal forces and a mob of angry whites. Under the cover of smoke and confusion, rallies produced charges, firearms wounded, and defenses held. Eventually, the smoke subsided and hostilities ceased.

Just prior to the riot, the Memphis Commercial Appeal had published a coed's jest that showed striking perception: "There will probably be a new course here second semester -- Civil War II . . . . It has to be scheduled then since we must finish fighting the war this semester."[2] In the early morning hours of October first, an English teaching assistant started his journal entry with the following statement:

> What is taking place here at the University tonight is completely unbelievable. This is 1962, and because one Negro has been admitted -- or is about to be admitted, it seems, -- to Ole Miss, a new Civil War has begun, exactly one hundred years after the big one.[3]

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[1]Archibald MacLeish, "Must We Hate?," Atlantic 211 (February 1963): 80.
[2]Edward P. Moore, Jr., "Grim Humor Eases Ole Miss Tension," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 29 September 1962, p. 1.
[3]Gerald Walton to Russell Barrett, 18 June 1964, Russell Barrett Collection, UM.

While these two individuals viewed the conflict as the second of a pair, Paul Guilhard of the Agence France Press wrote of the charged atmosphere in the state's capital on the afternoon before the riot that "there is the distance of a century between Washington and the irredentists of the South," and concluded his dispatch with the comment that, "The Civil War has never ended."[4] Shot in the back, Guilhard died on the University of Mississippi campus that night, a casualty of what others have called "The Last Battle of the Civil War."[5]

As demonstrated in these few statements, the integration crisis at Ole Miss inspired observers to make comparisons to the century-old conflict between the North and South, and these references to the Civil War ocurred both before and after the violence on the university's campus. Indeed, the prevalence of Lost Cause rhetoric and symbols in the weeks and hours prior to the riot could not help but kindle the antagonism of those who would participate in the conflagration that transpired, as those present sought either consciously or subconsiously to emulate the heroics of their Confederate forebears. Afterwards, the analogy gained even greater credence . . . for, like the Civil War, the Meredith crisis resulted in bloodshed when white southerners fought to preserve their way of life against federal interference.

In some ways, the celebration of the Lost Cause in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a continuation of the conflict between the South and the rest of the Union. Edward Pollard, author of The Lost Cause, the book that popularized the phrase, wrote in 1867 that military defeat only meant the commencement of a "war of ideas."[6] For decades, southern success on that front proved immense. The region's writers, orators, and artists conquered the minds of many Americans throughout the nation, implanting the image of the antebellum South as

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[4]"Slain Newsman Said Civil War Has Not Ended," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 3 October 1962.
[5]The phrase "Last Battle of the Civil War" appears in Lynn Watkins, "Ole Miss Alumni Reflect on a Historic Day at School," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 30 September 1979; John O. Leslie, "Inspiration to Achieve," 30 September 1982, manuscript, Verner Holmes Collection Box 4, Folder 6, UM; Willie Morris, "At Ole Miss: Echoes of a Civil War's Last Battle," Time 120 (October 4, 1982): 8; Constance Baker Motley, Equal Justice Under Law (New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux, 1998, p. 191.
[6]Pollard, Lost Cause.

a glorious golden age destroyed in a war fought by brave and honorable Confederates who then suffered through the tragic error of Reconstruction. The success of this historical interpretation, in turn, not only eased national reconciliation, but facilitated the white South's reacquisition of control over local race relations.

As the federal government began to challenge segregation, however, the ideological battle resumed.[7] After the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown* decision, Mississippi Senator James O. Eastland declared, "I will carry [our fight] in the North as well as in the South . . . the choice is between victory and defeat. Defeat means death, the death of southern culture and our aspirations as Anglo-Saxon people."[8] At a rally in 1960, Mississippi Governor Ross R. Barnett asserted that "To win this life-or-death fight, we must start with a TOTAL MOBILIZATION of all our resources . . . . Either we are going to ENTER this fight to WIN -- and do everything possible TO win -- or we had just as well surrender now!"[9]

The speeches and literature of segregationists resounded with the vocabulary of the military. Even in 1966, one could hear the language:

> You and I have fought an important delaying action for twelve years, and we are far from defeated yet. But we have retreated, and will be forced to retreat further. We are going to win the war, and we have already won skirmishes, but I can't remember when we won any major battles. <u>The decisive battle is now upon us</u>.[10]

Aside from providing a useful terminology to characterize the actions of this mid-twentieth century defense of the "Southern Way of Life," this militaristic vocabulary also encouraged the audience of

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[7]Ann Elizabeth Burnette examines the resurrection of antebellum and postbellum rhetorical devices during Virginia's massive resistance campaign against civil rights. She notes that segretationists not only revived states rights arguments, they used war metaphors and and references to the Confederacy. Ann Elizabeth Burnette, "A Lost Cause Revisisted: Virginia's Massive Resistance, 1954-1962" (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1996), pp. 50-53.

[8]Quote cited in Silver <u>Mississippi</u>, p. 46.

[9]Ross R. Barnett, <u>"Strength Through Unity!": Address by Governor Ross R. Barnett of Mississippi to Citizens' Council Rally, New Orleans, March 7, 1960</u> (Greenwood, MS: Citizens' Council, c.1960): 6. Emphasis in original.

[10]Medford Evans, "$300,000 Now," <u>Aspect: A Project of the Information and Education Committee, Jackson Citizens' Council</u> 3 (July-August 1966): 1. The "decisive battle" mentioned was the endeavor to build a system of private schools that would prevent the integration of the state's white school-age population.

white southerners to view the conflict as a war, a fight which is either won or lost, a fight to the death. This dichotomy in the language both shaped, as well as reflected, the attitudes of white southerners, strengthening their resolve and commitment to segregation by inhibiting compromise and cooperation. Descending into a state of "war," the white South to discarded the tools of diplomacy and politics, drew a line in the sand, and took a last stand.[11]

By defining their conflict in militant terms, segregationists not only engendered a win-loss dichotomy with all that such rhetoric entailed, they also fostered the construction of an historical analogy with the one real war in their past that had revolved around race and states' rights. Rebel banners and tunes were a natural accompaniment to verbal and written allusions of Confederate heroics. Grasping the tremendous potency of the South's identification with its legendary past, Lillian Smith wrote, "The mythic mind is, above all else, highly creative; it can create lies and demons and mobs and riots." She explained that just like poets, demagogues, too, understand the "power of metaphor . . . how to change a person into a thing or a thing into a person," and that by wielding this power, a demagogue "melts a thousand people into a mob." Smith then demanded, "Can you not see that 'rational man' with his logic and his scrupulously collected facts does not have much chance with the people in crisis who are chasing ghosts, who are acting symbolically?"[12] Incited by the example of ancestral glory and threatened with bygone bogies, many white southerners respond as if they were Pavlovian dogs.

Of course, even without Confederate comparisons, a culturally embedded sense of white supremacy would have demanded resistance to racial "mixing" and black enfranchisement. The discourse of the period demonstrates a variety of rhetorical weapons in the arsenal of segregationists – modern "scientific" studies on the racial inferiority of blacks, accusations of a Communist taint in the Civil Rights Movement, as well as more traditional Biblical interpretations

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[11]Burnette, "Lost Cause Revisited," pp. 2 & 52-55.

[12]Lillian Smith, "The Mob and the Ghost," in Black, White and Gray: 21 Points of View on the Race Question ed. Bradford Daniel (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1964), pp. 274-75. Smith's remarks in this instance refer specifically to the Oxford riot.

and miscegenation/rape tales. Yet, the mythology of the Old South, the Confederate War, and Reconstruction held strong appeal because they were heritage-specific allusions, closely entwined with the white southerner's sense of identity. Politicians had long utilized this connection as a force to unite and stir their electorate; in the service of white supremacy, however, the similarities between past and present carried a particularly strong attraction.

Despite the overtones of violence in the militant vocabulary and historical analogies they frequently utilized, politicians and other leading segregationists usually disavowed force. They used their rhetoric instead to mobilize support for legal, economic, and social tactics to counter integration. Still, the segregationist "call to arms" often appeared to incite violence, regardless of disclaimers to the contrary. While Judge Tom P. Brady of Brookhaven explicitly urged non-violence as a reaction to school desegregation in his polemic pamphlet Black Monday, he also stated that "We have, through our forefathers, died before for our sacred principles. We can, if necessary, die again."[13] Not surprisingly, in the battle for white supremacy the abstract "war of ideas" occasionally spilled over onto the physical plane, and when a violent confrontation transpired between segregationists and federal forces at the University of Mississippi in 1962, drawing parallels between the past and the present seemed obvious and natural.

Until the riot at Oxford, however, the historical epoch mentioned most often by white southerners in the context of the civil rights debate was not the Civil War, but Reconstruction. In 1948, Alfred H. Stone, a former president of the Mississippi Historical Society, wrote, "One of the simplest and most elementary of all psychological processes is that of the association of ideas." This pronouncement arose in the context of his discussion on the connotations of the term "Reconstruction" in the minds of southerners: "For any other part of America it is merely a word in the dictionary," Stone explained, but "[f]or the South it is an ineradicable scar on the heart. To the

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[13]Tom P. Brady, Black Monday (Winona, MS: Association of Citizens' Councils, 1955), p. 89. The Mississippi Legislature required the State Textbook Board to purchase copies of this pamphlet for distribution in schools. Walter Lord first called attention to the duality of violence/nonviolence in Brady's words in The Past That Would Not Die (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 66.

South it means gall and bitterness. It brings up a condition which defies description." Nevertheless, in the light of President Harry S. Truman's civil rights platform he felt that such an attempt was necessary, "particularly for the benefit of those who are so ignorant and so blind as to attempt to re-enact any of its features."[14]

Southern democrats had long found the prospect of a revived Reconstruction a useful tool in solidifying their power base. During the 1890s, the populists who sought to unify small farmers of both races in a new third party failed in part because of the specter of Reconstruction.[15] In the 1928 presidential campaign between Herbert Hoover and Al Smith, Mississippi Democrats printed a broadside containing a photograph of the 1872 bi-racial state legislature. At the bottom, the sheet read "If you are willing to risk a Republcan and Negro Legislature in Mississippi like the Legislature of 1872, Vote for Herbert Hoover."[16]

Confederate and Reconstruction imagery, however, really came to the forefront during the Dixiecrat Movement. In 1948, white conservative southerners opposed to the New Deal and the civil rights planks of the national Democratic convention bolted to form their own third party, the States' Rights Democrats. To enhance their legitimacy, its leaders regularly drew parallels between the current climate and the evils of Reconstruction. At the May tenth States' Rights convention in Jackson, for instance, Mississippi Governor Fielding L. Wright regaled the audience with tales from the South's tragic postbellum era, warning "Today these same forces are loose once again, straining and striving to impose their harsh will upon us."[17] Dixiecrats drew even

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[14]Alfred H. Stone, Civil Rights, States Rights, and the Reconstruction Background by the late Hon. Alfred H. Stone Written in 1948 (Church Hill, MS: n.p., 1965), pp. 7-8.
[15]Gerald H. Gaither, Blacks and the Populist Revolt: Ballots and Bigotry in the "New South" (University of Alabama: Univerity of Alabama Press, 1977), p. 83; Vaughn L. Grisham, Jr. "Tupelo, Mississippi: From Settlement to Industrial Community, 1860-1970" (Ph.d. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1975), pp. 139-140.
[16]"What Happened When the Republican Party Was in Power in Mississippi," broadside, States' Rights Scrapbook, MDAH.
[17]Kari Frederickson, "The Dixiecrat Movement and the Origins of Massive Resistance: Race, Politics, and Political Culture in the Deep South, 1932-1955" (Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University (NJ), 1996), pp. 157 & 273-74. For more scholarship on the Dixiecrat Movement, see Richard C. Etheridge, "Mississippi's Role in the Dixiecrat Movement" (M.A. thesis, Mississippi State University, 1971); Richard D. Chesteen, "'Mississippi Is Gone Home!': A Study of the 1948

further upon southern heritage by singing "Dixie" and flying the Confederate battle flag at their rallies and conventions.[18]

Thus, even before the tumultuous 1960s, southerners had a predilection to define their opposition to civil rights in terms of their nineteenth-century past. James O. Eastland warned his fellow senators in 1948 that the South would "take whatever political steps are necessary to prevent our social institutions from being destroyed by the force and power of a Government which threatens . . . to go further than was done even in reconstruction." After a disquisition on the horrors of that historical era, the Mississippi senator then jumped still further backwards in time by comparing contemporary conditions to those of the 1850's when John C. Calhoun roused the region to a defense of her culture and institutions. Finally, Eastland quite logically asserted

> . . . if the present Democratic leadership is right, then Calhoun and Jefferson Davis were wrong. If the present Democratic leadership is right, then Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner were right, and Lee, Forrest, and Wade Hampton were wrong. If the President's civil-rights program is right, then reconstruction was right. If this program is right, the carpetbaggers were right. . . . The South cannot meekly take it and maintain its self-respect.[19]

Mississippi States' Rights Bolt," Journal of Mississippi History 32 (February 1970): 43-59; Emile B. Ader, The Dixiecrat Movement: Its Role in Third Party Politics (Washington, DC: Public Affairs Press, 1955); Sarah McCulloh Lemmon, "The Ideology of the 'Dixiecrat' Movement," Social Forces 30 (December 1951): 162-71. Reconstruction references also appear in the following items in States' Rights Scrapbook, MDAH: "Address of Senator James O. Eastland Before a Joint Assembly of the Mississippi Legislature Thursday, January 29, 1948," p. 8, manuscript; "Address to be delivered at 7:30 Sunday Morning May 9 [1948] by Governor Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi over a Statewide Radio Network," p. 4, manuscript; The President's Infamous Civil Rights Program: Speeches of Hon. John Bell Williams of Mississippi in the House of Representatives, February 3, 4, and 12, 1948 (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1948), p. 3; Know All the Facts about Truman's so-called 'Civil Rights Program' and What It Means to You (Jackson, MS: Mississippi State Democratic Party, c.1948), p. 6.

[18]Frederickson, "Dixiecrat Movement," pp. 156, 231, 235-38, 257, & 274-75; Etheridge, "Mississippi's Role," pp. 59, 83, 96, 166, 169-70, & 172-73; Hewitt Clarke, Thunder at Meridian: The True Story of Courage and Violence in the Deepest South, Meridian, Mississippi, 1695-1995 (Spring, TX: Lone Star Press, 1995), p. 309.

[19]James O. Eastland, "The Barter of Our Heritage": Speech of Hon. James O. Eastland of Mississippi in the Senate of the United States, February 9, 1948 (Washington, DC: United States Printing Office, 1948), pp. 3, 5, & 14-15. In 1951, a Greenwood planter wrote "it is high time for the sane and sensible South to secede from the Roosevelt-Truman socialistic type of government which basically outlaws discrimination" and attached a facsimile copy of Mississippi Ordinance of Secession to his letter. SMMSS 78-13, "O. F. Bledsoe," UM. In 1957 when Eisenhower sent federal troops to Little Rock, Arkansas to enforce a school desegregation order, the head of the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission arranged for his hometown high school band to play "Dixie"

Within this one speech protesting the civil rights platform of his party, Eastland compared the present to both the antebellum and postbellum South, and then invoked the names of various Civil War heroes in the defense of his cause.

This tendency to make historical comparisons between the southern past and present became still more prevalent after the 1954 *Brown* decision tolled the doom of segregation.[20] At this juncture, determined segregationists felt that the era of Reconstruction was most akin to their current plight. That summer, upper- and middle-class whites in the Mississippi Delta sought to preserve segregation by forming Citizens' Councils and often made reference to Reconstruction in their literature.[21] Commenting that "[t]oday history repeats itself . . . ," a 1956 issue of the newsletter The Citizens' Council remarked, "This attempt to mix the races under the so-called authority of the U.S. Supreme Court and lesser courts is, actually, another 'Reconstruction.'"[22] A year earlier in a speech before the statewide convention of Citizens' Councils, Eastland had asserted that, in fact, "The present condition in which the South finds itself is more dangerous than Reconstruction. It is more insidious than Reconstruction."[23] The reason given by Eastland for this harsh comparison involved the lack of any attempt during the postbellum period to integrate the schools as well as the more "dangerous" slower pace of current civil rights reforms:

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instead of the "Star Spangled Banner" to kick-off a weekend football game, making national and international headlines. Erle Johnston, Mississippi's Defiant Years 1953-1973 (Forest, MS: Lake Harbor Publications, 1990), pp. 72-73. Senator Strom Thurmond defended the South's Civil War secession at a 1961 banquet in Jackson. "Keep Fighting for Southern Principles, Senator Thurmond Tells Banquet Crowd," Citizens' Council 6 (April-May 1961): 1 & 3.

[20]Andrew M. Manis also dates the rise in Lost Cause rhetoric to the 1954 Brown decision in "'Dying from the Neck Up': Southern Baptist Resistance to the Civil Rights Movement," Baptist History and Heritage 34 (Winter 1999): 33-48. For more information on this period, see Numan V. Bartley, The Rise of Massive Resistance: Race and Politics in the South During the 1950s (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969).

[21]For literature on the Citizens' Councils, see Hodding Carter III, The South Strikes Back (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1959); Neil R. McMillen, The Citizens' Council: Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction, 1954-64 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971). McMillen, too, has noted the Citizens' Councils tendency to compare their present with Reconstruction (p. 357-59).

[22]"Plea to Women of the South," Citizens' Council 1 (August 1956): 3.

[23]James O. Eastland, "We've Reached the Era of Judicial Tyranny": An Address by Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi Before the Statewide Convention of the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi Held in Jackson, December 1, 1955 (Greenwood, MS: Association of Citizens' Councils of Miss., 1955), p. 7.

"In Reconstruction there was the attempt to force the hideous monster upon us all at once . . . . It will take special precautions to guard against the gradual acceptance, and the erosion of our rights through the deadly doctrine of gradualism."[24]

The modern day Ku Klux Klan quite naturally drew on connections to its own postbellum origins. As a "secret fighting force," the KKK acknowledged in a membership-drive tract that the original Klan had "killed and hung many White men and negroes," but justified these deaths because white southerners had "to protect not only their freedom but their lives."[25] In this analogous relationship to their predecessors, contemporary perpetrators of physical intimidation and murder received absolution for their crimes. Sam Bowers, leader of the Mississippi Klan, required that his hooded compatriots read the historical novels of Thomas Dixon who had popularized the traditional view of Reconstruction as an era of unrivaled rape and rapine.[26] Just as in the 1870s, segregationists justified their actions in terms of self-defense -- not to preserve a corporeal body but the amorphous collective called "The Southern Way of Life."

When Congress passed the Civil Rights Act in 1957, which established the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to investigate human rights abuses, the Citizens' Council announced: "Reconstruction II has now been officially declared upon the former Confederate States by the passage of the first Force Bill since Reconstruction I of the 1870's. . . . the deliberately mis-named Civil Rights Bill is a force bill, coercive and vicious."[27] That same issue ran a lengthy historical

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[24]ibid. See also, "Migration" Citizens' Council (July 1958): 2.
[25]K.K.K. Brings Real Fact To The Surface (Natchez, MS: n.p., c.1960), pamphlet, Ku Klux Klan Collection, Folder 6, UM.
[26]Charles Marsh, God's Long Summer: Stories of Faith and Civil Rights (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 53. KKK literature of the period often highlighted the organization's Reconstruction origins. See, Ku Klux Klan Collection, UM. See also, An Introduction to the United Klans of America (Liberty, MS: United Klans of America, n.d.); An Introduction to the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Denham, LA: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, n.d.); Beyond Human Belief (Metairie, LA: Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, n.d.). For information on the Mississippi KKK of the 1960s, see Michael Newton and Judy Newton, The Ku Klux Klan: An Encyclopedia (New York: Garland Publishing, 1919), pp. 396-97, 448-49, & 607-8.
[27]"Reconstruction II" Citizens' Council 2 (September 1957): 2.

essay entitled, "Reign of Terror: Reconstruction in Mississippi."[28] During a speech in California, Judge Tom P. Brady also suggested that the civil rights legislation inaugurated a "Second Reconstruction Era in the South."[29]

The content of that 1957 legislation required that each state organize an advisory council to act in conjunction with the Civil Rights Commission by holding hearings, conducting studies, and reporting findings. Two year passed before the formation of Mississippi's advisory council; the delay, in part, resulted from the difficulty of finding inhabitants of the state willing to serve in the face of extreme public pressure.[30] In 1958, the Citizens' Council, in a headline screaming "The Carpetbaggers Are Coming!," announced the selection process currently underway, and promised that

> . . . any scalawag Southerner who would so betray his own people by fronting for the avowed enemies of the principles of States Rights and Racial Integrity, which are dearer to us than life, will face the well-deserved distaste and contempt that any proud people would feel for a traitor.[31]

A year later, the newsletter repeated the warning to potential "scalawags," and illustrated the threat caused by the Civil Rights Commission with an image of a white man rushing south with a carpetbag in a wagon labeled "NAACP & Co." The cartoonist drew rats hitching a ride, one of whom bore a tag reading "Communist Party." The artist entitled his artwork "Comrades in

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[28]Irwin Vick Shannon, "Reign of Terror: Reconstruction in Mississippi," Citizens' Council 2 (September 1957): 1-3.

[29]Tom P. Brady, Segregation and the South: Address by Judge Tom P. Brady of Brookhaven, Mississippi, Delivered to the Commonwealth Club of California at San Francisco on October 4, 1957 (Greenwood, MS: Association of Citizens' Councils, 1957), p. 4. Brady expanded upon this comparison at the 1958 convention of the Mississippi Division of the SCV. Not only did he describe the U.S. Supreme Court as threatening to "usher in a second and more terrible reconstruction period," but he also compared "the NAACP to the Freedman's Bureau, 'Black Monday' to the Enforcement Act of 1870 and the Civil Rights Bill of 1875, and 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' to contemporary books written in opposition to the Southern way of life." Bettye Tucker, "Brady Warns Court Threat to the South" Jackson Daily News, 3 June 1958.

[30]Donald Cunningen, "The Mississippi State Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1960-65," Journal of Mississippi History 53 (February 1991): 1-17.

[31]"The Carpetbaggers Are Coming!," Citizens' Council 3 (October 1958): 1.

Carpetbagging!"[32] Thus, the modern epithet of the red menace became mingled with colloquial disparagements from southern history.

Together, the image and the article make reference to the three enemies of the white south during Reconstruction: northern whites, represented as transient outsiders by the appellation "carpetbaggers," who greedily sought profit and power through their agitation and control of southern blacks; local whites, known as "scalawags," whose traitorous alliance with carpetbaggers came at the expense of the welfare of white southern society; and, of course, the ex-slaves who not only received emancipation but also the power of the vote. The apprehension that current events represented a reenactment of Reconstruction gained greater credibility with the identification of the same troika of enemies. In the context of this Reconstruction vocabulary, blacks became the naive instrument of others and were thus at times ignored in favor of heaping contempt upon the other two. In a 1956 organizational meeting of Pike County's Citizens' Council, Dr. W. M. Caskey of Mississippi College asserted that "Those who advocate integration are our most dangerous enemies. Our grandparents didn't call them liberals -- they called them plain, unadulterated carpetbaggers and scalawags."[33] In 1965, the Grand Dragon of the Mississippi KKK wrote a letter to the Natchez Democrat asking "why the Negro leaders of Adams County have not appealed publicly to their people to tell the agitators to pack their carpetbags . . . and return the leadership of the community back to the local people . . ."[34]

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[32]"The Carpetbaggers Are Coming -- Again!," Citizens' Council 5 (November 1959): 1-2. See also, "The Carpetbagger Press," Citizens' Council 1 (April 1956).

[33]"Educator Says We Must Save South's Youth," Citizens' Council 1 (March 1956): 2. In the abstract of his 1969 dissertation, David Sansing gives relevance to his study of postbellum scalawags by citing the recent usage of the term in reference to modern Mississippi liberals. "The Role of the Scalawag in Mississippi Reconstruction" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern Mississippi, 1969), p. 1. In a 1997 oral interview, the black mayor of Tchula, Mississippi recalled that the labeling of civil rights activists as "Yankees" and "carpetbaggers" backfired: "If you know our history they called those people from the North who wanted to help, called them carpetbaggers. They would say those people weren't our friends, and we know they were. There were people during that time who knew what they did during the Civil War." Kerry Taylor, "Dangerous Memories: The Legacy of the Providence Cooperative Farm," Mississippi Folklife 31 (Fall 1998): 7.

[34]"The People's Forum," Natchez Democrat, 23 February 1965, p. 3. The author was E. L. McDaniel, Grand Dragon of the United Klans of America, Inc., Realm of Mississippi.

Segregationists were not the only ones to notice a similarity between the contemporary climate and Reconstruction. In a 1956 article in Commentary, historian C. Vann Woodward, a proponent of civil rights reform, also drew parallels between the two eras, beginning with the attempt by a majority "to impose its will upon a recalcitrant and unwilling minority region."[35] He also noted both the original and the "new" Reconstruction suffered from Mississippi's determined leadership to prevent racial equality, first with its 1890 Mississippi Plan for disfranchisement and again in the 1950s with the development and growth of the Citizens' Councils. Carefully excerpting Woodward's argument, the Citizens' Council quite proudly announced itself in agreement with the liberal historian's comparison.[36]

In fact, while segregationist speakers and authors often recited the evil deeds of Reconstruction in order to inspire determination to prevent racial equality, they also utilized the parallel as a symbol of hope. After all, redemption did eventually free the South from direct federal control and permitted white southerners under the banner of reconciliation to institute measures that insured white supremacy:

> The Southern people should remember, above all things their own history. If anything was inevitable it was that they should have been integrated and mongrelized ninety years ago, in Reconstruction, when they had Federal bayonets at their throats and were reduced to the abject status of an occupied colony.[37]

The same editorial that decried the passage of the 1957 Civil Rights Act as the introduction of "Reconstruction II," also commented that

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[35]C. Vann Woodward, "The 'New Reconstruction' in the South," Commentary 21 (June 1956): 501. Woodward reexplored the comparison in "From the First Reconstruction to the Second," Harper's Magazine 230 (April 1965): 127-34. A similarly drawn analogy by liberals appears in Herbert Aptheker and James E. Jackson's booklet Riding to Freedom: The New Secession--And How to Smash It (New York: New Century Publishers, 1961).

[36]"New Reconstruction Compared With Old," Citizens' Council 2 (December 1956): 3-4. See also, "1874--Not 1966, But . . .," Aspect: A Project of the Information & Education Committee Jackson Citizens' Council 4 (October 1966): 1.

[37]"Lesson of History," Citizens' Council 1 (June 1956): 2; editorial cartoon "Shades of Reconstruction!," Citizens' Council 5 (August 1960): 2; editorial cartoon "'War Is Hell,' Herb!," Citizens' Council 2 (August 1957): 1.

> As certainly as sanity returned to national affairs following the excesses and evils of Reconstruction I, so will it return eventually after Reconstruction II. But let us never forget -- first, our forefathers turned the tide themselves in their day -- it is our clear duty to do no less.[38]

A 1950's membership-drive tract for the Citizens' Council reminded readers that

> Eighty years ago our unconquerable ancestors were beaten, in poverty and degradation, unable to vote and under the heel of negro occupation troops. All they had was their undying courage and faith that the Almighty helps those who help themselves. Are we less than they? We are the same blood . . .[39]

Voting for the "correct" candidates on election day, joining the Citizens' Council, participating in economic reprisals against black activists, and socially ostracizing outspoken white liberals were all methods advocated by segregationists to prevent the erosion of southern distinctiveness until that day when the federal government again grew tired of intervening in local matters.

The success of this endeavor in Mississippi resulted in a stifling orthodoxy that permitted no disagreement, or, as James W. Silver described it, a "closed society." A professor of history at Ole Miss and author of a 1964 bestseller on the subject, Silver drew a parallel between the 1850's and 1950's as decades when national tensions produced stringent local conformity in the South on racial issues. Toleration of dissent vanished. Deviations from the code meant social expulsion.[40] Silver, however, was not the only moderate to recognize the comparison. In 1955, Leroy Percy of Greenville had written the university professor that, ". . . the orthodoxy of the Miss. Delta (and maybe all of Miss.) is becoming just as pronounced as it was in 1855. I do not know what the future holds in this respect, but I have a feeling that things are not going to be so good."[41] Seven years later, a correspondent from Holly Springs eerily echoed that remark: "As a historian, I am sure that it has not escaped your attention that the events, the attitudes and the animosities

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[38]"Reconstruction II," Citizens' Council 2 (September 1957): 2.

[39]The Citizens' Council (Greenwood, MS: Association of Citizens' Councils, c.1950s), pamphlet, Ed King Collection, Box 1, Folder 19, UM.

[40]Silver, Mississippi. For more on Silver, see James W. Silver, Running Scared: Silver in Mississippi (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1984); Bailey, "The Southern Quest," unpublished manuscript, UM.

[41]Leroy P. Percy to Dr. James Silver, 21 April 1955, James W. Silver Collection, Box 14, Folder 21, UM.

of the people, both North and South, now and in the immediate pre-Civil War days, are so similar as to be frightening."[42]

Silver understood white Mississippi's intolerance for dissent because he himself had become its victim. In 1958, two alumni with Citizens' Council support brought charges before the state's Board of Trustees for Higher Education indicting the University of Mississippi for nurturing communism, socialism, and integration. In a thirty-six page letter listing the various "crimes" committed by staff and faculty, Silver was the focus of three allegations. One accusation involved a recent graduate student who had criticized the state's Civil War government in his master's thesis -- a skewed interpretation which "could well be the fruit of Dr. Silver's lectures." The second indictment arose from a student's complaint that Silver "loves labor unions and curses the South for the War of Independence." The final allegation read,

> Teachers at University High School know that Dr. Silver's students are getting warped ideas about History. One of Dr. Silver's students, while teaching a history class at the high school told the class that "all this stuff about the southern generals and officers being great officers and men is a myth, and that they were just the scum of the earth."[43]

Although the trustees eventually dismissed all the charges as groundless by August of 1959, public airing of the affair had already labeled Silver a heretic of history, a professor who failed to appropriately honor the ancestors of white Mississippi.

Even those individuals disdainful of the extreme positions taken by organized segregationists were apt to find attacks on Confederates offensive, as one anonymous writer apparently did:

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[42]B. L. Arnold to Dr. James W. Silver, 12 December 1962, James W. Silver Collection, Box 21, Folder 5, UM.

[43]"Alumni Allegations Concerning UM Staff, Administration," pp. 6-7, manuscript, Verner Holmes Collection, Box 4, Folder 1, UM. For further discussion of this episode, see David G. Sansing, Making Haste Slowly: The Troubled History of Higher Education in Mississippi (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1990), pp. 146-48; Nadine Cohodas, The Band Played Dixie: Race and the Liberal Conscience at Ole Miss (New York: Free Press, 1997), pp. 48-56; Silver, Running Scared, pp. 66-68.

> It is one thing to go after, say, the men in the Citizens' Councils, using anything from a needle to a sledge-hammer and it's something else to needle men who've been dead for seventy-five or a hundred years, or to use their words to show them as fools before the world in order to needle their descendants in the Citizens' Councils.[44]

For rabid segregationists, Silver's alleged statements were not just sacrilegious in their gross irreverence towards a venerated past, his lessons were also dangerously subversive -- threatening to discourage the youth under his supervision from admiring, and hence following, their predecessors in the battle for black subjugation.

After Silver's public condemnation of the state's role during the Ole Miss riot and his open support for Meredith, whites in Oxford and across the state demonstrated their disapproval. In addition to social ostracism, the professor received numerous letters denouncing him, several correspondents using the words learned at their grandparents' knees. "Why don't you carpetbaggers and scalawags turn in your resignation and leave Mississippi and take Meredith with you?," requested one anonymous author.[45] The secretary of the Citizens' Council circulated a letter about the Oxford riot that included a clear reference to Silver and others of his ilk: "It proves the folly of leaving 'quizlings' [sic] and 'scalawags' in high places to betray our state and our people in times of crisis."[46] Designated a traitor in southern nomenclature, life became unpleasant and even endangered. Silver eventually joined a number of faculty members who, uncomfortable with the atmosphere of the state, departed Oxford after the riot.

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[44]Anonymous letter to James Silver, no date, James W. Silver Collection, Box 6, Folder 3, UM.
[45]Anonymous letter postmarked Clarksdale, MS to Dr. Silver, no date, James W. Silver Collection, Box 3 Folder 18, UM. A similar wording and intent appear in Mrs. George M. Yarbrough of Red Banks, MS to Dr. James W. Silver, 5 November 1962, James W. Silver Collection, Box 21, Folder 4, UM. See also, anonymous postcard to L. L. Love, Dean of Students, 17 November 1962, Dean L. L. Love Collection, Box 1, Folder 8, UM; anonymous postcard to "Chief of Police & All Students of Senior-Junior Classes," 11 November 1962, Dean L.L. Love Collection, Box 1, Folder 8, UM; "Tupper" in Madison, WI to Marge Baroni in Natchez, MS, Marge Baroni Collection, Box 5, Folder 6, UM; "a friend of Ole Miss" in Green Pond, AL to the Student Council, 30 October 1962, Cleveland/Wilson Collection, UM.
[46]Robert B. Patterson to "Dear Friend," 24 October 1962, Citizens' Council Collection, Folder 28, UM.

In one sense, the pervasiveness of violence in the language and the analogies of the period just mirrored the very real brutality of the state's society. After all, Mississippians throughout their history had demonstrated an inclination towards violence, a residual of their frontier and slave-holding past. Duels, feuds, lynchings, and race riots became socially legitimate, yet extra-legal, means of expressing and maintaining community mores. Postbellum organizations, such as the Ku Klux Klan, often resorted to violence -- first, in their defense of white supremacy during military occupation and, later, in their facilitation of the state's Redemption from black rule. While such vigilante measures began to ebb in the early decades of the twentieth century, their reoccurrence was not unusual, as the nation discovered with the highly publicized 1955 death of Emmett Till, a black boy murdered allegedly for whistling at a white woman.

A year earlier, a Mississippian had written to James Silver that

> History repeats itself but always with variations. For instance, in order to be dead men dont have to die by the dozens in front of Stonewall Jackson's massed artillery, they can die one by one, by cold steel and hot lead, by the cut throat and the broken body. This is what could be instead of the abolition of segregation; history repeats -- with variation.[47]

Not surprisingly, as the civil rights movement heated up, violence against blacks and their white allies increased. In 1961, after reading a book on Virginia's campaign of massive resistance to school integration, a Gulfport correspondent wrote to Silver:

> . . . the story in Virginia may be a preview of events to come in Mississippi. The old Dominion really made herself ridiculous, but I am afraid Mississippi will appear barbarious [sic] even to Virginia. The Virginians do have better manners than we do and are less prone to violence than we are. It may be we are improving, but if so, we are doing it all too slowly. Time is bound to run out on us.[48]

By the following year, time, quite definitely, had run out for Mississippi, and violence would ultimately move beyond the terminology of a rhetorical battle to actual physical confrontation.

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[47]Boyce Henderson to James Silver, 10 December 1954, James W. Silver Collection, Box 14, Folder 20, UM.

[48]Jo Drake Arrington to Dr. Silver, 26 June 1961, James W. Silver Collection, Box 7, Folder 1, UM.

After exhaustive judicial wrangling, the state of Mississippi finally faced the immediate integration of the first of its schools during the fall of 1962.[49] And not just any school either, for James Meredith's ambition was to break the racial barrier at the University of Mississippi. The state's failure to prevent his entrance into that particularly symbolic institution would foreshadow the eventual desegregation of education at all levels. On September thirteenth, U.S. District Judge Sidney Mize, under the direction of Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black, ordered the university to admit Meredith. That evening, Governor Barnett began a radio and television broadcast to the state with the words "I speak to you as your Governor in a solemn hour in the history of our great State -- in a solemn hour, indeed, in our nation's history," and proceeded to claim "I speak to you now in the moment of our greatest crisis since the War Between the States." Referring to specific battles in the Civil War, as well as in the American Revolution, World Wars I and II, and the Korean War, Barnett asked Mississippians "whether, in this crisis, we will exhibit the same courage, the same devotion to deathless principle, and the same determination to guarantee the blessings of liberty to future generations as was shown by those patriots who have gone before." The governor then pledged: "No school will be integrated in Mississippi while I am your governor."[50]

On September twentieth, the scheduled date for Meredith to enroll on campus, the state's Board of Trustees of Higher Learning named Governor Barnett registrar with complete authority to act on Meredith's application. Throughout the day a crowd of students, faculty, and newsmen gathered in front of the university's administrative building, known as the Lyceum. As numbers

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[49]For more complete accounts of these complex legal maneuvering as well as Governor Barnett's actions and the riot itself, see Sansing, Making Haste Slowly; Cohodas, The Band Played Dixie; Lord, The Past that Would Not Die; Russell Barrett, Integration at Ole Miss (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1965); James Meredith, Three Years in Mississippi (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966); William Doyle, An American Insurrection: The Battle of Oxford, Mississippi, 1962 (New York: Doubleday, 2001); Robin Belinda Street, "A Case Study in Crisis Public Relations: The Meredith Crisis at the University of Mississippi" (M.A. thesis, University of Mississippi, 1985).
[50]Ross R. Barnett, "Mississippi Still Says 'Never!'" and "Victory at Oxford: An Official Expression of Opinion by the Citizens' Council Concerning the Ole Miss Invasion" (Jackson, MS: Citizens' Council, c.1962), pp. 1-2 & 4.

increased during that afternoon to as many as two hundred, students began to chant "Glory, glory, segregation, the South will rise again." Suddenly a few students rushed the flagpole with a Confederate banner and began to haul down the American flag. A campus leader spying the action, however, managed to stop the small group of insurrectionists and returned the stars and stripes to their proper height. In his book, The Past that Would Not Die, Walter Lord wrote of this episode: "A hush fell over the crowd. Hardly realizing it, they had come to the very brink of rebellion, and only a cool head had pulled them back again. Overwhelmed by the meaning of what they had almost done, the students now fell silent and drifted uneasily off." In Lord's opinion, "Even with the state in its present mood, it would take still more to whip basically decent boys to a point where they would really try insurrection."[51] The governor, however, had no qualms about defying federal authority. Meeting Meredith and his lawyers at 5 p.m., Barnett read a proclamation of interposition, and formally denied Meredith admission to the university.

Four days later, in response to contempt citations, the Board of Trustees appeared before a federal court in New Orleans. Threatened with removal from office, fines, and imprisonment, the board members unanimously voted to admit Meredith. That evening on the phone, the governor and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy haggled over the best arrangements for enrolling Meredith in Jackson on the following day. Even in this private conversation, Barnett's bluster at times degenerated into hinting at insurrection and secession:

[51]Lord, Past, p. 156. Other accounts of the episode appear in Barrett, Integration, p. 106; Michael Dorman, We Shall Overcome: A Reporter's Eyewitness Account of the Year of Racial Strife and Triumph (New York: Dial Press, 1964), p. 14; "To Ole Miss Students" University of Mississippi Mississippian, 21 September 1962, p. 1.

RFK: . . . As I say I thought this was resolved. Do you want to fight a pitched battle?

BARNETT: That's what it's going to boil down to. -- whether Mississippi can run its institutions or the federal government is going to run things. Why don't you bring him [Meredith] on and if we tell him no let him go back to court on this thing. You don't want any violence.

RFK: I don't understand, Governor. Where do you think this is going to take your state.

BARNETT: A lot of states haven't had the guts to take a stand. We are going to fight this thing.[52]

Later in that same conversation, the following exchange took place:

RFK: Governor, you are a part of the United States.

BARNETT: We have been a part of the United States but I don't know whether we are or not.

RFK: Are you getting out of the Union?

BARNETT: It looks like we're being kicked around -- like we don't belong to it.[53]

Arthur M. Schlesinger later recalled that Robert Kennedy's "consuming fear was a mini-civil war with GIs and Mississippians shooting each other down."[54]

That day, September twenty-fifth, around two thousand people gathered outside the Woolfolk state office building in Jackson where registration was to occur. Again, Barnett refused to admit Meredith. The crowd, listening to a live broadcast of the confrontation, burst into a chorus of "Dixie" while one man waved a huge Confederate flag from the steps of the building.[55] Forty highway patrolmen had to escort Meredith and his entourage of lawyers and federal officials back to their car through the crowd which had surged forward at Meredith's appearance. Later that evening over the telephone, the aides of the governor and the attorney general attempted to script another meeting at which federal officials would make a token show of force before which

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[52]"Conversation Between RFK and Governor Ross Barnett, Monday, September 24, 1962, at 9:50 p.m.," manuscript, James W. Silver Collection, Box 2, Folder 17, UM.
[53]ibid.
[54]Arthur M. Schlesinger, Robert Kennedy and His Times (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978), p. 319.
[55]"William B. Street, "Meredith Walks Aisle of Jeers" Memphis Commercial Appeal, 26 September 1962, p. 1.

the governor's resistance could gracefully melt into compliance. Nevertheless, the shoving match that occurred the next day in Oxford between Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson, surrounded by highway patrolmen, and the federal authorities accompanying Meredith merely resulted in political glory for the lieutenant governor when Johnson took his turn repulsing Meredith's admission. The phone calls that night revolved around the insufficient show of force; the governor demanded that the federal marshals at the next encounter draw their guns. Yet the attempt on the following day, the twenty-seventh, never even reached Oxford. When a crowd of around two thousand had collected in town, fear for Meredith's safety turned the car back to Memphis. On the twenty-eighth, the federal court in New Orleans found Barnett guilty of contempt and gave him until October second to obey the order to enroll Meredith.[56]

Summoned to the Governor's Mansion at one point during the crisis, former-governor James P. Coleman had warned Barnett that "there's no way you can defeat a federal court order, absolutely none. . . . We've tried that, nearly one hundred years ago . . ."[57] But boxed in by his own demagoguery, Barnett could not permit the citizens of his state to see him meekly complying with integration. On Saturday morning, President John F. Kennedy finally suggested a ruse to solve the impasse: Federal authorities would announce that Meredith would register at Oxford on October first. Barnett and Johnson would arrive at Oxford in order to block admission, while Meredith would actually enroll in Jackson at the Board of Trustee's office. The president agreed to take the public flak for "misleading" the governor, while Barnett, declaring the battle over, would permit Meredith to continue his education at the university. Barnett assented to the plan, and then left for the Jackson stadium to attend an Ole Miss-Kentucky football game.[58]

During this tension-filled week, an anonymous state representative had described Barnett to the New York Times as "the last of a vanishing breed -- the men who don't know the South lost

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[56]Sansing, Making Haste Slowly, pp. 181-86.
[57]"Interview: J. Coleman," p. 127, manuscript, Verner Holmes Collection, Box 6, UM.
[58]Sansing, Making Haste Slowly, pp. 186-88.

the Civil War."[59] Yet, however endangered the species, a significant number certainly survived within the natural habitat provided by the state of Mississippi, as demonstrated by the widespread acclaim the governor received from within the state. Cars throughout the state flew Confederate banners, and "Dixie" frequently blared over the radio. Cheers broke out when a young man in the uniform of a Confederate lieutenant wandered into the capitol building one day. The Mississippi Historical Society even received calls demanding that the postbellum conciliatory comments of L. Q. C. Lamar and Robert E. Lee be removed from the walls of the Old Capitol. On September twenty-eighth, State Senator Jack Pace offered a petition to sever relations between the U.S. and the state of Mississippi -- an action derailed only by expedient calls for lunch.[60]

By Saturday's football game, frenzy within the state had reached such a pitch that the audience called Barnett out on the field at half-time with cries of "We want Ross!" All Barnett said was "I love Mississippi. I love her people, our customs. I love and respect our heritage," but the stands went wild. Together the entire stadium sang:

> Never, Never, Never, No-o-o Never, Never, Never
> We will not yield an inch of any field,
> Fix us another toddy, ain't yielding to nobody,
> Ross's standin' like Gibraltar, he shall never falter
> Ask us what we say, it's to hell with Bobby K
> Never shall our emblem go from Colonel Reb to Old Black Joe.[61]

The adulation and public fervor proved too much for the governor. Barnett went home and called Robert Kennedy to cancel the deal. That night, the president signed documents federalizing the

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[59]Claude Sitton, "Meredith Rebuffed Again Despite Restraining Order," New York Times, 26 September 1962, pp. 1 & 22.

[60]Lord, Past, pp. 167 & 174-75. Describing the weeks prior to the Meredith riot, a teacher at Tougaloo College in Jackson wrote, "There were confederate and Mississippi flags on many of the cars. Flag sales were up greatly during this period. All types of stores were selling them, including hardware stores and gas stations." Circular letter from John B. Gardner and Margrit-Schmid, October 1962, John B. Gardner & Margrit-Schmid Circular Letters 1962-1977 Collection, MDAH.

[61]Cohodas, Band Played Dixie, p. 83; Decades later when writing about his attendance at that same football game, Curtis Wilkie mused "I knew I was witnessing the final convulsions of the Civil War. All the crowd lacked were pitchforks and rifles. That would come the next night." Dixie: A Personal Odyssey through Events that Shaped the Modern South (New York: Scribner, 2001), p. 105.

Mississippi National Guard and authorizing the use of troops in Oxford if necessary.[62] In Jackson, a crowd responding to Citizens' Council pleas to protect the governor from potential arrest by federal marshals spent the night patrolling the grounds of the Governor's Mansion. Some of these sentries wore Confederate caps and waved rebel flags.[63]

During the preceeding week, the national media had begun to make comparisons between the governor's defiance of federal court orders and similar states' rights posturing a hundred years earlier. Claude Sitton of the New York Times wrote, "The swiftly deepening crisis threatens the South and the nation with the most serious clash between state and Federal authority in a century."[64] The Memphis Commercial Appeal remarked that, "Not since the Civil War has a state governor taken a stand comparable in defiance to the position Mississippi Gov. Ross Barnett has assumed in his opposition to the Federal courts . . . ."[65] Commenting on the escalating tensions within Mississippi, Ralph McGill, publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, suggested that federal marshals might come under fire, with the result that "you will have an armed rebellion against the United States Government."[66] The mother of an Ole Miss student wrote to her son, "Your great-grandfather set out to fight the federals from Ole Miss with the

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[62]Sansing, Making Haste Slowly, pp. 188-89.

[63]"At Jackson," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 1 October 1962, p. 1. During his coverage of Jackson on September 29th, Life photographer Charles Moore recalled snapping "Beer drinking college kids, lots of rebel flags . . . . I began photographing these three students who were each waving flags. They started waving them at me, which was fine because it made dramatic photographs. But then they started jabbing -- especially this one big guy . . . . Finally, I said, 'Hey, wait a minute!' and raised up with my right hand real hard. I knocked the flag on the ground. I could tell from the way that they were looking that I had committed an unpardonable sin." The "big guy" later attacked Moore in his hotel room. Michael S. Durham, Powerful Days: The Civil Rights Photography of Charles Moore (New York: Stewart, Tabori & Chang, 1991), p. 16.

[64]Claude Sitton, "Meredith Rebuffed Again Despite Restraining Order," New York Times, 26 September 1962, pp. 1 & 22.

[65]"Ole Miss Issue One of Hardest Since Civil War," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 27 September 1962. See also, Kenneth Toler, "Court Names Governor in Contempt Case As Use of Troops Is Eyed," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 26 September 1962, p. 1. Paul Guilhard's last dispatch described the events as "the most serious constitutional crisis ever experienced in the United States since the War of the Secession." "Slain Newsman Said Civil War Has Not Ended," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 3 October 1962.

[66]"McGill Criticizes 'The Silence,'" Memphis Press-Scimtar, 28 September 1962, p. 4. On that same day, William J. Simmons of the Citizens' Council, admitted to the New York Times "violence is distinctly possible" in the clash between the state and federal government. "Racists' Strategy," New York Times, 28 September 1962.

University Grays . . . nearly a hundred years ago -- He didn't accomplish a thing! See that you don't get involved!"[67]

At 3:00 p.m. on September thirtieth, a Sunday afternoon, the U.S. Attorney General's office surprised the university with the information that Meredith would soon enter the campus accompanied by U.S. Marshals to await registration on Monday morning. Upon his arrival, Meredith took up residence in Baxter Hall, a men's dormitory, with a small guard of marshals. The rest of the federal officials began to cordon off the Lyceum from the students, locals, outsiders, and newsmen that had begun to gather in the Grove. Two youths in Confederate uniforms circulated through the crowd, and another with a bugle began blowing cavalry charges.[68] One group replaced the American flag with a Confederate banner, thus succeeding in the task others had failed to accomplish nine days earlier.[69]

At 7:30 p.m., Barnett addressed the state by radio and television -- announcing that due to the "armed forces and oppressive power" of the federal government, he had agreed to Meredith's enrollment as a means of preventing bloodshed. Back in Oxford, meanwhile, the crowd of thousands, which from the start had hurled epithets at the marshals, began throwing bricks and pipes. By the time President Kennedy addressed the nation on television at 8:00 p.m., the riot was already in full force. Barnett's brinkmanship had pushed at least a portion of the state over the edge; his formal surrender had come too late. As the crowd surged toward the Lyceum, marshals fired tear gas canisters in hopes of dispersing the mob. Undeterred, rioters regrouped at the Confederate monument which stood just outside of the noxious clouds, and various individuals repeatedly rallied charges against the federal officers with the sight of the rebel flag entering the fray. Lobbing Molotov cocktails, bricks, and bullets, the attackers even thought to use bulldozers and firetrucks in their efforts to break through the marshals' defense. Federal troops

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[67]Lord, Past, p. 191; Wilkie, Dixie, pp. 103-4.

[68]For mention of the Confederate uniforms, see Lord, Past, p. 202; Barrett, Integration p. 139; "Dad" [James Silver] to Betty Silver, 2 October 1962, James W. Silver Collection, Box 7, Folder 3, UM. Lord also comments on the bugle.

[69]Lord, Past, p. 202.

and the national guard arrived just as the supply of tear gas canisters was running low, finally securing the campus at 6:15 a.m. Two bystanders, Guilhard and a local repairman, had died; 166 marshals and 40 soldiers had received injuries; 200 individuals were arrested. And early Monday morning amidst the debris of the riot, Meredith registered at the Lyceum and attended his first class.[70]

Hodding Carter III, the moderate editor of a Greenville newspaper, suggested that the events of September thirtieth and October first resulted in part from the prolonged public posturing that preceded the appearance of federal marshals on the campus. With each rejection of Meredith's application for enrollment, white Mississippians permitted themselves to hope that Barnett might actually pull off a victory. Carter explained that "[t]o an extent which would be inconceivable to an outsider, Mississippians deluded themselves that their defiance was going to be the turning point in the battle for States' rights against the usurpations of the central government."[71] Starting with the governor's initial television and radio address on September fifteenth to announce a state of crisis, the Mississippi media had focused on the conflict. Each confrontation, although seemingly ending in favor of segregation, never truly achieved a comfortable resolution but instead became part of a cliffhanger that kept the public tense with anticipation. As a result, the protracted nature of the fifteen-day crisis contributed to the increased pressure of rising hopes.

In the midst of this tension, the rhetoric used by public figures and in media forums contained the same bellicose discourse and militaristic vocabulary used by segregationists since the Truman administration. White Mississippians became further emboldened and enflamed by constant allusions to the Civil War and Reconstruction, as well as the zealous use of the

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[70]Sansing, Making Haste Slowly, pp. 192-95; Cohodas, Band Played Dixie, pp. 86-87; Lord, Past, pp. 197-231; Barrett, Integration, pp. 144-62; Doyle, Insurrection, pp. 131-255.
[71]Hodding Carter III, "Mississippi: Deluded and Still Defiant," Nation 195 (October 13, 1962): 215. For a survey of the editorial stance of Mississippi newspapers before the riot, see Susan M. Weill, "Mississippi's Daily Press in Three Crises," in The Press and Race: Mississippi Journalists Confront the Movement ed. David R. Davies (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001), pp. 30-38.

nineteenth-century conflict's battle flag and war anthem. Writing decades later about the incident at Ole Miss, minister and author Will Campbell captured the intangible influence such language and symbols "counterfeiting the battlefield of the Lost Cause" had on riot participants. Participants who had

> bravado grafted into their being by the songs and stories and banners and emotional intensity of a real and supposed past; anger unleashed now by incautious words of unworthy heroes and ambitious poltroons of the day, singing off-key the songs and orations of their ancient ancestry; things that make for war.[72]

Years after the riot, Campbell interviewed a former Klansman, who, seventeen at the time, responded along with his father to segregationists' calls to defend the university. Finding his dad at one point during the riot handcuffed to a fire hydrant, he remembered, ". . . I got the hell away from there and went on back to fighting." "Fighting?," asked Campbell. "Hell, yes, fighting," the now fifty-year-old responded, "Man, this was war."[73] Obviously, for a portion of the population, Pollard's "war of ideas" translated readily into a more tangible reaction against perceived foes.

Perhaps, just perhaps, the rioters had become enraptured by a historical fantasy. Faulkner had written fourteen years earlier:

> For every Southern boy fourteen years old, not once but whenever he wants it, there is the instant when it's still not yet two oclock on that July afternoon in 1863, the brigades are in position behind the rail fence, the guns are laid and ready in the woods and the furled flags are already loosened to break out and Pickett himself with his long oiled ringlets and his hat in one hand probably and his sword in the other looking up the hill waiting for Longstreet to give the word and it's all in the balance, it hasn't happened yet, it hasn't even begun yet, it not only hasn't begun yet but there is still time for it not to begin against that position and those circumstances which made more men than Garnett and Kemper and Armstead and Wilcox look grave yet it's going to begin, we all know that, we have come too far with too much at stake and that moment doesn't need even a fourteen-year-old boy to think *This time. Maybe this time* with all this much to lose and all this much to gain: Pennsylvania, Maryland, the world, the golden dome of

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[72]Will D. Campbell, And Also With You: Duncan Gray and the American Dilemma (Franklin, TN: Providence House Publishers, 1997), p. 7.
[73]ibid., pp. 27-28.

> Washington itself to crown with desperate and unbelievable victory the desperate gamble . . .[74]

Faulkner understood the preoccupation of all white southerners with their past, and this passage captures the completely irrational hope held by many white southerners for a happier ending. Constantly commended by orators and writers to duplicate the devotion of their forebears to principle, the wonder is not that white southerners charged federal authorities again and again on the campus of the University, but that so few actually turned out for the battle. Restrained either by a disinclination to violence or a logical assessment of the situation, the vast majority stayed at home. Yet, the speculation is not farfetched that for those who did participate, the sense -- maybe not of actually reliving history -- but definitely of imitating history and possibly even improving upon it, influenced their actions.[75]

In his analysis of the Oxford riot, the Army's military historian betrayed bewilderment at the "irrationality" of the mob's behavior in neglecting the far more vulnerable dormitory where Meredith, the seeming object of all this fury, had spent the night in favor of attacking the U.S. Marshals who had cordoned off the Lyceum, a mere "symbol" of the University.[76] In A Long Night, novelist Ellen Douglas, adopting the voice of a young friend who had watched the night's events, wrote:

> I think that if they hadn't deployed the marshals like they did -- as if they were a foreign army that had sneaked in and taken the Lyceum, the very center of the campus, the one building that everybody knows by sight and feel *is* Ole Miss -- if they hadn't done that . . .[77]

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[74]William Faulkner, Intruder in the Dust (New York: Random House, 1948), pp. 194-95.

[75]In his interview with Will Campbell, one rioter related: "One of my daddy's Klan buddies had told us there was a Confederate cemetery right on the campus. Said if we got in trouble we should go there. Said the Greys would look after us. Damned if that wasn't where I found myself when the soldiers ran us off. I wasn't even looking for it neither. Just happened up on it." Before leaving campus, he stuck a small Rebel flag at the base of the Grove's Confederate monument. Campbell, And Also With You, pp. 28-29.

[76]Paul J. Scheips, The Role of the Army in the Oxford, Mississippi, Incident 1962-1963 (N.p.: Histories Division, Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, 1965), p. 92.

[77]Ellen Douglas, A Long Night (N.p.: Nouveau Press, 1986), p. 4. Years after the riot, Dick Wilson, then student vice-president, agreed that placing marshals around the Lyceum was a big mistake, "since the building . . . was an important 'symbol' to the students." Lynn Watkings, "Ole

Suffering once in their remembered past from invasion and its accompanying privations, white Mississippi reacted. The antebellum Lyceum with its tall, white Greek Revival columns symbolized not just the university, but every white southerner's imagined family mansion under the threat of pillage and destruction by an occupying Union army, or even worse, that the soldiers would protect the right of a black man to cohabitate under its roof, not as a domestic servant or janitor but as a member of the family. As invaders and instruments of equality, the U.S. marshals merited an insurrectionist attack -- a Civil War, however brief.

In the aftermath of the riot, journalists confirmed the judgment of those who had determined that the integation conflict in Mississippi represented the greatest federal-state clash since the Civil War.[78] The Monday editorial in the student newspaper, pleading for peace, reminded its readers that, "The Civil War was fought one hundred years ago over almost the same issues and the United States of America prevailed."[79] Although some media accounts lacked similar direct comparisons, most articles on the riot made more casual Civil War associations, such as referring to Oxford as "still shuddering from the impact of its worst catastrophe since it was burned by Union troops in the Civil War 98 years ago."[80] Searching for local color and interesting angles, reporters described the town's Confederate memorials and discussed local Civil War history. Almost every article written by eyewitnesses of the riot

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Miss Alumni Reflect on a Historic Day at School," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 30 September 1979. In a 1963 booklet one segregationist described the Lyceum as "a symbol of sovereignty of the State of Mississippi and a monument to the people who survived the oppression of a radical Congress, rump legislatures stuffed with carpetbaggers and scalawags, and occupation by federal troops. . . . Ringing the Lyceum with these gaudily outfitted marshals was like waving a red flag before a bull." Earl Lively, Jr., The Invastion of Mississippi (Belmont, MA: American Opinion Reprints, 1963), p. 3.

[78]"A Governor vs. the U.S.--One More Test of Power," U.S. News & World Report 53 (October 8, 1962): 55; "At Jackson," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 1 October 1962, pp. 1 & 12; "The Edge of Violence," Time 80 (October 5, 1962): 15-17.

[79]Sidna Brower, "Violence Will Not Help," University of Mississippi Mississippian, 1 October 1962, p. 2.

[80]"Oxford: A Way of Life Has Ended," U.S. News & World Report 53 (October 15, 1962): 59.

recounted the presence of the rebel flag and used the campus monument as a significant point of orientation.[81]

While meeting the specifications for a riot as a "public disorder," the incident at the University of Mississippi likewise possessed characteristics that comprise a battle. True, the two forces involved differed in the extent of training, weapons, hierarchy, and resolve to use deadly force, but a physical, violent struggle did take place between two opposing sides. One journalist described the campus as "the complete battlefield -- full of smoke and fire and pierced with shots and screams."[82] Rallies, charges, defenses, banners, casualties -- all added to the impression of a war-like encounter that media correspondents related to the general public. Combined with the federal-state nature of the conflict over racial equality and the rioter's use of Lost Cause symbols, the comparisons and allusions to the Civil War came naturally. The tendency appears almost inevitable in light of the historical analogies made by segregationists since the 1940s and the contemporary centennial commemoration of the war.[83]

The correspondence of Professor Silver suggests that the Civil War metaphor also proved quite popular among moderates and liberals, who used the figure of speech as a revealing comment on the intransigence of white Mississippians. A professor at Memphis State University wrote, "It seems we left Mississippi just in time to miss the second Civil War between the United

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[81]Listing the extensive coverage of the riot would prove impractical. My understanding of the numerous references journalists made to Civil War history and symbols derive from reading the articles listed under "Mississippi--University" in the 1962 Reader's Guide to Periodicals, as well as the newspaper and journal clippings in the following collections at the Archives and Special Collections at the University of Mississippi: Verner Holmes Collection, James Meredith SMMSS, James Meredith Collection, Russell Barrett Collection, James W. Silver Collection, Race Relations Collection, and Ed King Collection.

[82]Donald Tate, "A Newsman's Night at Ole Miss: Bricks, Snipers, Tear Gas, Hate--Suddenly Campus is Battlefield," Memphis Press-Scimitar, 1 October 1962.

[83]A Franciscan priest from New Mexico suggested in an essay that Barnett's defiance "might lead one to ask if, in commemoration of the Civil War, some elements are trying to finish what they did not accomplish the first time." Carter Partee, "Secession--A Century Later," Interracial Review 36 (January 1963): 7. Citizens' Council had promoted the centennial and especially the Mississippi Greys, stating "There is no other movement of which we have knowledge that is so closely interwoven historically and emotionally with the cause the Citizens' Councils are fighting for." "Councils Plan for Centennial," Citizens' Council 6 (December 1960): 4. Upton relates the program of Civil War Centennial events on the campus at Ole Miss in "'Keeping the Faith," pp. 104-13.

States and the Sovereign State of Mississippi."[84] A former student of Silver's asked, "You did, I trust, survive the Second Civil War?"[85] A letter from a Holly Springs resident stated "Of course I had felt reasonably sure that reporters from 'Time', 'Life', 'Saturday Evening Post', and the Memphis papers could not all have manufactured such similar lies about Civil War Number Two, as alleged by some of our leading citizens."[86]

The prospect of Mississippi's second secession from the United States also inspired two written satires that the state's moderates and liberals mimeographed and circulated among themselves. One of these was a New York Times piece by Russell Baker in which he surmised that without federal subsidies and public works projects, "President Barnett" would eventually petition for readmission to the Union. Baker concluded his alternate universe by describing Senator Eastland's first Senate speech after readmission as "a denunciation of the Supreme Court for trampling on the rights of the sovereign states."[87] An anonymous humorist created an even more detailed timeline that included the secession of Oxford from the "Sovereign Nation of Mississippi" in an effort to preserve States' Rights against Barnett's growing tyranny.[88]

In a more serious vein, the riot motivated other individuals to cite the example of Civil War heroes in attempts to urge peace and moderation. In one Oxford sermon, the Episcopal pastor of St. Peter's encouraged his townsmen to emulate the example of Robert E. Lee by describing a postbellum incident at the hero's church, when a black man, having gone forward to take

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[84]George B. Leon to James W. Silver, 4 December 1962, James W. Silver Collection, Box 7, Folder 3, UM.
[85]R. E. Ausmus, Jr. to James W. Silver, 31 December 1962, James W. Silver Collection, Box 7, Folder 3, UM.
[86]Esther C. Cannon to Dr. Silver, 5 November 1962, James W. Silver Collection, Box 21, Folder 5, UM. A white Florida resident wrote Dean Love, "You evidently are still in the horse and buggy days & fighting the Civil War." Ethel E. Selkirk to Dean L.L. Love, 1 November 1962, Dean L. L. Love Collection, Box 1, Folder 7, UM. Another letter Love received remarked, "this is 1962 men are flying around the earth and are on their way to the moon. But you in Mississippi are living in the Past and still fight a war that should have long been forgotten . . ." Frank T. Paylon to Mr. L. L. Love, 22 November 1962, Dean L.L. Love Collection, Box 1, Folder 8 UM.
[87]Typescript circular of Russell Baker, "Observer" New York Times (October 8, 1962), Russell Barrett Collection, Box 3, Folder 17, UM.
[88]Typed manuscript, "The South Will Rise Again!," manuscript, Russell Barrett Collection, Box 8, Folder 27, UM.

communion, remained alone until Lee himself joined and knelt beside the man.[89] Horrified by the events at the university, businessman William H. Mounger made an impromptu speech on a Jackson television station at 7:40 a.m. on the morning of October first. Invoking the name of native Mississippian and Oxford resident L. Q. C. Lamar, whose conciliatory gestures after the Civil War had inspired John F. Kennedy to include the senator in his Profiles in Courage, Mounger pleaded with the state to return to the fold of the Union.[90]

Immediately afterwards and for several years later, Mississippi writers, of a moderate or liberal bent, often responded to the incident at Ole Miss in light of the nineteenth-century conflict. Two weeks after the crisis, Hodding Carter III wrote that although "[h]istorical analogies should usually be avoided, since they are as often erroneous as they are valid," he nevertheless felt compelled to make several such comparisons: first, that the mob action in Oxford was "surely as inevitable, the conflict as 'irrepressible,' as the Civil War"; second, that the pre-riot language of the state's leaders "seemed to be a direct copy of that used prior to 1861"; and finally, that Barnett rivaled Jefferson Davis as "the most popular political figure the state has known since the leader of the lost cause, himself a Mississippian." Carter concluded that "Mississippi has demonstrated it never forgets the past and never learns from it."[91] Robert Canzoneri, a distant cousin of Ross Barnett, wrote that "In spite of all evidence, I don't think I viscerally believed the Civil War until the Oxford riot in 1962." Explaining his own integrationist beliefs would have forced him in an actual war to fight against Mississippi and hence against many of his friends and family, he realized that, "Suddenly in the midst of violence on ground I knew well -- violence heard through a sequence of

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[89]Duncan Grey, typed sermon, 7 October 1962, Russell Barrett Collection, Box 3, Folder 2, UM; Duncan M. Gray, "By Duncan M. Gray, Jr.," New South (March 1963): 12. Prior to the conflict, Brooks Hays, special assistant to Kennedy and former president of the Southern Baptist Convention, also appealed to the South to remember Lee's post-war stance on black-white relations. "Brooks Hays Thinks State Losing Fight," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 28 September 1962.
[90]"Television Comments Made by William H. Mounger on 10/1/62 over WLBT-TV Jackson, Mississippi at 7:40 A.M.," manuscript, Verner Holmes Collection, Box 4, Folder 3, UM. Duncan Gray's sermon also mentioned Lamar, as did a speech by University of Mississippi Chancellor John D. Williams to a joint meeting of various Greenville civic clubs. "We Must Build . . . Put Behind Us Bitterness and Hatred," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 1 November 1962, p. 33.
[91]Carter, "Mississippi," p. 215.

small radio voices, excited and often confused -- I knew that the Civil War had really taken place."[92]

While Carter and Canzoneri saw similarities in the two conflicts, other Mississippians expressed shame for their contemporaries' violence by contrasting the Ole Miss rioters with their noble Confederate forebears. In "Mississippi: The Fallen Paradise," Walker Percy began his essay by comparing the involvement of the University Greys in Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg -- "good men" participating in an "honorable fight" -- with the contemptible conduct that occurred at their alma mater a hundred years later. In a statement guaranteed to incite the white South, Percy asserted that "The bravest Mississippians in recent years have not been Confederates or the sons of Confederates but rather two Negroes, James Meredith and Medgar Evers."[93] Using the imagery of war memorials, author Mildred S. Topp wrote a letter to the editor describing a futuristic nightmare. She had dreamt of walking the neglected ruins of what was once the University of Mississippi and discovering a monument erected in 1962:

> It was the crouching figure of a man. It was not made of bronze or marble but of small bits of bricks and bottles cemented together with a sticky slime. The glass eyes glared ferociously, the brick jaw jutted menacingly; in one hand the figure held a broken bottle, in the other a brick.

Upon awakening, Topp wrote, she drove to the campus and examined the Confederate monument:

> In the eerie glow of the flashlight, his countenance had a look of noble despair. His sculptured form took on an air of tragic dignity, repudiation and scorn. He seemed to step down from the pedestal upon which he had been placed half a century ago and march away into the night, leaving forever the spot in which the ideals of chivalry and honor for which he had fought, had been betrayed.[94]

For both Percy and Topp, the Ole Miss riot sullied the Confederate legacy of bravery, honor, and chivalry.

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[92]Canzoneri, "I Do So Politely", p. 143.
[93]Walker Percy, "Mississippi: The Fallen Paradise," Harper's 230 (April 1965): 166.
[94]Mildred S. Topps, "Open Letter: 'Dear Charlie,'" clipping, James W. Silver Collection, Box 21, Folder 10, UM.

For G. Ray Kerciu, an assistant professor of art, depicting the events he had seen that night through his office window required him to abandon his usual quiet landscapes in favor of the brash modernist style of Jasper Johns. But instead of portraying the American flag, Kerciu painted the emblem of the Confederacy. On one such rebel flag, he superimposed typical segregationist slogans: "Yankee Go Home," "Kennedy Koon Keepers," "Never," and "Would You Want Your Daughter to Marry One?" Another painting, labeled "Sovereign State of Mississippi," had the S's backwards. Five such paintings by Kerciu appeared in the 1963 spring exhibition at the campus Fine Arts Center. Within days, protests by the Citizens' Council caused the university provost to order the paintings removed. A law student belonging to the Council filed a criminal complaint against the professor on the basis of obscenity, indecency, and "desecration of the Confederate flag," charges later dismissed for insufficient evidence. Sidna Brower, editor of the school paper, defended Kerciu, saying

> If anyone violated the sanctity of the flag of the Confederacy, a nation which no longer exists except in the minds of men, the villain was the one who rioted on the night of September 30, 1962. For on that night, all principles for which the fair and genteel Southerners have stood were sacrificed in a bloody battle over the admission of a Negro to the University of Mississippi.[95]

Meanwhile, the president of the Oxford chapter of the UDC, expressed disapproval of the paintings by stating, "They [Confederate descendants] don't like to see their flag dragged through the mire."[96] Yet, of all the shape and color combinations the artist could have utilized to depict the events of September twenty-ninth and October first, Kerciu determined that the rebel flag best represented the action.

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[95]University of Mississippi Mississippian, 9 April 1963, p. 9. Accounts of Kerciu and reaction to his art appear in Cohodas, Band Played Dixie, pp. 103-4; Silver, Mississippi, pp. 222-27; "Obscene and Indecent," Time 81 (April 19, 1963): 76-77; James M. Ward, "Objectionable Painter and 'Art,'" Jackson Daily News, 11 April 1963. The University of Mississippi possesses one of Kerciu's constroversial paintings entitled "Ignore the Nigger . . ." in its University Museums collection. J. Adrian Fox, "Political University Art Collection Stirs Debate," University of Mississippi Daily Mississippian, 5 February 1987, p. 1.

[96]"Charge Is Filed: Statements Issued in Removal of Art," clipping, James W. Silver Collection, Box 2, Folder 6, UM.

The impression of Kerciu and others that a connection existed between the Civil War and the Oxford riot, survived the immediate aftermath. Three years after the incident, Walter Lord published a book on the Meredith crisis entitled The Past that Would Not Die. In this account, Lord freely wove a story full of anecdotes and atmospheric details suggesting that the riot was the predetermined outcome of one hundred years of Mississippi history; at one point, he wrote that the extremists, "In a burst of fantasy and nostalgia . . . were now picking up fallen standards . . . carrying on for those lost gray legions . . . keeping faith with Davis and Forrest and all the rest."[97]

Over the decades to come, as others looked back upon the incident, discussions still continued to place the event in the context of the Civil War. In a tenth anniversary retrospective, one journalist wrote, "It was described as a riot on the night it happened . . . for lack of a better description. In reality, it was a pitched battle, the closest thing to Civil War this nation has seen since Appomattox."[98] Reflecting on the episode for a newspaper feature, a former student body president told the interviewer, "It was like watching the last battle of the Civil War."[99] In 1982, when the university decided to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the institution's integration, the mayor of Oxford used identical phrasing in his address.[100] Reporting on that anniversary for Time, Willie Morris wrote, "It was the last battle of the Civil War, the last direct constitutional crisis between national and state authority."[101]

Instead of a second distinct event -- "Civil War Number Two" as in "World War II" -- phrasing like the "Last Battle of the Civil War" portrays the riot as the perpetuation of a larger conflict. Another consequence of the wording is the expansion of the original Civil War from a

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[97]Lord, Past, pp. 174-75.

[98]William B. Street, "A Decade Ago at Ole Miss," Subject File: "Mississippi--University--History," MDAH.

[99]Lynn Watkins, "Ole Miss Alumni Reflect on a Historic Day at School," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 30 September 1979.

[100]John O. Leslie, "Inspiration to Achieve," 30 September 1982, p. 1, manuscript, Verner Holmes Collection, Box 4, Folder 6, UM.

[101]Morris, "At Ole Miss," p. 8. Morris later repeated the descriptive phrase in his narrative for William Eggleston's photographs in Faulkner's Mississippi (Birmingham: Oxmoor House, 1990), p. 138. Motley, Meredith's NAACP lawyer, also uses the phrase "last battle of the Civil War" in her memoir Equal Justice, p. 191.

period of four years to the span of a century, which implies the composition and motivations of the combatants remained the same, an essential truth recognized by most participants. The Civil War thus becomes a hundred-year conflict concerned with regional sovereignty over race relations. American historians, driven by specialization and the narrow time parameters of their topic, would balk at the rashness of the supposition advanced by this laymen's title. Yet, European historians have maintained the name "Hundred Year's War" to describe the relationship of England and France between 1337 and 1453, a war that neither contestant pursued consistently during that period but whose series of encounters remain linked primarily by their struggle over the English crown's independent rule of Gascony. Who knows, perhaps in the far off future, scholars of American history may make a similar demarcation to combine the domestic disputes known as the Civil War and the Civil Rights Movement.

A second aspect inherent in the designation "Last Battle of the Civil War" is that the users of the phrase believed the violence at Oxford represented a terminal point for this century-long struggle. On the morning after the riot, the Episcopal chaplain for the campus, who had urged students the night before to put down their bricks and return to their rooms, spied the Confederate banner hanging limply on the flagpole amidst the wreckage of the Grove and lowered it without ceremony.[102] Meanwhile, at the state capitol, the Mississippi flag few at half-staff, mourning the end of the "Southern Way of Life."[103] Years afterwards, when asked in an interview why he had not visited the campus with other board trustees after the riot, M. M. Roberts answered, "Because I felt like we had a lost cause . . . I really felt like we had a cause, but I felt like it was a lost cause, like the fight between the North and the South, the Confederacy, I thought it was a lost cause."[104] After decades of granting white southerners full control -- for reasons ranging from outright

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[102]Lord, Past, p. 232.

[103]Photo, "Taps for a Way of Life," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 2 October 1962, p. 8. The rest of the caption read: "The Mississippi state flag flew at half-staff in front of the state Capitol at Jackson yesterday, as a Negro attended classes with whites for the first time in the state's history."

[104]"Interviews: Evans, Fair, Simmons, Tubb, Carpenter, Roberts, Riddell, Stone, Chain," c. 1980s, p. 127, manuscript, Verner Holmes Collection, Box 6, UM.

neglect, to benign indifference, to uneasy restraint -- the federal government finally and decisively had crossed the line in the sand. Despite the risk of physical violence and political fallout, the United States of America had accepted the challenge of Mississippi and exercised its authority on the question of race . . . only to discover what it knew all along, that despite skillful, seductive propaganda the South really had lost the war. With regards to civil rights, federal authority really did trump states' rights. For many Mississippians, once the federal government finally took that step, the vow to make a last stand and risk mortality for the "deathless principle" of states' rights made the rapid disappearance of a called bluff.

And yet, from another perspective, the Oxford riot represented not an end but a beginning, or perhaps (splitting and inverting the difference) the beginning of the end. After all, the rest of Mississippi still awaited, and even the integration of the university was debatable. Meredith himself admitted that he was "perhaps the most segregated Negro in the state."[105] The young man had round-the-clock guards and faced a hostile student body determined to avoid all contact. A flyer entitled "Rebel Resistance" appeared soon after the riot, arguing that

> There should be no place at OLE MISS for social miscegenation, and those who are foolish enough to cross the barrier should be ostracized. This is a WAR that can be won, and it is a WAR over which the armed forces are powerless. . . . Such warfare, which is of the mind and of the spirit, is far beyond the control of the U.S. Supreme Court. Such warfare was used by the South during Reconstruction, and the South eventually triumphed.[106]

A statement released by Meredith concurred that a state of hostilities still existed: "We are engaged in a war, a bitter war for the 'equality of opportunity' for our citizens. The enemy is determined, resourceful, and unprincipled. There are no rules of war for which he has respect."[107]

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[105]James H. Meredith, "I Can't Fight Alone," Look 27 (April 9, 1963): 70.

[106]"Please Circulate/Rebel Resistance," c.1962, broadside, Race Relations Collection, Box 1, Folder 27, UM.

[107]Meredith, Three Years, p. 251. A 1963 civil rights pamphlet described Jackson and elsewhere in the South, as "garrison cities in the grip of lost battalions of the historically beaten legions of the white supremacists" and suggested that the effort to "occupy these fortresses . . . will require a well coordinated combined attack." James E. Jackson, At the Funeral of Medgar Evers in Jackson, Mississippi: A Tribute in Tears and a Thrust for Freedom (New York: Publisher's New Press, 1963), pp. 17 & 20.

So, if the war continued after the university's integration, why did some Mississippians deem it appropriate to tag the Ole Miss riot with the label "Last Battle of the Civil War"?

In the context of the Civil Rights Movement, the occurrence at Oxford was quite unique, and not because of the violence itself or the related deaths, for violence and death were nothing new and would persist for several more years. The distinctive characteristic of the riot lay in the white-on-white nature of the violence. For the first time since 1865, southern whites directed their racial rage in a large-scale physical encounter not at blacks but at federal authorities. The use of Confederate symbols and Lost Cause rhetoric reinforced the historical parallels even further, giving the allegorical allusion even greater credence. Thus, after the battle at Oxford "Reconstruction" in both rhetoric and reality resumed. White fists returned primarily to black skin. Covert operations replaced open battles. While not all white Mississippians resorted to violence, or even respected those who did, many within the state believed that an unwarranted invasion of the state had taken place in Oxford. With the university's integration, a civil rights operation had succeeded on the soil of Mississippi, becoming the "Reconstruction" that the state's segregationists had depicted earlier only in the abstract.

This transformation strengthened spiritual kinship with the past. In a Citizens' Council booklet entitled A Comparison of Attitudes During Reconstruction I and II, author William J. Simmons asserted that, "While we are *sons* of Reconstruction I veterans, we are *combat veterans* of Reconstruction II."[108] The inaugural issue of a campus segregationist publication, called Rebel Underground, explained the anonymity of its authors by complaining of the town's armed occupation and the presence of scalawags and carpetbaggers on the faculty who might

[108]William J. Simmons, A Comparison of Attitudes During Reconstructions I and II (Shreveport, LA: Citizens' Council of La., c. 1963), p. 1. Emphasis added. See also R. L. Simonton, Will the South Survive Reconstruction II? (Selma, AL: Selma Printing Service, c.1960s). In his unpublished autobiography, Ed King wrote: "The standard myths of Reconstruction were revived once again to attack the modern Republicans. The Democrats published a long, scholarly account of Reconstruction and its modern implications. . . . The thinking in the article not only reflected the mood of Mississippi in the fall of 1963, but the predominant mood in the state since 1875." Ed King, manuscript of unpublished autobiography, p. 56, SMMSS 78-5, UM.

retaliate.[109] Again, ancestral actions during Reconstruction became an example to emulate -- as in a Citizens' Council response to the 1962 riot entitled "Victory at Oxford":

> Military occupation -- even by negro troops -- is nothing new for the South. During the First Reconstruction, all the Southern states were under military rule for 12 long years. But our forefathers never yielded, and in the end, they won their fight for States' Rights and Racial Integrity. . . . When the histories of our time are written, one fact will stand forth as clear as the warm Southern sunshine on that bright autumn day: *The South won at Oxford! And we have just begun to fight!*[110]

Needless to say, the optimism of the Citizens' Council ultimately would prove unfounded.

Prior to the riot, segregationists as well as moderates and liberals had shown a predeliction to draw parallels with the Confederate and Reconstruction past. After all, both the combatants and the object of contention were remarkably similar. White supremacists, however, utilized these historical analogies as tools to enhance public sympathy and support among white southerners. While the Confederate flag and the battle anthem "Dixie" became instantly recognizable symbols of segregation, Reconstruction was actually the most used historical reference in rhetoric. For white southerners, a return to the postbellum era posed the specter not of racial equality but the ascendance of blacks over whites -- a threatening proposition guaranteed to motivate white reaction. At the same time, Reconstruction offered the lesson that if white southerners remained true to their principles, federal interference would eventually fade away. Civil War analogies only gained prominence as the federal-state clash over integration at the University of Mississippi escalated. Such metaphors, in turn, acted as provocations increasing the

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[109] Rebel Underground 1 (October 1962): 1, Russell Barrett Collection, Box 8, Folder 44, UM. For further examples of how students and officials at Ole Miss made comparisons to Reconstruction, see Upton, pp. 123-29. In 1966, unreconstructed whites would label Governor Paul B. Johnson, Jr. a "scalawag" for enforcing public school desegregation in Grenada and would circulate a petition for Johnson's impeachment. Yasuhiro Katagiri, The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission: Civil Rights and States' Rights (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001), pp. 199-200.

[110] Barnett, "Mississippi Still Says 'Never'", p. 8. See also, Louis W. Hollis, Never!: An Address by Louis W. Hollis, Executive Director to the Annual Leadership Conference of the Citizens Councils of America, Chattanooga, Tennessee, January 7 and 8, 1966 (Jackson, MS: Citizens Council, c.1966).

likelihood of violent resistance. The actual outbreak of a physical confrontation between white southerners and federal troops on the Ole Miss campus clinched the popularity of the riot's comparison to the Civil War, a practice that continues to this day.

Chapter 5

Waving Flags and Capturing Monuments

. . . we have been looking at that damn statue all our lives, a monument to the Confederacy, to slave drivers and slaveowners . . .—Charles Evers, the first African American mayor of a biracial community in Mississippi since Reconstruction, discussing Fayette's Confederate monument.[1]

Throughout his autobiography, Three Years in Mississippi, James Meredith expressed an appreciation for the subtle displays of support by supposedly submissive Mississippi blacks. He also demonstrated an awareness of Lost Cause symbols in the state's landscape, physical signs that emphasized the cause of white supremacy. At one point, his narrative suggests an earlier generation of blacks had successfully seized an opportunity to erase one such Confederate icon. Meredith's comment occurs in the midst of describing a golf game. Surrounded in the air and on the ground by troops and accompanied by a few of the professors who would appear socially with him, Meredith set out to play a round on the University course. As he recalled,

> The very first drive I hit sent a contingent of soldiers scurrying for safety in the graveyard of the Confederate soldiers killed a hundred years before. The ball was lost in the cemetery and I never found it. While looking for my ball, I noticed that there were no headstones, monuments, or other normal signs of a cemetery. I inquired about this strange appearance, and the story goes that a work detail of Negroes was ordered to clean up the graveyard and that was exactly what they did, without exception.[2]

This story appears numerous times throughout the years in various descriptions of the University cemetery; yet no other author ever seemed to speculate that the action of the groundskeepers might be deliberate. Instead, these accounts by white authors tended to blame black intellectual inferiority.[3] Meredith's understated assessment suggests, quite to the contrary, that the work crew

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[1]Earl Selby and Miriam Selby, Odyssey: Journey Through Black America (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1971), p. 36.
[2]Meredith, Three Years, p. 283. Meredith apparently did not notice the small monument that the local UDC chapter had erected in 1939.
[3]Minnie Smith Holt, Oxford, Mississippi, (N.p., 1935), p. 26; Jemmy Grant Johnson, "The University War Hospital" Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society 12 (1912): 106. Johnson dated the "clean up" incident during the employment of Dr. M. W. Phillips as proctor of

utilized the personas of slow-witted, shuffling blacks to protect themselves while they perpetrated an attack against the dead who had fought to preserve slavery. Meredith had penetrated the mask of docile obedience related in the anecdote to suggest the *potentially* subversive implication inherent in the incident.

Another *possible* African American assault on a Lost Cause symbol may have occurred in 1954. In mid-August of that year, the Greenwood Commonwealth reported that unknown vandals had smeared either tar or creosote on the local Confederate monument. Sheriff's officials denounced the action as deplorable.[4] Further coverage in the Jackson Daily News revealed the details that the vandals had blackened the faces of three figures, as well as a portion of the inscription. This article also voiced the suspicion that the damage resulted from "boys performing a prank."[5] Nonetheless, circumstances encourage further speculation as to the identity of the anonymous assailants and the rationale for their act. In May of that year, Chief Justice Earl Warren had announced the Supreme Court's *Brown* decision. By August, however, the strength and determination of white resistance in the state to desegregation became evident.[6] *Might* the defacement of the monument have resulted from black reaction to the delayed pace of integration?

Located on the courthouse lawn, the Greenwood monument is atypical in that six figures compose a unified sculptural cluster: a soldier on top of a high shaft, two soldiers on either side of the base, a praying woman in the back, and a woman supporting a wounded soldier in the front. According to the sparse newspaper account, only three of the five figures within easy reach

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the university, which narrows the episode to 1876-1880. Historical Catalogue of the University of Mississippi 1849-1909 (Nashville, TN: Marshall & Bruce Co., 1910), p. 94. The fact that more permanent stone markers had yet to replace the temporary wooden ones would have facilitated the ease with which the groundskeepers "tidied" the cemetery.

[4]"Vandals Deface Confederate Statue," Greenwood Commonwealth, 19 August 1954, p. 1.

[5]"Vandalism Seen Prank of Boys At Greenwood," Jackson Daily News, 24 August 1954, Subject File: "Greenwood Monument," MDAH. Efforts to elicit further information failed. The Leflore County Sheriff's office has not preserved records dating that far back.

[6]For both black and white reaction to *Brown* in 1954 Mississippi, see Dittmer, Local People, pp. 37-50.

received the tar treatment and only on their faces. This manner of defilement -- blackface -- possessed certain racial overtones. Even before the Civil War, minstrel performers had smeared their faces with burnt cork to aid their comedic interpretation of southern blacks. *What if* the defacement had occurred only on the three Confederate soldiers at ground level -- a gesture that transformed the esteemed heroes of the white south into clowns and fools? *What if* the portion of the inscription the vandals had marred was the section that read: "A testimonial of our affection and reverence for the Confederate Soldier, the memory of whose brave deeds and heroic life, and the principles for which he sacrificed so much we bequeath to our children through all future generations?"[7] Lack of details in the contemporary accounts of the attack means that these suppositions are just that -- a tantalizing conjecture that one or more blacks in the Greenwood community had assaulted a symbol of white supremacy.

Obviously, the motivations behind the actions in Oxford and Greenwood, and even the exact identity of the culprits in the Delta, remains open to alternative explanation. Yet, the very ambiguity of these two episodes -- if they were the deliberate actions of a few blacks -- demonstrates the effectiveness of the stratagem utilized by the hypothesized assailants. By hiding behind either anonymity or the facade of dutiful deference, those involved would have avoided punitive reactions during a time when reprisals were likely to be quite severe and even deadly. That extensive research disclosed only these two uncertain incidents as *possible* pre-1960s attacks on Lost Cause icons in Mississippi suggests, moreover, that either fear prevented more such assaults or that most people in the black community either failed to perceive the association between such symbols and white supremacy, or that even if they discerned such a connection, activists deemed the matter trivial in light of more direct and effective activities against the white establishment.

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[7]For a photograph of the Greenwood monument, see Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 116. For a description of the monument and the text of the inscription, see the Sculpture File in the Art Inventory of the Smithsonian Institution Research Information System at www.siris.si.edu (Greenwood monument call number: MS000039).

Certainly, the memoirs and writings of black Mississippians, in deep contrast to those written by whites, convey almost no description or even awareness of the Lost Cause memorials and commemorations within the state.[8] When discussing the white community, African Americans tended to focus on the daily degradations of segregation, recalling Jim Crow signs and racist attitudes. Presumably, Confederate symbolism made little impression in light of contemporary "colored" signs and lynch knots. This apprehension began to change, however, with the advent of civil rights agitation within the state. Under the glare of the national spotlight during the Meredith March of 1966, civil rights activists focused at least part of their attention on Confederate symbolism. Although hindered by white strategems, the assaults on Confederate monuments and battle flags that began during that march demonstrated an awareness in the black community that white supremacists rallied around such tokens of their past. The conflict between blacks and whites over such representations would continue long after the decade was over.

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[8]One exception was a Natchez musician who described losing one job because he refused a customer's request to play "Dixie": "I well understood the sentiments of the song's author who made reference to the 'old times in the South' not being forgotten. Old times--Jim Crow, Black Codes, slavery, lynchings. Perhaps when he thought of Dixie his heart was endeared; when I thought of Dixie, my heart was broken." C. K. Chiplin, Roads from the Botton: A Survival Journal for America's Black Community (Brandon, MS: Quail Ridge Press, 1996), pp. 89-90. A few instances of awareness among African Americans outside of Mississippi were uncovered. In a WPA interview, one former slave described Lee's monument in Norfolk, Virginia as standing "for all the devilment and cruelty that was done to the Negro during the days of slavery." Charles L. Perdue, Jr., et al., eds., Weevils in the Wheat: Interviews with Virginia's Ex-Slaves (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), p. 257. In Charleston, South Carolina, another woman recalled with distaste the memory of her white teachers making her recite "Rebel songs and poems." She also recounted black hatred of the John C. Calhoun monument: "Blacks took that statue personally. As you passed by, here was Calhoun looking you in the face and telling you, 'Nigger, you may not be a slave, but I am back to see you stay in your place.' . . . We used to carry something with us, if we knew we would be passing that way, in order to deface that statue -- scratch up the coat, break the watch chain, try to knock off the nose." Mamie Garden Fields with Karen Fields, Lemon Swamp and Other Places: A Carolina Memoir (New York: Free Press, 1983), pp. 45 & 57. See also, Karen Fields, "What One Cannot Remember Mistakenly," in History and Memory in African-American Culture eds. Genevieve Fabre and Robert O'Meally (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 156-58. W. E. B. Du Boise complained of one North Carolina monument that it "achieves the impossible by recording of Confederate soldiers: 'They died fighting for liberty!'" W. E. B. Du Boise, Black Reconstruction (New York: Russell & Russell, 1935), p. 716.

As the Civil War Centennial kicked off in the spring of 1961, civil rights activists, known as Freedom Riders, began their attempts to desegregate the bus lines that crossed the South. After traversing Alabama in the company of that state's National Guard, the Trailways bus pulled up to the Mississippi border where, as one participant noted, "The Mississippi National Guardsman were more frightening. Many had grown fierce-looking beards in preparation for an upcoming Civil War battle reenactment."[9] During the transition between states, another rider remarked, "I'm going out of America into a foreign country."[10] Three years later, Sally Belfrage, one of the white northern students participating in the Mississippi Freedom Summer, experienced a similar disorientation upon crossing into the state:

> A sign to the right of the road read WELCOME TO MISSISSIPPI, THE MAGNOLIA STATE. It pictured a magnolia-blossoming plantation. I leaned over to push down the lock buttons. (*Lock the doors at all times*, our *Security Handbook* said, *and keep the windows wound up*.) 'Oh come on,' Ed Bauer complained. 'It's still --'/ '-- the United States of America,' someone finished. (Was it? A peculiar condition is induced by one's first view of the Confederate flag flying.)[11]

The feelings of trepidation and alienation expressed by these activists are not uncommon in the literature of the civil rights movement. Mississippi's well deserved reputation for greeting agitators with violence and death quite naturally evoked fear; the estrangement, in part, arose from this anxiety as well as the state's unfamiliar surroundings and customs. For non-southerners, one element in the strangeness of their new environment was the pervasiveness of Confederate emblems.

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[9]Seth Cagin and Philip Dray, We Are Not Afraid: The Story of Goodman, Schwerner, and Chaney and the Civil Rights Campaign for Mississippi (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., 1988), p. 123. John Lewis also mentions the beards in his autobiography, Walking With the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998), p. 169. During the second Montogmery, Alabama libel trial against four SCLC preachers and the New York Times, defense lawyers objected to the appearance of similar beards on the faces of five jury members and the mayor as "conspicuous Confederate symbols" that "created an atmosphere prejudicial to the defendants." The judge, of course, overruled the objection. Taylor Branch, Parting the Waters: America in the King Years 1954-63 (NY: Touchstone, 1988), p. 391.

[10]Ditmer, Local People, p. 90.

[11]Sally Belfrage, Freedom Summer (New York: Viking Press, 1965), pp. 30-31.

Belfrage reacted as she did to the battle flag not because Confederates had carried that particular standard in a war waged a century earlier, but because she recognized that segregationists now rallied troops with that same banner in a contemporary conflict over racial equality and integration. At the same time, the flag's appearance could not help but contribute to the "foreignness" of the state by those more accustomed to viewing the national flag of the United States. Used since ancient times as a means of identification, flags enabled their bearers to quickly and visibly demonstrate their allegiance to a particular group, and the prolific display of the Confederate banner within the state signaled the popularity of the white supremacist cause among white Mississippians.[12]

Not surprisingly, civil rights activists in a shrewd bit of public relations marketing, used its historical antithesis. By carrying the Stars and Stripes in their various protest marches, blacks visually asserted their loyalty to the Union and demanded protection of its stated principles, and in an age when television permitted immediate dissemination of newsworthy images, the use of such an emblem could facilitate the identification and sympathy of viewers in Peoria with those of a different race in another part of the nation. News clips showed policemen gathering American flags one by one from marchers before hauling them off in vans. During the 1961 march in Jackson against the incarceration of those who had attempted to integrate a public library, the Memphis newspaper reported that authorities had taken in for questioning "a student carrying an American flag."[13] Waving the national flag thus became an indirect, passive challenge to the Confederate standard used by segregationists.[14]

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[12]A useful discourse on the general subject of flags is Raymond William Firth's chapter "Symbolism of Flags" in Symbols: Public and Private (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 1973), pp. 328-367. In an article on the prevalence of the Confederate banner in the contemporary South, Hodding Carter stated that since 1954 the flag "has been debased by many into a harsh summons to racial hate." "Furl That Banner?," New York Times Magazine, 25 July 1965, p. 9.

[13]"Negroes Halted by Firm Police," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 29 March 1961.

[14]Days before the Oxford riot, the wife of the local Episcopal priest reacted to the rebel flag that flew from nearly every car aerial by purchasing an American one. Her husband warned her against flying it because of the town's tense atmosphere. Lord, Past, p. 174.

A northern minister who participated in the 1964 Freedom Summer, Beverly Allen Ashbury, demonstrated an unusual sensitivity to the symbols of the past, writing "This land strikes one as strange because the only song one hears is for a war that was lost, for a day that is gone (if it ever existed), for a people who have died (if they ever lived)." She asserted that the American flag represented to blacks "more certainty than the crosses on the white churches just a few blocks away." Allen also described the Confederate monument at the Forrest County Courthouse as a "pillar of salt, the spirit of segregation, stale, static and lifeless."[15] Her apt Biblical allusion referred to the punishment suffered by Lot's wife who disobeyed the angels' injunction to *not glance backward* during the family's flight from God's wrathful destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, two cities condemned to erasure through fire and brimstone for their vice and wickedness.[16] In cities such as Hattiesburg, silent marble sentinels guarded the approaches to the county courthouses where civil rights activists conducted charges beneath stony-eyed gazes in voter registration drives and freedom marches. Yet the writings of participants in the movement seem to indicate that the monuments received little if any notice . . . that is, until the summer of 1966 and the return of Meredith to Mississippi.

After a year and a half of threats and ostracism, James Meredith graduated from Ole Miss in the summer of 1963. During the procession to the site of the ceremony, he wrote that he took particular notice of two symbols: first, the bullet holes the Lyceum Building received on the night of the riot; and then, "the statue of the Confederate soldier, the symbol of blood that had been shed one hundred years ago in defense of the system of 'White Supremacy' . . ."[17] After the ceremony, Meredith left to pursue a law degree at Columbia University in New York, returning three years later in 1966 resolved to initiate a "March Against Fear" across his home state. By his perseverance over expected intimidation, Meredith hoped his example would inspire local blacks

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[15]Beverly Allen Ashbury, "The Minister" in "Journey to Understanding: Four Witnesses to a Mississippi Summer," Nation 199 (December 28, 1964): 510.
[16]The story of Sodom and Gomorrah appears in Genesis, chapters 18 and 19.
[17]Meredith, Three Years, p. 326.

to overcome their apprehension and register to vote. "Nothing can be more enslaving than fear," he told reporters, "We've got to root this out."[18]

Accompanied by a few friends and little fanfare, Meredith began his march from Memphis, Tennessee on June fifth, stopping before evening just a few hundred yards from the Mississippi border. During that first day, a smattering of whites had gathered, including a young man waving the ubiquitous Confederate flag. Told by an elderly white man that there was a "Stonewall Jackson flag" behind him, Meredith calmly and politely responded, "Stonewall was a fine man -- a very fine man, a great general."[19] The next day when the small group crossed into Mississippi, a young, black New Yorker, Charles Sterrett, wore a Confederate hat and a gray suit with a silk rebel flag labeled "Hell No" pinned to the back. He also carried two other smaller Confederate banners. Sterrett told a reporter that he was making fun of those who "have been waving rebel flags at us."[20] Later that day and sixteen miles into Mississippi, a white man fired a shotgun and hit Meredith with three loads of buckshot.[21]

While Meredith recovered in a Memphis hospital, civil rights leaders from all the major organizations hurriedly gathered to continue the march, recognizing that press coverage of the attack would focus public attention on the South in a manner not achieved since the march on Selma, Alabama a year earlier. From the very start of this new phase of the march, reporters zeroed in on the movement's internal divisions. This conflict would eventually become the defining characteristic of what the documentary "Eyes on the Prize" has declared, "the last great

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[18]Roy Reed, "Meredith Begins Mississippi Walk to Combat Fear," New York Times, 6 June 1966, p. 27.

[19]ibid. Another article reported that several of the cars carrying passengers who jeered at the marchers "brandished Confederate flags." "Meredith Resumes Vote March after 13-Mile Hike First Day," Memphis Press-Scimitar, 6 June 1966, W. W. Busby Scrapbook, MDAH.

[20]"Meredith Now In Mississippi," Meridian Star, 6 June 1966, James Meredith SMMSS, Box 7, Folder: "Clippings Re: Meredith March," UM.

[21]When Sidney Street, a black bus driver in Brooklyn and a World War II recepient of the Bronze Star, heard the news about Meredith, he took his American flag to a nearby intersection and burned it. Arrested for for violating New York's flag desecration statute, he told the police "If they let that happen to Meredith, we don't need an American flag." Welch, Flag Burning, pp. 51-52.

march of the southern civil rights movement."[22] Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and Whitney Young of the Urban League left Memphis, refusing to sign the march's manifesto, which they viewed as too strident and politically inept in its condemnation of President Johnson for his ineffectual enforcement of voting rights and inaction on poverty. Martin Luther King, Jr., however, signed on for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), as did Stokely Carmichael of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Floyd B. McKissick of the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), and Arthur Thomas of the Delta Ministry.[23]

Both McKissick and Carmichael had recently assumed leadership of their respective organizations by riding the tide of increased militancy among young black activists. Carmichael, particularly, viewed the march as an opportunity to expose his organization's transformation to a national audience, and he demanded that the march exclude whites and that it permit the gun-toting Deacons for Defense to join and provide protection for the marchers. Not wanting to entirely alienate King whose appearance would guarantee large crowds and national press coverage, Carmichael dropped his demands for black exclusivity. King, in turn, knowing that the march would require organizational assistance as the route took the participants through the "SNCC territory" of the Mississippi Delta, accepted the presence of the Deacons. Everyone who remained agreed to use the event as a vehicle to register new voters in the towns along its path.[24]

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[22]"Eyes on the Prize II: The Time Has Come (1964-1965)" (Boston, MA: Blackside, Inc., 1989).

[23]Gene Roberts, "March's Leaders Demand Action by U.S. on Rights," New York Times, 9 June 1966, p. 1. Charles Evers, field director of the Mississippi NAACP, later claimed that his signature on the manifesto was a forgery.

[24]The most comprehensive narrative synthesis of the march is a chapter in Dittmer's Local People (pp. 389-407). Aside from press coverage, narrative accounts of the Meredith March as well as its role in the rise of "black power" appear briefly in the following works: Gary Allen Knox, "Moderate Negro Leadership Protest Thought: From the March on Washington to the Meredith March" (M.A. thesis, California State College in Fullterton, 1971), pp. 128-63; Joyce Ladner, "What Black Power Means to Negroes in Mississippi," in The Transformation of Activism ed August Meier (N.p.: Aldine Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 131-54; Christopher B. Strain, "'We Walked Like Men': The Deacons for Defense and Justice," Louisiana History 38 (Winter 1997): 43-62; David J. Garrow, Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (New York: Vintage Books, 1988), pp. 473-89; John Lewis and Michael D'Orso, Walking With the Wind, pp. 369-72; Paul Good, "The Meredith March," New South 21 (Summer 1966): 2-16; James H. Meredith, "Big Changes Are Coming," Saturday Evening Post 239 (August 13, 1966): 23-27; Idem, An Oral History (Jackson,MS: Meredith Publishing, 1995), pp. 20-22; Idem, Letters to My Unborn Grandchildren (Jackson, MS: Meredith Publishing, 1995),

Beginning at the site of Meredith's attack, the marchers walked alongside Highway 51, varying in size each day from 30 to 250 as local blacks joined up and then dropped out of the procession; and King, Carmichael, and McKissick all left the march at intervals to fulfill speaking engagements elsewhere. Highway patrolmen provided by Governor Paul B. Johnson, Jr., who wished to preclude federal intervention, prevented any serious confrontations from the white spectators. As the march proceeded, organizers arranged rallies to encourage voter registration. In Batesville, for example, between two and three hundred local blacks followed the column to the county courthouse. More than fifty registered to vote, including a 104-year-old farmer whose act inspired the crowd to cheers as young men carried him about on their shoulders.[25]

Midway between Memphis and Jackson, the march entered Grenada, a city of approximately seven thousand and possessing a reputation for "meanness" among the state's civil rights workers.[26] Local African Americans lined Highway 51 awaiting the march's approach to the town. The New York Times correspondent's description of the meeting conveys the emotional seduction required to wrest blacks from their fears:

> When the marchers drew near the waiting crowds, they stopped, began swaying their bodies, dancing and chanting, "Come on Over Brother, Come on Over Brother." Many of the Negro bystanders stared at the march column, then stopped and weighed their decision. "March for Freedom, baby," sang out one marcher. "March for Freedom." The music, the gaiety, and the pleas of "Walk for Your Children, Brother -- Make them free" proved irresistible for approximately

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pp. 1-7; Frederick M. Wirt, Politics of Southern Equality: Law and Social Change in a Mississippi County (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 148-150; Joseph S. Roucek, "The Rise of 'Black Power' in the United States," Contemporary Review 212 (January 1968): 31-39; J. Lester, Look Out Whitey!: Black Power Gonna Get Your Momma (New York: Grove Press, 1969), pp. 97-107; Roy Wilkins, Standing Fast (New York: Viking Press, 1982), pp. 315-21; Milton Voight, Fire in the Streets: America in the 1960s (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1979), pp. 343-79; Panola County Genealogical and Historical Society, History of Panola County Mississippi (Dallas, TX: Curtis Media, 1987), p. 191; "The March in Mississippi" (New York: CBS Video, 1994). For information on the Deacons of Defense, although it fails to mention the group's assistance with the Meredith March, see Akinyele K. Umoja, "Eye for an Eye: The Role of Armed Resistance in the Mississippi Freedom Movement" (Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1996).

[25]Roy Reed, "Marchers Detour for Voting Drive," New York Times, 12 June 1966, pp. 1 & 82; See also, Steven F. Lawson, In Pursuit of Power: Southern Blacks and Electoral Politics, 1965-1982 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), pp. 50-62. Footage of Batesville during the march appears in "Eyes on the Prize II: The Time Has Come (1964-1965)."

[26]Characterization of Grenada found in "Mississippi: Grenada Revisited," Newsweek 68 (July 25, 1966): 29.

> 225 negroes who joined the column and stayed with it. . . . "I was just looking," said Mrs. Tessie McCain, "and all of a sudden I was marching." Mrs. Geneva Crawford rushed into the march line with her 6-month-old niece in her arms. But many Negroes never joined the march. And others joined it, but dropped out quietly as it approached the downtown business district and hundreds of waiting whites.[27]

Downtown, the Stars and Stripes hung from business establishments in honor of Flag Day. For entirely different reasons, a number of white teenagers had pinned Confederate flags to the backs of their shirts.[28]

Upon reaching their destination, the marchers rested on the grass of the town square while Robert Green of the SCLC climbed up on the base of the local Confederate monument. Erected in 1910 and akin to many of its brethren across the region, the Grenada memorial depicts a lone soldier standing at parade rest atop a tall shaft, the front of which bears the dedicatory inscription: *To the noble men who marched neath the flag of the stars and bars, and were faithful to the end. Glorious in life, in death sublime.*[29] Perched on this monument, Green announced, "We want Brother Jefferson Davis to know that the South he represented will never rise again. We want Mississippi to know that it is a part of the Union. We want white folks to know that we have died for the flag too."[30] He then proceeded to plant the stick of a small American flag in the crack above the bas relief of Jefferson Davis that emblazoned the back of the monument, and he proclaimed to the cheers of the marchers, "We're tired of seeing rebel flags. . . . Give me the flag of the United States, the flag of freedom."[31] Although accounts of this impromptu oration differ, apparently someone "slapped" the sculpted face of Davis and called him a "joker" -- an act

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[27]Gene Roberts, "Negroes Win Voting Gains on Stop in Grenada, Miss.," New York Times, 15 June 1966, pp. 1 & 26.
[28]James Bonney, "CR Hikers Demonstrate At Grenada," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 15 June 1966, pp. 1 & 16.
[29]For a description of the Grenada monument and its inscription, see the Sculpture File in the Art Inventory of the Smithsonian Institution Research Information System at www.siris.si.edu (Grenada monument call number: MS000144). However, an accurate account of the inscription below Davis should read "the only president of the *southern* confederacy."
[30]"Mississippi: Br'er Fox," Time 87 (June 24, 1966): 31. For slightly different versions of this quote, see "Civil Rights: 'Black Power!'" Newsweek 67 (June 27, 1966): 36; Good, "The Meredith March," pp. 6-7.
[31]Roberts, "Negroes Win," p. 26.

attributed by one reporter to Green and by another to George Raymond, a field secretary of CORE.[32]

The crowd of whites watched these proceedings in a silence that one journalist described as "disciplined fury." His report added the remarks of a local merchant: "I saw two of my niggers in there an' they won't have no jobs tomorrow. . . .They get in that march an' that's it. They'll be on relief tomorrow."[33] And while they must have known the risks, local black participants surely felt triumphant at that particular moment. Not only had they trod the streets and occupied the public space of the town square in a manner previously only sanctioned for whites, but they had "captured" and denigrated the local totemic representation of white southern identity. En masse, blacks roared their approval as one of their number vented his frustration against two emblems from the Confederate past that decorated their present lives. Eventually, more pragmatic reasons for jubilation occurred when the "white" and "colored" signs on the courthouse restrooms came down and four black registrars helped to enroll the names of over one thousand blacks on the county ledgers of eligible voters. Yet, the events that occurred at the monument impressed many of the journalists present who felt compelled to include brief descriptions of the episode in their reports on Grenada.[34] In a recap of the march a month later, one reporter even described the capture as "the great symbolic triumph of the Meredith marchers."[35]

As with similar victories, however, the moment proved fleeting. After the protestors left town on the second day, segregation promptly returned to Grenada, and a rebel flag replaced "Old

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[32]For mention of Raymond, see Roberts, "Negroes Win," p. 26. For mention of Greene, see Good, "Meredith March," pp. 7-8. Good also reports the incident without assigning a name in "A White Look at Black Power," Nation 204 (August 8, 1966): 113.

[33]Good, "The Meredith March," p. 7.

[34]Aside from those already cited, brief recitations of the incident at the monument also occur in the following articles: Gene Roberts, "Mississippi Shuns March Incidents," New York Times, 16 June 1966, p. 35; Roy Reed, "Rights March Makes an Impact--In Some Places," New York Times, 26 June 1966, p. 40; Andrew Jaffe, "Grenada, Mississippi: Perspective on the Backlash," New South 21 (Fall 1966): 15-28.

[35]"Mississippi: Grenada Revisited," p. 30. In fact, this article refers to the event as "the capture of the Confederate monument" -- a fitting rhetorical description adopted within this text and for the chapter's title.

Glory" on the Confederate monument.[36] Prior to the march's arrival, local officials had determined that the best manner of handling the intrusion was to avoid confrontation and to rapidly concede to all demands while under the gaze of the national press -- with the understanding, of course, that life would resume normalcy when privacy returned. Officials, however, had not predicted the assault on their Civil War memorial, a tactic previously unheard of in the arsenal of civil rights agitators. The local paper in its one paragraph comment on the two-day event, commended the restraint of local citizens, acknowledging that "Blood ran cold in a lot of us Tuesday when the scummy Negroes and slimy whites of Meredith's Marchers crawled around and made speeches . . . from the Confederate monument in Grenada's public square."[37] In an address to the U.S. Senate, the Honorable Senator James O. Eastland, too, expressed pride for "the magnificent display of self-control . . . by Mississippians in the face of 'extreme agitation.'" Complaining that the marchers "desecrated historic monuments, made a mockery out of sacred things and insulted Mississippians of both races on the streets," Eastland added that he would not be surprised if "next these outside agitators desecrate the graves of Confederate soldiers and drag their remains through the streets in an effort to garner headlines."[38]

In the fall, one journalist covering the civil rights movement in Grenada wrote, "Throughout the summer I was to hear references to that 'desecration of our monument.' It became a rallying cry of resentful, bitter whites."[39] And desecration had quite definitely occurred, if one relies on the dictionary definition of the term -- "to treat irreverently or contemptuously, often in

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[36]Mention of the Confederate flag appears in Roberts, "Negroes Win Voting Gains," p. 26.
[37]Andrew Whitaker, "Seen, Heard and Told," Grenada County Weekly, 16 June 1966, p. 1.
[38]"Eastland Says State Ignoring All Tricks," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 17 June 1966, p. 16. In his weekly column "Mississippi Notebook," Tom Etheridge wrote: "People ask us what we think about 'marchers' insulting a statue of Jefferson Davis . . . Our view is that it was all done with hopes of provoking violence against troublemakers and extroverts who thrive on sensational publicity. Be that as it may, nothing said or done by uncouth riff raff can ever detract from the glory of Jefferson Davis. No more than barking dogs can dim the brightness of the moon. His memory will be honored long after they are gone and forgotten." Jackson Clarion Ledger, 23 June 1966, p. 16.
[39]Jaffe, "Grenada, Mississippi," p. 19.

a way that provokes outrage on the part of others."[40] The actions of the activists at the Grenada memorial quite definitely had incensed whites across the state. In his story of the Grenada incursion, journalist Paul Good repeated an anonymous reporter's reaction to the action at the monument as, "The colored are really trying the patience of this town." Good responded in print: "The patience of a town tried for a day, the patience of a people tried for a century. Whose patience took precedence in your mind determined how you told the story."[41]

When the marchers left Grenada, they veered away from Highway 51, Meredith's original intended route to the capital, and turned westward into the Delta. Meanwhile, Governor Johnson pulled away all but four of the highway patrol cars that had previously monitored the march's progress and its interaction with whites. Releasing responsibility for the marchers' protection to local authorities, Johnson justified his actions by stating that the march had turned into a campaign for voter registration.[42] The first stop on this next stage of the trek was Greenwood, home of Byron De La Beckwith, the man accused of killing Medgar Evers in 1963 and who had twice escaped conviction by hung juries.

Before the main column's arrival in Greenwood, the police had arrested Carmichael and two others for erecting tents on the grounds of the black schoolyard in defiance of a city order. Just released from custody, Carmichael greeted the procession at the campground's evening rally with the words, "This is the 27th time I have been arrested -- I ain't going to jail no more. . . .The only way we gonna stop them white men from whuppin' us is to take over. We been sayin' 'freedom' for six years and we ain't got nothin'. What we gonna start sayin' now is 'black power!'"[43] The crowd responded loudly, "Black power!" Carmichael cried out, "We want black power! Every courthouse in Mississippi ought to be burned down to get rid of the dirt." By this time the

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[40]Definition of "desecrate" found in Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary (Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster Inc., 1986).
[41]Good, "The Meredith March," p. 7.
[42]Dittmer, Local People, p. 396.
[43]"Civil Rights: 'Black Power!,'" p. 36.

protesters were repeatedly chanting "Black power!"[44] Carmichael continued, "Ain't nothin' wrong with anything all black 'cause I'm all black and I'm all good . . . And from now on, when they ask you what you want, you know what to tell them. What do you want?" The marchers roared back "Black power!"[45]

Carmichael's introduction of this new slogan was actually not the result of an angry impulse generated by his arrest, but was instead a deliberate public announcement of the militant, nationalist transformation that SNCC workers and others in the civil rights movement had undergone since the failure of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party to gain the seats of its segregationist white counterpart at the 1964 Democratic Convention.[46] Frustrated by the slow pace of change and continuation of white violence and influenced by the teachings of Malcolm X and the literature of black consciousness, the younger generation of black activists became less committed to the moderates' philosophy of non-violence and its goal of integration. Later in thoughtful contemplation and on paper, Carmichael would explain his belief that power and ethnic identification fueled American politics, not idealistic beliefs such as "democracy," and that the only way to achieve a society of equality and justice was for blacks to unite and bargain for improvement from a position of strength. Furthermore, though opposed to segregation, he also disliked the aim of integration, as it would deprive the black community of its own identity and institutions.[47] But in the fever pitch of the rally, any sophistication in Carmichael's argument disappeared in the chanting of the simplistic slogan "Black Power" whose very ambiguity could both unite and divide.

That phrase certainly frightened white America, perhaps because, as John Lewis has stated, "they could not subtract violence from power, they could only see power as a violent

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[44]"Mississippi: Br'er Fox," p. 31.

[45]"Civil Rights: 'Black Power!,'" p. 36.

[46]Dittmer, Local People, p. 396. Prior to the march's arrival in Greenwood, SNCC advance man Willie Ricks had primed local audiences at small rallies to respond to the slogan. Their enthusiastic response, in turn, encouraged Ricks to urge Carmichael to use "Black Power" in the more public forum of the march with its national press contingent.

[47]Knox, "Moderate Negro Leadership," pp. 133-36.

instrument, accompaniment."[48] Roy Wilkins' grasp of this white reaction fueled his quick, negative response to "Black Power", condemning it as "the reverse of Mississippi, a reverse Hitler, and a reverse Ku Klux Klan."[49] King, absent on the occasion of Carmichael's call-and-response, considered leaving the march, but he decided to stay and attempt to deflect the repercussions of the slogan's use. King never totally dismissed the term which he called "an unfortunate choice of words," but he did reject any definition of "Black Power" as a form of black supremacy and retaliatory violence. The leader of the SCLC chose instead to associate the phrase with black voting and a positive self-identity.[50] Thus, the slogan that whipped black audiences into a frenzy, also widened the divisions among the leaders and organizations of the movement. Press coverage of the march from this point on tended to focus attention on this factionalism.

The next day, the marchers made their way towards the Greenwood courthouse while a truck's sound system blared a KKK song, and white children flourished their Confederate flags.[51] A merchant whose business flew a rebel flag asked a Washington Post reporter

> Did you see the picture of that nigger putting a flag on top of Jeff Davis' monument over in Grenada the other day? . . . Well, this Confederate flag will be flying when they march in here and it'll be flying when they leave. . . . This flag means a whole lot to us Mississippians. It means as much as the other one to me. They can come down here to vote but they don't have to trample on what we hold sacred.[52]

When the march arrived at its destination, sheriff's deputies prevented the crowd of one thousand from stepping onto the courthouse lawn. Determined to prevent a repeat of the occurrence at Grenada, local officials had also arranged eight, unarmed black trustees from the county jail

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[48]"Eyes on the Prize II: The Time Has Come (1964-1965)."

[49]"NAACP Head Warns 'Black Power' Means 'Black Death,'" U.S. News & World Report 61 (July 18, 1966): 34.

[50]Quote from Lewis, Walking with the Wind, p. 371; This boiled-down interpretation of King's position on the slogan derives from Knox, "Moderate Negro Leadership," pp. 138-57; John T. McCarntey, Black Power Ideologies: An Essay in African-American Thought (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), pp. 127-32.

[51]"March in Delta Marked by Petty Provocations," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 18 June 1966, p. 1.

[52]Nicholas von Hoffman, "3 Marchers Arrested in Greenwood," Washington Post, 17 June 1966, pp. A1-A9.

around the base of the local Confederate monument -- the same one vandalized in 1954. "They are not going to get on [that] monument," the city police commissioner vowed.[53]

Deterred from the lawn and the memorial, the marchers massed on the walkways and the road in front of the building. Carmichael started up the chant of "Black Power" which King tried to qualify by asking the crowd if they knew what power was and by providing the answer that "Power is the ability to make the power structure say 'yes' even when it wants to say 'no.' The way to do this is to be voters."[54] As the marchers left the downtown area after the rally, a man at a service station cleaning the pavement doused some of the participants with water from his hose; instead of a typically stoic, non-violent response, a few of the marchers actually chased the man into his station where he pulled and aimed a gun until a city policeman disarmed him.[55]

As the march wound its way towards Jackson, SCLC members continued to employ the traditional call for "Freedom Now" while SNCC, refusing to compromise by using alternative slogans such as "Black Consciousness" or "Black Equality," loudly continued their demand for "Black Power."[56] In Belzoni as at Greenwood, eight black prison trustees, this time from Parchman State Penitentiary, prevented the marchers from conducting their rally at the site of the courthouse's Confederate monument.[57] During a sidetrip to Philadelphia to honor the 1964 deaths of civil rights workers James Chaney, Michael Schwerner, and Andrew Goodman, officials prevented the marchers from assembling on the courthouse lawn with its Confederate monument. As the column retreated following the brief memorial service, white onlookers began to attack the protesters. Before the assault was over, several marchers began to return blows.[58] Even more

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[53]For the quote, see "March in Delta," p. 1; A report of the guards as trustees (but with the number as six) appears in Gene Roberts, "Marchers Stage Mississippi Rally," New York Times, 18 June 1966, p. 28; Mention of the eight guards also occurs in "March Fails to Ruffle Greenwood," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 18 June 1966, p. 4.
[54]"March Fails to Ruffle," p. 4.
[55] ibid.
[56]Garrow, Bearing the Cross, pp. 484-85.
[57]Gene Roberts, "Rights Marchers Walk 16 Miles," New York Times, 21 June 1966, p. 30; "CR Hikers Camping in Pig Lot," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 21 June 1966, pp. 1 & 14.
[58]Garrow, Bearing the Cross,p. 483.

violence attended the march in Canton, where highway patrolmen and local cops fired tear gas and swung billy clubs in order to disperse the marchers from their chosen campsite on the grounds of a black elementary school.[59]

On June twenty-sixth, after a rally of nine thousand supporters the night before on the campus of Tougaloo College, the march -- now numbering between ten thousand (a state police estimate) and fifteen thousand (a Justice Department estimate) -- walked the last eight miles towards the state capitol.[60] The marchers carried little American flags provided by the SCLC, while white onlookers waved Confederate ones. One Memphis newspaper reported that some black marchers snatched rebel flags out of the hands of white spectators.[61] Other accounts described how a SNCC aide tried to convince marchers to throw their American flags away by saying "That flag does not represent you."[62] Within the column, SCLC and SNCC workers competed to inspire chants of "Freedom Now" and "Black Power."[63] In front of the Capitol, a member of SNCC burned a Confederate flag, an action which brought cheers from the crowd.[64] While King reprised his March on Washington speech, stating "I still have a dream that one day here in the state of Mississippi that justice will be a reality for all of God's children," Carmichael urged blacks to "build a power base in this country so strong that we will bring [whites] to their knees every time they mess with us."[65] During his turn at the podium, McKissick demanded that 1966 be the year "that we decided that we would develop our own culture, that we should be

[59]Dittmer, Local People, pp. 399-401.
[60]Gene Roberts, "Meredith Hailed at Rally At Mississippi's Capitol," New York Times, 27 June 1966, pp. 1 & 29.
[61]"Rights Rally Speakers at Mississippi Capitol Seek a Face of Unity," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 27 June 1966, W. W. Busby Scrapbook, MDAH.
[62]Nicholas von Hoffman, "March Enters Jackson Amid Hostility," Washington Post, 27 June 1966, pp. A1 & A10; Gene Roberts, "Meredith Hailed at Rally At Mississippi's Capitol," New York Times, 27 June 1966, p. A1.
[63]Garrow, Bearing the Cross, p. 487; Roberts, "Meredith Hailed at Rally," p. A1.
[64]Roberts, "Meredith Hailed," p. A1.
[65]King quote from "Eyes on the Prize II"; Carmichael quote cited in Dittmer, Local People, p. 402.

proud of being black people, that we would no longer accept the use of the word Negro, but we would become mature and we would regard ourselves as black men, black men in America."[66]

The year 1966 and the Meredith March certainly proved a significant turning point in the civil rights movement. The slogan "Black Power" made its public appearance and in doing so, revealed internal ideological distinctions among the movement's leaders and organizations. Back in 1963 during the March on Washington, then-SNCC leader John Lewis had planned to include the following in his speech:

> The time will come when we will not confine our marching to Washington. We will march through the South, through the heart of Dixie, the way Sherman did. We shall pursue our own 'scorched earth' policy and burn Jim Crow to the ground -- nonviolently. We shall fragment the South into a thousand pieces and put them back together in the image of democracy.[67]

The other civil rights leaders, however, had persuaded him to delete the passage because it was too incendiary. Three years and many marches throughout the South later, Lewis's successor at SNCC was openly suggesting burning down courthouses. The Meredith March merely exposed the fractures that had developed within the movement over the past few years.

The march through Mississippi also showcased a previously unheard of aggressive stance against Lost Cause symbols like rebel flags and Confederate monuments. Tempting as it might be to make a direct causal link between such exhibitions and the appearance of SNCC's "Black Power" slogan, circumstances suggest that the relationship between the two was more tangential. After all, the two individuals who initiated the trend, Charles Sterrett and Robert Greene, were not members of SNCC; Sterrett decided independently at the start of the march to parody the wavers of the rebel flag by wearing their own emblem, and Robert Greene, who planted the Stars and Stripes on the Grenada monument, was a member of King's SCLC. Moreover, both occurrences happened prior to the public unveiling of "Black Power" at Greenwood. Finally, the leaders of two future confrontations with Mississippi Confederate

[66]"Eyes on the Prize II."
[67]Lewis, Walking with the Wind, pp. 218-23.

monuments, discussed later in this chapter, belonged to the SCLC and the NAACP, two organizations at ideological odds with the nationalist philosophy behind "Black Power." Therefore, while confrontations with Confederate symbols coincided with the public expression of "Black Power," the former was not a product of the latter. Instead, both were concoctions fermented in the same brew of frustration and impatience that enveloped the entire movement in the mid- to late-1960s. Challenging Lost Cause symbols was just a diluted brand of the same militancy that had inspired black nationalism.

Significantly, actual destruction of Confederate icons occurred only at the hands of a black nationalist -- when a member of SNCC dared to burn a rebel flag at the Meredith March rally in front of the state capitol. Otherwise, all public attacks on monuments and flags in the late 1960s were purely symbolical, involving the occupation of space and rhetorical assaults on Confederate objects venerated by the white South. Even then, white southerners considered such aggression as acts of defilement and profanity, as the outcry after Grenada suggests. Not surprisingly, leaders of such operations were generally outsiders who did not expect to remain long within the state. In the end, Lost Cause symbols failed to become a popular target of the civil rights movement during the 1960s, in part, because white Mississippians took preventative measures to protect their memorials from assault, and in part because local blacks gave greater priority to registering voters and ending segregation than they did to attacking Confederate monuments and flags.

Such was the case when the SCLC decided to open its one and only project in Mississippi in July of 1966. The organization chose Grenada because the city was the sight of its greatest success during the Meredith March and because municipal authorities had since reneged on arrangements for voter registration. King decided to send his militant lieutenant, Hosea Williams, to lead a small staff of SCLC workers. City officials responded to a list of fifty-one demands with the promise that "There will be no concessions of any type or degree made to anyone

whatsoever."[68] By mid-July when the civil rights drive had only succeeded in integrating the public library, leaders organized a boycott of white merchants to push for their other demands.[69]

On July fourteenth, Williams, attempting to recreate the triumph of the Meredith March, led a procession of about two hundred local African Americans from Bell Flower Baptist Church to the downtown square where he found the Confederate monument guarded this time by eight black men under the command of a white deputy who commanded the trustees, "Bust 'em if they try to talk to you."[70] Sheriff Ingram told one journalist, "As long as I am on that square and have the power, they are not going up on that statue." The reporter later wrote, "As they waited for the march column, Constable Carroll and Sheriff Ingram posed grinning for the press, enjoying the irony of black facing black before a symbol of white supremacy."[71] As he stood on a stone bench, Williams decried the ruse as inhumane, cruel, and evil, explaining that, "The only reason I am not going on that statue today is that you will beat these black boys when they are back in jail."[72]

The marches continued. A night procession conducted by Williams on August ninth, ended abruptly when near riot conditions forced local authorities to request that both the protesters and white bystanders leave the square. The next afternoon, another SCLC aide, Leon Hall, led a group of fifty-four to the square. This time, the sheriff placed several policemen between the group and the monument because, as a Sovereignty Commission investigator later wrote, "rumors were going around that the Negroes planned to deface the statue and perhaps again climb up and tie an American flag around it."[73] According to this investigator, Hall directed his talk primarily to the white bystanders:

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[68]"Mississippi: Grenada Revisited," Newsweek 68 (July 25, 1966): 30.
[69]"Guarded Statue, Vocal Sheriff Confront Negro Marches," Memphis Commerical Appeal, 15 July 1966.
[70]"Mississippi: Grenada Revisited," p. 30; "Grenada Obeys Court Orders," Grenada Daily Sentinel-Star, 15 July 1966, p. 1.
[71]Jaffe, "Grenada, Mississippi," pp. 20-21.
[72]ibid,; "Guarded Statue, Vocal Sheriff Confront Negro Marches," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 15 July 1966; "White Man Arrested During Grenada Hike," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 15 July 1966.
[73]"Grenada County, August 9-17, 1966," p. 2, manuscript, State of Mississippi Sovereignty Commission Files, document 2-21-1-90-1-1-1, MDAH. For a discussion of the Sovereinty

> He said they had no notion to try to bother the statue of Jefferson Davis, that he was a dead issue and his statue stood as a symbol of segregation, and an enemy of the Negro, but was doing them no harm now. He said Davis beat poor whites out of their earnings and was responsible for getting many thousands of them killed. He said actually the whites ought to be in line with the Negroes opposing such characters as Jefferson Davis and what he stood for, but he said instead of getting in line with them, they were backing up the Grenada business people, who were cheating and wronging the Negroes out of their earnings.[74]

This particular parade concluded peacefully, but that night an attempt by Williams to lead a night march scattered with the explosion of cherry bombs.[75]

In the midst of these escalating tensions, the city's mayor and councilmen met on August eleventh to adopt a city ordinance prohibiting any public meeting on the town square's park, violators to suffer a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars or sixty days imprisonment. Citing the destruction of the aesthetic beauty of the grounds as well as the disruption to business and traffic, the ordinance also noted that "The use of the monument by people sitting or standing thereon is in complete disrespect and derogation of the purpose for which it was erected, as well as damaging and destructive thereto."[76] Officials, however, decided to let a previously scheduled demonstration occur on the square grounds that afternoon before enforcing the law. During the march, Hall stated that he would abide by the ordinance, but that he would be watching to make sure that white groups followed it as well. The next night, Williams led 250 marchers on the streets around the square park. Officials arrested eight young black men who successfully bypassed the Highway patrolmen and entered the grounds of the small park.[77]

During the rest of the sixties, marches and civil rights drives proceeded across Mississippi. Change, sometimes accompanied by violence, slowly altered the fabric of the state's

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Commission and its informants on the Meredith March, see Ken Lawrence, "Mississippi Spies," Southern Exposure 9 (Fall 1981): 82-86.

[74]"Grenada County, August 9-17, 1966," p. 2, manuscript, State of Mississippi Sovereignty Commission Files, document 2-21-1-90-1-1-1, MDAH.

[75]ibid., p. 3.

[76]"The following ordinance was introduced . . . ," p. 2, manuscript, State of Mississippi Sovereignty Commission Files, document 2-21-1-88-1-1-1, MDAH; "Square is Banned--No Gatherings," Grenada Daily Sentinel-Star, 11 August 1966, p. 1.

[77]"Grenada County, August 9-17, 1966," p. 4; "Twenty-Seven CR's Arrested over Weekend," Grenada Daily Sentinel-Star, 15 August 1966, p. 1.

power structure. In 1969, the town of Fayette (whose population of 1,600 was 75% African American) elected Charles Evers to office, the first black mayor of a biracial Mississippi community since Reconstruction. Votes also swept into office a complete slate of five black aldermen. Evers had returned home to Mississippi after the death of his brother, Medgar Evers, in 1963 and replaced him as the state's NAACP field secretary. Building a strong base of operations in southwest Mississippi, he led boycotts and marches throughout the rest of the decade. At times, Evers's strong, assertive character and independent action placed him at odds with both the NAACP and other civil rights groups. Yet, his inauguration as mayor was an occasion that drew national figures to Fayette as well as local African Americans.

At the July Fourth swearing-in ceremony that included opera star and Mississippi native Leontyne Price singing the national anthem, Evers unveiled a new monument adjacent to the statue of the rebel soldier in the previously-segregated Confederate Memorial Park across from the town hall. The inscription on the four-foot high marble slab began "Dedicated to the memory of Medgar Wiley Evers, Born July 2, 1925, Assassinated June 12, 1963, Jackson, Miss.," and it concluded with a quote from Kenya's President Jomo Kenyatta: "One of the greatest affronts to human dignity which I have always opposed is that of racialism."[78]

The transition from a white-controlled city government to a black one did not set well with whites in the community who complained about strict and racist policing of gun control and speeding laws. One of the primary objects of contention, however, became the presence of the Evers memorial in the park. After the local paper pointed out that the land was county property, the all-white Jefferson County Board of Supervisors ordered the mayor to remove the monument. Initially, Evers balked, declaring that the memorial would stay until he received a court order, and complaining that the county board had removed all of the park's benches to prevent blacks from

[78]Selby and Selby, Odyssey, p. 27.

resting there. He asked, "they have their monument so why can't we have ours?"[79] Vandals began trashing the civil rights memorial on a nightly basis with eggs. Clearly annoyed, Evers told visiting writers that

> . . . white Mississippians can't stomach the fact that we got our own monument up there along with theirs. But we have been looking at that damn statue all our lives, a monument to the Old Confederacy, to slave drivers and slaveowners, which they take for granted but [they] won't [accept] that slab of Medgar's. Medgar's represents freedom, and it drives them out of their minds.[80]

Eventually, the mayor did relent, moving his brother's monument to the lawn in front of city hall.[81] Evers, however, promised that one day the memorial would return to its original site. After his skirmish with the county board, he foresaw that at future elections blacks would take over the county courthouse as well as city hall. At that time, he told a reporter,

> We're going to put Medgar's monument in one corner, Martin Luther King's in another, and monuments to John F. Kennedy and Robert Kennedy in the other two -- and the Confederate soldier will stay right where he is. We'll surround him with freedom . . . that's all we want to do.[82]

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[79]"Evers Memorial Is Storm Center," c. 12 August 1969, State of Mississippi Sovereignty Commission Files, document 1-72-2-18-1-1-1, MDAH; "Evers Marker Causes Fuss," 13 August 1969, Subject File: "Fayette 1960-1969," MDAH.

[80]Selby and Selby, Odyssey, p. 36. A similar statement appears in an Evers autobiography: "Whites in town were spitting mad. They said Medgar Evers never lived in Fayette and had nothing to do with Fayette. . . . Turnip Green Allen complained he'd been mayor eighteen years and didn't put his daddy's tomb in the park, and here I put a monument to a nigger who never knew Fayette. He said, 'Think how that makes a white man feel, seeing Medgar Evers honored in the county park.' He'd never wondered how Negroes felt about a statue of a Confederate soldier in the park. . . . They said 'Get that slab out!' I said, 'You got your idol, and we got ours. You got the slave master Confederate soldier, and we got the freedom runner!" Charles Evers and Andrew Szanton, Have No Fear: The Charles Evers Story (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1997), pp. 261-62.

[81]In another autobiography, Evers relates how an anonymous caller associated his brother's memorial with a KKK assassination plot against him. As Evers notes, the logic of the KKK was curious, as the group timed the plot to coincide with the removal of the monument from the park. He replied to a second caller, "The monument was moved this morning. Why are they going to kill me now? That's what they wanted wasn't it? The monument moved?" Evers, Evers, pp. 182-83.

[82]William Thomas, "Black City Hall, White Courthouse" Memphis Commercial Appeal Mid-South Magazine, 9 November 1969, p. 9; "Fayette's Negro Mayor," New Orleans Times Picayune Dixie Magazine, 30 November 1969, p. 75. An abbreviated version of this statement also appears in Selby and Selby, Odyssey, p. 36. Evers' proposal to surround the Confederate monument "with freedom" never came to pass. Today the Confederate soldier remains in its small park, and the Medgar Evers monument still resides in front of city hall.

The Evers administration received quite a bit of national and regional press coverage, and many of the writers framed their stories around the monument controversy, often including a photograph of the Evers memorial adjacent to the statue of the soldier. For outsiders, this juxtaposition of the two monuments and the conflict it generated acted as a parable of southern society in transition from white supremacy to equality. For locals, too, the symbolism was painfully obvious . . . precisely the point that Charles Evers intended to make.

Thus, even as the Civil Rights Movement began to reap rewards, Confederate symbols remained a part of southern life. In 1966, Mademoiselle ran a story on the fourteen African Americans then enrolled at Ole Miss. In contast to Meredith's experience of living under constant social exclusion and threat of physical harm, the reporter described the students as attending classes and living on campus under much more normal conditions. A discussion among several of the men, however, revealed one specific point of alienation:

> The boys regularly attended sports events, and the most traumatic moment on these occasions is when the band blares out "Dixie." "Can you imagine what it's like,'" asks Irvin, "to have all these white people stand up around you for the song, and you stay sitting there, a Negro?" There have been repeated debates among them, clustered in one of their rooms at night, about whether they should stand up for the anthem of the Old Confederacy. "It's like the alma mater here," Irvin would insist, "it's really like the school song. I feel like standing up for the school song if I'm a student." Replied Earnest, "But you got to realize what it means to most of them. Sure, I wish they'd have some fight song I could stand up and cheer for. But not 'Dixie,' man. Not that one. That's the worst thing about going to the games. If they wouldn't play 'Dixie' so much, it'd be O.K."[83]

In the coming years, controversy over the Lost Cause symbols associated with the University and its athletic teams became inevitable as desegregation progressed. Protests, too, against such symbols would eventually become more radical than the imperceptible decision of a few black men to remain seated amidst the thousands of white spectators during the playing of "Dixie."

Ole Miss would not be the only educational institution facing conflict during this era over the use of Civil War emblems and songs to promote school spirit. Between 1968 and 1972,

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[83]Marshall Frady, "'If They Wouldn't Play 'Dixie' So Much . . .': The Safe But Not-So-Happy Life of Ole Miss's 14 Negro Students," Mademoiselle 63 (August 1966): 229-30.

integration forced a confrontation between several institutional traditions and newly enrolled blacks who objected to living with representations of school spirit that they found personally offensive. In some instances, authorities enacted changes with few problems, as at the University of Texas at Arlington whose student government voted to discontinue use of the Confederate flag and the team name "Rebels" in 1968. At other locales, the decision to change or the obstruction of change created controversies that could at times lead to arrests or law suites.[84] The efforts to eliminate Confederate symbolism at the University of Mississippi would not begin until the 1970s and remains unresolved to this day.

By 1970, the University of Mississippi register showed two hundred black students participating in campus life, and a recently-organized Black Student Union (BSU) had begun a dialogue with the administration over their concerns. Racial tensions escalated at the university, however, when Mississippi Valley State College expelled some eight hundred black students arrested for protesting racism at their institution. Inspired, African American students at Ole Miss began to protest the lack of progress on their own initiatives. The demonstrations began on February twenty-fourth in the cafeteria when a group of seventy-five black students burned a Confederate flag and then danced on the tables to the blues music of B. B. King. That night, a smaller group gathered in front of the chancellor's home to recite their demands.[85] Arrests occurred on the following day when eighty-nine African American students raised their fists in the

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[84]Marsden, "Damned Confederate Flag," pp. 98-102. Marsden also describes confrontations at the following educational institutions: Archbishop Rummel High School in Omaha, Nebraska in 1968; a high school in Lebanon, Tennessee in 1969; the universities of Tennessee, Miami, Kentucky, South Carolina, and Virginia; Dixie Hollins High School in St. Petersburg, Florida in 1971; Strom Thurmond High School in Edgefield, South Carolina in 1970-1973; and a high school in Jonesboro, Arkansas around 1972.

[85]Tim Kriehn, "Tensions Flair, Blacks Protest" Daily Mississippian, 25 February 1970, p. 1. Accounts of these early flag protests at the University of Mississippi appear in Sansing, Making Hast Slowly, p. 208; Idem, The University of Mississippi: A Sesquicentennial History (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1999): 322-25; Anne Davis Percy "Rebel Land After James Meredith" (M.A. thesis, University of Mississippi, 1994), pp. 55-64; Kevin Pierce Thornton, "Symbolism at Ole Miss and the Crisis of Southern Identity" (M.A. thesis; University of Virginia, 1983), pp. 25-41; Cohodas, Band Played Dixie, pp. 128-60.

symbol of black nationalism and chanted black power slogans during an Up With People concert.[86]

The BSU published its demands in the March sixth issue of the campus newspaper: an end to discrimination in the hiring of administrators, faculty, coaches, staff, and student workers; an improvement in black representation in various student organizations; development of a Black Studies program; the dropping of all charges against arrested students; and an investigation of alleged wiretapping of student telephone lines. Included in this list was a demand to curtail use of the Confederate flag as a campus symbol.[87] At a demonstration outside a Board of Trustee meeting in late April, black students burned a large rebel flag. A similar incident occurred the following day. This time, during a biracial parade and sit-in condemning the Board of Trustees, campus security, and racism, black students brought out a Confederate flag, walked on it, and then proceeded to burn the banner. Security officers prevented a crowd of three hundred to four hundred spectators from descending on the small group.[88]

As at the 1966 flag burning on the capitol steps, the tactics of these protestors emerged from a context of "Black Power." Whatever the depth of their intellectual attachment to the philosophical concept, a number of the African American students on campus felt some degree of allegiance to its ideas, as evidenced by the calls for a Black Studies program and as demonstrated by their use of its slogans and symbols. In fact, one mimeographed black student publication illustrated the confrontation between "Black Power" and the Lost Cause perfectly by superimposing a raised black fist over the battle flag of the Confederacy.[89] Not surprisingly, in this

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[86]Tim Kriehn, "Forty-Nine Blacks Arrested," Daily Mississippian, 26 February 1970, p. 1.
[87]"The Black Demands," Daily Mississippian, 6 March 1970, p. 4.
[88]"Racial Flare-ups See Charges Filed," Daily Mississippian, 29 April 1970, p. 1; "Students Protest, Incidents Minor," Daily Mississippian, 1 May 1970, p. 1. In Flag Burning, Welch describes such flag desecrations of the 1960s and 1970s as part of the era's social movement of protest [pp. 47-52].
[89]Untitled publication by black students at the University of Mississippi, November 1970, Race Relations Collection, Box 1, Folder 18, UM. See also, Donald Cunnigen, "Malcolm X's Influence on the Black Nationalist Movement of Southern College States," Western Journal of Black Studies 17 (Spring 1993): 32-43.

atmosphere of militancy and with the strength of growing numbers, African American students demonstrated against administrative inaction toward their concerns, concerns that included the use of an emblem perceived as offensively racist. Destruction of the rebel flag quite literally signalled their desire to annihilate the system of white supremacy.

Reaction to the flag burnings came in a variety of forms. Letters to the editor of the campus Daily Mississippian both vilified and supported the protests.[90] The senate of the student government approved a resolution "condemning the actions of those persons who have willfully destroyed and abused the Rebel flag."[91] And, after explaining the potential double standard caused by white students who also desecrated the Confederate flag by marking it with their Greek fraternity letters, the chief of campus security announced that he would henceforth evenly enforce the Mississippi statute that prohibited abuse of American, state, or Confederate flags.[92] By mid-May, the president of the Associated Student Body announced that in consultation with the Chancellor and the Director of Inter-Collegiate Athletics, the letters "UM" would be added to the current rebel flag. Explaining that the use of the banner by groups both conservative and liberal in furtherance of their own causes reflected poorly on Ole Miss's own close identification with the symbol, the president asserted that "we need something that will separate us from every other Rebel flag."[93]

Failure to get approval from the Campus Senate and the Athletic Committee in a timely fashion prevented the appearance of a new banner the next football season. Hence, the impulse to create a unique school flag languished unremarked as further protests against the flag

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[90]Letters to the editor of the University of Mississippi's Daily Mississippian on this issue include those by: "Name Withheld," 19 March 1970, p. 4; Jim Hardin, 6 April 1970, p. 4; Jim Williams and Anne Littlejohn, 12 May 1970, p. 4; "Vern from California," 13 May 1970, p. 4; James C. Hoskins II, 15 May 1970, p. 4; Alex Wade, 15 May 1970, p. 4; James Doherty, 15 May 1970, p. 4; F. Feder, 18 May 1970, p. 4; Charles F. Black III, 18 May 1970, p. 4; "A White Student," 3 July 1970, p. 2.

[91]Patsy Brumfield, "Senate Hits at Flag Burners," Daily Mississippian, 6 May 1970, p. 1.

[92]Patsy Brumfield, "Booths, Flag Issues Create Firm Stands," Daily Mississippian, 12 May 1970, p. 1.

[93]"UM Flag, Turf, Bill Discussed," Daily Mississippian, 13 May 1970, p. 1; "Byrd Talks out on Flag Issue," Daily Mississippian, 18 May 1970, p. 1.

subsided until the early 1980s.[94] The inclination to burn flags disappeared in the early 1970s along with other forms of protest such as marches and sit-ins. Across the country, black student groups began to place greater emphasis on negotiation with campus authorities in order to achieve their agendas.[95] While the Ole Miss administration acquiesed to a number of the goals outlined by black students during those years, Confederate flags continued to wave to the tune of "Dixie" as the Rebels faced their opposition on the playing field.

Public agitation against Lost Cause symbols did not occur in Mississippi, until the federal government had indicated its willingness to intervene and investigate violence against civil rights workers. Prior to 1966, the possibility of physical retaliation for public assaults upon these sacred representations of the Confederate past was too great, and any private demonstration or discussion of African American opposition to these icons is lost from the state's historical record. The two episodes mentioned at the beginning of this chapter -- the removal of burial markers at the Confederate Cemetery on the University of Mississippi campus and the vandalism of the Greenwood memorial in 1954 -- are, after all, unproven suppositions. If these events did transpire as suggested with their hypothesized intent, the participants acted through means that prevented reprisal. In 1966, when activists began to confront Confederate symbolism publicly, they did so with the awareness that national media attention and federal intervention would prevent most segregationists from responding with violence. Indeed, by circling their monuments with prison trustees and threatening to enforce legal statutes, white authorities found other means of preventing attacks on their Confederate memorials and rebel banners.

In addition to the abatement of fear from reprisal, confrontation of Lost Cause symbols began at a time when all civil rights organizations were becoming increasingly militant. Frustrated

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[94]Ken Weeden, "Says Reed: Rebel Flag Gets New Look," Daily Mississippian, 20 September 1971, p. 2. The new ASB president promised a new flag for the next school year, but nothing further appeared on the subject in the Daily Mississippian aside from two letter to the editor condemning the concept that appeared after the article explaining this delay: Scott Ferguson, 23 September 1971, p. 4; Wayne Lee Wright, 6 October 1971, p. 4.

[95]Anthony M. Orum, Black Students in Protest: A Study of the Origins of the Black Student Movement (Washington, DC: American Sociological Association, 1972), p. 77.

by federal failure to accelerate reform and the intransigence of southern segregationists, civil rights activitists became less willing to molify white fears with soothing words and non-violent protests. The slogan and ideology of "Black Power" was one indication of this mutation in the movement; the rhetorical and symbolical assaults on Confederate monuments and flags was another. When combined, attacks on Confederate flags actually became destructive, as in the flag burnings of 1966 and 1970. Despite the triumphs of the Civil Rights Movement in eliminating Jim Crow and expanding the franchise, rebel flags and "Dixie" remained a fixture of southern society. A time would come, however, when those who employed Confederate symbols would have to publicly defend and argue for their continued use.

Chapter 6

Debating Flags

Although we may differ about the meaning of this past and the obligations it has bestowed on us, we must recognize our disagreement as both valid and healthy -- a sign that Mississippi is no longer the "closed society" described by Professor Silver twenty-five years ago. -- James C. Cobb on the Confederate flag controversy at Ole Miss.[1]

In October of 1989, nationally syndicated columnist Lewis Grizzard, an Atlanta-based humorist, attended an Ole Miss-Georgia football game at Oxford. Declaring the experience akin to a trip backward in a time machine, he wrote, "I lost count of just how many times the University of Mississippi band played 'Dixie' last Saturday while the Rebels were upsetting Georgia, 17-13. The number had to be in the double figures, however. There were 31,000 at the game. Everybody who wasn't from Georgia had a Confederate flag."[2] Grizzard explained that at the University of Georgia, the band had long since dropped the tune from its repertoire, and fans would not dare to tote the battle flag to games. Pondering the tolerant acceptance African Americans on campus showed for those Confederate-era symbols, he stated, "I'm no sociologist, but does it say anything that everybody in that scenario seemed to be getting along nicely? Maybe Mississippians, both black and white, have it figured out."[3]

Grizzard's impressions, however, were incorrect. His accuracy concerning the prevalence of the Rebel flag and the frequency with which the band played "Dixie" is unquestionable. He was probably even correct in his portrayal of the forbearance shown those symbols by the blacks present at the game and tailgating festivities. Yet, his suggestion that Mississippians had "figured

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[1]James C. Cobb, "Learning to Disagree About the Past," in From Behind the Magnolia Curtain: Voices of Mississippi ed. Clyde V. Williams (Jackson, MS: Mississippi Press Association, 1988), pp. 6-7.

[2]Lewis Grizzard, "Ole Miss Has It Figured Out," Daily Mississippian, 23 October 1989, p. 2. For a study of game-day festivities and Lost Cause symbols at the university, see Charles R. Frederick, Jr., "A Good Day to Be Here: Tailgating in the Grove at Ole Miss" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1999), pp. 93-124, & 131-136.

[3]Grizzard, "Ole Miss."

out" their relationship to these relics of the past was incorrect. Not just at Oxford, but across the state and the region, protests erupted regularly during the last two decades of the twentieth century and into the first few years of the twenty-first, proving that the dispute over Confederate symbols remained unsettled and controversial.

More significantly, these confrontations sparked debate, unlike the ones that had occurred between 1966 and 1970. People from both camps felt so strongly about the issue of Confederate symbols in contemporary life that they put pen to paper, writing letters to the editor in a hortatory vein that conveyed more than a simple statement of the sender's position. The discourse appearing in these letters as well as numerous editorials offers a rare opportunity to examine not just the attitudes of modern Mississippians towards symbols of their state's Confederate past but also the rationale behind their convictions.[4]

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[4]Necessarily, the self-selecting nature of the source limits the sample primarily to those who occupy either extreme of the debate. For literature concerning this debate on Confederate symbolism, see John Shelton Reed, "The Banner that Won't Stay Furled," Southern Cultures 8 (Spring 2002): 76-100; Franklin Forts, "Living with Confederate Symbols," Southern Cultures 8 (Spring 2002): 60-75; John M. Coski, "The Confederate Battle Flag in Historical Perspective," in Confederate Symbols in the Contemporary South eds. J. Michael Martinez et al. (Gainsville: University Press of Florida, 2000): 89-129; James Forman, Jr. "Driving Dixie Down: Removing the Confederate Flag from Southern State Capitols," in Confederate Symbols, pp. 195-223; J. Michael Martinez, "Confederate Symbols, the Courts, and the Political Question Doctrine," in Confederate Symbols, pp. 224-39; J. Michael Martinez, "Traditionalist Perspectives on Confederate Symbols," in Confederate Symbols, pp. 243-80; Robert Holmes and M. Christine Cagle, "The Great Debate: White Support for and Black Opposition to the Confederate Battle Flag," in Confederate Symbols, pp. 281-302; Thornton, "Confederate Flag," pp. 233-45. For surveys of the controversy at the University of Mississippi, see Thornton, "Symbolism at Ole Miss"; Percy, "Rebel Land"; Sansing, University of Mississippi, pp. 322-42; Frederick, "Good Day," pp. 94-124 & 131-136. For examination of the flag crisis in Georgia, see Ron McNinch-Su, William D. Richardson, and J. Michael Martinez, "Traditionalists versus Reconstructionists: The Case of the Georgia State Flag, Part One," in Confederate Symbols, pp. 303-21; Beth Reingold and Richard S. Wike, "Confederate Symbols, Southern Identity, and Racial Attitudes: The Case of the Georgia State Flag, Part Two," in Confederate Symbols, pp. 322-35; Michael John Janas, "Rhetoric, History, and the Collective Memory: The Civil War in Contemporary America" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1994), pp. 138-88; John A. Clark, "Explaining Elite Attitudes on the Georgia Flag," American Politics Quarterly 25 (October 1997): 482-96. For analysis of the flag debate in South Carolina, see Gerald R. Webster and Jonathan I. Leib, "Whose South Is It Anyway?: Race and the Confederate Battle Flag in South Carolina," Political Geography 20, no. 3 (2001): 271-99. For examinations of the postbellum career of the Confederate battle flag, see Chris Springer, "The Troubled Resurgence of the Confederate Flag," History Today 43 (June 1993): 7-9; Edward L. Ayers, "Reviews of 'Embattled Emblem: The Army of Northern Virginia Battle Flag, 1861 to Present' Exhibition at the Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia," Southern Cultures 1 (Fall 1994): 91-94; Robert E. Bonner, "Flag Culture and the Consolidation of Confederate

Furthermore, the very presence of a debate where none existed previously denotes an environment in flux; just as the hortatory style of the letters presumes an appeal to the public for support is both necessary and desired.[5] Sensing that the collapse of a segregated Southern Way of Life had left previously unassailable symbols vulnerable, avid admirers of Confederate commemoration rushed to shore up the breaches. Meanwhile, opponents of these same symbols, perceiving the weakness of their adversaries, went on the offensive. That the defenders of the Confederate faith continued to remain strong explains both the protracted nature of the battle, which became more like a siege as the years passed, as well as a certain capriciousness and inconstancy on the part of the attackers who would retire from the field seemingly exhausted only to lead yet another offensive at a later date.

The longest running dialogue on the Confederate battle flag exists at the University of Mississippi, providing a remarkable case study that with only a few qualifications represents those patterns typical of the disputes that occurred across the state. Although complaints against the flag's use at Ole Miss remained mostly submerged throughout the 1970s, the controversy resurfaced in 1979 and again in 1982-83. By 1985, the issue cropped up within the pages of the Daily Mississippian, the campus newspaper, on an annual basis, and representatives from the entire Ole Miss community -- local townspeople, administrators, faculty, staff, alumni, and students -- commented on the subject. The probability was practically nil that a single student in attendance at the university during the last two decades of the twentieth century would not receive at least a briefing on the arguments used by both sides in the debate. And a debate it definitely was, as most contributors not only offered their own points for consideration but attempted to

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Nationalism," Journal of Southern History 68 (May 2002): 293-332. For examination of the song "Dixie," see Cheryl Thurber, "'Dixie': The Cultural History of a Song and Place" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Mississippi, 1993); Holmberg, Carl Bryan, "Toward the Rhetoric of Music: Dixie," Southern Speech Communication Journal 51 (Fall 1985): 71-82. For the 1993 Congressional vote against renewing the patent for the UDC insignia, see Gerald R. Webster and Roberta H. Webster, "The Power of an Icon," Geographical Review 84 (April 1994): 131-43.

[5]Murray Edelman, The Symbolic Uses of Politics (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964), pp. 134-35.

counter those given by the opposition. Many individuals even wrote in direct response to statements that had appeared in previously published letters or editorials.

At its most basic level, the debate revolved around discussions of representation. Thus, disputants almost always provided an opinion of what symbols like the Confederate flag and "Dixie" did and did not represent: racism, not racism, slavery, a war fought by southerners for either immoral or just reasons, white supremacist opposition to the Civil Rights Movement, the South, a past shared by blacks and whites, or just school spirit. Seeking to bolster their particular definitions of the symbols, the two sides probed the origins and historical uses of the tune and the flag. Some writers also dealt directly with the very nature of symbolism, making assertions as to whether discarding these symbols would change the past and its effects, whether symbols actually caused any harm, whether symbols should represent the present and not the past, and even whether every symbol offended someone or whether symbols should attempt to represent everyone. This last concern played a prominent role in the debate as participants sought to resolve the contributions and rights of individuals in determining the symbolic representations of their society. Finally, for those who claimed either abhorrence or allegiance to the flag and the song, the objects under contention obviously evoked some sort of emotional response -- be it pride, guilt, shame, or anger -- that derived from a personal identification with or rejection of the history and heritage suggested by the Confederate banner and "Dixie." The debate, consequently, was not a dispassionate one.

Those who opposed the Rebel flag marshaled just a few simple arguments in their favor. Almost all involved a denunciation of the emblem as racist. The most popular justification for this characterization cited the adoption of the banner by the Ku Klux Klan and other extremist groups as well as its more general use by segregationists during the Civil Rights Movement. A trio of foreign students reminded readers in 1982 that Confederate battle flags "were waved in 1962 on the Ole Miss campus and throughout the 50s and 60s when black people were denied their basic

civil rights."[6] "Anyone who still does not understand why the so-called 'Rebel' flag is offensive," wrote columnist Ricky Baldwin eleven years later,

> has only to ponder why the Ku Klux Klan marched on this campus in November of 1982 in defense of its use here. Its symbolism goes far beyond mere regionalism. Even European Nazis wave it, because it is an international symbol of white supremacy. Displaying it thus communicates racial ideas, like it or not . . .[7]

Pursuant to these claims, other writers traced the origin of the university's association with Confederate symbols during the 1940s as a Dixiecrat reaction of conservative whites to the onset of civil rights agitation and legislation.

In addition to this use of the symbol's recent history, the typical anti-Confederate flag argument also delved deeper into the past by condemning the emblem's Civil War usage. Some people simply suggested the banner acted as a reminder of slavery, as did one guest columnist who explained to a pro-flag proponent that in his version of the traditional South "Your ancestors took my ancestors' names, homes, dignity, and *heritage*. Their sweat, tears, and blood w[ere] used to give you *your* heritage."[8] Other writers more specifically identified the emblem with secession and a Civil War conducted by the South for the preservation of that peculiar institution: "The men who fought under the Confederate (Rebel) flag risked their lives to maintain a way of life that favored the enslavement of my people. Do you honestly expect me to be proud of this history and pay tribute to it? Are you mad?"[9] A few individuals explicitly denounced the region's mythical version of its antebellum and Confederate history. One of these was a law student, Robert C. Hutchison, who warned:

> While it is true that to many people, myself included, the Confederate flag evokes images of great mansions, huge plantations, Southern gentlemen, honorable brave soldiers and graceful Southern belles, do not let this carefully painted illustration sweep the naked truth under the rug. . . .The South was built on the

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[6]Pierre Andreani, Peter Ensberg, and Christof Feinauer, Daily Mississippian, 8 October 1982, p. 2.
[7]Ricky Baldwin, "'Dixie' Symbol of 'Abominable' Ideology," Daily Mississippian, 16 April 1993, p. 2.
[8]Sharon P. Morgan, "Rationales for Flag Cannot Erase the Past," Daily Mississippian, 20 September 1994, p. 2.
[9]Charles Brown, Daily Mississippian, 17 February 1997.

> back of slavery. Those gentlemen soldiers, no matter how courteously they treated their slaves, robbed them of their most precious possession -- their humanity. What does the Confederate flag stand for? That is a decision each individual must make for himself. However, next time you envision a beautiful antebellum mansion, look harder, see the tumbled down shacks of the slaves whose blood glues it together. If you imagine perfect gentlemen and Southern belles, look harder, see the black mother crying because her child has been taken and sold to buy new furniture. If you think of heroic soldiers defending their homes, look harder, see one fourth of Southern white males dying in anguish upon the field, see thousands of blacks fighting and dying for their families, their home, their honor, their freedom under the Stars and Stripes. Make no mistake, I too have spent hours walking battlefields reveling in the glory of the South, but I choose to take off my rose colored glasses and see the reality of yesterday and today.[10]

Thus, many who argued against the Rebel flag relied on these historical descriptions of the flag's origin and usage in order to explain why some people might find it racist, with the implicit or explicit suggestion that sensitivity towards blacks should compel fans to put down the flag.

One technique used at times to underline the offensiveness of the flag involved a comparison of the emblem with the Nazi swastika. A typical example of this analogy appeared in a 1982 letter whose author stated, "[a]lthough I am not Black, I can understand Black Mississippians who react negatively to that flag; just as I -- not being Jewish -- can understand Jewish Germans who react negatively to the swastika . . . even though the Nazi flag is definitely a part of German history."[11] By drawing such a parallel between the two symbols, writers underlined the characterization of blacks as historic victims as well as the righteousness of their -- and the rest of the world's -- indignation when confronted by the symbols of their historic oppressors.

Anti-flag advocates, not content to rest on a platform relying on sympathetic understanding of the racist affront presented by the flag, often matched these explanations with two pragmatic reasons for surrendering the banner. The first of these was the damage caused by the university's close identification with the Rebel flag. An editor of the paper once bluntly explained:

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[10]Robert C. Hutchison, Daily Mississippian, 19 April 1990, p. 3.
[11]Rich Littleton, Daily Mississippian, 14 September 1982, p. 2.

> Every time a drunk Southern sympathizer grabs his or her stick, Ole Miss suffers. The Rebel flag is no longer a revered symbol of Southern heritage -- it is hatred on a stick. People from beyond our comfort zone do not understand how people can take a piece of cloth associated with the Ku Klux Klan and other groups and rally behind it.[12]

Charles E. Noyes, a professor of English, questioned if those who waved the flag considered that however unintentional the racist implication, the resultant image "hurts the recruitment of students, of athletes both black and white, and of faculty who, together, might make this an even greater university?" He asked further if fans "reflect on how that image may subtly influence the thinking of selection committees for our nation's greatest graduate and professional schools, or of those responsible for the awarding of government or foundation grants, or of recruiters for national businesses?"[13]

Closely allied to the problem of the institutional image projected across the country was the assertion that the Confederate symbol harmed the Ole Miss athletic program. For years, coaches had muttered that the slump experienced by the Rebels after the heady years of Southeastern Conference titles in the 1960s derived at least in part from the harmful effect of the flag on black recruitment. One columnist noted, "Every year I hear about three of four players who liked Ole Miss a lot but were scared off by seeing the flag wave at games."[14] Writers who addressed the negative impact of the flag on athletic recruiting, complained as well that rival schools adroitly used the problem in their own favor, despite the NCAA taboo against discussing another school's program. This line of reasoning as well as that of the university's national image obviously attempted an appeal to the self-interest of students and fans, especially those who asserted that their own personal use of the banner was not meant as a racist statement and

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[12]Amanda Byrd, "Ignorance Hurts UM," Daily Mississippian, 21 October 1997.

[13]Charles E. Noyes, Daily Mississippian, 28 October 1994, pp. 2-3. The detrimental effect of Confederate symbols on faculty is examined in Mwangi S. Kimenyi, "Race, Amenities, and Psychic Income," Review of Black Political Economy 20 (Spring 1991): 49-58.

[14]Gregg Caraway, "Recruiting Goes Down when Flag Goes Up," Daily Mississippian, 16 February 1989, p. 2.

remained staunchly firm against requests to display sensitivity towards blacks who perceived the flag as offensive.

Supporters of the anti-flag contingent used other arguments, though significantly less often than the ones involving image and athletics. Several of these involved a "progressive" impulse to disregard the past in favor of the present and future. In the main, references to such sentiments were brief and along a general vein: "This is 1983," proclaimed one law student, "and a new South is emerging. It is time to ring out the old and bring in the new."[15] Two years later, a letter asked "Why must we continue to live in the past, beating a dead horse?"[16] In 1992, an editorialist exhorted "We must all work together for a brighter future. That may mean giving up time held traditions in the name of progress, but it must be done," and an elementary education major remarked that the flag "should be replaced by a positive symbol encouraging progressivism."[17]

Finally, those who supported change suggested that school symbols should represent *all* students, not create *divisions* among those students. "We adopt flags and songs to embody the most precious qualities of our institutions," one columnist reminded his readers and warned that "if the symbol itself has become an obstacle to the spirit of unity, inclusiveness, and tolerance, then it is time to find a better symbol."[18] Remarking on Ole Miss's status as a state university supported by state taxes, a Southern Studies graduate student asserted that "All Mississippians should benefit equally, and that includes an equal sense of sharing in and belonging to the symbols of the institution."[19] One letter writer, responding to another's careful historical exposition of the democratic manner with which the university adopted its various symbols, pointed out that all

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[15]George M. Simmerman, Jr., Daily Mississippian, 11 April 1983, p. 2.
[16]Patrick Hopkins and Perry Stevens, Daily Mississippian, 4 September 1985, p. 2.
[17]"You Can't Keep Looking Backward to Move Foreward," Daily Mississippian, 5 June 1992, p. 2; Rose Henderson, Daily Mississippian, 12 June 1992, p. 2.
[18]Warren Steel, "We Need Symbols that Unite, not Divide," Daily Mississippian, 17 March 1993, p. 2.
[19]Charlene E. Dye, Daily Mississippian, 26 March 1997.

deliberations and decisions on such matters took place under segregation when "not one Black Mississippian was consulted during that process."[20]

Examination of the defense conducted by those who desired the continued use of the Rebel flag indicates that not every accusation made by the opposition received a direct answer. For instance, very few attempted to contradict allegations concerning the flag's detrimental impact on black athletic recruitment, and no one denied that the symbols of the Confederacy harmed the institution's image on a national level. Instead, proponents of the flag offered a series of arguments and counterarguments which tended to emphasize personal intent, historical origins, and regional pride.

Nonetheless, the charge of racism ascribed to the flag was too central to the issue at hand for its defenders to ignore. Several writers acknowledged that the KKK and other groups had tainted the symbolism of the flag with their racist agenda, a circumstance viewed as unfortunate in its misrepresentation of the banner. However, this admission that the symbol did indeed possess racial overtones for many viewers was usually only a prelude to the assertion that such was not the intent of those who waved the flag at Ole Miss. At times, writers drew a parallel with the American flag to illustrate the continued respect a people might have for an emblem misused by others. All three of these stances appeared in a 1983 Associated Student Body resolution approving the retention of Confederate symbols associated with the university:

> WHEREAS, ALL WRONGFUL CONNOTATIONS AND STIGMAS ATTACHED TO THIS flag have been caused by racist organizations despised by all decent Southerners, regardless of their race, and
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> WHEREAS, the Confederate flag is no more a symbol of racism than is the American flag which is carried around in marches by the KKK, Nazi Party, and Communist Party and flew for almost ninety years over a nation that allowed slavery. . .[21]

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[20]Rich Littleton, Daily Mississippian, 14 September 1982, p. 2.
[21]"ASB Flag Bill," Daily Mississippian, 12 April 1983, p. 2.

This particular document by the ASB merely echoed the utterances of individual writers who often made personal disclaimers, as did one columnist who wrote, "My rebel flag has never uttered the word 'nigger,' and if it ever does, I'll be the first one to burn it. So back off."[22]

As for the flag's racist associations throughout its history, defenders of the banner countered such assertions in one of two ways. One method involved denial of any personal responsibility for past injuries, such as that written by a freshmen in 1983: "I have never uprooted an African from his homeland. I have never stripped anyone of their culture, black or white. I have never chained anyone in the name of tradition or the great southern heritage. I did not pass the Jim Crow laws. And there's no one living today who did."[23] Only a few followed this line of reasoning, perhaps because doing so meant acknowledging a version of history that most white Southerners preferred to ignore, a version where one's ancestors played a role less esteemed and glorious than one liked to consider.

An alternative and more common approach concentrated on the historical origins of the flag, rejecting therein any association with racism. Several writers suggested that the battle flag merely represented the soldiers who fought and died in service to country. Typically, however, authors focused on the principles for which the soldiers fought, seeking above all to negate the importance of slavery as a cause of the Civil War. "The war of northern aggression was not fought over slavery," wrote a Batesville inhabitant. "It was states' rights, stupid. Period."[24] Or, as a more sophisticated explication suggested,

> The War for Southern Independence was not an organized uprising to perpetuate racism. It represented many things to many people, among these, a striving for Southern nationhood, resistance against a brutal, invading army, and an attempt to prevent the unwarranted growth of the federal government at the expense of the sovereign states.[25]

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[22]John Mallory, "Liberal Agenda: Attack Ole Miss, GIve Trix to Rabbit," Daily Mississippian, 11 October 1991, p. 2.
[23]David Powell, Daily Mississippian, 18 April 1983, p. 2.
[24]Gaines B. Smith, Daily Mississippian, 26 March 1993, p. 3.
[25]Danny Toma, Daily Mississippian, 12 September 1983, p. 2.

Other writers might admit slavery was a factor, but they anxiously asserted that it was not the only one: "Slavery was not the main issue in the Civil War. The fight was for states rights, and the protests of discriminatory tariffs, and laws that discriminated in favor of Northern industry and against the agricultural economy of the South."[26] Arguments of this ilk also demonstrated a fascination for historical details that showcased northern hypocrisy while at the same time sharing the blame for the evils of slavery. Such arguments discussed the participation of African tribal leaders and New Englanders in the slave trade, Lincoln's prejudice, Lee's manumission of his slaves, Grant's possession of slaves, and so forth. Sometimes these defenses included statements that prior to the war, slavery was disappearing as an economically unviable system of labor, or that blacks, too, had fought for the Confederacy.

Whether or not flag-proponents adhered to a traditionally conservative interpretation of southern history, several of them described an expanded understanding of the flag's symbolism that incorporated traditional southern values and culture:

> When we think of the Confederate flag, we think of that wonderful place where you can still wave to your neighbor or a stranger as you pass them, where everyone can take the time to enjoy a sunny afternoon, and where everyone takes pride in both their home and their heritage. That's what we think of, not slavery.[27]

By the 1980s, proponents of the Rebel flag commonly used the word "heritage" to describe its symbolism. Because contemporary usage of "heritage" referred to a society's cultural traditions, the term's ambiguous definition allowed defenders of the flag to assign a broad range of southern customs and values to the symbol without actually having to enumerate them and separate the bad from the good. In this sense, the Confederate battle flag represented the South and everything positive that distinguished that region from all other locales.

For a few individuals who supported the banner, southern heritage encompassed both the white and black races who inhabited the region. "I have never considered the Rebel flag to be a

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[26]W.R. Lyons, Daily Mississippian, 29 April 1983, p. 2.
[27]Jason S. Comfort, Daily Mississippian, 8 September 1994, pp. 2-3.

racist symbol," one graduate student remarked, "but instead have seen it as a symbol of the common heritage of the South which all Southerners, both black and white share."[28] In 1994, one columnist suggested that

> If the flag brings slavery to mind, then it must also bring to mind those who have made it despite the odds. That flag means that for only 130 years of freedom, and most of that time beset with laws forbidding blacks to vote, own land, hold certain jobs, or show their faces after sundown, there are some very successful African-Americans. . . . I see no reason why any African-American who goes to college, especially Ole Miss, cannot look at that flag and say to himself or herself, "Someone in my family -- not too long ago -- started with nothing, and look where I am now! I have a right to be proud."[29]

Most writers, however, associated the battle standard specifically with *white* southern heritage. Still rejecting the racist implications of the flag, these individuals nevertheless realized on some unconscious level that few southern blacks would ever feel any personal pride and allegiance to the symbol itself. In this vein, pleas for the flag often revealed an aggressive anxiety caused by perceived attacks on white southern heritage:

> I'm getting tired of every Southern-born white who holds his past in pride, being labeled insensitive or in extreme cases a racist. In the contemporary South in which we live, when past values and ties to our historical and cultural origin are being trivialized and de-emphasized, I feel that this is more reason than ever to cling to some of our few symbols which are left and remembered. These are not anti-black or anti-anything. They are making a basic statement that only we as Southerners can understand. That this is a special land, and was once, and always will be, worth defending and preserving.[30]

One history student complained, "Why are Southerners the only people about whom taunts are still acceptable? Why are we not allowed to preserve our heritage? Why are these attacks against us not called hatred?"[31] Several such statements alluded to toleration for black cultural expressions. "Black people can be seen wearing their African-inspired clothes portraying their pride in their background," commented one writer, "Why can't white people be entitled to the same

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[28]Robert Sterne, Daily Mississippian, 29 July 1991, p. 2.

[29]Eric L. Taylor, "Heritage Not Hate: Amen for That," Daily Mississippian, 22 August 1994, p. 2.

[30]Cobb Hammond, Daily Mississippian, 5 February 1988, p. 2.

[31]Matt Johnson, Daily Mississippian, 1 September 1997.

standard?"[32] That same day another letter asked, "If the black people of America have fought to have the right to express and have pride in their heritage, why then do they continually try to suppress me in my expression of the same?"[33]

At the root of this determined defense lay a very natural need for self-esteem. While personal and familial prestige contributes to a person's sense of pride, so too can identification with a specific place or group of people, and white southerners -- who usually just deleted the descriptive adjective and called themselves southerners -- were astonishingly arrogant in their birthright (the original meaning of the term "heritage"). Innumerable are the bumperstickers and T-shirts that read "American by birth, Southern by the grace of God."[34] And to a large extent, this exaggerated brand of regional pride resulted from the mythmaking efforts of a defeated nation to return to the fold of its brethren with respect intact. Consequently, any attempt to shatter the illusions spun around the men in gray threatened a southerner's self-image, and while white southerners viewed the flag and "Dixie" as expressions of love and pride in their region and past, efforts to eliminate these symbols seemed instead to denounce the South as something shameful and disreputable. Is it any wonder then, that many white southerners fought to preserve their regional representations and interpretations? Feeling misunderstood and threatened, many white southerners satisfied themselves as to the virtuousness of their past and their present-day symbols and then proceeded to tell critics -- as many of those who wrote letters and editorials did -- to lump it or leave it.

Yet, despite this tendency to pretend that such censure was irrelevant, those who continued to wave the flag still felt the need to participate in the debate, to explain their viewpoint,

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[32]L. A. Nelson, Daily Mississippian, 5 March 1991, p. 3.

[33]Eric Haskett, Daily Mississippian, 5 March 1993, p. 3.

[34]During the university's flag debate of the 1990s, proponents of both sides advertised their views on T-shirts with a wide variety of images and slogans. The author only wishes she had kept a log. Colin Symes writes that the t-shirt has become "part of the wardrobe of protest, part of the uniform of the street demonstrator" which "enables the community to be picketed, to remind it of important causes and deviant ideologies and to promote an oppositional point of view." Colin Symes, "Keeping Abreast with the Times: Towards an Iconography of T-Shirts," Journal of Popular Culture 12 (no. 1, 1989): 87-100.

to persuade those weakening or unconverted. The most commonly used tactic involved what the legal profession likes to call the "slippery slope" argument -- the idea that if white southerners relented on one point under contention, those on the attack would become dissatisfied with their victory and would soon seek to annihilate all things related to the Old South and the Confederacy. Some writers simply outlined a realistic expectation that all such symbols would soon disappear from the university: " . . . it is our opinion that if Dixie is outlawed, so will it all be -- Colonel Reb, the nickname Rebels, everything, and probably faster than you think."[35] At other times, authors portrayed a satirical depiction of an overstated, politically correct future:

> First, those plantation homes in Natchez. As I recall, I believe those were built mostly with slave labor. We will have to bulldoze those reminders of days gone by. Secondly, all those battlefields in Vicksburg and around the state, where brave men once gave their lives for the now-banned Rebel flag . . . I think a nice strip mall would look good on them. We can't have people think we're holding onto the past, now can we? Finally, and most importantly, I don't understand how we can allow those insensitive farmers to grow all those acres and acres of cotton, which serve as a daily reminder to anyone who sees them that Mississippi was once a slave-holding state. We will definitely have to burn those, and I suppose those people can become dirt farmers or something equally as unoffensive[36]

One guest columnist, Joseph N. Abraham, effectively presented the emotional appeal the slippery slope argument possessed. He began by stating that "I can't point to anything in the South -- not the language, not the literature, not the cuisine, not the architecture, not the farms, fields, woods, streams, and the weather itself -- that is not associated with the Old South." Admitting the horrors of slavery and the Civil War, Abraham wrote "everything we have here is a direct descendant of our national shame. Everything we have is an offspring of the guilty South." At this juncture, he offered the following bargain to a black protester:

> Mr. Jones, if we stop playing 'Dixie,' can you assure me that this will be the last Old South identification that we will be forced to cast off? If not, then what will be next, and where will it stop? . . . If this trip to the garbage dump is one way then I'm sorry, count me out. What we have left of our history may be tainted, but I

[35]"Keep on Playing Dixie; UM Tradition Endangered," Daily Mississippian, 26 April 1993, p. 11.
[36]Frank Kossen, Daily Mississippian, 21 March 1997.

> cannot cast away everything I have, and everything that I am. I love the South. You cannot deny me the same respect that you ask for yourself.[37]

Here one can clearly see the inner turmoil of an individual who recognizes the wrongs of the past, yet whose personal identification with his region's history compels him to preserve and protect its legacy.

While many authors thus explored the historical references of the Rebel flag, a smaller but still significant group of writers denied that the banner held any special associations other than that of school spirit and tradition. "It seems ignorant, even to the point of udder [sic] stupidity," claimed one student, "that anyone would waste his/her valuable time complaining about how the confederate flag brings forth images of racism. The flag has no meaning what-so-ever, except for pride at Ole Miss."[38] An Oxford resident agreed, claiming that the school's flag "was never used in the Civil War. It was never used as a hate flag. It is a spirit flag waved at athletic contests to inspire the Rebel team."[39] Other individuals confessed that the flag had waved in support of white supremacist causes in the past, but contended that for the university's fans: "It conjures up images of small children playing football in the Grove and it reflects the crowd's enthusiasm and love for Ole Miss players. . . .The Rebel flag and Dixie remind us of great teams of the past and the great team of the present that now proudly represents Ole Miss." Surely, this columnist propounded, such "positive interpretations . . . overshadow the hateful misrepresentations of the flags used by some in the past."[40]

For those whose appreciation of the banner narrowly focused in on its attribute as a symbol of school spirit as well as for those whose interpretation encompassed broader understandings of the flag as a representation of the Confederacy or indeed of the entire South, the proper procedure for determining the continued display of the flag was the same. Actually,

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[37]Joseph N. Abraham, "If This Old South Garbage Dump Trip Is One-way, Then Count Me Out," Daily Mississippian, 4 March 1993, p. 3.
[38]Michael Kennedy, Daily Mississippian, 4 November 1991, p. 2.
[39]R. E. Keye, Daily Mississippian, 28 October 1994, p. 3.
[40]Chase Bryan, "Traditions and People Make Ole Miss Special," Daily Mississippian, 18 October 1990, p. 2.

their arguments relied on two sides of the same coin -- the rights of the majority versus those of the minority. As the largest ethnic group within the South or more specifically at the University of Mississippi, white southerners could confidently propose that the opinion of the majority should prevail. In fact, a number of individuals suggested that the administration should conduct a student referendum and abide by it. At the same time, white southerners could claim the privilege of minority status within a national context and thus demand protection for their cultural expression. Furthermore, to counter the argument of anti-Confederate flag adherents that symbols should unite and not divide those whom they supposedly represent, pro-flag advocates dismissed unanimity of representation as irrational and unreasonable, stating that all symbols possessed the potential to offend. "This is not a perfect world," explained one pharmacy student. "People will not agree on everything. This is why the majority opinion should rule. Everyone is offended by something, but that's just the way life is."[41]

More than a mere war of words, both sides on the issue of Confederate symbols participated in public protests and demonstrations that sometimes served as the stimulus to a new round of written debate. This time, consistent with the urge to persuade, those attacking the Rebel flag refrained from any physical desecrations such as burnings which would only incite or insult those whites who might possibly acknowledge the justness of their cause. Thus, new tactics developed. At the University of Mississippi, the most often utilized action was one of passive resistance, refusal to participate in school traditions that perpetuated the symbols of the Lost Cause. Meanwhile, the decision of the symbols' defenders to express themselves in public rallies only underlined their defensiveness in an era where change seemed quite possible.

Following the flag burnings of 1970, protests over Confederate symbols had subsided at the University of Mississippi. This quiescence, however, did not signify a transformation in the symbolism of the emblem for many blacks. Throughout that decade, articles assessing the black experience at Ole Miss provided evidence that many African American students continued to find

[41]Jason Broome, Daily Mississippian, 18 March 1997.

both the flag and "Dixie" offensive. One student remarked, "To us the playing of 'Dixie' and the waving of Rebel flags remind us of a time when our ancestors were treated as animals. This is a thought that most of us don't relish."[42] On the tenth anniversary of the Meredith crisis, the president of the BSU told the New York Times, "You ask any black here what his problems are and he'll probably tell you: 'Man, this place is somethin'!' That's all. This is Mississippi. You have Confederate flags and the band playing 'Dixie' and all that. I mean, nobody says anything. They don't have to."[43] Later, in a 1974 campus article specifically about blacks, Dixie, and the rebel flag, a sophomore commented, "They [white people] seem to get all charged up over a song that is degrading to blacks. It seems as if they want blacks to revert to [a] state of submission."[44] Yet, despite the continuation of these perceived insults, blacks on campus made no organized effort to push for change, and comments such as these that appeared in the newspaper failed to spark any written reaction.

A small flurry on the subject did erupt in 1976 when a white editor of the Daily Mississippian charged that the antebellum myth and Civil War reminders on campus obstructed progress, suggesting the team change its name to the Ole Miss Flood:

> We're finally getting around to looking forward, but at much too slow a pace. The South still views itself as a conquered people, a people still determined to secede because they've always had the 'better' way of life. We've got to learn to forget and rally around the American flag, instead of the Confederate one. And Ole Miss is as good a place as any to start.[45]

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[42]Bill Burks, "Blacks Feel Ole Miss Needs Changes," Daily Mississippian, 28 April 1972, p. 5.
[43]Wayne King, "There Are Contrasts at Ole Miss," Daily Mississippian, 6 October 1972, p. 7. Reprinted from the New York Times.
[44]Linda Buford, "Blacks, Ole Miss and the Rebel Flag," Daily Mississippian, 19 February 1974, p. 5. Other 1970s statements by university blacks against the flag appear in the following: "Racism Is Still in Mississippi," Daily Mississippian, 6 March 1972, p. 4; Lucretia Jones, "'I Do Not Feel Inferior to White Sorority Girls': A Black Undergraduate Discusses Integration at Ole Miss," Mississippia Magazine 16 (Winter 1977): 6-7.
[45]Greg Lisby, "Fergit, Hell!: Antebellum Fantasies Obstructing South's Progress," Daily Mississippian, 8 March 1976, p. 10.

As one can imagine, several individuals wrote letters disapproving of the idea as well as the sentiment behind it.[46] Curiously, no African American wrote in support of the name change. Still, an attitude survey on race relations and the Black Studies Program conducted in the spring of 1979 showed that in response to the statement *"The Ole Miss Rebel Flag is offensive to black students"* 71% of the black respondents agreed.[47]

That fall, another minor flap occurred over the naming of a horse recently donated by the 1979 senior class to the school. As originally conceived, the university would call the horse "Traveler" in honor of Robert E. Lee's favorite mount and use the steed for the conveyance of a Confederate-clad Colonel Reb at football games. A Daily Mississippian columnist, however, broke the news that unnamed administrators opposed both the name of the horse and the wardrobe of the rider as yet another Lost Cause tradition the university would have to live down in the national press and black recruitment efforts.[48] This time, black students entered the fray, and the debate quickly ranged beyond the specific issue of the horse and his rider to embrace the entire Confederate aura surrounding Ole Miss. But once more; the written exchanges remained limited in number, not really lasting beyond the fall term.[49] Because already established traditions like the rebel flag and "Dixie" appeared immutable to supporters and opponents alike, once the

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[46]The following letters to the editor of the Daily Mississippian appeared in response to Lisby's editorial: Jim Kenny, 10 March 1976, p. 11; Leslie Kerr, 10 March 1976, p. 11; Jim Tadlock, 10 March 1976, p. 11; Mary Hunter, 11 March 1976, p. 11; Tucker Henley, 11 March 1976, p. 11; Thomas Keller, 11 March 1976, p. 11; Dudley E. Sykes, 12 March 1976, p. 11.

[47]Results appeared in Harriet Riley, "Attitude Survey at UM Focuses on Blacks," Daily Mississippian, 8 June 1979, p. 7. Only five percent of whites agreed with the flag statement.

[48]David Robertson, "Naming the UM Horse," Daily Mississippian,. 2 October 1979, p. 2.

[49]The following letters, editorials, and articles on the issue appear in the Daily Mississippian: Doug Parkin, 20 October 1979, p. 2; David Robinson, "Racial Problems Still Not Resolved at UM," 31 October 1979, p. 2; "Name Withheld by Request," 6 November 1979, p. 2; C. Smith, "More Points Made on 'Racial Problems,'" 8 November 1979, p. 2; Chuck Middleton, "Race, Tradition Discussed," 9 November 1979, p. 2; David Robinson, "Racial Points Clarified Further," 12 November 1979, p. 2; Kathy Dunagin, "Image that UM Portrays," 14 November 1979, p. 2; Kerry Hamilton, "Resentment Concerning UM Image Noted," 19 November 1979, p. 1; Todd Palme,r "A Special Report on Racism," 19 November 1979, p. 2; Patrick Agbonlahor, "'Vacrimination' is Solution," 29 November 1979, p. 2; Betty Ann Rea, 30 November 1979, p. 2; Michael W. Harris, 6 December 1979, p. 2.

administration quashed the inception of a new Confederate symbol, the adversaries really had no apparent reason to continue the discussion.

A few years later during the 1982 summer session, the Daily Mississippian printed an Associated Press piece on two black Memphis city councilmen's complaints over the inclusion of the Confederate battle flag among the city's historic flag display.[50] A few days later, a staff writer on the campus newspaper followed up with the reactions of various student leaders to the story, including those of John Hawkins, the first black cheerleader ever elected by the university. Hawkins made the mild comment that "anything would be better" if the battle flag made some individuals uncomfortable. By September, Hawkins decided he would not join the other members of the squad in waving the Rebel flag, telling the New York Times, "While I'm an Ole Miss cheerleader, I'm still a black man. In my household, I wasn't told to hate the flag, but I did have history classes and know what my ancestors went through and what the Rebel flag represents. It is my choice that I prefer not to wave one."[51] As an alternative, he suggested that the university place Colonel Reb in the middle of the current banner because "[w]hen Meredith tried to enter the university, the people who were trying to keep him out were not waving that kind of flag."[52] While agreeing that a flag change would promote campus unity, BSU president Lydia Spragin publicly stated an aversion for Hawkins' proposed substitution, believing a Colonel Reb in the middle of the battle flag would still carry the same connotations as the traditional standard.[53] On the day of the Alabama game, Hawkins chose to wave a flag emblazoned with the character Colonel Reb on a white field surrounded by the words "University of Mississippi," the change from his original idea

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[50]Associated Press, "Mud Island Flies Rebel Flag; Black Memphians Angered," Daily Mississippian, 26 July 1982, p. 1.
[51]Wendell Rawls, "Black Cheerleader Balks at Waving Rebel Banner," New York Times, 4 September 1982, 6: 2.
[52]ibid. For a repetition of this suggestion, see Kitty Dumas, "Hawkins Responds to Press," Daily Mississippian, 2 September 1982, p. 1.
[53]Stephanie Hall, "Spragin Says Ideas for Flag Not Viable," Daily Mississippian, 13 September 1982, p. 1.

perhaps a response to Spragin's criticism. Naturally, the other cheerleaders continued to wave their usual Rebel flags[54]

Meanwhile, Ole Miss found itself the focus of national attention for yet another reason altogether -- the approach of the institution's twentieth anniversary since integration and the Oxford riot. Administrators, realizing reporters would write the story with or without their help, had decided to sponsor a commemorative ceremony in an attempt to put their own progressive spin on the tale. Yet, when James Meredith, the object of so much violence twenty years ago, accepted an invitation to speak at the occasion, he also informed officials of his intentions to urge the NAACP Legal Defense Fund to file a law suit against the university if it did not make changes to the flag, the mascot, and "Dixie" by the following school year. In his speech, Meredith asserted that "There is absolutely no difference between these symbols and the segregation signs of 20 years ago such as: White Only Waiting Room, Colored Drinking Water, No Blacks Allowed, All Blacks must seat from the Back of the Bus, and so forth."[55] Some whites in the audience booed, and fifty students left the auditorium in protest, chanting the school cheer "Hotty Toddy" once they arrived outside the building.[56] Over a week later, the BSU voted to support Meredith's stance on the elimination of the rebel flag, but ignored his opposition to "Dixie" and Colonel Reb.[57]

At this point, the Ku Klux Klan entered the picture, announcing plans to hold an Oxford "public awareness march" in support of the rebel flag on October twenty-third.[58] When that day

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[54]Kate McGandy, "Hawkins Carries His Own Flag at Game," Daily Mississippian, 21 September 1982, p. 1.
[55]James H. Meredith, "Speech For the University of Mississippi--30 September 1982," p. 9, manuscript, Porter Fortune Collection, Box 155, Folder "Meredith Admission--20th Anniversary," UM. A warning on the law suit and Meredith's position appeared prior to the commemoration in Stephanie Hall, Peggy Hodges, and Tina Wilson, "On Meredith: Comments on Suit Bring UM Reaction," Daily Mississippian, 24 September 1982, p. 1.
[56]Stephanie Hall, "Meredith Talk Sparks Praise and Criticism," Daily Mississippian, 1 October 1982, pp. 1 & 6.
[57]Stephanie Hall, "BSU Responds to Meredith's Proposals," Daily Mississipian, 11 October 1982, p. 1. The BSU also ignored his demand that the university eliminate the Black Studies program and the office of Assistant Director for Minority Affairs. See also, Bonita Terry, "BSU Gives Meredith a Reply," Daily Mississippian, 21 October 1982, p. 1.
[58]Associated Press, "KKK Rally Allowed in Oxford on Oct. 23," Daily Mississippian, 14 October 1982, p. 1; Diane Rado, "Anger Vented over Permission for Klan Flag March," Memphis

arrived, twenty-nine members of the Klan gathered at the law school parking lot on campus, some in white hoods while others wore T-shirts with the battle flag and the slogan "The South Shall Rise Again." The parade, accompanied by reporters and cameramen, marched three-quarters of a mile to the town square. Participants toted the rebel flag, as well as the Stars and Stripes, and the banner of the KKK. Outside of a few hecklers, a mostly silent crowd of blacks and whites watched while Grand Dragon Gordon Galle pronounced the Rebel flag "more sacred than anything else in the South."[59] After stating the Klan's opposition to integration and miscegenation, Galle urged students to organize in support of the Rebel flag, complaining that if changed, the flag's destruction would be the fault of the students and warning, "[b]efore long the American flag will have a hammer and sickle on it."[60]

On October twenty-seventh, Chancellor Porter Fortune received a three page letter from James D. Minor, an Assistant Professor of Law, and Ardessa H. Minor, the Assistant Director of Student Activities for Minority Affairs. After stating that the university seemed to be in a state of crisis "brought about by our failure to complete the process begun in 1962 -- the integration of Ole Miss," the authors described the poor reputation the institution possessed among the state's black citizens. They concluded that although the university could take a number of steps to correct its recruitment problem, Ole Miss needed

> . . . first and foremost [to] shed the image of an institution which instead of studying its history, worships and repeats it. This is referred to by white students and alumni as 'tradition.' It is referred to by blacks, in mild terms, as living in the

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Commercial Appeal, 15 October 1982, p. B1; Lee Freeland, "Klan Rally: Leader Says Flag Key Issue," Daily Mississippian, 19 October 1982, p. 1; "Ole Miss, City, Klan Concerned by March," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 23 October 1982.

[59]Patti Patterson, "Klan Demonstration Calm," Daily Mississippian, 25 October 1982, pp. 1 & 7. See also, Glenn Montgomery and Lee Freeland, "Ku Klux Klan Attracts Curiosity, Protests," Daily Mississippian, 25 October 1982, pp. 1 & 7; Diane Rado, "Klan Leader Plans New Oxford Drive," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 27 October 1982. See also, Samuel Prestridge, "Notes from the Laughing Factory," in Mississippi Writers: Reflections of Childhood and Youth ed. Dorothy Abbott Vol. 2 (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1986), pp. 522-31.

[60]Patterson, p. 7.

> past and asking them (blacks) to participate in the worship of a past which had as one of its underpinnings the inferiority of black people.[61]

In short, the Minors requested that the university "discard the confederate battle flag and other trappings of the 'Old South.'"[62] The Minors were not alone in making such a request. For quite some time various members of the faculty and coaching staff had privately touted the need for change, complaining that the Lost Cause symbols damaged the institution's national image and inhibited recruitment of quality students, athletes, and faculty, both black and white. As chancellor, Fortune himself could not be anything but aware of the truth of these charges.

Among the students, the KKK rally had, of course, provoked a few responses in the campus newspaper, but a truly massive public outpouring on the issue did not occur until several months later in March, when Chancellor Fortune stated that he had asked several different advisory groups representing student affairs, athletics, and alumni to consider discontinuing use of the flag and that he would respond with a decision by May.[63] With this announcement of the possibility of administrative action, both sides of the dispute sought to influence the outcome. In addition to an increased number of letters and editorials appearing in the Daily Mississippian, supporters and opponents alike took a more active and organized stance.

Defeating a bill requesting that the state flag replace the rebel banner as the token of school spirit, the ASB proceeded to pass a lengthy resolution that, "The Confederate flag, Colonel Rebel, and 'Dixie' remain our endeared traditions until the stones crumble from the buildings and Ole Miss is a mere whisper in history."[64] At a grass roots level, three students, with the help of

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[61]James D. Minor and Ardessa H. Minor to Dr. Porter L. Fortune, 27 October 1982, Porter Fortune Collection, Box 145, Folder: "Student Activities for Minority Affairs," UM.
[62]ibid.
[63]Lee Freeland, "Fortune Considers Issue: May Flag Decision," Daily Mississippian, 9 March 1983, p. 1.
[64]For the bill printed in its entirety, see "ASB Flag Bill," Daily Mississippian, 12 April 1983, p. 2. For an account of the defeated bill, see Terry R. Cassreino, "State Flag Bill Is Defeated in Senate," Daily Mississippian, 13 April 1982, p. 1.

others, conducted a petition drive urging the Chancellor not to abandon the flag.[65] On the other side, the BSU organized a demonstration during an April seventeenth dedication ceremony for the new health and recreation complex. Two hundred black students demonstrated silently, many carrying the red, green, and black flag of African nationalism. This group also presented visiting Governor William Winter and College Board President Robert Harrison with a list of thirteen demands, ranging from increased funding for the Black Studies department, cultural programming, and financial aid, to the hiring of black affirmative action directors, academic counselors, and other administrators. The demands also included the removal of all racist symbols, listing as such the Rebel flag, "Dixie," and Colonel Reb.[66] This expansion of their opposition to include the song and the mascot reversed a previous BSU statement that the group was only interested in the flag.[67] In support of these demands, the president of the BSU asked blacks to avoid the spring intra-squad football game on Red-and-Blue Weekend while participating black athletes, band members, and recruiters could wear black armbands to show their solidarity.[68] Vowing to take a course of civil defiance, the BSU threatened to bring national attention to racial problems on campus.[69]

Earlier in April, the release of the Ole Miss yearbook had also initiated an antagonistic backlash from the BSU because of the editor's inclusion of photographs depicting the fall's KKK rally.[70] Evidently, rumors that the BSU planned to burn their copies of the annual sparked a rally of

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[65]Lee Freeland, "Save the Flag," Daily Mississippian, 11 April 1983, p. 1; Terry R. Cassreino, "Flag Stirs Petitions," Daily Mississippian, 12 April 1983, p. 1; Dan Turner, "3,000 Sign Petitions: Support Increasing," Daily Mississippian, 15 April 1983, p. 1.

[66]Lee Freeland, "Officials Hear Black Demands," Daily Mississippian, 18 April 1983, p. 1.

[67]Recall the earlier vote limiting support for Meredith's proposal to just the flag. Also, an early editorial written by the president clearly limited BSU concern to the flag, see Lydia Evelyn Spragin, "Flag: Dare Tradition," Daily Mississippian, 12 April 1983, p. 2.

[68]Freeland, "Officials Hear . . .," p. 1.

[69]"The Plain Truth About Ole Miss," press release, 16 April 16, 1983, Accretion to George Street Collection, Box 19, UM.

[70]Lee Freeland, "Racial Issues--'Poor Image': BSU Protests Annual Pictures," Daily Mississippian, 13 April 1983, p. 1; Dan Turner and Mary Nettleton, "Blacks May 'Protest' Klan Pics," Daily Mississippian, 14 April 1983, p. 1; Terry Cassreino and Dan Turner, "Blacks, Press Clash at Meet," Daily Mississippian, 15 April 1983, p. 1.

1,500 white students on the evening of April eighteenth. Chanting "Hell no, the flag won't go" and "Hotty Toddy," protesters began to gather in front of the Lyceum at 6:45, waving rebel flags and demanding the presence of cheerleader John Hawkins and Chancellor Fortune. Several students helped to raise a Confederate banner on the flag pole in front of the building as part of the crowd sang "Dixie." The group then moved to where they thought the BSU had scheduled a meeting, but found the organization absent and campus police securing the building against their entrance. The protesters drifted to the Chancellor's home (who was out of town) and ended their migration at the house of a black fraternity. City and campus police surrounded the fraternity house, while the crowd yelled racist epithets until its dispersal at 8:30.[71] That same evening, Fortune released a statement calling for calm and described the conflict over Confederate symbols as "too substantive and complex to be decided by public demonstrations and confrontations."[72] The next day an alumnus reacting to the protest remarked, "If Ole Miss is not careful, they will have a situation very similar to the one in 1962 when Meredith first came to school here."[73]

Meanwhile, during the hullabaloo following the rally, an anonymous source told the Associated Press that Fortune would soon announce a decision to discontinue the university's practice of purchasing and distributing Rebel flags at football games.[74] At a press conference on April twentieth, the chancellor stated that a new policy would restrict official representatives of the university, such as cheerleaders and band members, to registered symbols -- which did not include the Confederate battle flag. Fortune explained to reporters that the taint of racial conflict

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[71]"Rumors Stir Protest," Daily Mississippian, 19 April 1983, p. 1. Someone entered the newsroom late Monday night and destroyed the front page layouts of this story, which the journalists then reconstructed for a late printing.
[72]Ibid. (see insert); See also, "Flag Decision May Be Today," Daily Mississippian, 20 April 1983, p. 1.
[73]Clara Bibbs and Susanne Raines, "Protest Stirs Black Reaction," Daily Mississippian, 20 April 1983, p. 1. The editor of the Daily Mississippian drew the same parallel: "Administrators are saying that this is how it started back in 1962. Has everyone forgotten that ended with 30,000 federal troops being called in because of something similar to what took place last night in front of the Lyceum, Bishop Hall and finally the Chancellor's home? I refuse to believe I am attending a university that can only take two jumps back and not three steps forward." Sallie Read, "Call to Reason," Daily Mississippian, 29 April 1983, p. 1.
[74]"Flag Decision May Be Today," Daily Mississippian, 20 April 1983, p. 1.

associated with the banner damaged the university's image, even though technically the institution had never officially adopted the emblem. He did state, however, that the university would not ban the display of the symbol at football games, as such action would represent an infringement of an individual's freedom of expression. Responding to questions about "Dixie" and Colonel Reb, he foresaw no problem in their continued use. The chancellor then added that he would direct the campus bookstore to stop selling rebel flags as well as merchandise depicting its image.[75]

Reactions varied. With very little debate, the Faculty Senate passed two resolutions: the first approving the decision to disassociate the university from the banner and the second asking Fortune to ban the sale of rebel flags by the bookstore and game vendors. While the mayor of Oxford and the president of the Alumni Association voiced their support for the chancellor, other alumni who favored the rebel flag spoke out against the ruling.[76] The president of the BSU also pronounced dissatisfaction with the decision. Although appreciating the initial step Fortune had taken, Spragin suggested that he had not gone "far enough" in his actions and complained that the chancellor had failed to address BSU opposition to the mascot and "Dixie."[77] The following week, the Air Force ROTC commander, in compliance with the spirit of Fortune's decision but on his own initiative, banned the wear and display of the detachment's logo (which featured the Rebel flag) and ordered the destruction of several hundred T-shirts, caps, and patches.[78] By June, admissions personnel predicted that fallout from the controversy's publicity would appear as a significant decrease in the next year's black enrollment figures.[79]

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[75]Dan Turner, "Rebel Flag: Half-mast," Daily Mississippian, 21 April 1983, p. 1. See also, "Chancellor's Statement to the Press, April 20, 1983," as well as Fortune's reiteration of his position in an issue of The Monday Report entitled "Chancellor's Response to Issues Raised by the Black Student Union April, 1983," p. 6, Accretion to George Street Collection, Box 19, UM.

[76]"Reaction," Daily Mississippian, 21 April 1983, pp. 1 & 7. For a reprint of the first resolution, see "Resolution, Faculy Senate," Daily Mississippian, 25 April 1983, p. 2.

[77]Clara Bibbs and Terry R. Cassreino, "Spragin Says 'Not Enough,'" Daily Mississippian, 21 April 1983, p. 1; Mary Nettleton, "Flag Verdict Rejected," Daily Mississippian, 22 April 1983, p. 1.

[78]John Brannon, "AFROTC: No Flag," Daily Mississippian, 28 April 1983, p. 1.

[79]Pat Robertson, ""Admission Officials Predict: Black Enrollment May Drop 30-40 Percent," Daily Mississippian, 7 June 1983, p. 1. For contradiction of this percentage but not the decrease, see "Calhoun: Article in Error," Daily Mississippian, 21 June 1983, p. 2. In 1991, Chancellor Turner

Of course a true assessment of the outcome awaited the advent of the fall football games. In preparation for the season the Ole Miss Bookstore purchased red, white, and blue flags with "Ole Miss" printed on them, which ASB leaders made an effort to promote by urging its own members to wave.[80] Yet the first pep rally confirmed the opinion of several that the chancellor's decision would only encourage the appearance of greater numbers of Rebel flags among spectators.[81] As the newly designed flags flopped, a pro-Confederate flag proponent subsequently wrote, "More [Rebel] flags than ever may be seen at the ballgames. With this display, the majority has come to its senses and is exerting more influence than could ever be mustered in a thousand wild-eyed demonstrations. Bravo!"[82] And although the BSU continued to push its thirteen demands, the group refrained from organizing further demonstrations against the school's Confederate symbols. Thus, despite the hue and cry that both proceeded and followed Fortune's announcement, very little had actually changed. Although cheerleaders carried the new banners, the Ole Miss stadium remained awash in a sea of Confederate battle standards. As Fortune prepared to retire that spring, reflecting on his tenure as chancellor, he acknowledged the recent flag controversy as "one of the most emotional issues I have dealt with since I have been here." Admitting that differences of opinion on the flag and other symbols would probably continue, he remarked, "I think the major conflict has been resolved."[83]

Debate on Confederate symbols at Ole Miss surfaced briefly again in the fall of 1985, originally initiated in response to a virulently pro-Rebel flag columnist's reassessment of the 1982-83 crisis.[84] The discussion broadened, however, with the appearance of an article implying that

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admitted that a 25% drop in black enrollment took place after the controversy. Chris Baker, "Turner Speaks Out on UM Greek Integration," Daily Mississippian, 22 August 1991, p. 1.

[80]On the bookstore, see Mary Nettleton, "Bookstore Selling New Flags," Daily Mississippian, 24 April 1983, p. 15. For a photograph of the flag, see ibid., p. 11. For the ASB, see Clara Bibbs, "Bogdahn, Hawkins: Leaders Praise Unity," Daily Mississippian, 1 September 1983, p. 1.

[81]Lynda Tullos, "Reb Flags Wave at Pep Rally," Daily Mississippian, 2 September 1983, p. 1.

[82]Stan Perkins, "New Angle for a Tired Issue," Daily Mississippian, 7 September 1983, p. 2.

[83]Susan Teasley, "Fortune Reflects on Ole Miss Years," Daily Mississippian, 30 March 1984, p. 1.

[84]Frank Hurdle, "Out of Sight, But Not out of Minds," Daily Mississippian, 29 August 1985, p. 2. In the spring prior to Hurdle's column, another contributor also surveyed the events, but his mild, reconciliationist writing failed to garner any written response, see Gregory L. Sykes, "Negative

Chancellor Gerald Turner, responding to complaints from black students, had asked the band to play "Dixie" less often.[85] Reactions swiftly died down after the BSU released an official statement that the group did not plan on asking the university to ban the song.[86] Yet, from this point on, the controversy surrounding Confederate symbols, commonly called the "flag issue," reemerged in the pages of the campus newspaper on an annual basis, sometimes begun by nothing more than the start of the football season.[87]

In September of 1988, the administration unveiled a new 22-by-44 yard flag in honor of the university's 140th anniversary. Intended for use at half-time shows and official functions, the white flag, which required ninety people to carry it, depicted an outline of the Lyceum centered between the dates 1848 and 1988.[88] No scaled-down replicas of the flag, however, appeared in the stores. The following year, attempting to raise money for its class project, the senior class created and sold a new flag marketed towards the football fans. Named the "Battle M" in

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Attitudes Hamper Relations," Daily Mississippian, 30 January 1985, p. 2. In addition, the paper printed two stories on a conflict over rebel flags and the Kappa Alpha fraternity at Auburn University: Billy Moak, "KA's Follow University Rules Concerning Flag," Daily Mississippian, 22 February 1985, p. 5; Associated Press, "Auburn KA's Fly Confederate Flag," Daily Mississippian, 15 April 1985, p. 6.

[85]Todd Fullam, "Look Away . . . Look Away, Dixieland . . . : Critics Object to Playing 'Dixie' a Lot," Daily Mississippian, 18 September 1985, pp. 1 & 8.

[86]Ronda Gooden, "BSU Works toward University Improvement: BSU Doesn't Want 'Dixie' Thrown Out," Daily Mississippian, 26 September 1985, p. 1. For reactions that appear in the Daily Mississippian, see Kim Bryant, "Reactions to Playing Dixie," 19 September 1985, pp. 1 & 7; Wendell Bafford, 20 September 1985, p. 2; Don Abel, 20 September 1985, p. 2; Ronn Pierce, "Bell Problems Ring out in Classroom," 21 September 1985, p. 2; Phyllis Y. Keyes, 26 September 1985, p. 2; John Weathersby, "It's up to Us to Keep Ole Miss Going," 27 September 27 1985, p. 2.

[87]During the 1986-87 school year five editorials and two letters appeared in the Daily Mississippian; in 1987-88, five editorials, eight letters, and four articles (those that report either developments or reactions); in 1988-89, five editorials, nine letters, and four articles; in 1989-90, four editorials, eleven letters, and three articles; in 1990-91, three editorials, nine letters, and three articles; in 1991-92, eight editorials, ten letters, and six articles; in 1992-1993, sixteen editorials, thirty letters, and fifteen articles; in 1993-94, two editorials, nine letters, and seven articles; in 1994-1995, nineteen editorials, fifteen letters, and five articles; in 1995-96, two editorials, one letter, one article; in 1996-97, twenty-one editorials, fifty-four letters, and fifteen articles; in 1997-98, sixteen editorials, twenty letters, and twenty-two articles; in 1998-99, two letters and one article.

[88]Mary Burns, "Ole Miss to Unveil New Flag to Honor 140th Anniversary," Daily Mississippian, 15 September 1988, p. 1; Shannon Smith, "Students Can Help Carry New Flag," Daily Mississippian, 2 October 1988, p. 5; Chris Upton, "Student Reactions Vary on New Flag," Daily Mississippian, 7 November 1988, p. 1

reference to its design of a large, blue block "M" containing white stars that rested in the center of a red field, the seniors sold two thousand. The community's reception of Battle M -- as compared to the lackluster acceptance and outright rejection of earlier models of new emblems -- impressed the administration enough to start talks in December to secure rights on the design for official adoption and distribution.[89] The success of the project derived from two factors: first, the grass-roots origin among older students, which granted a certain amount of peer acceptability among those interested in making the purchase; and second, the very nature of the image itself harkened back to the rebel flag with its colors and use of stars. Although the seniors asserted that they offered the Battle M only as an alternative and not as a replacement for the rebel flag, opposition appeared regardless in the form of an advertisement which urged students not to wave the new banner.[90] And, of course, letters and editorials on the entire flag issue continued. Meanwhile, the Battle M gradually joined the Rebel flag as a much junior partner among the ranks of Ole Miss fans in the stadium.

A few years later, in the spring of 1991, the sixty board members of the Alumni Association endorsed without dissent a request that fans not bring Rebel flags to athletic events sponsored by the university.[91] A month and a half later, the Faculty Senate unanimously approved a similar resolution.[92] Perhaps bolstered by this support, the administration banned flags larger than 12 by 18 inches at athletic events. Purportedly instituted for safety and convenience reasons, loyal supporters of the Rebel flag believed themselves the target of the new ruling.[93] In October, a university student filed a complaint in court against the university and Chancellor

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[89]Amy Vincent, "Senoir Class Raises $2,200 Selling Flag in The Grove," Daily Mississippian, 20 October 1989, p. 1; Bob Yarbrough, "Battle M May Become Official Flag," Daily Mississippian, 5 December 1989, p. 1; Christina Cannon, "M-Flag, Rebel Flag Controversy Continues," Daily Mississippian, 19 October 1990, p. 7B.
[90]Daily Mississippian, 19 October 1990, 12B.
[91]Associated Press, "Alumni Association Supports Flag Ban," Daily Mississippian, 1 May 1991, p. 1.
[92]"Olen Anderson, "Faculty Senate Passes Rebel Flag Resolution," Daily Mississippian, 17 June 1991, p. 1.
[93]Associated Press, "New Flag Ruling Angers Some," Daily Mississippian, 19 September 1991, p. 7.

Turner, alleging that the institution banned freedom of speech and expression in regards to the display, sale, and distribution of the Confederate battle flag.[94]

The "flag issue" expanded into demonstrations and boycotts in the spring of 1993 when four black members of the band silently protested "Dixie" by refusing to play the tune during basketball games. The leader of the small group, Tim Jones, told an interviewer that a black history program on Martin Luther King had inspired him to take a stand. During their initial protest, the four men crossed their arms to form an "X" but quickly discontinued this particular practice. The assistant band director told the group they could continue their boycott of the tune but only after removing their band sweatshirts and distancing themselves physically from the band during the song's performance.[95] The BSU moved quickly to exhibit their support, wearing light blue ribbons and turning their backs to the court when the band played "Dixie."[96] Soon, whites among the crowd displayed signs and T-shirts demanding "Play Dixie, Damnit!" In the written medium, letters and editorials expounded various arguments for and against the song, and a debate society used the controversy to generate interest in and coverage of one of its sessions entitled "Heritage or Racism?"[97] By the end of March, the community's interest in the topic had not waned, and the ASB sponsored a forum on the issue. A few days later and following two hours of debate, the ASB voted 22-11 for a resolution endorsing the band's continued use of the song "to

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[94]The law suit also requested that the court prohibit the use of university property by religious and racially segregated groups, including Greek fraternities and sororities as well as the BSU. Angela Holloway, "Student Files Complaint Against the University" Daily Mississippian, 16 October 1991, p. 1. The student, Thomas Ketchum, also wrote a letter to the paper requesting support for his action, see Daily Mississippian, 31 October 1991, p. 2.

[95]Nicole V. House and Stephen Rosamond, "Band Members Protest Playing Dixie," Daily Mississippian, 25 February 1993, p. 1. See also, Douglas Lederman, "Old Times Not Forgotten: A Battle over Symbols Obscures U. of Mississippi's Racial Changes," Chronicle of Higher Education 40 (October 20, 1993): A51-A52; Marilyn M. Thomas-Houston, "'Stony the Road: A Look at Political Participation in an African American Community" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1997), pp. 116-18.

[96]Stephen Rosamond, "Black Student Union Backs Protesters," Daily Mississippian, 4 March 1993, p. 1.

[97]Stephen Rosamond, "Dixie Controversy Sparks Debate," Daily Mississippian, 23 March 1993, p. 4; Stephen Rosamond, "Dixie Dilemma Debated," Daily Mississippian, 24 March 1993, p. 8.

instill honor, pride and the spirit of aggressive advancement in the hearts and minds of everyone who hears it."[98]

The BSU then expanded its protest with an economic boycott of the University Food Mall and eventually of all campus outlets run by University Food Services.[99] A BSU official told the Daily Mississippian that a number of whites had joined blacks in this effort to influence the administration, saying "It's not a black thing. It's not a white thing. It's a University of Mississippi thing. We want our university to look good. We want to be able to say, 'Yes, I went to the University of Mississippi' and smile about it."[100] Ending the boycott after eight days, the BSU continued to take an active stance, passing out black ribbons so that individuals could show their visible support and planning protests during Red-Blue Weekend, just as their predecessors had in 1983.[101]

Even more similarities exist with that crisis, then a decade past. For instance, the torrent of debate on the flag and song only arose after one African American, or in this case a small group, were placed in a position that entailed not just toleration but participation in the use of Confederate symbols and consequently decided to take a public stand. For, although John Hawkins and the group led by Tim Jones adopted a relatively passive tactic of simply refusing to participate, they did so while very publicly proclaiming to the press their rationale. Without such publicity their lack of cooperation would probably have gone unnoticed and unremarked by spectators. Yet, by announcing their decisions, these individuals spurred debate among the larger Ole Miss community, and in both cases, dispute led to active and visible demonstrations by each side of the issue. For in 1993, as in 1983, the BSU was not alone in staging protests.

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[98]Chris Allen Baker, "ASB Senate Passes 'Dixie' Resolution," Daily Mississippian, 7 April 1993, p. 1. This article took the almost unheard of step of tracking individual senators' voting records on the resolution.

[99]Larue Roberts, "Black Student Union Considers Boycott," Daily Mississippian, 8 April 1993, p. 1; Michael Saunte McLendon, "BSU Extends Food Services Boycott," Daily Mississippian, 20 April 1993, p. 1.

[100]Ibid.

[101]Chris Allen Baker, "BSU Plans Protests at Red-Blue Weekend," Daily Mississippian, 23 April 1993, pp. 1 & 11.

On April twenty-sixth, the Southern Heritage Foundation, a small ad-hoc collection of white students whose stated interest was "to foster interest in Southern heritage and the preservation thereof," observed Confederate Memorial Day. Walking with battle flags from the campus Confederate monument to the Confederate cemetery, the group then conducted a memorial service.[102] A more pointed protest occurred at the cemetery a few days later. Arranged by the Sons of Confederate Veterans and the 82nd Infantry Re-enactors, the "Save Dixie" rally drew a crowd of forty which listened to a speaker discuss mounting attacks on southern traditions.[103] As the regular school year ended, demonstrations and debate receded until the fall when the BSU promised to continue the fight against "Dixie."[104] Aside from planning a program on the topic, however, nothing further occurred.[105] As a result, letters and editorials, which had ranged beyond the song to include other tokens of the Confederacy, subsided by the middle of October.

In contrast to 1982-83, the furor over "Dixie" in 1993-94 ended without any attempt by the administration to disassociate the university from the symbol under contention. Curiously, unlike the Rebel flag, the banning of which might constitute a freedom of speech violation, Ole Miss officials actually possessed the authority to order the band to remove the tune from its repertoire, thus eliminating "Dixie" from athletic events. Indeed, several other educational institutions had done just that, yet the University of Mississippi failed to follow these examples. Despite the inclination of most of the administration, coaches, and faculty to break the debilitating connection to the South's past that haunted Ole Miss, Chancellor Turner maintained the status quo. His lack of resolve on the matter sprang from a desire to not alienate students and alumni, particularly the

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[102]Chris Allen Baker, "Students Observe Confederate Memorial Day," Daily Mississipian, 27 April 1993, p. 1.

[103]Chris Allen Baker, "Memorial Service Raises Questions from Ole Miss," Daily Mississippian, 3 May 1993, pp. 1 & 12.

[104]Stephen Rosamond, "'Dixie' Protesters Say There Will Be No Compromise," Daily Mississippian, 10 September 1993, p. 1. For an official statement by the organization that appeared as a letter, see Daily Mississippian, 23 September 1993, p. 2.

[105]K. Larue Roberts, "BSU Plans More Anti-'Dixie' Action; Fundraisers," Daily Mississippian, 6 October 1993, p. 7.

alumni whose financial generosity the university depended upon to augment the state's allowance. At the end of April as the BSU planned its Red-Blue Weekend protests, the chancellor told a Daily Mississippian reporter, "Until there's a call by alumni, faculty, staff and students that there should be a change, you continue on with what you have."[106]

In the fall of 1994, the controversy over symbols reignited. A prominent billboard in town greeted returning students with the words "Heritage Not Hate" plastered under an image of the Confederate battle flag. That the sign faced two of Oxford's black churches fueled the anger of flag opponents even further.[107] The individuals who instigated the advertisement remained anonymous, hence, the rationale behind their actions never evolved beyond the three-word editorial comment. Despite this brevity, editorialists and letter writers on both sides responded. Nevertheless, no protests to the action occurred beyond the written word, and the billboard came down at the end of its contractual run a few weeks later. Debate on the flag issue naturally continued but had ebbed by the start of the next school year.

Since the "Heritage Not Hate" billboard of 1994, little had happened at the University to provoke protest from either side of the debate. In September of 1996, the university introduced a version of the Battle M that reversed the colors (red M on a blue field) and eliminated the stars appearing on the original.[108] The managing editor of the Daily Mississippian surmised that the similarity of the first Battle M to the Rebel flag when viewed on a television screen prompted the alteration. Under the impression that the vast majority of students disliked the new flag, she herself expressed no objection but questioned the manner in which the administration had left the

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[106]Baker, "BSU Plans Protests at Red-Blue Weekend."

[107]Rob Roberston, "Billboard Sends Conflicting Message to New Students," Daily Mississippian, 19 August 1994, pp. 1 & 13.

[108]Amanda Byrd, "New M-flag Introduction Is Set for This Saturday," Daily Mississippian, 6 September 1996. From 1996 onward, the campus newspaper maintained an archives of its issues online at olemiss.edu/news/dm/archives. No page numbers are cited after this date because the online archives does not provide that information.

students out of the planning and design process.[109] Remarkably, the change in design prompted no more debate, probably because most fans still waved Rebel flags at games.

In the first month of 1997, a BSU meeting resurrected the group's complaints against Confederate symbols at the university, and the head of the ASB department on student life addressed a letter to the organization's body that proposed improving race relations by eliminating Colonel Reb as a mascot and preventing the Rebel flag from appearing in advertisements of the Daily Mississippian.[110] In February, the newspaper announced that the administration was considering a ban on any outside displays of flags and decorations on fraternity and sorority houses.[111] None of these suggestions provoked more than a few editorials and letters. Yet, a disclosure on February twenty-seventh that Chancellor Khayat had hired two independent marketing firms to conduct an image review of Ole Miss caused a firestorm, as it was implicitly understood that the university's symbols posed the major impediment to an improved national image.[112] Again, the flag along with a whole host of traditions seemed threatened, and letters poured into the paper's office.

By March twentieth, an organizational meeting for a group entitled Students for University Heritage drew one hundred people and degenerated into a verbal battle with those who came to protest against the meeting.[113] The next day, a group called the Rebel Student Union sponsored a rally to urge student participation in the image review. Again, the atmosphere became divisive, especially when Michael Hill, president of the Southern League, spoke on the right of secession and the meaning of the Confederate battle flag.[114] In June, State Senator Mike Gunn and the

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[109]Melanie Simpson, "The New Flag," Daily Mississippian, 10 September 1996.
[110]Sarah Cunningham, "BSU to Document Racial Problems," Daily Mississippian, 22 January 1997; Amanda Byrd, "Cabinet Discusses Role of Government, Diversity," Daily Mississippian, 29 January 1997.
[111]Jenny Dodson, "Proposed Rule Will Ban Flags from Greek Houses," Daily Mississippin, 13 February 1997.
[112]Jenny Dodson, "Several University Symbols up for Image Review," Daily Mississippian, 27 February 1997.
[113]Nancy Jane Otto, "Heritage Rally Strays from Intent," Daily Mississippian, 20 March 1997.
[114]Jenny Dodson, "Outside Political Group Attends Student Rally," Daily Mississippian, 21 March 1997.

Council of Conservative Citizens sent out letters that supported a drive labeled "Stop the Lynching of Ole Miss and Southern Heritage," which described anyone who might support Khayat's reforms as a "craven, weak-kneed white scalawag" and urged recipients to cease all donations to the university.[115]

Despite all this uproar, the announcement of the image review's survey results proved quite anticlimactic. After describing the finding that the institution possessed a favorable image regionally, the head of the marketing firm explained that the survey questions had omitted all mention of symbols in order to prevent bias. Explaining that of the 1,450 people interviewed only fifty-six brought up the issue of symbols, he asserted, "Symbols have no significant impact on academic perception."[116] Speaking afterwards, Chancellor Khayat explained that the popularity of symbols depended on students and alumni, stating "We have symbols now that will go through an evolutionary process. It's in the hands of the community."[117] He did mention, however, that the Colonel Reb mascot would probably become more sports specific, as it had in the previous year by wearing a basketball uniform.

By narrowing the focus of the image review on the university's academic reputation, the survey turned an intentional blind eye to the contributing role of Confederate symbols in the public's more general impression of Ole Miss. As a result, the survey's conclusion's mollified critics of change, and even provided fodder for their arguments. Citing the statistical finding that symbols had little impact on the university's reputation, those in favor of retaining tradition asked, "why is our administrative and student body leadership still forcing the 'symbol' issue?"[118]

That fall in a formal statement to the Daily Mississippian, Tommy Tuberville, the head football coach, asked students and fans to leave their Rebel flags behind when attending

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[115]Jenny Dodson, "A Convincing Letter," Daily Mississippian, 19 June 1997.
[116]Jenny Dodson, "Khayat: Symbols Expected to 'Evolve' Over Time," Daily Mississippian, 18 July 1997.
[117]ibid.
[118]Michael Kergosien, Daily Mississippi, 25 July 1997.

games.[119] While this bold, proactive request did not stem the appearance of Confederate flags at subsequent games, Tuberville's stance did reenergize the debate. Prior to their October game against the Rebels, the Student Senate at the University of Tennessee passed a resolution in support of Tuberville's request, causing a Daily Mississippian editorialist to comment, "It is hard to believe the sheer audacity of them to do something our Associated Student Body should have done in the first place."[120] Over the next few weeks, momentum built within the student organization to do just that, and the senate began considering a resolution requesting the administration to ban sticks from the stadium. While superficially concerned with safety, the measure clearly spelled out an intent to discourage the appearance of Rebel flags, as the reasons cited by the resolution included the symbol's divisiveness and racist associations.[121]

Reports that the senate had revised the proposed resolution by dropping the stick ban and instead would ask students to refrain from waving the Rebel flag, caused the Daily Mississippian staff to condemn the move as a watered-down proposition without any teeth. "The Ole Miss student Senate was on the cusp of greatness, and they blew it," the editorial began, characterizing the group as "indecisive and wishy-washy."[122] A few days later, the ASB president wrote an editorial that also urged the senate to go one step further, reminding readers that "all of the formal requests and all of the formal statements about the Confederate flag have not reached everyone. . . .Ole Miss needs to send a more forceful message."[123] The next day, the stick ban and the flag request appeared on the senate agenda as two separate resolutions.[124] When the

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[119]Tommy Tuberville, "Making a Decision," Daily Mississippian, 26 September 1997. See also, Rrederick, pp. 109-116.

[120]Amanda Byrd, "ASB Comes up Short," Daily Mississippian, 2 October 1997.

[121]Allison Pruitt, "Senator Pleads for ASB to Take Action on Flag," Daily Mississippian, 8 October 1997; "ASB Resolution 97-17," Daily Mississippian, 16 October 1997; Jenny Dodson, "ASB Senate to Vote on Banning Sticks from Games," Daily Mississippian, 16 October 1997.

[122]Jenny Dodson, "Senators Renege on Banning Sticks from Vaught," Daily Mississippian, 17 October 1997; DM Staff, "Nix the Sticks," Daily Mississippian, 17 October 1997; "Revised ASB Resolution," Daily Mississippian, 17 October 1997.

[123]Calvin Thigpen, "Flag Still a Sticky Problem," Daily Mississippian, 20 October 1997, p. 2.

[124]Jenny Dodson, "Separate ASB Resolution Asks to Keep Sticks out of Stadium," Daily Mississippian, 21 October 1997.

two measures passed, both the athletic director and the chancellor expressed support for the students involved.[125]

While the athletic department worked to comply with the request to ban sticks, letters protested the action of the ASB Senate, and someone placed illegal inserts into an issue of the Daily Mississippian that read "Let a Sea of Stars and Bars Fill the Field Saturday. . . .For We Dare Defend OUR Rights and the rights of countless thousands who came before to our Ole Miss."[126] That weekend a forged letter bearing Khayat's signature circulated at the Alabama game. The letter purported to suggest that the trend to erase offensive symbols continue forward, naming the stained glass memorial in Ventress Hall, the Confederate statue, and the campus Confederate cemetery as future targets.[127] Despite these covert protests, the campus paper carried an announcement that the stick ban would go into force at the game against the Arkansas Razorbacks, outlining the policy compiled by the University Police that included a comprehensive definition of what constituted a stick, and explaining that security would give fans the opportunity to remove flags from their sticks before confiscation.[128] In an effort to provide a substitute for flags, the Student Athletic Board distributed 10,000 red pom poms at the gates. Concurrently, a group from Ruffin Flag Company in Crawfordville, Georgia passed out Rebel flags emblazoned on cardboard and stickers.[129] Later that month, two men from New Jersey whom the UPD had prevented from displaying a 3 by 5 foot Confederate flag in the stadium, hired a lawyer to file suit against the university for interfering with their freedom of speech. When questioned by a reporter, the captain of the UPD noted that the rule against flags larger than 12 by 14 inches had been in

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[125]Jenny Dodson, "Students Take Stand Against Flag," Daily Mississippian, 22 October 1997, p. 1. See also, Natashia Gregoire, "Cameras Barred from Open ASB Senate Meeting Tuesday Night," Daily Mississippian, 22 October 1997, p. 7; Bill Bunting, "Boone to Meet with Coaches to Decide Next Step," Daily Mississippian, 22 October 1997, p. 7; Nick Stakelum's editorial cartoon, "Don't Bring the Rebel Flag to the Game*," Daily Mississippian, 22 October 1997, p. 3.
[126]Rachel Malone, "Illegal Inserts Found in Friday's DM," Daily Mississippian, 29 October 1997.
[127]Jenny Dodson, "Bogus Letter Fakes Khayat's Signature," Daily Mississippian, 4 November 1997.
[128]Rachel Malone, "Security Officers to Enforce Stick Ban," Daily Mississippian, 6 November 1997.
[129]Jenny Dodson, "Pom Poms Replace Flags during Game," Daily Mississippian, 7 November 1997.

effect for several years.[130] A few days after the judge dismissed the case, one of the plaintiffs delivered a speech concerning freedom of expression before a small audience composed mostly of the UPD.[131]

After these few efforts, the protests against the stick ban dwindled. Within the pages of the campus paper, the topic of Confederate symbols subsided although the issue resurfaced briefly at times in letters and editorials.[132] At games, a faithful contingent continued to wave their Confederate banners, though this group, too, appeared to shrink in comparison to the preponderance of Rebel flags that had filled the stadium in previous years. Gradually, the balance of opinion had shifted against the use of the Rebel flag as a university symbol. The role of the debate process as a contributing factor in this trend is, of course, indeterminable, and one might just as well suggest that the transition resulted from a simple progression of time. Still, the battle to achieve this point had been lengthy and at times painful, and it was the debate which had disturbed a stagnant respect for the Confederate past by introducing alternative understandings of the region's history and its symbolic legacies.

Despite this apparent victory to overturn the Confederate flag at Ole Miss, however, the emblem remained in usage throughout the rest of the state, perhaps most conspicuously on the

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[130]Chaka Ferguson, "UM Sued by White Supremacist over Flag," Daily Mississippian, 20 November 1997.

[131]Chaka Ferguson, "Flag Lawsuit Dismissed in Federal Court Thursday," Daily Mississippian, 21 November 1997; Natashia Gregoire, "Jeers, Boos Greet Racist in the Grove," Daily Mississippian, 24 November 1997. Two years later when the lawsuit was revived by the White-Supremacist Nationalist Movement, U.S. District Judge Neal Biggers ruled that both the ban on large flags and sticks was legal. "Ole Miss Should Own up to Real Reason for Banning Flags," Daily Mississippian, 17 November 1999), p. 2. See also, "Judge to Hear Arguments on Confederate Flag," Daily Mississippian, 3 October 1999, p. 5; Richard N. Barrett v. Robert C. Khayat, et al., 1999 U.S. District LEXIS 17899.

[132]The debate within the pages of the campus newspaper reignited in 2000 and 2001 over the possibility of changing the state flag, a topic discussed in a statewide context later in this chapter. In February 2002, rumors that the provost had asked the band to decrease the number of times it played "Dixie," caused another flurry of letters and columns until Chancellor Khayat announced the university would keep the tune and its mascot. See, Elizabeth Yoste, "'Dixie' Sees Less Play at Tad Pad," Daily Mississippian, 30 January 30 2002; Derek Reeves, "Senate Requests 'Dixie' Memo," Daily Mississippian, 6 March 2002; Elizabeth Yoste, "Khayat Squelches Mascot Rumors," Daily Mississippian, 8 March 2002; Laura Houston, "Students React to Chancellor's Mascot Decision," Daily Mississippian, 18 March 2002.

Mississippi flag. The incorporation of the Confederate battle standard on the state flag came under dispute in the late 1980s. In March of 1987, the Southeastern Regional Conference of the NAACP passed a resolution condemning the Confederate flag and requesting that its state chapters work for the standard's erasure from the state flags of Mississippi and Georgia as well as the removal of the Confederate banners that currently flew over the capitols of South Carolina and Alabama.[133] Over the coming years, efforts to accomplish these goals by the NAACP and like-minded individuals ignited a furious debate within these states that caught the attention of the media across the country. For a number of years, the national press seemed to overlook the conflict in Mississippi, although the dispute was still quite intense within the pages of the state's newspapers. In fact, the editor of Jackson's Clarion Ledger remarked in 1989 that aside from abortion, the argument over the Confederate flag had generated more letters to the paper over the previous few years than any other topic.[134] And this was before the state flag debate really heated up in 2000 when a December article in the newspaper pronounced the flag debate one of that year's top stories.[135]

Divisions over the flag did not simply overlap racial lines -- while some whites agreed that the state should change its flag, not all African Americans thought the matter of interest. From the beginning, not even the state's NAACP leadership appeared united on the issue. While state president Aaron Henry wholeheartedly supported the NAACP's 1987 initiative, the field director, Cleve McDowell, admitted ambivalence. In part, he said, because the organization had too many other more relevant concerns, stating that the flag "doesn't really disturb me to the point where I have to stop addressing other issues and deal with that."[136] Ed Blackmon, a member of the state

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[133]Lee Ragland, "Officials Question Flap over State Flag," Jackson Daily News, 10 March 1987, pp. A1 & A8; Clay Hathorn, "NAACP Hopes to Remove Confederacy from Flags," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 28 December 1987, pp. B1 & B2; Associated Press, "NAACP to Renew Push for Removal of Confederate Relics from State Flags," Jackon Clarion Ledger, 29 December 1987, p. 3B.

[134]Kathy Eyre, "Of Stars, Bars, and Battle Lines," Biloxi Sun-Herald, 1 October 1989.

[135]Jack Elliott, "Flag Debate, New Nissan Plant State's Top Stories of Year," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 30 December 2000, pp. 1B & 5B.

[136]Ragland, "Officials Question Flap," p. A1.

legislature's Black Caucus, told a reporter that chances of the legislative body adopting a new flag were "slim to none" and admitted that he personally did not take offense at the current state flag.[137]

In December of 1987, Aaron Henry, who also served as a state representative from Clarksdale, announced that he would introduce a bill calling for the formation of a study group to consider the design of a new flag.[138] Resistance soon appeared in the form of letters to the editor as well as a petition drive conducted by a Gulfport man. A more organized counteroffensive appeared when the Mississippi Sons of the Confederate Veterans began to push for legislation that would require school children to salute the state flag.[139] In Jackson, a group calling itself "The Committee to Preserve the State Flag of Mississippi" claimed to have received more than forty thousand signatures on petitions circulated throughout the state.[140] Meanwhile, a January 1988 poll conducted by the Atlanta Journal-Constitution found that 71% of Mississippians responding wanted to keep the state flag, including 49% of blacks.[141] By April, the regional director of the

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[137]ibid., p. A8. Blackmon's opinion would change over time. Prior to his appointment on the State Flag Advisory Commission, he had already expressed his support for a new flag. In 2000, Anthony Hervey, an African American and president of the Black Confederate Soldier Foundation, surprised many in the Oxford community by visibly proclaiming his support for the 1894 state flag while toting the Confederate battle standard dressed in a Confederate uniform. His public protests would continue periodically through 2002. See, Patricia Satterwhite, "Soldiers Shocks Campus," Daily Mississippian, 5 May 2000, pp. 1 & 4; Associated Press, "Black Man Marches in Support of Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 8 May 2000, p. 3B; Gregg Mayer, "Councilman, Resident Nearly Come to Blows," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 14 June 2000, pp. 1B & 6B; Anthony Hervey, "Hamilton Needs Facts before Writing about Black Confederates," Daily Mississippian, 21 July 2000, p. 3; Bill Minor, "Defiance Gone Amok in Flag Protest," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 1 October 2000, p. 3H; Patrice Sawyer, "Keep Flag, Most at Hearing Urge," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 20 October 2000, pp. 1A & 9A; Samantha Rayburn, "Charges Dropped by Editor, Flag Protestor," Daily Mississippian, 9 November 2000, pp. 1 & 5; Luke Wilson, "Protestor Draws Cynical, Boisterous Crowd," Daily Mississippian, 13 February 2002; Erin M. Smith, "UPD: Hervey Banned for Fighting, Not Speeches," Daily Mississippian, 24 October 2002, pp. 1 & 7.

[138]Rhonda Richards, "NAACP President to Introduce Legislation for New State Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 30 December 1987, p. 1B.

[139]Pat Kelly, "Coast Man Battles to Keep Flag," Biloxi Sun-Herald, 10 January 1988, pp. B1 & B6; Associated Press, "Confederate Group Wants Salute to State Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 10 January 1988, p. B3.

[140]"For Immediate Release by the Committee to Preserve the State Flag of Mississippi," press release, Subject File: "Flags--Mississippi," MDAH.

[141]"Poll: Majority of State Approves of Rebel Banner as Part of Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 31 January 1988, p. A1. An April hot line poll (hence not a scientific sampling) conducted across the South by the Gannett News Service found 88% who called in stated that Confederate flags flying

NAACP put a positive spin on the flag initiative's lack of progress in all four states, by declaring the endeavor successful "because it educated the public." He also announced that the group had not given up hope because "[w]e knew it would be at least a two-year effort."[142]

But by 1992, five years later, every one of the bills introduced by Henry to replace the state flag had failed to make it out of committee and onto the floor of the legislature for debate.[143] That summer, those opposed to the banner switched tactics, applying political pressure to Governor Kirk Fordice. But Fordice refused to take a stand on the issue, claiming that the economy deserved all of his attention.[144] Hence, the NAACP along with the Legislative Black Caucus and forty-nine individuals filed a law suit against Fordice in the Hinds County Chancery Court in 1993, charging that the flag violated Mississippi's Constitution and free speech.[145] A state representative, ironically named George Flagg, explained the new approach:

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over publicly owned buildings should be left alone. Kevin Ellis, "Poll: Keep Confederate Symbol," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 24 April 1988, pp. A1 & A18. In 1990, a Mississippi poll revealed that 72% of the respondants believed the state flag should not change, including 54% of those who were black. Afi-Odelia H. Scruggs, "Don't Change Mississipi's Flag, Blacks and Whites Say," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 7 January 1990, p. 15A. Another poll in 1993 disclosed that 93% of those questioned did not want the Confederate emblem removed from the state flag. Gary Pettus, "A Banner Idea?," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 29 July 1992, pp. D1 & D2. For data from an Alabama poll on the Confederate flag, see Associated Press, "Rebel Flag Questioned in Poll" Daily Mississippian, 24 September 1997.

[142]Associated Press, "NAACP Official Says War on Flag Not Over," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 8 April 1988, p. B3.

[143]See for example, Dan Davis, "NAACP President Will Continue Fight to Alter Mississippi Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 11 November 1988, p. B3; "Legislatures across South Face Confederate Flag Fight," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 13 February 1989, p. A8; Christine Uthoff, "Mississippi NAACP to Raise Issue of State Flag Design," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 9 November 1989, p. 2B; Christine Uthoff, "Lead Fight to Change Flag, Mississippi NAACP Urged," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 10 November 1989, p. 1B; Mike Killalea, "Henry: Flag Symbolizes Racism," Meridian Star, 10 November 1989, pp. 1A & 12A; Associated Press, "NAACP Challenged to Change State Flag," Vicksburg Evening Post, 10 November 1989; Andy Kanengiser, "Confederate Symbols on State Flag under Attack from NAACP Leader," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 12 January 1991, p. 3B.

[144]Associated Press, "Black Urge Fordice to Act on State Flag," Greenwood Commonwealth, 5 June 1992.

[145]This challenge rested first, on a technical point concerning the absence of the flag's description in state law upon its creation in 1894 and second, that the flag possessed "a chilling effect" on black legislators who had to endure the banner every day on the capitol. For the law suit, see Jimmie Gates, "Legislators Dispute Claims in Latest Flap about State Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 22 April 1993, pp. 1A & 13A; Jack Elliott Jr., "Black Mississippians File Suit To Get Rid Of State Flag," Vicksburg Evening Post, 20 April 1993; Jimmie Gates, "Lawsuit Targets Confederate Emblem," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 20 April 1993, p. 1B. Mention of Henry's legislative attempts appear in Dan Davis, "NAACP President Will Continue Fight to Alter MS Flag," Jackson Clarion

> I have always been of the opinion that, if a particular issue is not addressed in one branch of the government, it should be taken to another branch. This issue has not been dealt with by the Legislature and has been ignored by the executive branch, so it is time to take it to the judicial branch.[146]

Two months later Chancery Judge Chet Dillard disagreed, dismissing the case as a question the legislature needed to resolve, not the courts.[147] The judge, however, permitted the plaintiffs to schedule an appeals hearing in thirty days. In response, State Senator Mike Gunn of Jackson joined forces with a grass roots organization, the Conservative Citizens of Mississippi, to send out a mailing that requested funds to "Save Our Flag." Offering bumperstickers, buttons, and T-shirts in return for contributions, the circular promised to earmark the money for a petition drive to influence the judge and that if sufficient quantities arrived, to hire a lawyer to help defend the flag.[148]

Meanwhile, a similar version of the dispute at Ole Miss had occurred at Forest Hill High School in Jackson. In 1989, black School Board President Ollye Shirley ordered the confiscation of Confederate flags brought by students to a football game. Although the Board later reversed the ruling as a violation of free speech, it ordered Forest Hill to adopt a more neutral school banner while permitting the school to retain its Colonel Rebel mascot. In reaction to these events, the Clarion Ledger received several pro-Confederate flag missives as part of a letter writing campaign that included form letters, some just signed "KKK".[149]

Ledger, 11 November 1988, p. B3; Christine Uthoff, "Mississippi's NAACP to Raise Issue of State Flag Design," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 9 November 1989, p. 2B; Andy Kanengiser, "Confederate Symbols on State Flag under Attack from NAACP Leader," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 12 January 1991, p. 3B.

[146]Elliott, "Black Mississippians File Suit."

[147]"Lawmakers, Not Court, Must Settle State's Flag Fight," clipping, Subject File: "Flags--Mississippi," MDAH.

[148]Save Our Flag mailing, no date, Subject File: "Flags--Mississippi," MDAH. For newspaper coverage of Gunn, see J. Lee Howard, "Lawmaker Ready to Defend State's Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 1 September 1993, p. 3B; Amy Harrington, "Miss. Senator Fights NAACP over State Flag," Daily Mississippian, 2 September 1993, p. 1; Mark Bolton, editorial cartoon "Security Blanket," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 2 September 1993, p. 16A; J. Lee Howard, "Senator Joins Political Action Group in Petition to Preserve State's Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 2 September 1993, p. 3B.

[149]Kathy Eyre, "Of Stars, Bars and Battle Lines," Biloxi Sun-Herald, 1 October 1989.

A minor flap occurred in 1994 when an advertising agency hired by the Department of Tourism to promote Vicksburg electronically deleted a Confederate flag from a painting of a Civil War battle scene reproduced in its advertisement. A number of Civil War buffs and art enthusiasts, as well as others who had noticed a figure in the background holding a pole without a flag, expressed concern over the absence. A spokesman for the agency said the decision evolved from an attempt to avoid identification with the KKK and other extremists who used the flag: "We did not want anyone to think that the state in any way supports those who have twisted the symbolism of the Confederate flag."[150] The agency retrieved all copies of the "mistake" and promised that the correct image would appear in all future versions of the advertisement.

The following year in 1995, controversy struck the Gulf Coast. For more than twenty years, an historic flag display of the eight national standards that have flown over the coastal area had marked the Biloxi-Gulfport line. After complaints from Rip Daniels, a local radio station owner and talk show host, the sponsor of the display, the Harrison County Tourism Commission, decided to replace the Confederate battle flag with the first Confederate national flag. Upon receiving criticism from the director of Beauvoir and others who favored the battle flag, the commission decided to discontinue its association with the display.[151] A few days later, Daniels presented a staff member in the office of Robin Midcalf, the lone black county supervisor, with a battle flag which he claimed someone had removed from the exhibit.[152] A replacement appeared the following morning, but the local newspaper had already given the action publicity.

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[150]Rhonda Smith, "Civil War Magazine Ad Spurs Flap Over Flag," Vicksburg Evening Post, 15 January 1994, Subject File: "Flags--Mississippi," MDAH. See also, Bill Holschuh, "Mississippi's Latest 'Flag Flap,'" Rebel Yell (February 1994): 4, Subject File: "Flags--Mississippi," MDAH; Associated Press, "Agency Catches Heat over Confederate Flag Advertisement," Daily Mississippian, 24 January, 1994, p. 4.

[151]John Porretto, "Eight Flags for the Price of One Complaint," Biloxi Sun Herald, 11 July 1995, p. A1.

[152]John Porretto, "Battle Flag Taken Down," Biloxi Sun Herald, 14 July 1995, p. A1.

Midcalf, who had not participated in the act of civil disobedience, received phone calls from advocates of both sides of the issue, including three death threats.[153] The month-long debate seemingly ended when county supervisors, in front of an overflow audience, voted 3-1 to keep the battle flag flying. Midcalf explained her dissenting vote as based on the historical inaccuracy involved in flying a flag never officially adopted by the Confederate government. To counter this argument, the supervisors decided to erect a plaque on the display describing the historical significance of the eight flags as well as an explanation that the battle flag "though historically inaccurate, flies because it is the most recognizable symbol of the Confederacy."[154]

The conflict over the exhibit, however, did not end with this meeting. A month later, six residents, including Daniels, sued the county to force the flag's removal, arguing that flying a banner insulting to minorities on public land with public funding was illegal.[155] A year later, a county judge threw out the law suit.[156] Meanwhile, the Natchez Visitors Reception Center calmly decided in 1999 to replace the battle flag with the first Confederate national flag in the historical display of the seven standards that have flown over the river city.[157]

In the fall of 1995, the town of Laurel experienced its own community crisis over the state flag. In response to requests by several black firemen, the mayor issued an order to remove the

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[153]Donald V. Adderton, "Flap over Confederate Flag Heats Up," Biloxi Sun-Herald, 17 July 1995, p. A1; See also, Associated Press, "Emotions Stir over Stolen Confederate Battle Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 17 July 1995, p. B1; "Flag Display Should Show the Accurate History of the Mississippi Gulf Coast," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 22 July 1995, p. A12; Judy Johnson, "Banner Year for Controversy," Biloxi Sun Herald, 23 July 1995, pp. B1 & B2; Alice Jackson Baughn, "Coast's Eight Flags Have Been Raised by Many Hands," Biloxi Sun-Herald, 23 July 1995, p. B1; Tracy L. Heggins, "Flag's Display Defended as Heritage," Biloxi Sun-Herald, 24 July 1995, pp. C1 & C2;

[154]Greg Lacour, "Rebel Flag Gets to Stay," Biloxi Sun-Herald, 25 July 1995, pp. A1; Tommy Esposito, "Confederate Flag Flies Again," Biloxi-D'Iberville Press, 26 July 1995, p. 1. See also, Donald V. Adderton, "Radio Personality Denies Part in Flag Theft," Biloxi Sun-Herald, 27 July 1995, Vertical File: "Confederate Flag," Gulfport Public Library; Robin Alfred Midcalf, "As We Go Forward, Be Not Enslaved to Emotions of the Past," Biloxi Sun-Herald, 30 July 1995, p. C5.

[155]Associated Press, "Suit Opposes Confederate Flag in Display," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 16 August 1995, p. B2.

[156]Associated Press, "Judge Throws out Confederate Flag Lawsuit," Hattiesburg American, 12 September 1996, Subject File: "Flags--Confederate," MDAH. See also, Stanley J. Daniels, et al., v. Harrison County Boad of Supervisors, 772 So. 2d 136, 1998 Miss. LEXIS 440.

[157]Associated Press, "Confederate Battle Flag Being Replaced," Daily Mississippian, 7 October 1999, p. 4.

patch of the state flag from their uniforms. After the ensuing public outcry, the mayor ordered the patch of the Stars and Stripes removed as well. The editor of the Laurel Leader-Call publicly opposed the actions of the mayor. While receiving hundreds of letters approving of his position, the editor also experienced a negative backlash from the black community that included an NAACP request for his resignation.[158]

In October of that same year, the U.S. Navy Secretary issued a formal apology to the state of Mississippi for an episode in which an admiral withdrew the banners of Mississippi and Georgia from a fifty-state flag display. The exhibit, part of a change of command ceremony, took place in August at Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania. An employee had complained about the inclusion of the two state flags because their designs incorporated the image of the Confederate battle flag. While this incident apparently incurred little outcry within the state due to lack of publicity, various congressmen from Mississippi as well as Governor Fordice expressed concern, leading to the secretary's apology.[159]

The debate over the state flag finally came to a head in the years 2000 and 2001. In February 2000, the state's first African American chief of the Mississippi Highway Patrol ordered troopers to remove all unofficial emblems from their vehicles. Despite his disclaimers, many observers believed the move was an attempt to prevent exhibitions of the state flag.[160] One month later, the Jackson City Council permanently removed the standard from its chambers, and by the beginning of April, members had voted 5-2 on a resolution condemning the display of the state flag on city property.[161]

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[158]"Editorial . . . Two Steps Forward; Three Steps Back," Quitman Clarke County Tribune, 20 September 1995, Subject File: "Flags--Mississippi," MDAH.
[159]Dennis Camire, "Official Apologizes for Flag Incident," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 28 October 1995, pp. B1 & B2.
[160]"Lawmakers Should Address State Flag Issue Head-on," Daily Mississippian, 24 February 2000, p. 2; Associated Press, "Mississippi Lawmakers Dodge Flag Issue," Daily Mississippian, 1 March 2000, p. 6.
[161]Associated Press, "Council Removes Flag from Chambers," Daily Mississippian, 29 March 2000, p. 4; Gregg Mayer, "City Council Condemns State Flag Use," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 5 April 2000, p. 1A. Observers discussed whether this action resulted in retaliatory budget decisions against the city in the state legislature. See, "Drainage Bill Defeat Linked to Oversight,"

In mid-April, state representative Jimmy Thornton threatened to stall legislation until members addressed the issue of changing the flag. Two bills to achieve this end had died in committee earlier in the session.[162] Thornton, a member of the Legislative Black Caucus, proceeded to live up to his word, relying on his right to have all bills brought to the floor of the house chamber read in their entirety. When Lieutenant Governor Amy Tuck attempted to circumvent this delaying tactic in the senate by ruling that legislative conference reports technically were not bills and hence not subject to this procedure, a Hinds County Chancery judge served her with an injunction. This decision was immediately appealed to the Mississippi Supreme Court and temporarily overturned by a three-judge panel in order that the legislature might meet an appropriations deadline.[163]

Before the state's highest court could address the constitutionality of Tuck's decision, it finally ruled on the seven-year-old lawsuit brought by the NAACP against the state flag.[164] If lawmakers had hoped the Mississippi Supreme Court would help them avoid a political tempest by making the decision for them, they were sorely disappointed. The court opted to bow out on a technicality. Although the legislature officially had adopted the state flag in 1894, the Supreme Court ruled 6-0 that the legal provision had not carried over when the state made revisions to its code in 1906, thus "Mississippi has no State Flag created, described or adopted by law. . . . it is

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Jackson Clarion Ledger, 8 April 2000, pp. 1B & 6B; Joseph Ammerman, "Legislator Calls Flag 'Great Burden,'" Jackson Clarion Ledger, 13 April 2000, p. 1A & 4A; Gregg Mayer, "Altered Bills on Arts Center Site Flagged," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 3 May 2000, pp. 1B & 6B; Gregg Mayer, "Bills Aiding Jackson Pass Despite Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 21 May 2000, p. 1B.

[162]Joseph Ammerman, "Legislator Calls Flag 'Great Burden,'" Jackson Clarion Ledger, 13 April 2000, pp. 1A & 4A. See also, Emily Wagster, "Flag-Flap Debate Enters House," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 12 April 2000, pp. 1A & 6A; Reed Brannon, "Address Flag or He May Slow House, Rep. Warns," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 13 April 2000, p. A4.

[163]Joseph Ammerman, "Legislator Slowing Session over Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 18 April 2000, pp. 1A & 5A; Emily Wagster, "Lawmakers: Let Kids Design Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 29 April 2000, pp. 1B & 5B; Joseph Ammerman, "Tuck Served Injunction," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 1 May 2000, pp. 1A & 6A; Emily Wagster, "State Constitution: Who's Right? Tuck's Bill Ruling Still in Legal Limbo," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 2 May 2000, pp. 1A & 7A; Emily Wagster, "Ruling Leaves Senate Actions in Question," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 5 May 2000, pp. 1A & 6A.

[164]In 1999, the state's Supreme Court reinstated the NAACP's lawsuit against the state flag and ordered both sides to prepare written arguments. Associated Press, "High Court Raises Old State Flag Flap Again," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 28 May 1999, p. 1.

beyond this Court's power and intent to order the removal of the flag currently used." The opinion further stated that the flag -- a state flag "by custom and usage only" -- "does not deprive any citizen of any constitutionally protected right" and that any "decision to fly or adopt a state flag rests entirely with the political branches."[165]

The following day, Governor Ronnie Musgrove created by executive order a State Flag Advisory Commission. The seventeen members would be announced by July 1, 2000, with a May 4, 2001, deadline for reporting its recommendations to the legislature. The Speaker would select three representatives to serve on the commission from the House, while the Lieutenant Governor would name three senators. The governor would make a total of eleven appointments to the body: two educators, three business people, three at-large delegates, and one representative each from the Mississippi Economic Council, the Mississippi Arts Commission, and the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. The governor refused to give any indication of his personal preference on the issue.[166]

From that day forward, practically every issue of the Jackson Clarion Ledger contained editorials, cartoons, columns, or letters on the topic. While the editorial board of the newspaper consistently supported the adoption of a new state banner, advocates for preserving the 1894 flag made their opinions known in letters and columns. The arguments put forward by both sides were identical to the rationales that had appeared in the debates at the University of Mississippi, with the modification that the flag damaged the state's (instead of the university's) image and that a

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[165]"Court Rules Mississippi Flag Not Unconstitutional," Daily Mississippian, 4 May 2000; Andy Kanengiser and Emily Wagster, "No State Flag Adopted by Law, Justices Say: Flag Rights Issue Rejected," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 5 May 2000, pp. 1A & 6A; Bobby Harrison, "State Flag Constitutional, But Not Adopted," Northeast Mississippi Daily Journal, 5 May 2000, pp. 1A & 9A. Justice Fred Banks, the only black justice on the court and a member of the NAACP, had recused himself from the case the year before. Associated Press, "State Flag Case Moves Closer to High Court Ruling," Daily Mississippian, 25 August 1999, p. 8; Mississippi Division of the United Sons of Confederate Veterans v. Mississippi State Conference of NAACP Branches, et al., 774 So. 2d 388, 2000 Miss. LEXIS 105.

[166]Mario Rossilli, "Musgrove Creates Advisory Commission: Future of Flag on Line" Jackson Clarion Ledger, 6 May 2000, pp. 1A & 4A. See also, Gina Holland, "Musgrove Hopes to Avoid Flag Pitfalls," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 21 May 2000, p. 1B.

new banner would improve the chances of attracting companies (instead of athletes and academics) to Mississippi.

Soon after the Supreme Court's announcement, the owner of A Complete Flag Source reported a 200% increase in state flag sales. A few weeks later, the state flag disappeared from the city hall in Canton with an alderman declaring he would prevent any attempt to replace it.[167] In the midst of all this early furor, several hundred citizens of the state gathered at Gettysburg National Military Park on May twenty-seventh for the dedication of a $130,000 monument honoring the Eleventh Mississippi Regiment. Located on the site of Pickett's Charge, known as the "high water mark of the Confederacy," the bronze statue depicted a flag bearer entering the fray.[168]

Governor Musgrove announced the composition of the Advisory Commission on July first. He appointed as chairman of the commission former Democratic Governor William Winter, president of the Board of Trustees of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History since 1967 and member of Bill Clinton's Presidential Advisory Board on Race and Reconciliation. With regards to the three appointees from the legislature, each branch contributed one black and two whites as well as one Republican and two Democrats. As a whole, the entire commission reflected the racial mix of the state with its eleven whites and six African Americans.[169]

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[167]Clay Harden, "Miss. Flag to Still Fly, Say Officials," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 9 May 2000, pp. 1A & 9A; Linda Man, "Missing Flag Raises Questions," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 1 June 2000, p. 2B. Four entrepreneurs in Oxford set up a 900 number for people to call and voice their opinion on the issue, but the response proved unprofitable--only 250 people called the telephone number in the first two weeks. Emily Wagster, "Response to Flag Ads Called 'Lackluster,'" Jackson Clarion Ledger, 17 June 2000, pp. 1B & 5B.

[168]Jack Bertram, "Gettysburg Welcomes Confederate Memorial," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 27 May 2000, p. 6A; T. W. Burger, "Confederate Soldiers Honored: Statue Unveiled at Gettysburg," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 28 May 2000, pp. 1A & 7A; "Historical News and Notices," Journal of Mississippi History 62 (Fall 2000): 265-266. A $60,000 appropriation from the Mississippi legislature partially funded the monument. Reports stated that the 11th Mississippi Regiment memorial would be the last one erected on the battlefield.

[169]Mario Roseilli, "Future of State Banner at Stake: Winter to Head Flag Panel," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 1 July 2000, pp. 1A & 13A; "State Flag: Winter Oustanding Choice for Panel," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 4 July 2000, p. 8A; Emily Wagster, "Flag Panel: State Unity Important," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 9 July 2000, pp. 1A & 5A. Members of the commission were as follows: William Winter (Mississippi Department of Archives and History), Rep. Ed Blackmon (D-Canton), Rep. Steve Holland (D-Plantersville), Rep. Wanda Jennings (R-Southaven), Sen. Terry Burton (D-

Almost two weeks later, an unofficial voice vote of one thousand NAACP national delegates approved the idea of calling for a voluntary tourism boycott of Mississippi over its state flag. Winter announced that the commission would not perform its function in reaction to any boycott, but refused to make any further comments on the flag until the advisory group began its meetings in the fall.[170] In August, the Associated Press reported that a Water Valley principal had an advertisement bought by a student's mother ripped out of all two hundred issues of the school's yearbook because a photograph depicted the boy standing next to a Confederate flag. The school's policy prohibited the wearing of symbols that could "disrupt the educational process" and explicitly included the rebel emblem among the those banned.[171]

On October third, Greg Stewart, a Tunica lawyer and member of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, ran notices in newspapers announcing his intention to place an initiative on the election ballot in November of 2002. The proposed amendment simply stated "The State Flag of Mississippi is and shall be the flag adopted by the legislature of 1894 and used continuously since then."[172] In order to succeed, Stewart would need to collect the signatures of 91,673 registered voters. A few days later, six individuals filed suit to block the proposed initiative claiming the wording was vague and arguing in particular that voters might not realize they were endorsing a flag incorporating a Confederate emblem, and further that if such a vote occurred, an illustration of

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Newton), Sen. Hillman Frazier (D-Jackson), Sen. Mike Chaney (R-Vicksburg), Fran Ivey (Mississippi College for Women), Larry Fry (Moss Point High School principal), Johnny Tatum (President/CEO Willmut Gas Company), Jack Reed (Tupelo businessman), J.L. Holloway (Chairman/CEO Friede Goldman Halter Inc.), Lisa Binder Millner (at-large), Vanessa Rogers (at-large), Dolphus Weary (at-large), Don Kilgore (Mississippi Economic Council), Jean Moore (Mississippi Arts Commission).

[170]"States' Confederate Symbols Targeted: NAACP Eyes Wider Boycott," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 13 July 2000, pp. 1A & 5A; Mario Rosseilli, "NAACP Boycott over Flag Called No-Win," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 14 July 2000, p. 1B.

[171]Associated Press, "School: Photo with Battle Flag Won't Fly," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 12 August 2000, p. 1B.

[172]"Ballot Language for Proposed Initiative Measure No. 21," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 3 October 2000, p. 11F.

the flag should appear on the ballot.[173] Winter told reporters that a state-wide election on the issue would be too divisive.[174]

On October seventeenth, the commission announced that it would a hold a series of five public hearings scattered across the state: Tupelo on October nineteenth, Meridian on October twenty-sixth, Moorhead on November second, Gulfport on November ninth, and Jackson on November thirteenth. People who wished to make their views on the subject known could sign-up on location to speak or submit their written remarks. That same day, the Clarion Ledger also reported that the Kimberly-Clark Corporation no longer flew the state flag at its two sites in Mississippi. "For many people, the Stars and Bars are a symbol of divisiveness," stated manager Liz Gottung. "We felt that image is contrary to our commitment to diversity, which is to create an inclusive work environment and welcoming atmosphere for all employees and visitors and customers."[175] The same article also mentioned that the Delta town of Shaw had voted in August to remove the state flag from its Martin Luther King Triangle Park.[176] In Brandon, flag advocates asked officials to permit a display of both the American and Confederate battle flag in the city's cemetery, but the city council tabled the matter for more study.[177]

On October eighteenth, eighty supporters of the 1894 flag held a press conference on the steps of the Capitol to announce the formation of the Mississippi Heritage Political Action Committee which would raise funds for pro-flag candidates. Afterwards, the group attended a

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[173]Associated Press, "Suit Filed to Prevent Flag Vote," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 7 October 2000, p. 1B; Pamela Hamilton, "Local Resident Files Suit over State Flag," Daily Mississippian, 9 October 2000, pp. 1 & 6; Gina Holland, "Judge Set to Hear Dispute over Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 11 October 2000, p. 4B; Associated Press, "Judge Set to Hear Mississippi Flag Dispute," Daily Mississippian, 11 October 2000, p. 7; Associated Press, "State Flag Initiative Challenged," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 14 October 2000, p. 1B. The six plaintiffs were Perteria Allen of Greenville; Josephine Haxton, who writes under the pseudonym Ellen Douglas; Richard Howorth, owner of Square Books in Oxford; Willie Lucas, a Greenville physician; Harriet Kuykendall, a former Jackson teacher; and Malcolm White, co-owner of the Jackson restaurant Hal & Mal's.
[174]Associated Press, "Suit Filed."
[175]Emily Wagster, "Flag Panel to Hold First Public Meet," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 12 October 2000, pp. 1A & 3A.
[176]ibid.
[177]Roishina Clay, "'Save the Flag' Supporters Ask for Display at Cemetery." Jackson Clarion Ledger, 18 October 2000, p. 2B.

State Flag Advisory Commission meeting where commission members voted unanimously to recommend the continued use of the current coat-of-arms. When two flag supporters interrupted proceedings with yelled comments, Winter requested that both sides conduct themselves with civility during the upcoming public hearings.[178]

The first of these occurred the next day in Tupelo to a packed house of over two hundred. Only three people raise their hands when a show was requested of those who opposed the current flag, and the commission received petitions with several thousand signatures requesting a state-wide vote on the matter.[179] A few days later, Circuit Judge W. Swan Yerger ruled on Stewart's initiative drive, stating in a twenty-three page opinion that the citizens of Mississippi possess "the right to have a direct voice and the ultimate voice in the selection of their official state flag."[180] Malcolm White, one of the plaintiffs, complained that Stewart and his supporters were attempting "an end run to subvert the whole process in play."[181]

At the next hearing in Meridian, approximately three hundred packed a local gymnasium. During the three-minute statements, it became clear that advocacy hinged on race, with whites standing in support of the current flag and blacks desiring a change.[182] The same divisions persisted at the meeting in Moorhead on November second. Most white speakers wanted to keep the 1894 standard, while every African American spoke in favor of a new state flag. The Moorhead hearing also experienced jeers and heckling, mostly from those who supported the current flag.[183] The following week in Gulfport proved just as loud and rancorous. Unlike

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[178]Emily Wagster, "Winter Calls for Civility in Flag Hearings," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 19 October 2000, pp. 1A & 6A; Patrice Sawyer, "Keep Flag, Most at Hearing Urge," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 20 October 2000, pp. 1A & 9A.
[179]Sawyer, "Keep Flag"; See also, Jamee Smith, "Hearings on State Flag begin at UM-Tupelo Tonight," Daily Mississippian, 19 October 2000, pp. 1 & 5; Sheree Callahan, "Flag Supporters Show up in Force," Daily Mississippian, 20 October 2000, pp. 1 & 4.
[180]Andy Kanengeiser, "Judge: Voters Can Decide Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 24 October 2000, p. 1B.
[181]ibid.
[182]Emily Wagster, "Battle Lines Clear at Hearing on Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 27 October 2000, pp. 1A & 5A.
[183]Emily Wagster, "Jeers, Shouts, Hecklers Mar Turbulent State Flag Meeting," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 3 November 2000, pp. 1A & 5A.

previous meetings, however, many of the 450 in attendance were African American, some wearing white T-shirts bearing a Confederate battle flag clutched in a black fist and the words "Never Again" across the top.[184] A Clarion Ledger article entitled "Is Public Debate on Flag Helping?" reported that the commission had received anonymous death threats against members and blacks prior to the Moorhead meeting.[185] In Jackson, eight hundred people showed up for the public hearing, though fire codes permitted only 450 to remain. At this final meeting, however, a significant number of white speakers made the case for a new flag.[186]

On November twentieth, the commission met to view and discuss a newly designed flag created by a closed committee.[187] In the two weeks prior to the commission's report to the legislature, articles in the Clarion Ledger began to preview information on the new design, the stance of commission members, and the recommendations the commission would propose. On November twenty-first, the newspaper described twelve members as advocating a new design, two members supporting the old, and two members with no firm opinion on the subject.[188] On December sixth, Winter announced that the commission would likely endorse the idea of a statewide vote despite the potential for divisiveness because of the "political reality" that the state legislators did not want to decide the issue.[189] Later he remarked that the commission would probably recommend that no Confederate monument be taken down or streets renamed.[190]

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[184]Patrice Sawyer, "Packed Flag Hearing Loud, Contentious," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 10 November 2000, pp. 1B & 5B.
[185]Emily Wagster, "Is Public Debate on Flag Helping?," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 13 October 2000, pp. 1A & 6A.
[186]Emily Wagster, "Whites Appeal for Changing Flag at Final Hearing," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 14 November 2000, pp. 1A & 7A.
[187]Associated Press, "Flag Commission Set to Hear Design Panel Report Monday," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 18 November 2000, p. 6B. Supporters of the 1894 flag disparaged the secret nature in which the new design was created, see also Patrice Sawyer, "Closed Meetings on Flag Issue Called Eye-Opening," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 25 November 2000, pp. 1A & 6A; Andy Kanengiser, "Lawsuit Conteds Flag Commission Broke Law," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 13 December 2000, p. 10A.
[188]Emily Wagster, "Flag Decision Coming in 2 Weeks," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 21 November 2000, pp. 1A & 4A; Patrice Sawyer, "Winter: New Mississippi Needs New Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 21 November 2000, p. 1A.
[189]Emily Wagster, "Winter: Flag Panel Likely to Endorse Vote," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 6 December 2000, pp. 1A & 10A. In a later discussion of the commission process, Winter told a

The day of the report, the front page of the Clarion Ledger depicted the design of the proposed new state flag: three stripes of blue, white, and blue with a red canton featuring twenty stars. The thirteen stars in the outer circle represented the thirteen original colonies, the six stars in the inner circle symbolized the number of nations that have claimed dominion over the territory (Native Americans, France, Great Britain, Spain, the United States, and the Confederacy), and a single star in the middle to represented Mississippi and unity. Together, all twenty stars acted as a reminder that Mississippi was the twentieth state admitted into the Union. The commission recommended a statewide vote occur within ninety days of the conclusion of the 2001 legislative session, and that if the new flag won, the 1894 flag retain status as "an official historic flag."[191]

Two days later, House Speaker Tim Ford remarked that the legislature was likely to approve a flag vote quickly when its session began.[192] On January fourth during his State of the State address, Governor Musgrove urged the legislature to give voters

> an opportunity to determine the destiny of Mississippi's state flag. The people of Mississippi are waiting. The world is watching. I urge you to put this issue on the ballot and let us move forward. We must not be distracted by the rhetoric on either side of this emotion-laden issue.[193]

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reporter that initally the group had hoped the legislature would make the final decision, but that as public sentiment grew for a statewide referendum, the commission felt it necessary to recommend the referendum. Jerry Mitchell, "Some Say New Flag Design Blurs Issue," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 28 January 2001, p. 1A & 2A.

[190]Emily Wagster, "The Flag: Sign of Heritage of Hate?," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 10 December 2000, pp. 1A & 9A.

[191]Emily Wagster, "New Flag Proposal Expected Today," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 12 December 2000, pp. 1A & 7A. See also, Emily Wagster, "Commission Favors New Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 13 December 2000, pp. 1A & 10A; Andy Kanengiser, "Mississippians of All Races Just Want Their Voices to Be Heard," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 13 December 2000, p. 10A; Emily Wagster, "Despite Recommendation, Future of Flag Rests in Lawmakers' Hands," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 13 December 2000, p. 10A; Jerry Mitchell, "Some Say New Flag Design Blurs the Issue," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 28 January 2001, pp. 1A & 7A.

[192]Patrice Sawyer, "Flag Vote Likely to Get Quick OK," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 14 December 2000, p. 1A.

[193]Mississippi Senate Journal, Vol. 1 (2001), p. 39. See also, Emily Wagster, "Musgrove Avoids Flag Stance, Skirts Budget," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 5 January 2001, pp. 1A & 6A.

Relieved at not having to face the political backlash from making a decision on such an hot issue, both houses of the legislature put the referendum on their agenda's fast track.[194] On January eighth, in a nine-minute meeting with no debate, the House appropriations committee unanimously voted to approve an April seventeenth vote on the state flag that was expected to cost two to three million dollars. The bill also stated that if the public approved the new design, no Confederate monuments, statues, or other memorials could be altered.[195] A few days later and with no debate, the House passed a measure permitting the statewide vote. By this point, the bill changed the new flag's design stripes from blue-white-blue to blue-white-red. Only one representative, Omeria Scott, dissented on the basis that if the public rejected the 1894 flag it would still have "historic" status.[196] In the Senate, members defeated an amendment proposed by Johnnie Walls, Jr. that would block the referendum and leave the decision with the legislature.[197] Senators passed the bill forty-two to ten after a ten hour debate on January 11, 2001. The ten voting against the measure disliked the "historic" status granted the old flag if the new design succeeded.[198]

With an April seventeenth deadline for the public to formulate a decision on the state flag, proponents from both sides swung into action. In fact, the effort had begun prior to the official decision of the legislature. The Clarion Ledger had never left its readers in doubt as to its support for change, and beginning on December seventeenth, it ran a three-day series of articles focusing

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[194]See also, Gina Holland, "Most State Senators Back Flag Referendum," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 24 December 2000, pp. 1B & 4B; Emily Wagster and Patrice Sawyer, "Flag, Budget Top Agenda," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 31 December 2000, pp. 1A & 6A; Emily Wagster, "Flag Vote Date High Priority," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 1 January 2001, pp. 1A & 6A; Emily Wagster, "Insurance, Flag on Lawmakers' Agenda," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 3 January 2001, pp. 1A & 6A. Patrice Sawyer, "Flag Vote Expected This Week," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 7 January 2001, pp. 1A & 8A.

[195]Andy Kanengiser, "House Panel Puts Flag Vote on Fast Track to Vote," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 9 January 2001, pp. 1A & 3A.

[196]Emily Wagster, "House OKs Vote on Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 10 January 2001, pp. 1A & 7A. See also, Mississippi House Journal, Vol. 1 (2001), pp. 42, 53, & 59-60.

[197]Andy Kanengiser, "Senate Poised to Pass Flag Vote," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 11 January 2001, pp. 1A & 4A; Mississippi Senate Journal, Vol. 1 (2001), pp. 105-6.

[198]Patrice Sawyer and Andy Kanengiser, "Senate OKs State Flag Vote," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 12 January 2001, pp. 1A & 6A; Mississippi Senate Journal, Vol. 1 (2001), p. 107.

on the economic detractions of the Confederate symbol, calling attention to the business woes suffered by South Carolina due to an NAACP's tourism boycott and Mississippi's recent attempts to coax an automobile manufacturer to the state.[199] On the twentieth, headlines touted that "Churches Favor New Flag" when leaders of the Catholic, Episcopal, and United Methodist churches announced they would urge their congregations to vote for a change.[200] The following week, the paper reported that the KKK planned to protest the proposed redesign of the state flag with marches in Pelahatchie and Morton.[201] Perhaps realizing that their advocacy of the 1894 flag only provided fodder for their opponents, the Ku Klux Klan refrained from any further participation in the public debate from this point forward.

In January, both the Mississippi Economic Council and the Mississippi Bankers Association announced their support for the new flag design.[202] While the state's congressional delegation remained mum on the topic, Governor Musgrove along with five other state-elected officials declared their support for the proposed change on the day the governor signed into law the bill mandating a statewide vote.[203] The Mississippi Republican Party chairman, meanwhile, stated that his party would respect the right of voter's to decide the issue, and that he had urged

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[199]Robert Schoenberger wrote all of the Jackson Clarion Ledger articles in this series: "S.C. Flag Flap Foes Reached Compromise," 17 December 2000, pp. 1A & 6A; "Flag Split GOP, Business in S.C.," 17 December 2000, pp. 1A & 16A; "The Flag, the Fight, the Future: S.C.'s Tourism Balancing Past with New Image," 17 December 2000, pp. C1 & C6; "Miss. Business Community Preparing for Advocacy Role," 17 December 2000), pp. C1 & C6; "Nissan: Flag Was a Factor," 18 December 2000, p. 1A & 7A; "Boycott Hurt Only a Few in S.C.," 18 December 2000, pp. 1A & 7A; "Image: A Price to Pay," 18 December 2000, p. 8C; "Sensitivity, Compromise Called Critical," 19 December 2000, pp. 1A & 4A; "Hard Lessons Learned," 19 December 2000, pp. 1C & 2C; "NAACP Vows to Continue S.C. Boycott," 19 December 2000, pp. 1C & 2C. From May 6, 2000 when the Governor announced the formation of a State Flag Advisory Commission to the April 17, 2001 special election, the Clarion Ledger published numerous editorials in favor of a new flag, as did the Daily Mississippian.

[200]Patrice Sawyer, "Churches Favor New Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 20 December 2000, pp. 1A & 13A.

[201]Sylvain Metz, "KKK Planning 2 Flag Protests," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 27 December 2000, p. 2B.

[202]Andy Kanengiser, "MEC Supports Vote for New Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 6 January 2001, pp. 1A & 12A

[203]Ana Radelat, "Miss. Delegation in D.C. Mum on Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 11 January 2001, pp. 1B & 6B; Patrice Sawyer, "Governor Says He Supports New Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 13 January 2001, pp. 1A & 9A.

Republican leaders to refrain "from making any statement that would unduly influence the electorate."[204] The irony is that in Mississippi as in the other southern states, members of Lincoln's Grand Old Party tended to advocate preserving Confederate symbols, while the party that originally had supported their implementation now desired change -- an interesting comment on how far the agenda and composition of the two parties had altered in the intervening years.

Also in January, the commander of Keesler Air Force Base, citing recent complaints and a policy dating back to 1987, told civilian employees to either remove the rebel flags from their automobiles or shield base personnel from the emblems by parking their cars in a remote location. [205] On the eighteenth, the presidents of the state's eight public universities and colleges unanimously declared their support for the new flag.[206] Two days later, the Clarion Ledger reported that the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) was considering a request to avoid scheduling any games during the post-season in South Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi because of their Confederate emblems.[207] That same day an article revealed that supporters of the 1894 flag were just five hundred signatures shy of those required to force a 2002 state vote. Greg Stewart had continued his initiative drive, stating that the upcoming April seventeenth vote would not provide the protection of a constitutional amendment.[208] Meanwhile, the religious section of the Clarion Ledger on January twenty-seventh carried a feature on "Faith and the Flag," and in early February, Reverend Don Wildmon, head of the conservative American Family Association, said he would send letters to his forty thousand Mississippi members urging them to

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[204]Sawyer, "Governor Says."

[205]Associated Press, "Keesler Tells Workers Rebel Flags Must Go," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 12 January 2001, p. 1B.

[206]Andy Kanengiser, "Ed Chiefs Call for New Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 19 January 2001, pp. 1A & 5A.

[207]Mike Knobler, "Flag May Decide Fate of Regionals," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 20 January 2001, pp. 1A & 6A.

[208]"Group to Continue Drive to Save Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 20 January 2001, p. 1B. See also, Lisa Bailey, "Concerned Students Promote State Flag through Petition Drive," Daily Mississippian, 24 January 2001, p. 1. On January 27, 2001, Byron De La Beckwith, the convicted killer of Medger Evers, was buried. The Confederate flag draped over his coffin during the visitation was presented to his son. Associated Press, "Beckwith Buried as 'Dixie' Plays," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 28 January 2001, pp. 1B & 3B.

vote for the new flag.[209] While the NAACP planned its strategy to promote the altered design, proponents of the older one formed a political action committee on February third with the slogan "Keep the flag, change your heart."[210]

On February fourth, the Clarion Ledger announced the results of a telephone poll on the issue: 55% of respondents wanted to keep the 1894 flag, 34% wished to have a new design, and 11% remained undecided. Along racial lines, 73% of whites favored the old banner while 65% of blacks advocated a change. Data also suggested that most supporters of the 1894 flag tended to have lived in Mississippi for over twenty-five years, belonged to the Republican party, and were senior citizens. Besides race, the most striking characteristics of those wishing a new design was the possession of a college education, affiliation with the Democratic party, and a state residency of less than four years.[211]

After the poll's results appeared, more groups stepped forward to endorse an altered flag: thirteen of the state's university coaches; the faculty and students at Mississippi State University; black lawmakers; the presidents of three private colleges in the state (Milsaps, Tougaloo, and Rust); the state's College Board; Jackson's 2000-2001 Class of Leadership (affiliated with the Metro Jackson Chamber of Commerce); eighty-seven historians from various Mississippi colleges and universities; several Jewish groups; and the student government associations at the University of Southern Mississippi and Mississippi College.[212] When asked about their stance on

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[209]Charlotte Graham, "Faith and the Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 27 January 2001, pp. 1E & 2E; Charlotte Graham, "AFA Head Pro-New Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 3 February 2001, pp. 1A & 8A. See also, Charlotte Graham, "Flag Will Be Part of Discussions at Unity Conference," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 27 January 2001, p. 1E. On Wildmon, see Donald A. Wildmon, "Vote for New Flag Deflates 'Racists' of Either Position," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 20 March 2001, p. 9A.

[210]Jerry Mitchell, "NAACP Planning Strategy in Flag Vote," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 6 February 2001, pp. 1A & 5A. See also, Jerry Mitchell, "NAACP Backs Proposed Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 25 February 2001, pp. 1B & 4B.

[211]Jerry Mitchell, "Statewide Survey: Should Flag Change? 55 Percent Say No," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 4 February 2001, pp. 1A & 10A. See also other Clarion Ledger articles concerning the poll on that same day: "Older Voters Tied to 1894 Flag," pp. 1A & 10A; "Referendum Turnout Difficult to Predict," p. 10A; "20 Percent of Black Voters Say Keep Flag," p. 10A. The telephone poll consisted of calls to 886 registered voters.

[212]Mike Knobler, "Coaches Back New State Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 9 February 2001, pp. 1A & 8A; Andy Kanengiser, "MSU Prof Group Endorses New Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 10

the issue, most of Mississippi's mayors supported the new banner as did several of the state's celebrities, including football star Archie Manning; actors Morgan Freeman and Gerald McRaney; and authors John Grisham, Barry Hannah, and Ellen Douglas.[213] In response to appeals from chamber of commerce groups from across the state, the Mississippi Economic Council with the support of the Mississippi Manufacturers Association and others formed the "Mississippi Legacy Fund" to raise money and organize support for the proposed flag.[214] In a more grassroots vein, thirty-five community-based groups formed across the state to promote the new design.[215]

Prominent individuals and groups determined to defend the 1894 flag were less visible. Confederate organizations like the UDC and the SCV were obvious advocates, but of celebrities questioned on the subject by the Clarion Ledger, only Civil War historian Shelby Foote endorsed the current banner, and of the state's national officeholders, only U.S. Representative Gene Taylor, a Democrat, proclaimed his support for the current standard.[216] However, two former governors, Kirk Fordice and Bill Waller, backed the 1894 version as did thirty-five ministers from

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February 2001, pp. 1A & 8A; Patrice Sawyer, "Black Lawmakers Back Flag Change," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 14 February 2001, p. 1A; Ruth Ingram, "Back New Flag, School Leaders Urge Students," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 16 February 2001, pp. 1B & 5B; Andy Kanengiser, "MSU Group Supports Flag Change," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 8 March 2001, p. 1B; Andy Kanengiser, "College Board Unanimous for New Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 16 March 2001, pp. 1A & 10A; James Walker, "Leadership Group: Change Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 17 March 2001, pp. 1B & 4B; Patrice Sawyer, "Historians Support Flag Change," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 10 April 2001, pp. 1B & 5B; Associted Press, "Gulfport: Jewish Groups Endorse New Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 12 April 2001, p. 3B; Andy Kanengiser, "Groups at MC, USM Weigh in for New Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 14 April 2001, pp. 1B & 4B. See also, Nathan Latil, "Students React to Coaches' Announcement that They Support Changing the State Flag," Daily Mississippian, 9 February 2001; Pamela Hamilton, "Coaches Favor New State Flag," Daily Mississippian, 9 February 2001.

[213]Pamela Barry "Mayors Voice Opinions on Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 18 February 2001, pp. 1B & 5B; Jerry Mitchell, "Noteworthy Mississippians Split over Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 14 February 2001, pp. 1A & 6A. See also, Gary Pettus, "Freeman Takes Stage at Capitol," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 20 March 2001, p. 1B.

[214]Andy Kanengiser, "Lobby Group Organized to Push Flag Change," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 7 March 2001, p. 1B.

[215]Patrice Sawyer, "Coalition Promotes New Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 4 April 2001, pp. 1B & 5B. See for example, Melissa Serafini, "Oxonians Come out for New Flag," Daily Mississippian, 9 April 2001; "Community Women Call for Support of New Flag," Daily Mississippian, 17 April 2001.

[216]Jerry Mitchell, "Noteworthy Mississippian"; "Tayor Prefers Current Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 14 March 2001, p. 3B.

across Mississippi who announced their support at a news conference sponsored by the Coalition to Save Our Flag.[217]

Other groups and individuals, however, decided to avoid the emotional issue altogether. At a meeting of the Mississippi division of the American Federation of Teachers, the board not only decided to let members vote their conscience on the topic, it chastised the legislature for spending money on the statewide vote instead of education.[218] The Student Senate at the University of Mississippi voted 27-23 to abstain from endorsing either side.[219] Others who sidestepped questions on the vote included both of the state's Republican Senators as well as celebrities Oprah Winfrey, James Earl Jones, Charley Pride, and Jerry Rice.[220]

Altogether, proponents raised over $700,000 dollars to conduct a campaign urging voters to change the state flag.[221] Combined, the various groups defending the 1894 flag raised just over $120,000 -- considerably less than their opponents.[222] While some of the latter's money went towards radio spots in the Jackson area and television advertisements, both sides spent most of their funds on a grassroots battle of flags, yard signs, and bumper stickers.[223] Both sides also sponsored web sites and a campaign of direct mail flyers. Almost two weeks prior to the

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[217]Brad Brawan, "Former Governors Divided over Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 13 April 2001, pp. 1A & 4A; Andy Kanengiser, "Group of Ministers Gathers in Support of Current Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 27 March 2001, pp. 1A & 4A.

[218]Clay Harden, "Teachers Group: Vote Conscience on Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 3 February 2001, p. 1B.

[219]Reed Branson, "Students' Dealing with Flag Similar to State's Ordeal," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 20 March 2001, p. 7B. A month earlier, the Senate had sponsored a campus forum on the state flag, see Brandon Niemeyer, "Students Argue Both Sides," Daily Mississippian, 27 February 2001. Student Housing and Resident Life sponsored another forum on April sixteenth. Brandon Niemeyer, "Forum to Present Both Sides of State Flag Issue," Daily Mississippian, 16 April 2001.

[220]Mitchell, "Noteworthy Mississippians"; Andy Kanengiser, "Cochran to make 5th Term Bid, Sidesteps Debate on State Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 21 February 2001, p. 5B.

[221]Andy Kanengiser, "Ex-CEO, Film Star Make Flag Donation," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 11 April 2001, pp. 1A & 3A. Former head of Netscape, James Barksdale, topped the individual donor's list with his contribution of $185,000. Morgan Freeman came in second with $5,000. The NAACP gave $50,000 for its state branches to conduct their campaign against the 1894 flag.

[222]Kanengiser, "Ex-CEO, Film Star"; Patrice Sawyer, "Some Funding in Flag Battle Not Reported," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 12 April 2001, pp. 1A & 6A; Patrice Sawyer, "Opposing Sides Hope Voter Turnout Strong," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 17 April 2001, pp. 1A & 7A.

[223]Jerry Mitchell, "Flag Campaigns Low Key," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 8 April 2001, pp. 1A & 11A; Sawyer, "Some Funding"; Sawyer, "Opposing Sides Hope."

statewide vote, a second poll showed that the despite the abundance of endorsements and funding by those favoring the new flag, voters were likely to confirm the continued use of the 1894 banner. Of those questioned, 66% wanted to keep the current banner while only 22% supported the newer one.[224]

A predicted by the polls, the day after the vote the Clarion Ledger's headline read "1894 Flag Flies." Of the 756,442 voters who turned out for the special election on April seventeenth, 65% chose the old banner while only 35% opted for the new.[225] Questioned about the victory, Greg Stewart responded that everything his opponents did had "backfired." Endorsements for the new flag had caused the public to dig in their heels against change. The series of hearings held by the Advisory Commission had granted defenders of the current banner time to organize and mobilize. Emotion, not pragmatism and sensitivity, ruled the day.[226] Some individuals in the black community blamed the new design's defeat on a campaign that failed to turnout the African-American electorate. In several predominantly black counties, the 1894 flag either won or just barely lost -- the electorate of Sharkey County, approximately 69% African American, voted 868 to 816 to keep the old flag.[227]

During contemporary crises on the Confederate emblem in Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina, legislators had managed to resolve the issue in a manner that at least partially addressed the concerns of those opposed to state endorsement of the Lost Cause symbol. In Georgia, the appearance of the battle standard on the state flag shrunk in size and became part of a line-up of historic flags that had flown over the state. In South Carolina, the rebel banner no longer appeared over the capitol, but alongside the Confederate memorial on a corner of the state

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[224]Emily Wagster, "Poll: Support High for 1894 Flag," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 8 April 2001, p. 11A. Conducted by the Associated Press, the Columbus Commercial-Dispatch, the Emmerich newspapers, the Gulfport-Biloxi Sun Herald, and WTVA of Tupelo, this second poll did not weed out those not registered to vote.

[225]Patrice Sawyer, "1894 Flag Flies," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 18 April 2001, pp. 1A & 8A.

[226]Jerry Mitchell, "Emotion Carries Day for Banner," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 18 April 2001, pp. 1A & 8A.

[227]ibid.

house grounds. Alabama, too, removed the flag from atop its capitol dome. Only in Mississippi, did the legislative branch avoid the issue by leaving the decision to the electorate, and the majority of those who voted in that elections simply did not wish to discard their old state flag with its Confederate brand.

The day after the 2001 special election, historian Charles Sallis, an opponent of the 1894 flag, told a newspaper reporter, "I'm optimistic the groundwork has been laid. The flag is going to be changed. I just don't know when."[228] But the people of Mississippi had spoken, and this democratic vote on the issue will make it harder for proponents of a new flag to achieve their ends. By abdicating their legislative responsibility on the matter to a popular referendum, future lawmakers will lack legitimacy if they wish to make any alterations to the banner in the near future. Yet another statewide vote might be necessary at some point unless opponents of the 1894 flag choose to meekly accept the public will.

In that unlikely event, however, their silence will not be the result of an oppressive atmosphere that inhibits dissent. As the controversies at the University of Mississippi and across the state and region have demonstrated, debate over Confederate symbols has entered the public forum. A traditional Lost Cause interpretation of southern history no longer remains unchallenged. The socio-political revolution forged by the Civil Rights Movement has permitted a long-hidden, competitive version of events to emerge. Although most of the electorate remained unpersuaded by the arguments of those opposed to the current state flag, the debate did expose residents of Mississippi to an alternative understanding of the past in which slavery was abhorrent and the Confederate cause unjust. When considered in the long sweep of the state's history since the Civil War, this public exchange of ideas alone represents a significant deviation.

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[228]ibid. One year later, the Clarion Ledger looked back at the consequences of the April seventeenth vote. The article reported that the state had lost few conventions because of the state flag because the NAACP never officially called for an economic boycott. Julie Goodman, "Year after Flag Vote, Little Fallout Seen," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 21 April 2002, pp. 1A & 11A.

Conclusion

In 2000, the Mississippi legislature appropriated $1.4 million to match funds set aside by Congress for acquiring significant Civil War battlefields within the state. The same bill provided $2.8 million for the development of sites significant in African American history. The House of Representatives passed the measure with only two dissenting votes, while the Senate approved it unanimously. Governor Ronnie Musgrove declared the legislation "a truly wonderful development in our state's history."[1] One of those grants awarded was for the erection of a monument honoring the black Union soldiers buried in Vicksburg National Cemetery. "It's important for us to be sure that we know our entire history and that we take steps to interpret every aspect [of] it," stated Elbert Hilliard, the director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. "We need to recognize that African American people played a role in the war on both sides, the Union and the Confederate."[2] Other antebellum and Civil War-related locations to receive grants included a Natchez slave market, a freedmen/contraband camp in Corinth, and the slave quarters of the Tullis-Toledano House in Biloxi.[3]

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[1]"Historical News and Notices," Journal of Mississippi History 62 (Fall 2000): 264; Associated Press, "Historic Projects Money Receives House Approval" McComb Enterprise-Journal, 24 March 2000, Subject Folder: Vicksburg National Military Park 1990-, MDAH. The following battlefields had priority: Big Black River, Brice's Cross Roads, Champion Hill, Chickasaw Bayou, Corinth, Iuka, Meridian, Okolona, Port Gibson, Raymond, and Snyder's Bluff. See also, "Museum and African-Amerian History Grants Available," Mississippi History Newsletter 42 (December 2000): 1-2.

[2]Sherri Williams, "Monument at Park to Honor Black Soldiers," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 17 March 2001, pp. 1B & 4B. The memorial is due to be completed in 2003. For the National Park Service's recent attempts to integrate black history into the interpretation of Civil War battlefields, see also, Fredreka Schouten, "National Parks and the Issue of Diversity: Beyond Strategy and Artillery Civil War Parks Talk of Slavery," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 4 July 2000, p. 1A & 7A; Dennis Camire, "Vicksburg Park 'Still Wrestling' with New Focus," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 4 July 2000, pp. 1A & 7A.

[3]"Slave Market Area Given Grant," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 13 March 2001, pp. 1B & 6B. The other twelve grants for African American historical sites went to the Isiah T. Montgomery House and the Mound Bayou Bank in Mound Bayou, the Scott Ford House in Jackson, the African American park in Hattiesburg, the Pleasant Reed House in Biloxi, the Holtzcraw House on the Utica campus of Hinds Community College, a civil rights monument on the campus of the University of Mississippi, the Wechsler School in Meridian, the Queen City Hotel in Columbus, the Ida B. Wells Art Gallery in Holly Springs, the Drew School, and the Wilkinson County African-American Museum in Woodville. Williams, "Monument at Park."

Twenty-five years earlier, the NAACP had been forced to file suit against the Mississippi Textbook Purchasing Board in order to secure the adoption of a new ninth-grade state history book that incorporated African American history and that frankly discussed Mississippi's past racial strife. In 1980, U.S. District Judge Orma R. Smith ordered the book placed on the approved list, stating further that the Board's previous selections "tended to perpetuate some of the segregationist ideas of the past." [4] The title of the new textbook was, quite appropriately, Mississippi: Conflict and Change.[5]

Two decades later, the willingness of state officials to commemorate a history that ran counter to traditional Lost Cause orthodoxy seems a remarkable transformation. And in many ways, it was. The alternative perspective on the southern past that Mississippi's African American community had preserved for over a hundred years had finally begun to enter the public domain, graining legitimacy from the state. In 1988, Governor Ray Mabus declared February the first annual "Mississippi Black History and Heritage Month," and that same month the State Historical Museum sent out a traveling exhibition that depicted the struggles and achievements of African Americans throughout the state's history.[6] One of the first blacks admitted to the Hall of Fame was John Roy Lynch, the man who had disputed fellow historians' interpretations of Reconstruction as a dismal and corrupt era.[7]

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[4]Lea Anne Hester, "Judge Rules State Was Biased in Rejecting Textbook," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 3 April 1980, p. 3A. See also, Barbara Mueth, "Textbook Authors Sue State Board," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 6, November 1975, p. 1E; Lea Anne Hester, "Race Emphasis Reason for Rejection of Book," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 6 September 1979, p. 6B; Bill Minor, "Textbook Battle: Civil War vs. Civil Rights," Jackson Capital Reporter, 6 September 1979, p. 3; Lea Anne Hester, "Textbook Bias Ruling Delayed," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 7 September 1979, p. 3A; ; Cliff Treyens, "Time Will Tell if Book Reaches Students," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 4 April 1980, p. 1B; Spencer Rich, "Miss. Must Allow Textbook That Stresses Black Role," Washington Post, 5 April 1980, p. A3; Maria Halkias, "Embattled History Textbook Finally OK'd," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 18 December 1980, p. 3A; Herbert Mitgang, "Mississippi Textbook Dispute Revived," New York Times, 29 March 1981, p. 36; "Textbook Will Be Used," Greenville Delta-Democrat Times, 24 July 1981, p. 2A; Fred Anklam, Jr., "20 Mississippi School Districts to Use Textbook That Was Subject of Lawsuit," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 24 July 1981, p. 2B; Frances Fitzgerald, America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1979), p. 29; Sansing, "Teaching Mississippi History," p. 132.

[5]After the court's decision, the authors revised the book to bring it up to date.

[6]"Library Hosts an Exhibit on Blacks in Mississippi," Natchez Democrat, 8 May 1988.

[7]Mason, Beaches, Blood, and Ballots, p. 204.

And yet, in these same two decades that saw the promotion of this "new" version of the past, the state continued to countenance and support the older interpretation as well. In the 1990s, for example, the legislature appropriated $4.5 million for the Jefferson Davis Presidential Library at Beauvoir, and Governor Kirk Fordice proclaimed April "Confederate Heritage Month."[8] Just as the outcome of the 2001 special election on the state flag indicated, large segments of Mississippi's population remained loyal to the Lost Cause. Confederate veterans had been tremendously successful in developing an historical tradition that validated their actions. The Lost Cause had not only survived the deaths of the old soldiers to influence their grandchildren's generation but subsequent generations as well. The transmission of this legacy created strong ties between the Confederate past and white southerners' regional identity.

With the exception of the Reconstruction era, the Lost Cause held sway over all official commemorations of Civil War history within the state for over one hundred years. As the Civil Rights Movement began to escalate, segregationists used the white South's loyalty to the Lost Cause as a means of rallying support. Black activists, in turn, equated Confederate symbols with white supremacy and began to contest their presence. By the 1980s when civil rights advances had granted African Americans access to political power, their own long-held memory of the past no longer remained isolated within the black community. Indeed, the controversy over Confederate symbols sparked extensive dialogue across the state on the meaning and interpretation of the antebellum South and the Civil War. The Lost Cause continued to have influence, but its adherents could no longer prevent alternative memories from entering the public realm.

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[8]Jerry Mitchell, "Jefferson Davis Library Gets $3.5 Million," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 30 March 1994, pp. 1A & 9A; Suzan Flanagan, "The *Other* Presidential Library," Civil War Times Illustrated 39 (August 2000): 18-21 & 66-67; "The Jefferson Davis Presidential Library Opens," Manuscript Society News 21 (Fall 2000): 178-182; John L. Echols, "Governor Kirk Fordice Proclaims April 'Confederate Heritage Month," Holly Springs South Reporter, 24 April 1997, Subject File: "Sons of Confederate Veterans," MDAH.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1: Cemeteries, Plots, or Burials of Civil War Confederate Dead

Aberdeen	Confederate plot in Old Aberdeen Cemetery[1]
Baldwyn	Confederate graves in Bethany Cemetery & 2 single graves[2]
Booneville	Confederate plot in Citizens' Cemetery[3]
Brandon	Confederate plot in Old Brandon Cemetery[4]
Brice's Cross Roads	Confederate mass grave[5]
Brookhaven	Confederate plot in Rose Hill Cemetery[6]

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Brooksville	Confederate burial[7]
Canton	Confederate plot in city cemetery[8]
Castalian Springs	Confederate plot in Wesley Chapel Cemetery[9]
Chunky	Confederate plot in Chunky Cemetery[10]
Clinton	unmarked Confederate plot in city cemetery[11]
Coffeeville	Confederate graves in city cemetery[12]
Columbus	Confederate plot in Friendship Cemetery[13] & Bethel Presbyterian Church[14]
College Hill	Confederate row in Presbyterian Church Cemetery[15]
Corinth	Confederate graves at Fort Robinette Park & trench burial[16]

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Crystal Springs	Confederate plot in city cemetery[17]
Duck Hill	Confederate Cemetery[18] & railroad accident site[19]
Durant	Confederate plot in a church cemetery[20]
Enterprise	Confederate plot in city cemetery[21]
Flowood	Confederate burials in Drakes United Methodist Church Cemetery[22]
Forest	Confederate Cemetery[23]
Goodman	Confederate Cemetery[24]
Greenwood	Confederate plot in Greenwood Cemetery[25]
Grenada	Confederate plot in Odd Fellows Cemetery & Springhill Cemetery[26]
Hazlehurst	Confederate plot in city cemetery[27]
Hernando	Confederate plot in Hernando Baptist (Memorial) Cemetery[28]
Holly Springs	Confederate plot in Hill Crest Cemetery[29]
Iuka	Confederate mass grave in Shady Grove Cemetery[30]

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Jackson	Confederate plot in Greenwood Cemetery[31] & burials east of Jackson[32]
Jackson County	Confederate burials at Camp Jeffeson Davis[33]
Kosciusko	Confederate plot in Citizens' Cemetery[34]
Lauderdale County	mass burial at Chunky River railroad accident site[35]
Lauderdale Springs	Confederate Cemetery & in adjoining private cemetery[36]
Liberty	Confederate graves in city cemetery[37] & Davis Cemetery[38]
Macon	Confederate plot in Odd Fellows Cemetery[39]
Magnolia	Confederate plot in Magnolia Cemetery[40]

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Marion	Confederate Cemetery[41]
Meridian	Confederate Circle in Rose Hill Cemetery[42]
Natchez	Confederate plot in Natchez Cemetery[43]
Newton	Confederate Cemetery & railroad accident site & Doolittle Cemetery[44]
Okolona	Confederate cemetery[45]
Oxford	Confederate cemetery on University of Mississippi campus[46]

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Paden	2 Confederate graves[47]
Plantersville	Confederate graves in Union Cemetery[48]
Pontotoc	Confederate plot in city cemetery[49]
Port Gibson	Confederate plot in Wintergreen Cemetery [Protestant & Catholic sections][50] & St. Joseph Catholic Cemetery[51]
Prentiss County	Confederate plot in Old Siloam Church Cemetery[52]
Quitman	Confederate Hospital cemetery[53]
Rankin County	Confederate plot in Union United Methodist Church Cemetery[54]
Raymond	Confederate plot in city cemetery[55]
Ripley	Confederate graves in city cemetery[56] & 1 single & 1 double burial[57]

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[48]Confederate Veteran (August 1897): 435; Martha Bone, "Remembering Old Itawamba County" Itawamba Settlers 13 (Spring 1993): 15-16.

[49]Jones, "Confederate Cemeteries," p. 103; Callie B. Young, ed., From These Hills: A History of Pontotoc County (Pontotoc Woman's Club, 1976): 657.

[50]MS Division UDC Minutes (1899), p. 26; (1900), p. 18; (1917), p. 108; Jones, "Confederate Cemeteries," p. 93; Mississippi House Journal (1906), pp. 547, 962, & 1201; H. G. Hawkins, "History of Port Gibson," Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society 10 (1909): 292; Deana J. Olcott, Historical Jottings of Port Gibson, Mississippi (N.p., 1954), pp. 68-69; Fred Messina, "Weather Prevents Marking of Graves," Vicksburg Evening Post, 18 January 1987, Subject Folder: "Confederate Cemeteries & Markers," MDAH; "Soldier's Row Wintergreen Cemetery, Port Gibson, Mississippi," manuscript, Subject File: "Port Gibson, Battle of," MDAH; Katy McCaleb Headley, Claiborne County, Mississippi: The Promised Land (Baton Rouge, LA: Moan Industries, Inc., 1976), pp. 401-2; Walter L. Salassi and Joyce Shannon Bridges, Wintergreen Cemetery, Port Gibson, Clairborne County, Mississippi (Shreveport, LA: J & W Enterprise, 1995), pp. vii-xi.

[51]Ann Beckerson Brown and Walter Lee Salassi, St. Joseph Parish: Claiborne-Jefferson Counties, Mississippi (Shreveport, LA: J & W Enterprises, 1995), p. 110.

[52]Prentiss County, History of Prentiss County, p. 3.

[53]Terry Keeter, "Tombstones: Confederate Graves or WPA Ghost?," Meridian Star 30 January 1972: 2D; Shirley Cochran, "Memorial May Honor Graves with No Bodies," Meridian Star, 14 October 1984, p. 1A; Martha Bond, "Confederate Cemetery Restoration," Subject File: "Confederate Cemeteries & Markers," MDAH; Nan Fairley, "Historic Cemetery Undergoes Cleanup," Meridian Star, 29 February 1988, pp. 1B & 2B; Martha Bond, "Civil War Monument Dedication May 29, 1988" Clarke County Tribune, 18 May 1988, Subject File: "Monuments," MDAH; Carol Owens, "Vandals Strike Confederate Cemetery over the Weekend," Clarke County Tribune, 3 May 1995, Subject Folder: "Confederate Cemeteries & Markers," MDAH; Chance, Second Texas Infantry, pp. 134-135.

[54]Rankin County, Mississippi Cemeteries, p. 200.

[55]Jones, "Confederate Cemeteries," p. 95; "U.D.C. at Raymond, Miss., and Elsewhere," Confederate Veteran (March 1907): 104; Confederate Veteran (May 1909): 208; Estelle Trichell Oltrogge, "Raymond, Miss. in War Times," Confederate Veteran (August 1911): 371; Beth Ferguson, Raymond: A History . . . 1821-1876 (N.p., n.d.), p. 5; Landin, Old Cemeteries of Hinds County, p. 3; Elbert R. Hilliard to R. B. Hansen, 1 July 1986, Subject File: "Raymond, Battle of," MDAH; "Forgotten Soldiers No More," Vicksburg Post, 27 July 1986, p. 1B; Christine Uthoff, "Markers Placed on Confederate Gravesites," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 10 June 1987, Subject File: "Confederate Graves--Mississippi--Adams-Humphreys," MDAH; Associated Press, "Officials Identify Confederate Soldiers," 20 March 1998, Subject File: "Confederate Graves--Mississippi--Adams-Humprheys," MDAH.

Rosedale	Confederate plot in Beulah Cemetery[58]
Sallis	1 unknown Confederate in Amick Cemetery[59]
Saltillo	Confederate graves in Kyle Cemetery & off Natchez Trace[60]
Sardis	Confederate plot in Davis Chapel Cemetery[61]
Ship Island	Confederate POW burials[62]
Shubuta	Confederate plot in city cemetery[63] & 5 sons in Beaver Dam Cemetery[64]
Shuqualak	Confederate burial at Pinetucky Cemetery[65]
Terry	Confederate graves[66]
Tupelo	Confederate burial on battleground,[67] off Natchez Trace,[68] 3 single grave burials[69]
Union County	1 grave in Wilkins Chapel Cemetery[70]
Vaiden	Confederate plot in Shongalo Cemetery[71]

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[56]Jones, "Confederate Cemeteries," p. 105.

[57]Tommy Lockhart, Biographical Notes from the Files of the Southern Sentinel 1894 (Ripley, MS: Old Timer Press, 1981), p. 24.

[58]MS Division UDC Minutes (1904), p. 35; (1905), p. 49; "Chapter Reports" Our Heritage 5 (October 1912): 7.

[59]Anne Hughes Porter, A Place Called Sallis in Attala County Mississippi (Fulton, MS: Itawamba County Times, 1982), p. 334; Attala County, Mississippi Cemeteries (N.p., c.1987), p. 1.

[60]Saltillo History Committee, The Life and Times of Saltillo (Fulton, MS: Itawamba County Times, 1979), pp. 283-84; "Sand Creek Encampment in Lee County, Mississippi," Northeast Mississippi Historical and Genealogical Society Quarterly 19 (September 1998): 10-11.

[61]Cemeteries of North Panola County Mississippi ([Batesville, MS]: Panola Historical and Genealogical Society, 1980), p. 9; Cemeteries of Panola County, Mississippi (Batesville, MS: Panola Historical and Geneological Society, 1994), pp. 97 & 289.

[62]MS Division UDC Minutes (1914), p. 109; "Ship Island UDC Memorial Monument," pamphlet, Mississippi Cities and Towns Collection, Folder "Gulf Coast," UM; Cyril Edward Cain, Four Centuries on the Pascagoula: History and Genealogy of the Pascagoula River Country Vol. 2 (N.p., 1962), pp. 86-90; Bearss, Historic Resource Study, p. 362.

[63]"Confederate Monuments" Confederate Veteran (February 1910): 66; Frank L. Walton, Shubuta (N.p.: Shubuta Memorial Association, 1947), p. 19.

[64]www.netpathway.com/~jdmason/beaverdam_cem.htm (Octobe 10, 2002). Each of the McNeill sons' markers bears a lengthy inscription as to war service and cause of death.

[65]Tombstone Inscriptions of Noxubee County, p. 165.

[66]MS Division UDC Minutes (1904), p. 57; (1906), p. 87.

[67]"Long Neglected Graves," Confederate Veteran (February 1916): 92; "Tombstone Inscriptions, Old Harrisburg Cemetery, Tupelo National Battlefield Site on Highway 6, East of Tupelo, Lee County, Mississippi," Northeast Mississippi Historial And Genealogical Society Quarterly 12 (March 1992): 85-86; Martis D. Ramage, Jr., Tupelo, Mississippi, 1911 (Beldon, MS: S & R Printing, 1994), p. 80.

[68]Northeast Mississippi, Lee County, p. 389; Cathy Summerlin and Vernon Summerlin, Traveling the Trace: A Complete Tour Guide to the Historic Natchez Trace from Nashville to Natchez (Nashville, TN: Rutledge Hill Press, 1995): 16; Lori Finley, Traveling the Natchez Trace (Winston-Salem, NC: John F. Blair, 1995): 94-95.

[69]Northeast Mississippi, Lee County, pp. 85 & 439-40; Olivia Napoli, Grit, Greed and Guts (This Ain't No Cookbook) (Tupelo, MS: Standard Graphics, 1980), p. 221; Brenda Owen, "Darkness No Longer Covers Grave Site," Tupelo Daily Journal, 2 October 1987, Subject File: "Confederate Graves," MDAH.

[70]Union County, History of Union County, p. 18. There is also a memorial monument to four of the eight Wilkins brothers who died in the war (pp. 15 & 18).

Vaughn	Confederate burial[72]
Vernal	1 Confederate grave and 1 Union grave[73]
Verona	1 Confederate grave at Verona Cemetery & burials at Calhoun House[74]
Vicksburg	Confederate plot in city cemetery[75]
Warrenton	Confederate burials in Hopewell Cemetery[76]
Water Valley	Confederate graves in Oak Hill Cemetery[77]
West	Confederate graves in Wheeling Cemetery
West Point	Confederate plot in Greenwood Cemetery[78]
Winona	Confederate plot in Oakwood Cemetery[79]
Woodville	Confederate Cemetery[80]
Yazoo City	Confederate mass grave in Glenwood Cemetery[81]

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[71]MS Division UDC Minutes (1916), p. 164; George M. Moreland, "Vaiden: City of Fine Traditions," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 1 December 1929, p. 12; Bibus and Marshall, Carroll County, p. 250; Vaiden Garden Club, Vaiden Heritage (Florence, MS: Messenger Press, 1976), pp. 119, 168, & 171; Vaiden Cemetery Association, The Vaiden Cemetery: A Page Out of Our Past (Vaiden, MS: n.p., 1989), p. iv; "Confederate Cemetery Dedication" Rebel Yell (April 1993), Subject Folder: "Confederate Cemeteries & Markers," MDAH; "Vaiden Cemetery Dedication Set," Winona Times, 22 April 1993; Nancy Green, "Dignity Marks Dedication of Soldiers' Graves," Kosciusko Star-Herald 6 May 1993; Richard Rubin, Confederacy of Silence: A True Tale of the New Old South (New York: Atria Books, 2002), pp. 109-110 & 204-206.

[72]Gordon Cotton, ". . . No Marble Column Craves The Pilgrim Here to Pause," Vicksburg Post, 20 May 1973, Subject Folder: "Confederate Cemeteries & Markers," MDAH.

[73]W. Harvell Jackson, By the Rivers of Waters: History of George County, Mississippi Vol. 2 (Pascagoula, MS: Lewis Printing Service, 1982), pp. 472 & 474.

[74]Anne Parsons Radojcsics, Verona, Mississippi: An Early History (N.p., 1976), p. 7; Kathy Jarmon, "Verona Cemetery Not Revealing Secrets," Tupelo Daily Journal, 12 August 1977, Vertical File: "Lee County--Cemeteries--Verona," Lee County Library; Kathy Jarmon, "'Cross of Honor' Adorns Grave," Tupelo Daily Journal, 18 August 1977, Vertical File: "Lee County--Cemeteries--Verona," Lee County Library.

[75]MS Division UDC Minutes (1957), p. 59; (1958), p. 64; (1959), p. 70; Jones, "Confederate Cemeteries," p. 106; Emerson, pp. 204-5; Carolyn Reeves Ericson, Confederate Soldiers Buried at Vicksburg February 15, 1862--July 4, 1863 (St. Louis, MO: Frances Terry Ingmire, 1981); Riles, Through Open Gates, pp. 9 & 63-64; "Confederate Cemetery, Vicksburg," Confederate Veteran (April 1895): 100-1; James Young, "1,600 Rebels' Graves Will Get Headstones," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 24 November 1978; Paul Purpura, "UDC Member Seeks Confederate Grave Markers," Vicksburg Post, 10 May 1998, pp. A1-A11;

[76]Gordon A. Cotton, Hopewell Cemetery and the Old Town of Warrenton (N.p., c.1999): 152.

[77]MS Division UDC Minutes (1934), p. 90; Jones, "Confederate Cemeteries," pp. 106-7.

[78]MS Division UDC Minutes (1905), p. 45; (1932), p. 113; Jones, "Confederate Cemeteries," p. 93; Clay County, Clay County, p. 8; Clay County Genealogical Society, Greenwood Cemetery (West Point, MS: Clay County Genealogical Society, 1995), p. 70; Williams, On the Map 145 Years, pp. 49-50 & 195.

[79]MS Division UDC Minutes (1903), p. 36; (1904), p. 34; "Confederate Graves at Winona, Miss." Confederate Veteran (February 1903): 59; Jones, "Confederate Cemeteries," p. 102; "Died in Hospital at Winona, Miss.," Confederate Veteran (June 1911): 288; History of Montgomery County, p. 146.

[80]Jones, "Confederate Cemeteries," p. 106.

[81]MS Division UDC Minutes (1902), p. 22; (1903), pp. 23-24; (1906), p. 37; Yazoo Historical Association, Yazoo County Story, p. 149; Josh Zimmer, "Confederate Burial May Be Fluke," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 9 September 1997, Subject File: "Confederate Graves--Mississippi--Pontotoc-Yazoo," MDAH; Sam Olden, "Recorded History Refutes Plaque," Yazoo Herald, 13

A cemetery at Beauvoir contains the graves of over one thousand veterans who had died while residing at the Soldiers' Home.[82]

Union Burials Not Removed to National Cemeteries:

Aberdeen	behind the Watkins-Jackson house[83]
Brandon	Union plot in Old Brandon Cemetery[84]
Burnsville	by the side of the road[85]
Corinth	in town[86]
Hazlehurst	2 graves outside Hazlehurst Cemetery[87]
Holly Springs	4 graves in Union Soldiers Plot at Hill Crest Cemetery[88]
Macon	Odd Fellows Cemetery[89]
Muldon	Evans Cemetery[90]
Jackson County	Camp Jefferson Davis on Greenwood Island[91]
Osyka	7 graves from Battle of Gillsburg[92]
Pontotoc County	Shady Grove Cemetery[93]
Rankin County	Neely Cemetery[94] & Union United Methodist Church Cemetery[95]
Troy	2 burial sites[96]
Union County	just outside of Wilkins Chapel Cemetery[97]
Vernal	1 grave[98]
Vicksburg	40 unknown POWs in Cedar Hill Cemetery[99]

September 1997, Subject File: "Confederate Graves--Mississippi--Pontotoc-Yazoo," MDAH; Josh Zimmer, "Dispute Resolved over Civil War Plaque at Yazoo City," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 17 September 1997), Subject File: "Confederate Graves--Mississippi--Pontotoc-Yazoo," MDAH; Josh Zimmer, "They're Confederate Graves, But How Many?," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 20 September 1997, p. 1B.

[82]Jo Cille Dawkins, "Beauvoir Soldiers Home Cemetery," Journal of Mississippi History 32 (August 1970): 255-62.

[83]Barry Burleson, "Confederates Mark Yankee Graves," Aberdeen Examiner, 5 April 1995, Subject File: "Meridian Campaign Civil War," MDAH.

[84]Rankin County, Mississippi Cemetery, p. 28

[85]Tishomingo County, Tishomingo County, pp. 147-48.

[86]Victoria Blake, "Civil War Graves May Have Been Located," Corinth Daily Corinthian, 2 January 1997, Subject File: "Confederate Graves--Adams-Humphreys," MDAH.

[87]Hazlehurst, Copiah County, Mississippi, p. 70.

[88]Cemeteries of Marshall County Mississippi (Ripley, MS: Old Timer Press, 1983), p. 46.

[89]Crigler, "Some Brief Facts," p. 8; "Odd Fellows Cemetery Controversy," pp. 2-3.

[90]Evans, Monroe County, p. 17.

[91]The History of Forrest County, Mississippi (Pascagoula, MS: Lewis Printing, 1989), pp. 7-9.

[92]Lucy (Wall) Varnado, Osyka: A Memorial History 1812-1978 Pike County, Mississippi, Chronology--Directories--Genealogies (McComb, MS: Modern-Bonney Printing Co., 1979), pp. 107-8.

[93]Young, From These Hills, pp. 137 & 145

[94]Rankin County, History of Rankin, Vol. 1, p. 120.

[95]Rankin County, Mississippi Cemeteries, p. 200.

[96]Richey Henderson, "Fallen Yankees Lie in Reverence in County Soil," Vertical File: "Pontotoc County--History--War Between the States," Pontotoc County Library.

[97]Union County, History of Union County, p. 18.

[98]Jackson, By the Rivers of Water, pp. 472 & 474.

Unknown Graves Not Identified as Either Confederate or Union:

Jackson's Camp	1 grave[100]
Moselle	20 unknown graves[101]

[99]Associated Press, "Civil War Soldies Who Died while POWs to Get Marker," Hattiesburg American, 2 December 1991, Subject File: "Vicksburg National Cemetery," MDAH.
[100]M. Wayne Mitchell, "Jackson's Camp Community and Church Place Monument at Head of Unknown Soldier," Belmont Journal, 16 July 1992, Subject File: "Confederate Graves--Mississippi--General," MDAH.
[101]Nikki Davis Maute, "Confederate Re-Enactors Honor Dead," Hattiesburg American, 2 May 1994, Subject File: "Confederate Graves--Mississippi--General," MDAH.

Appendix 2: Confederate Monuments in Mississippi
(excluding those in the Vicksburg National Military Park)

1870/1 Holly Springs at Hill Crest Cemetery[1]
1871 Liberty beside the Presbyterian Church[2]
1872 Hernando in Baptist Cemetery [3]
1873/4 Columbus in Friendship Cemetery[4]
1876 Crystal Springs in city cemetery[5]
1876/1901 Holly Springs at Hill Crest Cemetery[6]
1881 Canton in Canton Cemetery[7]
1882 Baldwyn in city cemetery[8]
1890 Meridian at Rose Hill Cemetery[9]
1890 Natchez in Memorial Park[10]

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[1]A. M. Clayton, Centennial Address on the History of Marshall County Delivered by A. M. Clayton at Holly Springs, Mississippi, August 12th, 1876 (Washington, DC: R. O. Polkinhorn Printers, 1880), pp. 17-18; Emerson, Historic Southern, pp. 188-90; Ralph W. Widener, Jr., Confederate Monuments: Enduring Symbols of the South and the War Between the States (Washington, DC: Andromeda Associates, 1982), p. 118 (unveiling date incorrect).

[2]"The First Confederate Monument," Confederate Veteran (March 1911): 108; "First Confederate Monuments Erected," Confederate Veteran (May 1911): 233; Albert Eugene Casey, Amite County, Mississippi, 1699-1890, Volume III, The Environs (Birmingham, AL: Amite County Historical Fund, 1957), pp. 255-57; Roy Thompson, "The First Confederate Monument in the South," Daily Herald, 30 March 1959, Vertical File: "Mississippi--Historical Landmarks," Gulfport Public Library; "Confederate Monument Named Landmark," Liberty Southern Herald, 5 January 1989, Subject File: "Confederate Monuments 2," MDAH; Carl McIntire, "First Confederate Monument Stands at Liberty," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 1 May 1983, p. 15G.

[3]R. W. Jones, "Confederate Cemeteries and Monuments in Mississippi" Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society 8 (1904): 94; Mildred M. Scott, 19th Century Hernando (Hernando, MS: Genealogical Society of DeSoto County, n.d.), p. 9; MS Division UDC Minutes (1901), p. 28; Bell and Scott, DeSoto Cemetery Inscriptions, pp. 151-52, & 159.

[4]E. T. Sykes, "Monuments at Columbus, Miss.," Confederate Veteran (August 1910): 376; Lipscomb, History of Columbus, pp. 131-32; Emerson, Historic Southern, pp. 182-85; "Monument and Memorial Markers Report," manuscript, Vertical File: "Organizations Columbus, MS--UDC--Stephen D. Lee Chapter," CLPL; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 114. The monument's inscription gives its dedication as 1873, but Lipscomb writes that the unveiling took place in 1874.

[5]Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 115. Date provided on monument.

[6]Date provided on monument. The UDC added a shaft in 1901. MS Division UDC Minutes (1899), p. 27; (1900), p. 19; (1901), p. 19; (1902), p. 25; "Memorial Day and Unveiling of the Monument" Holly Springs South, 23 May 1901; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 118; SIRIS Call Number: MS000031.

[7]Jones, "Confederate Cemeteries," p. 101; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 112.

[8]"Confederate Organizations in Mississippi," Confederate Veteran (June 1894): 180; MS Division UDC Minutes (1903), p. 43; George M. Moreland, "A Vagabond in Mississippi," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 25 April 1928; Northeast Mississippi, Lee County, p. 19; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 110.

[9]"Confederate Dead," manuscript, Subject File: "Confederate Cemeteries and Markers," MDAH; Jones, "Confederate Cemeteries," p. 99; MS Division UDC Minutes (1901), p. 30; Fairley and Dawson, Paths to the Past, pp. 59 & 168; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 121.

[10]The Memento: Old and New Natchez, 1700 to 1897 (Natchez, MS: Major Steve Powers, 1897), pp. 51-56; Jones, "Confederate Cemeteries," pp. 90-91; Confederate Veteran (October 1909):

1891 Jackson [State Monument] beside Old Capitol[11]
1892 Shubuta in city cemetery[12]
1893 Vicksburg in Cedar Hill Cemetery[13]
1894 Canton [Harvey Scouts Memorial] in Canton Cemetery[14]
1894 Columbus in Friendship Cemetery[15]
1896 Corinth at intersection (moved in 1916 to courthouse)[16]
1896 Goodman in cemetery[17]
1900 Aberdeen at intersection (moved c.1939 to National Guard Armory, in 1995 to Old Aberdeen Cemetery[18]
1901 Macon at courthouse[19]

506-7; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 121; SIRIS Call Number: MS000111 (inscription incomplete).

[11]"Confederate Monument: The Cornerstone Laid by the Masonic Grand Lodge," Jackson Clarion, 31 May 1888, Subject File: "Confederate Monuments," MDAH; "In Honor of the Dead: Mississippi's Memorial to Her Fallen Heroes," 4 June 1891, Subject File: "Confederate Monuments," MDAH; Edgar Wilson, "Confederate Soldiers' Monument," Subject File: "Confederate Monuments," MDAH; "The Work of Women" Jackson Clarion, 4 June 1891), pp. 1, 5, & 8; Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi Vol. 2 (Chicago: Goodspeed Publishing Company, 1891), pp. 181-85; "The Deposit in the Foundation Stone of Confederate Monument," manuscript, Luther Manship & Family Papers, Box 1, Folder 9, MDAH; "History of the Confederate Memorial Association," manuscript, J. L. Power and Family Papers, Box 9, Folder 164, MDAH; "He Made the Speech," manuscript, J. L. Power and Family Papers, Box 9, Folder 164, MDAH; "Confederate Monument," manuscript, Sharkey Papers, MDAH; "Historical Facts as to the Building of the Confederate Monument," manuscript, Sharkey Papers, MDAH; Mississippi House Journal (1888), pp. 153 & 167; Laws of Mississippi (1888), p. 114; (1890), p. 105; (1922), p. 37; MS Division UDC Minutes (1923), p. 104; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 119; SIRIS Call Number: MS000383 (lacks inscriptions inside crypt).

[12]"Confederate Monuments," Confederate Veteran (February 1910): 66; Walton, Shubuta, p. 19.

[13]"Confederate Cemetery, Vicksburg," Confederate Veteran (April 1895): 100-1; Riles, Through Open Gates, pp. 63-64; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 126 (unveiling date incorrect); SIRIS Call Number: MS00387.

[14]"Honors to the Dead," c.1886, Vertical File: "Canton--Civil War," Madison County-Canton Public Library; Neil Thames, "Harvey's Scouts--Canton's Civil War Company," Canton Madison County Herald, 30 January 1973, Vertical File: "Canton--Civil War," Madison County-Canton Public Library; Mead, Land Between Two Rivers, p. 251; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 112.

[15]MS Division UDC Minutes (1899), p. 17; (1900), p. 25; Lipscomb, History of Columbus, pp. 133-34; Sykes, p. 376; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 114; SIRIS Call Number: MS000025.

[16]"Monument at Corinth," Confederate Veteran (August 1894): 249; Daily Corinthian, Crossroads Memories (N.p.: Jostens, 1994), p. 32; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 114; SIRIS Call Number: MS000328.

[17]Jones, "Confederate Cemeteries," pp. 95-96; Magnolia Club, Goodman, p. 5.

[18]"The Monument Unveiled," Aberdeen Examiner, 14 December 1900, Subject File: "Aberdeen," MDAH; "The Aberdeen Confederate Monument," Confederate Veteran (February 1901): cover & 52-53; Jones, "Confederate Cemeteries," p. 102; Old Aberdeen Historical Cemetery, n.p.; "Robert E. Lee Chapter, No. 116 United Daughters of the Confederacy," Aberdeen Examiner, 12 September 1929; "Letter to the Editors, Monument Removal," Aberdeen Examiner, 24 September 1936; "Turning Back" Aberdeen Examiner, 24 April 1975; "Ladies Gathered Funds To Memorialize Soldiers," Aberdeen Examiner, 25 May 1978; Virginia King, "Confederate Monument Gets New Home," Aberdeen Examiner, 14 January 1991; "Confederate Monument Moved," Aberdeen Examiner 1 November 1995; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 110; SIRIS Call Number: MS000367.

1902 Iuka at cemetery at Shady Grove Cemetery (moved c.1950 to county courthouse)[20]
1904 Winona in Oakwood Cemetery[21]
1905 Carrollton at courthouse[22]
1905 Fayette in Memorial Park[23]
1905 Okolona on Main Street[24]
1905 Rosedale in Beulah Cemetery[25]
1906 Oxford on the Grove at the University of Mississippi[26]
1906 Tupelo at intersection (moved in 1934 to courthouse)[27]

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[19]MS Division UDC Minutes (1899), p. 24; (1900), p. 24; (1901), p. 20; (1902), p. 24; "The Walter Barker Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Unveiling of the 'Monument To Our Confederate Dead,'" Noxubee County Historical Society, Noxubee County Mississippi Quarterly Bulletin no. 8 (December 1978): 6-8; "Names for Confederate Monument," Noxubee County Historical Society no. 63 (September 1992): 8; Debbie Butler White, ed., Noxubee County Historical Trail (N.p.: Noxubee County Chamber of Commerce, 1992): n.p.; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 121; SIRIS Call Number: MS000402 (inscription incomplete).

[20]MS Division UDC Minutes (1902), p. 28; (1903), p. 40-41; Jones, "Confederate Cemeteries," p. 105; Holtsford, One Hundred Year, p. 12; Tishomingo County, Tishomingo County, Mississippi, pp. 139 & 145; "Historic Tour of Iuka," p. 14; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 118 (unveiling date incorrect).

[21]"Confederate Graves at Winona, Miss.," Confederate Veteran (February 1903): 59; MS Division UDC Minutes (1900), p. 24; (1901), p. 24; (1903), p. 36; (1904), p. 34; (1905), p. 43; History of Montgomery, p. 146; SIRIS Call Number: MS000205 (unveiling date incorrect). Date provided by monument's inscription incorrect.

[22]Unveiling Ceremonies of Carroll County's Confederate Monument; "The P. F. Liddell Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy," Confederate Veteran (May 1905): 211; MS Division UDC Minutes (1904), p. 50; (1905), p. 44; (1906), p. 42; Widener, p. 112; SIRIS Call Number: MS000365 (inscription incomplete and incorrect).

[23]Jones, "Confederate Cemeteries," pp. 96-97; "Jefferson County (Miss.) Confederates" Confederate Veteran (September 1904): 429; Mrs. Carroll McLaurin, "History of Confederate Monument and Memorial Park, Fayette, Jefferson County, Mississippi," manuscript, Mississippi Centennial on War Between the States Records, R167-B14-S2-00715, MDAH; History of Montgomery County, p. 146; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 116 (unveiling date incorrect); SIRIS Call Number: MS000369 (unveiling date incorrect).

[24]Jones, "Confederate Cemeteries," pp. 92-93; Mrs. S. Edmunds Love, "Monument at Okolona, Miss.," Confederate Veteran (September 1907): 393; MS Division UDC Minutes (1899), pp. 19-20; (1900), p. 17; (1901), p. 29; (1905), pp. 37-39; Chickasaw County Historical and Genealogical Society, A History of Chickasaw County Mississippi ([Dallas, TX]: Curtis Media, 1985), p. 149; Widener, p. 122; SIRIS Call Number: MS000129.

[25]"Chapter Reports," Our Heritage 5 (October 1912): 7; MS Division UDC Minutes (1904), p. 35; (1905), p. 49;

[26]Jones, "Confederate Cemeteries," p. 98; Mrs. N. D. Deupree, "Confederate Monument at Oxford, Miss.," Confederate Veteran (July 1906): 306-7; MS Division UDC Minutes (1901), pp. 25-26; (1903), p. 36; (1905), p. 45; (1906), p. 44; David Moore Robinson, "A Simonidean Epitaph at Mississippi," Classical Bulletin 27 (February 1951): 37-40; Upton, "'Keeping the Faith," pp. 47-5; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 124; SIRIS Call Number: MS000030.

[27]"Confederate Monument," Tupelo Journal, 27 January 1905; "Tupelo Chapter U.D.C.," Tupelo Journal, 24 February 1905), p. 1; "Southern Men and Women" Confederate Veteran (September 1906): 408; MS Division UDC Minutes (1907), p. 62; "Confederate Monument" Tupelo Journal, 14 February 1930; "61 Years at Port Arms: Our Silent Sentry," Vertical File: "Tupelo--Monuments," Lee County Public Library; Tonny Vartan, "Tall Grey Confederate Monument," Tupelo Daily Journal, 19 May 1950; Napoli, Grit, Greed and Guts, p. 48; Ramage, Tupelo, Mississippi, 1911, pp. 63, 79-80; "The Confederate Monument," Northeast Mississippi Historical and Genealogical

1907 Champion Hill battlefield (memorializing the site of General Lloyd Tilghman's death)[28]
1907 Brandon at courthouse[29]
1907 Duck Hill at Duck Hill Baptist Church[30]
1907 Oxford at the courthouse[31]
1907 Port Gibson at courthouse[32]
1907 West Point in Russell Park[33]
1907/8 Oxford at Confederate Cemetery on the University of Mississippi campus[34]
1908 Cleveland at courthouse[35]
1908 Lexington at courthouse[36]
1908 Raymond at courthouse[37]
1909 Greenville at courthouse[38]

Society Quarterly 3 (June 1983): 173-75; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 123; SIRIS Call Number: MS000107 (inscription incomplete).

[28]Herb Phillips, Champion Hill! (Edwards, MS: N.p., c.1980s), pp. 17-18, & 20.

[29]MS Division UDC Minutes (1906), p. 58; "Confederate Monument at Brandon, Miss.," Confederate Veteran (March 1908): 109; Rankin County, History of Rankin County, pp. 85-88; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 111 (unveiling date incorrect); SIRIS Call Number: MS000359 (inscription incomplete and incorrect).

[30]"A Great Day in Grenada! For the Fifteenth Regiment Monumental Fund," broadside, SMMSS Oversize Broadsides, UM; MS Division UDC Minutes (1908), p. 54; Col. J. B. Binford, "Fifteenth Mississippi Regiment," Confederate Veteran (November 1913): 517; History of Montgomery County, pp. 24 & 47; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 115.

[31]Mississippi Senate Journal (1906), p. 341; J. L. Shinault, "Monument at Oxford, Miss." Confederate Veteran (February 1908): 59; "Deed of Monument to Sons of Veterans" Confederate Veteran (March 1911): 114; Doyle, Faulkner's County, pp. 216, 255, & 330-32; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 122; SIRIS Call Number: MS000024.

[32]MS Division UDC Minutes (1901), p. 20; (1902), p. 24; (1906), p. 28; (1907), p. 41; Mississippi Senate Journal (1906), pp. 464 & 740-741. Sarah Spencer Roy, Biography of Horatio Nelson Spencer: Lawyer, Planter, Churchman (Auburn, AL: Auburn Printing Co., c.1975): 87-88; Headley, Claiborne County, p. 191; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 123; SIRIS Call Number: MS000050 (description and inscription incorrect).

[33]MS Division UDC Minutes (1904), p. 30; (1906), p. 44; (1907), p. 49; (1931), p. 152; Mississippi Senate Journal (1906), p. 348; Mrs. S. E. F. Rose, "Confederate Monument at West Point," Confederate Veteran (November 1907): 497; Clay County, History of Clay County, pp. 158 & 183; Williams, On the Map 145 Years, pp. 207-8 & 258-59; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 130; SIRIS Call Number: MS000355.

[34]MS Division UDC Minutes (1908), p. 41; Johnson, "University War Hospital," p. 106.

[35]"Bolivar's Fitting Tribute to Her Illustrious Dead," Our Heritage 2 (July 1908): 1-3 & 8; Florence Warfield Sillers, ed., History of Bolivar County, Mississippi (Jackson, MS: Hederman Bros., 1948): 306-7; Linton Weeks, Cleveland: A Centennial History 1886-1986 (City of Cleveland, 1985), pp. 64-66; SIRIS Call Number: MS000209.

[36]MS Division UDC Minutes (1902), p. 32; (1904), pp. 45-46; (1915), p. 129; "Unveiling Confederate Monument," broadside, Harry McCain Papers, Box 1, Folder 3; MDAH; Unveiling Ceremonies of the Holmes County Confederate Monument at Lexington, Mississippi, December 2, 1908 (Jackson, MS: Tucker Printing House, 1908); "Unveiling Ceremonies of the Holmes County Confederate Monument, at Lexington, Miss., Dec. 2 '08," Our Heritage 2 (January 1909): 1-4, 6-8; "Confederate Monument at Livingston [sic], Miss.," Confederate Veteran (March 1910): 108; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 120; SIRIS Call Number: MS000207 (inscription incomplete).

[37]"U.D.C. at Raymond, Miss., and Elsewhere," Confederate Veteran (March 1907): 104; "Raymond (Miss.) Monument," Confederate Veteran (September 1908): 441-42; MS Division UDC Minutes (1910), p. 68; Howell, To Live and Die, p. 439; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 123.

1909 Greenville at Greenville Cemetery[39]
1909 Winona at courthouse [now site of Winona/Montgomery County Library][40]
1909 Yazoo City on Main Street[41]
1910 Castallian Springs at Wesley Chapel Church Cemetery[42]
1910 Grenada on town square[43]
1910 Hattiesburg at courthouse[44]
1911 Brooksville on Main Street[45]
1911 Gulfport at courthouse[46]
1911 Heidelberg in park (now on site of Mary Weems Parker Memorial Library)[47]

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[38]"Unveiling of Confederate Monument at Greenville," Our Heritage 2 (July 1909): 1-2; "Welcome Address Delivered by Senator J. L. Hebron at the Unveiling of Greenville Monument," Our Heritage 2 (October 1909): 9; "Greenville (Miss.) Monument," Confederate Veteran (February 1910): 68-69; MS Division UDC Minutes (1910), p. 141; Bern Keating, A History of Washington County, Mississippi (Greenville Junior Auxillary, 1976), p. 48; James C. Cobb, The Mississippi Delta and the World: The Memoirs of David L. Cohn (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995), pp. 8-11; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 116; SIRIS Call Number: MS000399.
[39]MS Division UDC Minutes (1910), p. 141; Caledonia Jackson Payne, Old Greenville Cemetery Greenville, Mississippi 1880-1982 (N.p., 1983), pp. 5-6; Joseph T. Reilly, "Recollections of the Greenville Cemetery Association" in Washington County Historical Society Programs of 1983 eds. Jerome C. Hafter and Jo Cille D. Hafter (N.p., 1984), p. 39.
[40]"Monument Unveiled," Our Heritage 2 (January 1910): 3; MS Division UDC Minutes (1910), p. 70; "Dedication of the Winona (Miss.) Monument," Confederate Veteran (November 1913): 516-17; History of Montgomery County, p. 24; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 130; SIRIS Call Number: MS000222.
[41]MS Division UDC Minutes (1899), p. 23; (1901), p. 31; (1902), p. 22; (1903), p. 23-24; (1906), p. 37; (1907), p. 37; (1908), p. 32; (1909), p. 66-68; "Unveiling of Yazoo's Confederate Monument," Our Heritage 2 (August 1909): 1-4; Yazoo Historical Association, Yazoo County Story, p. 149; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 131; SIRIS Call Number: MS000362 (inscription incomplete).
[42]"Buried at Castalian Springs, Miss.," Confederate Veteran (January 1911): 7; Edward Allen Bishop, "Historical Camp to Open in June," Subject File: "Confederate Graves Miss., Adams-Humphreys," MDAH; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 113.
[43]MS Division UDC Minutes (1906), p. 36; (1910), p. 137; Barbara A. Daigre, ed., History of Grenada County (N.p.: Inter-Collegiate Press, 1985), p. 8; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 116; SIRIS Call Number: MS000144 (inscription incomplete).
[44]MS Division UDC Minutes (1907), pp. 50-51; (1910), p. 148; (1911), p. 106; "Address of Welcome," Our Heritage 4 (November 1910): 2; "Hattiesburg Chapter Report," Our Heritage 4 (April 1911): 8; "Unveiling of Confederate Monument at Hattiesburg," Our Heritage 4 (May 1911): 4 & 6-7; History of Forrest County, (2000), p. 79; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 117; SIRIS Call Number: MS000211.
[45]MS Division UDC Minutes (1912), p. 152; "Confederate Monument at Brooksville, Miss.," Confederate Veteran (January 1912): 15; "Brooksville Erected Monument," 7-8; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 112; SIRIS Call Number: MS000148 (inscription incomplete and incorrect).
[46]MS Division UDC Minutes (1911), p. 150; (1916), p. 146; "Clear Blue Eyes . . .," 4 October 1977, Vertical File: "Mississippi Historic Houses," Gulfport Public Library; "Dedication Set for Confederate Statue," South Mississippi Sun, 4 October 1977, Subject File: "Confederate Monuments 2," MDAH; Howell, To Live and Die, pp. 509-11; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 117; SIRIS Call Number: MS000119.
[47]Mrs. W. W. Lyon, "Jasper County Chapter," Our Heritage 4 (December 1910): 6-7; MS Division UDC Minutes (1911), p. 107; Gabriel Collins Green, "Jasper County: A Prospect" (M.A. thesis,

1911 Kosciusko at courthouse[48]
1911 Quitman at courthouse[49]
1911 Ripley on courthouse grounds (damaged c.1970, repaired in 1984)[50]
1911 Waynesboro in front of justice building[51]
1912 Columbus at courthouse[52]
1912 Corinth at Fort Robinette (Rogers memorial)[53]
1912 Corinth at Fort Robinette for unknown Confederate dead[54]
1912 DeKalb on courthouse grounds[55]
1912 Ellisville on Court Street North[56]
1912 Laurel at courthouse[57]

Mississippi College, 1968), p. 89; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 117; SIRIS Call Number: MS000068.

[48]MS Division UDC Minutes (1905), p. 55; (1913), p. 134; Minerva Turnage, "Confederate Day in Old Attala," Our Heritage 5 (January 1912): 8; State-Wide Historical Research Project, Works Progress Administration for Mississippi, Source Material for Mississippi History, Attala County Vol. IV, Part I (1936-1938):, pp. 100-1; State-Wide Historical Research Project, Works Progress Administration for Mississippi, Source Material for Mississippi History, Attala County Vol. IV, Part II (1936-1938), p. 588; Kosciusko-Attala, Kosciusko-Attala History, pp. 84 & 198; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 120; SIRIS Call Number: MS000353.

[49]"Confederate Monument at Quitman, Miss.," Confederate Veteran (November 1912): 511; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 123 (unveiling date incorrect); SIRIS Call Number: MS000206.

[50]MS Division UDC Minutes (1910), p. 82; (1914), p. 155; Tippah County Historical and Genealogical Society, The History of Tippah County, Mississippi (Dallas, TX: National Sharegraphics, 1981), pp. 157-58; Nyleen Barnett Bell, ed., Some Spight Family Records, 1995, OCSMMSS Box 30, UM; Kari Self, "Crowning Glory: Soldier May Adorn Square Once Again," Tupelo Daily Journal, 3 February 1984, Subject File: "Confederate Monuments 2," MDAH; Kari Self, "Confederate Soldier Regains His Place," Tupelo Daily Journal, 22 March 1984, Subject File: "Confederate Monuments 2," MDAH; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 123; SIRIC Call Number: MS000066.

[51]Date provided on monument. MS Division UDC Minutes (1959), p. 70; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 130.

[52]"U.D.C. Monument at Columbus," Our Heritage 5 (October 1912): 4-6; "Fine Monument at Columbus, Miss.," Confederate Veteran (November 1912): 510; "The Mississippi Division," Confederate Veteran (May 1918): 225; MS Division UDC Minutes (1905), p. 83; (1906), p. 33; (1908), p. 28; (1913), p. 117; (1914), p. 116; (1915), p. 120: (1917), p. 93; (1919), p. 79; (1921), p. 82; (1961), p. 61; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 113; SIRIS Call Number: MS000027 (inscription incomplete).

[53]Mrs. Lizzie George Henderson, "United Daughters of the Confederacy," Confederate Veteran (June 1907): 245-46; Elizabeth Kilpatrick, "Unveiling of Roges [sic] Monument," Our Heritage 5 (October 1912): 6-7; MS Division UDC Minutes (1913): 117-18; "Monument to Colonel Rogers," Confederate Veteran (March 1913): 102-3; Alcorn County, History of Alcorn County, p. 54; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 115.

[54]Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 114. See footnote 52, both monuments unveiled on the same day.

[55]"Shaft to Veterans," Our Heritage 5 (October 1912): 11.

[56]MS Division UDC Minutes (1908), p. 83; (1911), p. 98; "Unveiling of Ellisville Monument" Our Heritage 5 (July 1912): 9; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 116; SIRIS Call Number: MS000067.

[57]Mrs. J. J. Cross, "Confederate Memorial," Our Heritage 5 (April 1912): 6; Laurel Diamond Jubilee Corporation, Laurel Diamond Jubilee Commemorating 75 Years of Progress (Laurel, MS: n.p., 1957), p. 13. MS Division UDC Minutes (1958), p. 60; Jimmy Bass and Nell Davis, A

1912 Meridian at courthouse[58]
1912 Philadelphia at courthouse (soldier damaged in 1990 and moved inside)[59]
1912 Vaiden at courthouse[60]
1913 Charleston on town square[61]
1913 Greenwood at courthouse[62]
1913 Sumner at courthouse[63]
1914 West Point at courthouse (Col. E. L. Russell boulder)[64]
1916 McComb at City Hall[65]
1917 Hazlehurst at courthouse[66]
1917 Confederate Women Monument in Jackson on grounds of New Capitol[67]

Pictorial History of Laurel, Mississippi from the 1890's to About 1940 (Laurel, MS: n.p., 1991), p. 62; Widener, p. 120; SIRIS Call Number: 76000843. Bass and Davis misidentify the unveiling date as 1907.

[58]MS Division UDC Minutes (1905), p. 35; (1913), p. 139; (1915), p. 143; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 121; SIRIS Call Number: MS000352 (inscription incomplete).

[59]Yates and Ridout, Red Clay Hills, pp. 78, 88, 221, 225, & 231; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 122; SIRIS Call Number: MS000349 & MS000403.

[60]MS Division UDC Minutes (1911), p. 133; (1912), p. 142; (1913), p. 150; J. B. Haman, "Monument at Vaiden, Miss.," Confederate Veteran (September 1912): 412; Vaiden Garden Club, Vaiden Heritage, pp. 116-18; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 124; SIRIS Call Number: MS000366.

[61]MS Division UDC Minutes (1913), pp. 112 & 152; SIRIS Call Number: MS000401.

[62]MS Division UDC Minutes (1906), pp. 40 & 69-70; (1907), pp. 42-43; (1910), p. 143; (1911), p. 148; (1912), p. 152; (1913), pp. 124-25; (1914), p. 119; Mississippi House Journal, pp. 1186 & 1251; "Chapters Plan for Building a Monument," Confederate Veteran (February 1908): 92; "Resolution of the Varina Jefferson Davis Chapter, U.D.C.," Our Heritage 4 (January 1911): 8; "Unveiling of the Confederate Monument at Greenwood Miss.," manuscript, Beckwith/Yerger Collection, Box 7, Folder 7-3, UM; "Shaft Unveiled to Confederate Heroes," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 10 October 1913); "Address of Mrs. T. M. Whetstone at Unveiling of Greenwood Monument," Our Heritage 6 (November 1913): 2-3 & 6; "The Greenwood (Miss.) Monument," Confederate Veteran (December 1913): 572-73; "Vandalism Seen Prank of Boys at Greenwood," Jackson Daily News, 25 August 1954, Subject File: "Greenwood Monument," MDAH; "Greenwood's Impressive Confederate Monument," c.1960s, Vertical File: "Mississippi--Civil War Monuments," Gulfport Carnegie-Harrison County Library; "Confederate Monument Honors South's Brave Men and Women," Greenwood Commonwealth, 5 October 1966, Boyd Family Papers, Box 1, Folder 18, MDAH; Steve Alderman, "Statue Offers Glimpse of City's Heritage," Greenwood Commonwealth, 24 June 1987, Subject File: "Greenwood Monument," MDAH; Mildred Spurrier Topp, In the Pink (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1950), pp. 43-66; Greenwood Commonweatlh, A Pictorial History of Leflore County, Mississippi (Marcelin, MO: Heritage House Publishing, 1997), cover; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 116; SIRIS Call Number: MS000039.

[63]SIRIS Call Number: MS000400.

[64]MS Division UDC Minutes (1914), pp. 133-34; (1915), p. 138.

[65]MS Division UDC Minutes (1915), p. 144; (1916), p. 120; (1917), p. 94; (1918), p. 93; (1919), p. 95; "Official Centennial Program, McComb City, Mississippi 1872-1972 Centennial Celebration," 1972, p. 12, OCSMMSS Box 7, UM.

[66]MS Division UDC Minutes (1913), p. 129; (1914), p. 145; (1917), p. 96; (1918), p. 88; Cook, Hazlehurst, Copiah County, p. 18; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 117; SIRIS Call Number: MS000370.

[67]W. S. Coleman, "A Monument to Confederate Women," Jackson Clarion Ledger, 16 April 1908, Subject File: "Women of the Confederacy," MDAH; Laws of Mississippi (1910), pp. 147-48; (1912), p. 41; MS Division UDC Minutes (1911), p. 13; (1918), p. 89; "Mississippi Confederates Seek Help for the Woman's Monument," Confederate Veteran (March 1910): 103; "Mississippi

1918 Tupelo Battlefield[68]
1919 Pontotoc on town square[69]
1921 Louisville at intersection[70]
1922 Belzoni at courthouse[71]
1924 Amory on Main Street (moved to courthouse in 1939)[72]
1926 Brookhaven in Rose Hill Cemetery[73]
1926 Clinton on the campus of Mississippi College[74]
1926 Poplarville at courthouse[75]
1928 Clinton at Clinton Cemetery[76]
1928 Okalona at Confederate Cemetery[77]

Urges Erecting a Woman's Monument," Confederate Veteran (August 1910): 369; Lucy Green Yerger, "A Good Suggestion," Our Heritage 4 (November 1910): 4 & 9; "The Confederate Women's Monument," Our Heritage 4 (October 1911): 10; "Another Contributor--from Mississippi," Confederate Veteran (January 1912): 3; "Woman's Monument at Jackson, Miss.," Confederate Veteran (July 1912): 324; "Address of Mrs. S. E. F. Rose at Jackson," Confederate Veteran (September 1912): 413-14; "Veteran Aided Monument Fund: Previously Unwritten Mississippi History Is Recounted," Our Heritage 6 (November 1913): 5; "Womans Monument," manuscript, Sharkey Papers, MDAH; "Fine Program for Monument Meeting," c.1910, Vertical File: "Organizations--Columbus, MS--UDC--Stephen D. Lee Chapter," CLPL; "Washington, D.C., April, 1911," broadside, Subject Folder: "Confederate Monuments 2," MDAH; Clay County, History of Clay County, p. 183; Smith, "Belle Kinney," pp. 7-31; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 119 (unveiling date incorrect); SIRIS Call Number: MS000213 (inscription incomplete).

[68]Capt. A. J. Kennedy, "For Monument at Harrisburg, Miss.," Confederate Veteran (October 1912): 490; MS Division UDC Minutes (1914), p. 159; (1917), pp. 103 & 129; George M. Moreland, "Rambling in Mississippi," Memphis Commercial Appeal, 3 May 1925, Vertical File: "Tupelo--History--Early Days of Tupelo," Lee County Public Library; "Harrisburg Battle Marker," Tupelo Daily Journal, March 1951, Vertical File: "Tupelo--Monuments," Lee County Public Library; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 123.

[69]MS Division UDC Minutes (1913), p. 144; (1914), p. 153; (1915), p. 151; (1916), pp. 160-61; (1919), p. 101; (1924), p. 98; E. T. Wilson, Story of Pontotoc (Pontotoc, MS: Pontotoc Progress Print, 1931), pp. 193-95; WPA State-wide Historical Research Project, Pontotoc County History (c.1930s), p. 327, Pontotoc Public Library; WPA State-Wide Historical Research Project, Source Material for Mississippi History, Pontotoc County, Vol. LVIII, Part III (1936-1938), p. 315; Young, From These Hills, pp. 453 & 657; "The Confederate Monument," manuscript, Vertical File: "Pontotoc County--History--War Between the States," Pontotoc County Public Library; SIRIS Call Number: MS000360.

[70]Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 121; SIRIS Call Number: MS000354.

[71]Cerame, From Greasy Row, p. 106; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 111.

[72]MS Division UDC Minutes (1923), p. 85; (1924), p. 77; Monroe County, History of Monroe County, pp. 23 & 216; "Amory Confederate Monument, Amory, Mississippi" Journal of Monroe County History of Mississippi 19 (1993): 24-27; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 110 (unveiling date incorrect); SIRIS Call Number: MS000368 (inscription incomplete).

[73]MS Division UDC Minutes (1927), p. 75; Brookhaven Centennial, Brookhaven Centennial, p. 10; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 112.

[74]MS Division UDC Minutes (1912), p. 146; (1927), p. 78; (1932), pp. 79-80; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 113.

[75]MS Division UDC Minutes (1927), p. 16; Napier, Lower Pearl River's, pp. 126-27; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 122; SIRIS Call Number: MS000361.

[76]Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 113.

[77]MS Division UDC Minutes (1928), p. 110; (1929), p. 119; Brown and Paulk, "Rose Hill Cemetery," p. 91; "Confederate Cemetery: Okolona, Mississippi," p. 19; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 122.

1931 Jackson at Greenwood Cemetery [78]
1931 Tupelo on Harrisburg battlefield[79]
1931 Brice's Cross Roads battlefield[80]
1932 Durant for Jefferson Davis Memorial Highway[81]
1932 Utica at cemetery[82]
1933 Columbus for first Decoration Day[83]
1937 Jackson in Battlefield Park (Confederate Trenches Monument)[84]
1939 Oxford in Confederate Cemetery on the University of Mississippi campus[85]
1950 Natchez at courthouse[86]
1982 Brandon at Old Brandon Cemetery[87]
1988 Quitman at the Texas Field Hospital Cemetery[88]
1990 Duck Hill
1992 Coffeeville in city cemetery[89]
1993 Vaiden in Vaiden Cemetery (Union monument reworked as Confederate)[90]

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[78]"Mississippi Division UDC," Confederate Veteran (October 1926): 392; MS Division UDC Minutes (1924), p. 92; (1928), p. 104; (1929), p. 110; (1931), p. 137; (1932), p. 93; "Official Souvenir Program 57th Annual Convention of Sons of Confederate Veterans and Confederate Reunion, June 3,4,5,6, 1952, Jackson, Mississippi," Subject File: "Sons of Confederate Veterans," MDAH; "W.D. Holder Chapter (1901-1951)," manuscript, Subject File: "United Daughters of the Confederacy--W. D. Holder Chapter," MDAH; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 119.

[79]"Long-Neglected Graves," Confederate Veteran (February 1916): 92; "Brice Battle Monument Is Unveiled," Tupelo Journal, 12 June 1931, Vertical File: "Lee County--Battles--Brice's Cross Roads," Lee County Public Library; Ray L. Claycomb, "Area History, Brice's Cross Roads National Battlefield Site and Tupelo National Battlefield," 1979, manuscript, Vertical File: "Lee County--History--Battles--Brice's Cross Roads," Lee County Public Library; Ramage, Tupelo, Mississippi, p. 80.

[80]Mississippi Senate Journal (1906), pp. 408, 645, & 745; "Brice Battle Monument Is Unveiled," 12 June 1931, Veritical File: "Lee County--History--Battles--Brice's Cross Roads," Lee County Public Library.

[81]MS Division UDC Minutes (1933), pp. 88-89.

[82]MS Division UDC Minutes (1932), p. 109.

[83]MS Division UDC Minutes (1933), p. 78.

[84]MS Division UDC Minutes (1923), p. 104; (1937), p. 84; Jackson (N.p.: Chamber of Commerce, c.1924), p. 1; "W. D. Holder Chapter," manuscript; Widener, p. 120.

[85]"Our Soldiers' Cemetery," Mississippi University Magazine 1 (October 1876): 271-72; "Confederate Hospital at Oxford, Miss.," Confederate Veteran (December 1924): 477; "Presentation of Monument," 1939, manuscript, Vertical File: "Mississippi--University--Cemetery," UM; Skipwith, Lafayette County, p. 155; Linnet Gee, "Monument Commemorates Civil War Soldiers," Daily Mississippian, 19 April 1990, p. 4; Upton, "'Keeping Faith," pp. 70-75; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 124.

[86]Mary Groves Barker, Confederate Memorabilia (Washington, MS: Esperanza Publications, 1979), p. 98.

[87]Rankin County Historical Society, Vol. 2, pp. 47-48.

[88]Martha Bond, "Civil War Monument Dedication May 29, 1988," Quitman Clarke County Tribune, 18 May 1988, Subject File: "Monuments," MDAH.

[89]MS Division UDC Minutes (1901), p. 25; "24x30 Inch Bronze Plaque Now Marks Civil War Graves in the Coffeeville Cemetery," 18 March 1993, Subject File: "Confederate Cemeteries and Markers," MDAH; "Coffeeville Cemetery's New Civil War Memorial," Yalobusha Pioneer 18 (Spring 1993): 2-3; "Program for Dedication of Civil War Marker, Thursday, May 20, 1992," Yalobusha Pioneer 18 (Summer 1993): 25.

2002 Texas Monument on Raymond battlefield[91]

Monuments with unidentified erection dates:
Aberdeen at intersection (moved to Odd Fellows cemetery c.1940s)[92]
Booneville in Citizens' Cemetery (pre-1904)[93]
Canton Confederate Slaves Monument (1896-1900)[94]
Forest in Confederate Cemetery (pre-1904)[95]
Macon in Odd Fellows Cemetery (pre-1904)[96]
Macon (for Capt. Walter Barker, 1911 or 1909)[97]
Natchez in Natchez Cemetery[98]
Newton[99]
Sardis at Davis Chapel Cemetery (for both Union and Confederate dead)[100]
Vaiden in Vaiden Cemetery[101]
Water Valley in Oak Hill Cemetery[102]
Woodville at courthouse (1890s)[103]
Woodville in Confederate Cemetery[104]

Communities which discussed erecting a Confederate monument:
Carrollton [105]
Collins[106]

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[90]"Vaiden Cemetery Dedication Set," Winona Times, 22 April 1993; Nancy Green, "Dignity Marks Dedication of Soldiers Graves," Kosciusko Star-Herald, 6 May 1993.
[91]Clione B. Rochat, "First Monument Dedicated at Raymond Civil War Battlefield," www.battleofraymond.org/history/dedication.htm (October 4, 2002).
[92]MS Division UDC Minutes (1916), p. 132; (1917), p. 105; (1921), p. 76; (1923), p. 84; "Robert E. Lee Chapter No. 116, United Daughters of the Confederacy," Aberdeen Examiner, 15 September 1929; "Ladies Gathered Funds to Memorialize Soldiers" Aberdeen Examiner, 25 May 1978.
[93]Jones, "Confederate Cemeteries," pp. 103-4; MS Division UDC Minutes (1913), p. 111; (1914), p. 136; Carpenter, History of Booneville, p. 103; Cromie, Tour Guide, p. 161.
[94]Discussed in chapter 2.
[95]Jones, "Confederate Cemeteries," p. 104; "Cemetery Record--Forest," p. 48.
[96]Jones, "Confederate Cemeteries," p. 103.
[97]MS Division UDC Minutes (1911), p. 103; Tyson, Historical Notes, p. 126; "The Walter Barker Chapter," p. 7.
[98]"Natchez City Cemetery 1821" (Natchez, MS: Natchez Cemetery Association Memorial Fund, n.d.), pamphlet, in possession of author; Widener, p. 121.
[99] Brown, History of Newton County, pp. 337-38; Brieger, Hometown Mississippi, p. 361.
[100]Cemeteries of Panola County, pp. 97 & 289.
[101]Vaiden Garden Club, Vaiden Heritage, p. 168; Vaiden Cemetery Association, Vaiden Cemetery, p. iv; "Confederate Cemetery Dedication," Rebel Yell (April 1983): 5; Rubin, Confederacy of Silence, pp. 109-10 & 205.
[102]MS Division UDC Minutes (1901), p. 27; Yalobusha County Mississippi Cemetery Records Vol. 3 (Coffeeville, MS: Yalobusha County Historical Society, 1976), pp. 20-21; Heritage Committee of the Yalobusha Historical Society, Yalobusha County History (Dallas, TX: National Sharegraphics, 1982), p. C-24.
[103]Biographical and Historical Memoirs, Vol. II, p. 220.
[104]Jones, "Confederate Cemeteries," p. 106; Widener, Confederate Monuments, p. 131; Wiese, Woodville Republican, Vol. 4, pp. 111-12.
[105]MS Division UDC Minutes (1955), p. 42.
[106]MS Division UDC Minutes (1911), pp. 25 & 97.

Durant[107]
French Camp (for some point along the Mississippi Central Railroad)[108]
Houston[109]
Indianola[110]
Magnolia[111]
Marion[112]
Meridian (in honor of Choctaw Indian Confederates)[113]
Starkville[114]
Terry[115]
Vicksburg[116]
Water Valley[117]

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[107]MS Division UDC Minutes (1911), p. 98.
[108]J. P. Coleman, Choctaw County Chronicles: A History of Choctaw County, Mississippi 1830-1973 (Ackerman, Mississippi: n.p., 1973), pp. 96-97.
[109]MS Division UDC Minutes (1913), p. 132.
[110]MS Division UDC Minutes (1908), p. 80.
[111]MS Division UDC Minutes (1903), p. 45; (1904), p. 62; (1905), p. 50; (1906), p. 52; (1914), p. 151; (1916), p. 155.
[112]MS Division UDC Minutes (1899), p. 21.
[113]Fairley and Dawson, Paths to the Past, p. 60.
[114]MS Division UDC Minutes (1908), p. 54; (1914), p. 157; (1915), p. 133; (1916), p. 108.
[115]MS Division UDC Minutes (1904), p. 57; (1906), p. 87.
[116]MS Division UDC Minutes (1909), pp. 111-12
[117]MS Division UDC Minutes (1901), p. 27.

Appendix 3: United Confederate Veterans Camps in Mississippi

The following UCV camps formed in Mississippi during the given years as related in the minutes of the UCV and the general and special orders of the UCV:

<u>1891</u>

Crystal Springs	Benjamin Humphreys Camp No. 19
Natchez	Natchez Camp No. 20
Hattiesburg	Hattiesburg Camp No. 21
Fayette	J. J. Whitney Camp No. 22
Holly Springs	Kit Mott Camp No. 23
Jackson	Robert A. Smith Camp No. 24
Meridian	Walthall Camp No. 25
Edwards	W. A. Montgomery Camp No. 26
Columbus	Isham Harrison Camp No. 27
Vicksburg	Vicksburg Camp No. 32
Woodville	Woodville Camp No. 49
Rosedale	Montgomery Camp No. 52
Mississippi City	Beauvoir Camp No. 120
Tupelo	John M. Stone Camp No. 131
Port Gibson	Claiborne County Camp No. 167
Yazoo City	Yazoo Camp No. 176
Booneville	W. H. H. Tison Camp No. 179
Macon	James Longstreet Camp No. 180
Grenada	W. R. Barksdale Camp No. 189
Rolling Fork	Pat Cleburne Camp No. 190
Greenwood	Hugh A. Reynolds Camp No. 215
Hickory Flat	Hickory Flat Camp No. 219
Hernando	DeSoto Camp No. 220
Vaiden	Frank Liddell Camp No. 221
Liberty	Amite County Camp No. 226
Brookhaven	Sylvester Gwin Camp No. 235
Greenville	W. A. Percy Camp No. 238
Brandon	Rankin Camp No. 265

<u>1893</u>

Maben	Stephen D. Lee Camp No. 271
Lake	Patrons Camp No. 272
Winona	M. Farrell Camp No. 311
Canton	E. Giles Henry Camp No. 312
Magnolia	Stockdale Camp No. 324
Sardis	John R. Dickens Camp No. 341
New Albany	General M. P. Lowrey Camp No. 342
Louisville	John M. Bradley Camp No. 352
Senatobia	Bill Feeney Camp No. 353
Lexington	Walter L. Keirn Camp No. 398
Iuka	Tishomingo Confederate Veteran Camp No. 425
Amory	Confederate Veteran Camp No. 427
Chester	R. G. Prewitt Camp No. 439

<u>1894</u>

Wesson	Carnot Posey Camp No. 441
Kosciusko	William Barksdale Camp No. 445
Okolona	W.F. Tucker Camp No. 452
Ripley	Confederate Veteran Camp No. 453

Centreville	Centreville Camp No. 461
Walthall	A. K. Blythe Camp No. 494
<u>1895</u>	
Water Valley	Featherston Camp No. 517
Poplarville	Pearl River Camp No. 540
Hazelhurst	Drury J. Brown Camp No. 544
Indianola	Albert Sidney Johnston Camp No. 549
Clarksdale	Sam Cammack Camp No. 550
Pittsboro	Jas. Gordon Camp No. 553
Carrollton	P. F. Liddell Camp No. 561
Byhalia	Sam Benton Camp No. 562
Nettleton	John N. Simonton Camp No. 602
Heidelberg	Jasper County Camp No. 694
<u>1896</u>	
Oxford	Lafayette County Camp No. 752
West Point	Confederate Veteran Camp No. 796
Glenville	Glenville County Camp No. 799
Leaksville	Henry Roberts Camp No. 866
<u>1897</u>	
Belmont	Jas. F. Gresham Camp No. 883
Herbert	Yates Camp No. 886
Meadville	Confederate Veteran Camp No. 911
Steenston	E. C. Leech Camp No. 942
Cedar Bluff	Confederate Veteran Camp No. 943
<u>1898</u>	
Charleston	Tallahatchie County Camp No. 1099
Waynesboro	S. H. Powe Camp No. 1144
<u>1899</u>	
Decatur	Hunter Camp No. 1158
Corinth	Albert Sidney Johnston Camp No. 1164
Scranton	Confederate Veteran Camp No. 1170
Heidelberg	Jasper County Camp No. 1172
Benton	Confederate Veteran Camp No. 1173
DeKalb	Thomas H. Wood Camp No. 1180
Poplar Creek	Mike Farrell Camp No. 1197
Utica	Confederate Veteran Camp No. 1204
Utica	J. C. Davis Camp No. 1234
<u>1900</u>	
Aberdeen	Samuel J. Gholson Camp No. 1255
<u>1901</u>	
Belen	Quitman Camp No. 1276
Coffeeville	E. C. Walthall Camp No. 1301
Abbeville	Walthall Camp No. 1306
Carthage	J. Z. George No. 1310
Starkville	Oktibbeha Camp No. 1311
Newton	Dabney H. Maury Camp No. 1312
Heidelberg	Jasper County Campt No. 1319

Pontotoc	Hugh R. Miller Camp No. 1321[1]
Batesville	Marshall B. Jones Camp No. 1322
Mt. Olive	Bob Lowry Camp No. 1325
Macon	Noxubee County Camp No. 1326
Rienzi	D. T. Beal Camp No. 1327
Lyon	Lamar Fontaine Camp No. 1331
Columbia	Hamilton Mason Camp No. 1355
Houston	T. S. Evans Camp No. 1358
Hickory	Joseph E. Johnston Camp No. 1393
Laurel	J. L. Power Camp No. 1394
1903	
Quitman	Robert McLain Camp No. 1469
Monticello	M. A. Oatis Camp No. 1486
Learned	P. A. Haman Camp No. 1499
Ellisville	Jefferson Davis Camp No. 1501
Bay St. Louis	Featherston Cammp No. 1516
Ocean Springs	Ocean Springs Camp No. 1522
1904	
Raymond	Confederate Veteran Camp No. 1525
1909	
Belmont	F. M. Boone Camp No. 1694
Houlka	Chickasaw Camp No. 1700
1910	
Seminary	Seminary Camp No. 1706
Prentiss	John D. Cooper Camp No. 1721
Raleigh	Smith County Camp No. 1725
1911	
Magee	Magee Camp No. 1734
Decatur	Montgomery-Carleton Camp No. 1740

Not mentioned in the UCV minutes is Panola County's John C. Fiser Camp of Confederate Veterans which began in 1901 with seventy-five members.[2]

In 1906, the UCV minutes included a report on camps delinquent in their dues. All the Mississippi camps listed were eight to eleven years behind in payment, and were thus presumably defunct. They included the following camps: 271 in Maben, 311 in Winona, 342 in New Albany, 549 in Indianola, 550 in Clarksdale, 562 in Byhalia, 694 in Heidelberg, 799 in Glenville, 866 in Leakesville, 1158 in Decatur, 1172 in Heidelberg, 1173 in Benton, and 1204 in Utica.

Sporadically, the Adjutant-General and Chief of Staff would issue a report containing the number of UCV camps in each state. The camp totals for Mississippi and its ranking as compared to other states is as follows:

1892	18 camps	4th after TX, LA, FL
1896	60 camps	5th after TX, AL, SC, MO

[1]WPA State-Wide Historical Research Project, Source Material for Mississippi History, Pontotoc County Vol. 58, Part 3 (1936-1938), pp. 309-12.
[2]John G. Nelson III, "General John C. Fiser" Panola Story 3 (January-March 1974): 11.

1898	68 camps	7th after TX, SC, GA, AL, AK, MO
1899	76 camps	7th after TX, SC, GA, AL, AK, MO
1900	79 camps	6th after TX, SC, GA, AL, AK
1901	93 camps	tied 5th with AK after TX, SC, GA, AL
1904	102 camps	5th after TX, GA, SC, AL
1905	102 camps	5th after TX, GA, AL, SC
1908	83 camps	4th after TX, GA, SC
1909	84 camps	4th after TX, GA, SC
1910	88 camps	3rd after TX, GA
1911	89 camps	3rd after TX, GA
1912	84 camps	3rd after TX, GA

Between April 1893 and August 1901, various issues of the Confederate Veteran contained membership reports from individual camps. These numbers indicate that camps within Mississippi ranged from as low as 19 members to as high as 1,327 -- with totals in the three digits the most common and rosters of two digit figures less common than those of four digits. The consistency of these tallies over the course of this time span suggests that after a camp's initial organizational report, the editor simply used the same statistics for subsequent membership totals. Further evidence as to the unreliability of this source appears when the sum of Mississippi members reported in 1900 and 1901 far exceeded the number of the state's Confederate veterans enumerated a decade earlier in the 1890 U.S. Census.

Appendix 4: United Daughters of the Confederacy Chapters in Mississippi

Listed according to a chapter's first appearance in Mississippi Division, UDC Convention Minutes.

1896	
Columbus	Columbus Chapter No. 34[1]
Greenville	B. G. Humphreys Chapter No. 82
Meridian	Winnie Davis Chapter No. 24
Vicksburg	Vicksburg Chapter No. 77
1897	
Aberdeen	R. E. Lee Chapter No. 116[2]
Grenada	Dixie Chapter No. 153
Jackson	Ben La Bree Chapter No. 118
Okolona	Okolona Chapter No. 117
1898	
Greenwood	J. Z. George Chapter No. 228[3]
Macon	Walter Barker Chapter No. 242[4]
Marion	Stonewall Jackson Chapter No. 191
Mayersville	Ellen Martin Chapter No. 219
McComb	R. E. Lee Chapter No. 196
Port Gibson	Claiborne County Chapter No. 223
Rolling Fork	Stephen D. Lee Chapter No. 218
Yazoo City	Jefferson Davis Chapter No. 216[5]
1899	
Corinth	Corinth Chapter No. 333[6]
Holly Springs	Edward Cary Walthall Chapter No. 290[7]
Natchez	Natchez Chapter No. 304
Winona	B. F. Ward Chapter No. 342
1900	
Iuka	John Marshall Stone Chapter No. 394[8]

[1]Vivian C. Drake, "Stephen D. Lee Chapter No. 34, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Columbus, Mississippi," manuscript, Vertical File: "Organizations-- Columbus MS--UDC--Stephen D. Lee Chapter," CLPL.
[2]Lucille Peacock, Historical Sketches of Aberdeen, Mississippi (N.p., 1961).
[3]Mrs. Daisy P. Wright, "Way Back in 1898 Chapter of U.D.C. Is Organized Here," Greenwood Commonwealth, 14 March 1953, Subject File: "Greenwood--Clubs & Organizations," MDAH.
[4]John Anderson Tyson, Historical Notes of Noxubee County, Mississippi (N.p., 1928), pp. 125-26; "The Walter Barker Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Unveiling of the 'Monument to Our Confederate Dead,'" Noxubee County Historical Society, Noxubee County Mississippi Quarterly Bulletin No. 8 (December 1978): 6-8.
[5]Yazoo Historical Association, Yazoo County Story (Fort Worth, TX: University Supply & Equipment Co., 1958), pp. 148-51.
[6]Sam M. Nabors, History of Old Tishomingo County (N.p., 1940), pp. 7-8; Alcorn County Historical Association, The History of Alcorn County Mississippi (Dallas, TX: National ShareGraphics, 1983), p. 34.
[7]"History of the Edward Cary Walthall Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy," manuscript, Vertical File: "Clubs and Organizations," Drawer: "Holly Springs," Marshall County Library.

Oxford	Albert Sidney Johnson Chapter No. 379
Water Valley	Lamar Chapter No. 432
West Point	John M. Stone Chapter No. 380[9]
1901	
Coffeeville	Coffeeville Chapter No. 456
Columbus	W. M. Barksdale Chapter No. 353
Crystal Springs	Julia Jackson Chapter No. 331
Hattiesburg	Hattiesburg Chapter No. 422[10]
Hernando	Bedford Forrest Chapter No. 445
Jackson	W. D. Holder Chapter No. 458[11]
Lexington	Benj. Humprheys Chapter No. 463
Rosedale	Frank A. Montgomery Chapter No. 464
1902	
Baldwyn	Baldwyn Chapter No. 566
Magnolia	Magnolia Chapter No. 563
Meridian	Mildred Lee Chapter
Poplarville	Phelan Chapter
Sardis	E. S. Walton Chapter No. 547[12]
1903	
Biloxi	Beauvoir Chapter No. 623
Bolton	Robert E. Lee Chapter No. 690
Brandon	Brandon Chapter No. 688
Carrollton	H. D. Money Chapter No. 350
Centreville	Centreville Chapter
Enterprise	John W. O'Ferrall Chapter No. 701
Gulfport	Beauvoir Chapter No. 620
Holly Springs	Van Dorn Chapter No. 682
Itta Bena	Henrietta B. Reese Chapter
Kosciusko	Kosciusko Chapter No. 634[13]
Meadville	Franklin County Chapter
Ocean Springs	Ocean Springs Chapter No. 655
Okolona	W. F. Tucker Chapter No. 649
Raymond	N. B. Forrest Chapter No. 618

[8]Tishomingo County Historical and Genealogical Society, Tishomingo County Mississippi 1836-1997: History and Families (Humboldt, TN: Rose Publishing Co., 1997), p. 139

[9]Clay County History Book Committee, History of Clay County, Mississippi ([Dallas, TX]: Curtis Media, 1988), pp. 157-59; Ruth White Williams, On the Map 145 Years: The History of West Point, Mississippi 1846-1991 ([Dallas, TX]: Curtis Media, 1996), pp. 258-60.

[10]The History of Forrest County, Mississippi (Hattiesburg, MS: Hattiesburg Area Historical Society, 2000), pp. 79-80.

[11]"W. D. Holder Chapter (1901-1951)," manuscript, Subject File: "United Daughters of the Confederacy--W.D. Holder Chapter," MDAH; William D. McCain, The Story of Jackson: A History of the Capital of Mississippi, 1821-1951 Vol. 1 (Jackson, MS: J. F. Hyer Publishing Co., 1953), p. 298.

[12]"United Daughters of the Confederacy in Panola County," Panola Story 8 (July-September 1979): 19; Panola County Genealogical and Historical Society, History of Panola County, Mississippi (Dallas, TX: Curtis Media, 1987), p. 196.

[13]State-Wide Historical Research Project, WPA Administration for Mississippi Source Material for Mississippi History, Attala County Vol. 4, Part 2 (1936-38), pp. 587-88; Kosciusko-Attala Historical Society, Kosciusko-Attala History (N.p., 1976), pp. 198-99.

Terry	Albert Sidney Johnson Chapter No. 675
Utica	Utica Chapter No. 672
Webb	William Fitzgerald Chapter No. 696

1904

Bay St. Louis	E. C. Walthall Chapter No. 758
Edwards	W. A. Montgomery Chapter No. 787
Friars Point	General Wirt Adams Chapter No. 767
Laurel	Stephen D. Lee Chapter No. 820
Oakland	John D. Kerr Chapter No. 788

1905

Belzoni	Washington County Chapter No. 892
Black Hawk	Helen D. Bell Chapter No. 903
Canton	Capt. Addison Harvey Chapter No. 920
Clarksdale	Coahoma Chapter No. 870
Fayette	Jefferson County Chapter No. 896
Greenville	Private Taylor Rucks Chapter No. 913
Greenwood	Jefferson Davis Chapter No. 892
Gunnison	Mary E. Snipes Chapter No. 855
Houston	Chickasaw Guards Chapter No. 847
Laurel	Sarah Eggleston Chapter No. 954
Learned	William Barksdale Chapter No. 852
Pontotoc	R. A. Pinson Chapter No. 850[14]
Starkville	Regina Harrison Lee Chapter No. 830
Tupelo	Tupelo Chapter No. 888[15]
Wesson	Albert Sidney Johnson Chapter No. 467

1906

Durant	A. Madden West Chapter No. 973[16]
Ellisville	Jefferson Davis Chapter No. 979
Martin	William T. Martin Chapter No. 994
Ripley	Thomas Spight Chapter No. 937

1907

Cleveland	Bolivar Troop Chapter No. 1067
Clinton	Mississippi College Rifles Chapter No. 1003
Goodman	Robert E. Lee Chapter No. 1007
Gulfport	Gulfport Chapter No. 1068
Liberty	Liberty Chapter
Moss Point	Moss Point Chapter No. 992
Pass Christian	Pass Christian Chapter No. 1028
Sallis	Long Creek Rifles Chapter No. 1041
Swan Lake	Stonewall Jackson Chapter No. 975
Vaiden	Vaiden Chapter No. 978

1908

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[14]WPA State-Wide Historical Research Project, Source Material for Mississippi History, Pontotoc County Vol. 53, Part 3 (1936-1938), pp. 313-16; Callie B. Young, ed., From These Hills: A History of Pontotoc County (Pontotoc Woman's Club, 1976), pp. 657-58.

[15]"Report of U.D.C. Meeting," Tupelo Journal, 31 March 1905, p. 1; "Crosses of Honor Bestowed by Daughters of the Confederacy," Tupelo Journal, 27 October 1905, p. 1.

[16]Durant, Mississippi Centennial Celebrating 100 Years of Progress 1858-1958 (N.p., 1958), p. 38.

Beulah	Gov. Charles Clark Chapter No. 1144
Coffeeville	Yalobusha County Chapter No. 1033
Greenville	Margaret Hayes Davis Chapter
Hazelhurst	Charles E. Hooker Chapter
Indianola	Capt. G. W. Paris Chapter No. 1095
McGee	William Thompson Chapter No. 1195
Mendenhall	Robert Durr Chapter No. 1161
Mount Olive	Captain John T. Fairely Chapter
Scranton	Twiggs Rifles Chapter No. 113
Shelby	George B. Shelby Chapter No. 1120
Utica	Col. S. B. Thomas Chapter No. 1123
West	Gen. A. M. West Chapter
1909	
Booneville	D. T. Beall Chapter No 1185[17]
Brookhaven	Sylvester Guinn Chapter
Charleston	W. Scott Eskridge Chapter No. 1174
Eupora	Eupora Chapter No. 1182
Florence	Gen. Robert Lowry
Hermanville	Frank H. Foote Chapter No. 1210
Itta Bena	Mildred Maury Humphreys Chapter No. 1198
Maben	Maben Chapter No. 1180
New Albany	George Washington Renfroe Chapter No. 1173
Saratoga	Westville Guards Chapter
Verona	Roman S. Thomas Chapter No. 1222
1910	
Byhalia	Boys in Gray Chapter
Collins	Collins Chapter
Como	Como Chapter No. 1315
Flora	Flora Chapter
Forest	Forest Chapter No. 1229
Hattiesburg	Gen. N. B. Forrest Chapter No. 1295
Heidelberg	Jasper County Chapter No. 1221
Isola	Gen. Robert Lowry Chapter
Kilmichael	Mounted Rangers Chapter No. 1258
Marks	Riverside Chapter
Philadelphia	William L. Bassett Chapter
Prentiss	Prentiss Chapter
Seminary	Seminary Chapter No. 1238
Tillatoba	Joseph E. Johnston Chapter
Valley	Valley Chapter
Waynesboro	Lundy Gunn Chapter No. 1246
1911	
Belzoni	Belzoni Chapter No. 1384
Brooksville	Noxubee Rifles Chapter
Columbia	Dr. Zeno S. Gross chapter No. 1330
Meridian	Col. H. M. Street Chapter No. 1359
Petal	Petal Chapter No. 1340
Quitman	Major G. L. Donald Chapter
Ruleville	Ruleville Chapter No. 1383

[17]Prentiss County Historical Association, History of Prentiss County Mississippi (Dallas, TX: Curtis Media, 1984), pp. 128-29.

Water Valley	Mollie Derden Brown Chapter
1912	
Ackerman	Jefferson Davis Chapter No. 1421
Brookhaven	Brookhaven Chapter No. 1188
1913	
Gulfport	Gulfport Chapter
Pascagoula	Twiggs Rifle Chapter No. 1139
1914	
DeKalb	William J. Overstreet Chapter No. 1424
McComb	McComb Chapter No. 1442
Shannon	Shannon Chapter
1915	
Lula	Lyda C. Moore Chapter No. 1568
1916	
Amory	Amory Chapter No. 1585[18]
Blue Mountain	General M. P. Lwrey Chapter No. 1608
Caledonia	Caledonia Chapter No. 1606
Marks	Ben Humphreys Chapter
West Point	Laura Martin Rose Chapter No. 1425
Woodville	Carnot Posey Chapter
1917	
Batesville	General Calvin Brooks Vance Chapter No. 1649[19]
Nettleton	Nettleton Chapter
Senatobia	P. M. B. Wait Chapter
Starkville	Starkville Chapter No. 1662
Wiggins	Frank Danley Chapter
1919	
Booneville	D. T. Beall Chapter[20]
1920	
Maeben	Maeben Chapter No. 1442
1921	
Itta Bena	Itta Bena Chapter
1927	
Newton	Thomas H. Wood Chapter
Poplarville	J. M. Shivers Chapter
1928	
Hattiesburg	Madge Hopkins Holmes Chapter

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[18]William H. Mattison, "Amory United Daughters of the Confederacy," Journal of Monroe County History of Mississippi 19 (1993): 22-24.
[19]Panola County, History, p. 196.
[20]Howard Carpenter, History of Booneville and Prentiss County (Booneville, MS: Milwick Printing Co., 1956), pp. 103-4.

<u>1933</u>

Centreville	Wilkinson County Chapter No. 1875

<u>1939</u>

Grenada	Grenada Chapter No. 2084

<u>1955</u>

Columbus	Mathilda Morton Chapter No. 2194
Jackson	Corinne Deupree Chapter No. 2199

<u>1956</u>

Macon	Noxubee Chapter No. 2221
Meridian	Meridian Chapter No. 2225

<u>1957</u>

Starkville	Putnam Darden Chapter No. 2243

<u>1970</u>

Jackson	Ellison Capers Chapter No. 2315
McComb	Brent Rifles Chapter No. 2137

<u>1976</u>

Lyman	Augusta M. Sykes Chapter No. 2400

<u>1981</u>

Tupelo	John J. Hart Chapter No. 2443

<u>1982</u>

Canton	Capt. Samuel J. Ridley Chapter No. 2430

<u>1993</u>

Batesville	Robert Henry Tubbs Chapter No. 2456

<u>1996</u>

Hernando	Capt. S. C. Bains Chapter No. 2508[21]
Horn Lake	Varina Davis Howell Chapter No. 2559
Kosciousko	Attala County Chapter No. 2593
Meridian	Robert E. Lee Chapter No. 2561

Chapters with no clear dates of origin:

Bay Springs	Joe Blankenship Chapter
Blanton	Stephen D. Lee Chapter
Inverness	Inverness Chapter
Lake	Davis-Lee Chapter
Mathiston	Mathiston Chapter No. 1442
Moorehead	Moorehead Chapter
Purvis	Mary Ann Randolph Custis Lee Chapter No. 2583
Shuqualak	Shuqualak Chapter

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[21]Tate County Mississippi Genealogical & Historical Society, <u>The Heritage of Tate County Mississippi</u> (Dallas, TX: Curtis Media, 1991), pp. 161-62.

Appendix 5: Confederate Service Versus Union Soldier Representation in the WPA Slave Narratives of Mississippi

Confederate

Lewis Adams of Copiah County
Nathan Best, inmate of Beauvoir
Charlie Blackwell of Tippah County
Peter Blewett of Gulfport
Tom Bones of Warren County
Elodga Bradford of Claiborne County
David Brandon of Carroll County
Wiley Brewer of Lowndes County
Sam Broach of Kemper County
Richard Bush of Adams County
Nick Carter of Washington County
Frank Childress, inmate of Beauvoir
George Washington Chiles
Holt Collier of Washington County
James Cornelius of Magnolia
Howard Divinity of Copiah County
Simon Durr of Copiah County
William Flannagan of Attala County
Turner Fox of Quitman County
Pet Franks of Monroe County
John Gregory of Winston County
Davey Harrison of Lowndes County
Albert Hamilton of Tallahatchie County
"Army Jack" in Lowndes County
Many Jones of Harrison County
John McKinney of Winston County
John Martin of Washington County
John Middleton of Madison County
Fannie Minter (nurse) of Grenada County
Elbert Myers of Carroll County
Henri Necasie of Pearl River County
Dempsey Pitts of Coahoma County
Isaac Potter of Simpson County
John Price of Winston County
Isaac Pringle of Lauderdale County
Jack Rabb of Lowndes County
Ephriam Robinson of Warren County
Noah Rogers of Warren County
Tuck Spight of Tippah County
Isaac Stier of Adams County
Henry Warfield of Warren County
J. W. Washington of Hinds County

Union

Edmond Bradley of Harrison County
Frank Childress, inmate of Beauvoir
Mack Henderson of Warren County
Julius Jones of Coahoma County
Bunk Ratliff of Copiah County
Noah Rogers of Warren County
Rose Russell (nurse) of Warren County
Berry Smith of Scott County
Elmo Steele of Copiah County
Ben Wall of Benton County

Appendix 6: Grand Army of the Republic Posts in Mississippi

The following GAR posts are listed according to their appearance in the convention minutes of the Louisiana and Mississippi Department of the GAR between 1891 and 1903. The W. T. Sherman Post and the Charles W. Cady Post took the numbers of disbanded posts, thereby causing the inconsistency in numerical sequence. After 1898, the minutes discontinued membership tallies for individual posts.

1891

Vicksburg, MS -- Vicksburg Post, No. 7

1889 26 members
1890 31 members
1891 36 members
1892 28 members
1893 8 members
1894 delinquent
1895 10 members
1896 10 members

1892

Natchez, MS -- Ransom Post, No. 16

1891 104 members
1892 44 members
1893 70 members
1894 62 members
1895 61 members
1896 48 members

Vicksburg, MS -- R. B. Elliott Post, No. 17

1891 146 members
1892 86 members
1893 58 members
1894 62 members
1895 49 members
1896 54 members

1893

Bellevue [later Shelby], MS -- W. T. Sherman Post, No. 2

1892 34 members
1893 delinquent
1894 12 members
1895 delinquent
1896 10 members

Jackson, MS -- Charles W. Cady Post, No. 8

1892 20 members
1893 18 members
1894 12 members
1895 14 members
1896 14 members

Vicksburg, MS -- E. D. Edwards Post, No. 22

1892 83 members
1893 83 members

1894 101 members
1895 118 members
1896 110 members

Natchez, MS -- John A. Logan Post, No. 24

1892 108 members
1893 137 members
1894 85 members
1895 87 members
1896 76 members

Greenville, MS -- Greenville Post, No. 25

1892 27 members
1893 delinquent
1894 delinquent
1895 delinquent
1896 suspended

1894

Chatham, MS -- Daniel Ullman Post, No. 28

1893 27 members
1894 33 members
1895 24 members
1896 20 members

1895

Bovina, MS -- W. F. [sometimes listed as "F. W."] Stringer Post, No. 30

1894 25 members
1895 20 members
1896 13 members

Warrenton, MS -- Frederick Douglass Post, No. 32

1895 28 members
1896 31 members

1896

Port Gibson, MS -- James Lynch Post, No. 33

1895 delinquent
1896 suspended

1897

Duncansby, MS -- Duncansby Post, No. 38

1898

Edwards, MS -- Osterhaus Post, No. 42
Ebenezer, MS -- Ebenezer Post, No. 44
Fayette, MS -- Gen. W. W. Dudley Post, No. 45

1899

Glen Allen, MS -- Glen Allen Post, No. 46
Summit, MS -- Vandergriff Post, No. 47

1901

Leland, MS -- Leland Post, No. 50

<u>1902</u>
Horn Lake, MS -- A. J. Smith Post, No. 55

<u>1903</u>
Rodney, MS -- Rodney Post, No. 57
Vicksburg, MS -- General Garfield Post, No. 58

Vita

Sally Leigh McWhite was born in Fort Valley, Georgia on July 7, 1968. She attended schools in St. Louis, Missouri; North Little Rock, Arkansas; Jackson, Tennessee; and McComb, Mississippi -- graduating from McComb Public High School in 1986. The following August she entered Rhodes College in Memphis, Tennessee. In 1990, she graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in International Studies and Economics. She entered the history graduate program at the University of Mississippi in 1992, completing a Master of Arts degree in 1994 and a Doctorate of Philosophy in 2003. She is currently employed as a Library Specialist at the Archives and Special Collections in the J. D. Williams Library at the University of Mississippi.