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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA  
RIVERSIDE

“Something Terrible Happened Here”  
Memory and Battlefield Preservation in the Construction of Race, Place, and Nation

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction  
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

by

Susan Chase Hall

March 2013

Dissertation Committee:

Dr. Catherine Gudis, Chairperson

Dr. Molly McGarry

Dr. Rebecca Kugel

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2013

The Dissertation of Susan Chase Hall is approved:

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Committee Chairperson

University of California, Riverside

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## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

“Something Terrible Happened Here”  
Memory and Battlefield Preservation in the Construction of Race, Place, and Nation

by

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Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in History  
University of California, Riverside, March 2013  
Dr. Catherine Gudis, Chairperson

This dissertation considers the changing place of race at nationally preserved battlefields from the Civil War and Indian Wars. As sites of contestation and carnage, these preserved spaces serve as strong indicators of the power of place that dominated America’s ethos and national identity during the nineteenth century. The battles themselves resulted from power struggles over land, property, economic expansionism, and race-based debates. These conflicts over place and people did not end with a defeat or victory on the battlefield. They transitioned into a second phase that continued to use battlefields as sites of negotiation over racial entitlement and disenfranchisement. This dissertation argues that preserved battlefields are landscapes expansive in nature, crossing time and space. They are not evidence of one year, one day, or one event. These battlefields actually reproduce historic environments to fit the needs of those preserving and viewing them. In other words, the spaces are cultural landscapes, representing constructed spaces reflecting the processes in which culture—and cultural conflict—manipulates, affects, and frames nature over the long twentieth century (1865-present).

While contending with the challenges of contemporary America, preservationists and visitors used these battlefields to contribute to the larger national project intent on (re)defining who had the power and access to be included in the national narrative.

Historically, the Anglo male dominated collective memory on the preserved battlefields. As such, it is presumed that these battlefields are purely masculine and Anglo in nature. This dissertation indicates that this is not the case. Sentimentalism was a key tool utilized by preservationists to control memories. Through sentimentalism, battlefields became semi-fictitious spaces based on selective and dramatic accounts of the past. They did not preserve a pure narrative of nineteenth century warfare; instead, they preserved desired interpretations of the past to better serve the present. Today, Native Americans and African Americans utilize preserved battlefields to present their own voices, inserting themselves into the nation's collective memory. It is the ongoing relationship between memory, nature, and nineteenth century warfare that is at the heart of this research.

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## PROLOGUE

In 1915, my great-grandfather, Frank Joseph Sladen, and his new wife, Susan Catherine Andrus Sladen, left Detroit, Michigan on their honeymoon. The newly married couple set out on an automotive tour of the east—sharing with one another sites of personal significance so that her past memories would become his and vice versa. They made it as far east as Miss Porter’s in Farmington, Connecticut, where Susan attended boarding school during her formative years. Like many middle-class tourists who set out to explore the country in their automobiles in the early decades of the twentieth century, Frank and Susan documented their journey with a camera. Through the lens of the camera, they captured the public nature of early heritage tourism—as the nation preserved its natural and historic sites across the country in an effort to physically record what made the nation great. Frank and Susan’s photographs not only reflected what made the nation great but what made it personal. They practically applied scholar Van Wyck Brook’s call to arms to define “what is important to us” by creating a history of their own rather than one prescribed to them.<sup>1</sup> One of the couple’s many stops along their automotive journey was at Gettysburg National Battlefield in Pennsylvania—then under the stewardship of the War Department. While traveling the roads of the preserved battlefield, Susan took a photograph of Frank in his military uniform next to a monument to the 33<sup>rd</sup> Massachusetts Regiment (**Figure 1.1**). Located along Slocum Avenue southeast of town, the carved boulder commemorates the regiment’s efforts in support of battery engagements on Cemetery Hill and the repulsion of Confederate advancements.



(Figure 1.1) Frank Joseph Sladen at Gettysburg, 1915. Hall family photo.

While the image encapsulates the *public* nature of early tourism and the significance of Civil War sites in historic preservation, Susan and Frank's photograph also highlights the *private*, sentimental nature of their honeymoon tour. Standing at ease a few feet away from the monument, Frank's removed hat rests at his left side. Rather than gazing at the camera, he looks solemnly toward the base of the stone monument. Frank's pose for the camera is significant, because his father, Joseph Alton Sladen, enlisted as a member of the regiment in Lowell, Massachusetts. It is unclear whether Sladen, then aide-de-camp of General Oliver Otis Howard, actually camped with his regiment at the time of the battle. Regardless, Frank stood next to the monument to connect with the past and, more importantly, connect with his father who died four years earlier. His stance displays silent prayer or a reflective moment of respect for his father and his Civil War



service. Rather than capturing a public moment between Susan, Frank, and the viewer, the camera lens reveals a private moment that traverses space and time to bring together father and son, veteran and newly enlisted military physician. Significantly, it is a private moment replicated by numerous other veterans, reenactors, and loved ones since the monument's erection in 1885. However, by using the camera to record personal moments such as this one, Frank and Susan—along with other individuals wishing to engage with the past—also preserved the moment with others in mind. Frank, after all, stands sideways so that he and the monument face the camera. The young couple, therefore, captured the moment for posterity, for their children and future grand-children.

Frank and Susan preserved the moment for me—affecting not only my attachment to the Gettysburg Battlefield, the 33<sup>rd</sup> Massachusetts Monument, and the Civil War but also to my great-grandparents. In the spring of 2001, while studying off-campus at American University in Washington, D.C., my family and I visited Gettysburg National Battlefield. We documented the occasion by taking our own photograph at the 33<sup>rd</sup> Massachusetts Monument. Just as my great-grandfather did eighty-five years earlier, my dad, sister, and I stood by the monument, posing for my mother as she took the picture (**Figure 1.2**). Like Frank and Susan, our photograph connected the past with the present and future. We were products of Frank's photographic intention.



(Figure 1.2) Susan Hall, Catherine Hall Wong, and Sladen W. Hall at Gettysburg, 2001. Hall Family Photo.

The “product” of Frank and Susan is most evident through my father, Sladen, who has a strong emotional connection to his grandparents. In the photograph, he wears a University of Michigan sweatshirt—associating his love of the football team with his grandfather, because they attended games together in his youth. My sister and I also share a close bond with Susan, acting as her namesakes (Susan and Catherine). While we connect to the past through Susan and Frank, our view of that past differs greatly from theirs. This is visibly evident through our posture. While Frank stood respectfully distanced from the monument, I lean directly up against it, and all three of us smile at the camera rather than solemnly at the monument. Frank displayed a sense of somber pride in his father, but we exhibit a sense of joyful pride in our ancestral past. We, after all, did not directly connect to Joseph Alton Sladen through the monument, because we did not

personally know him. Our memories of him stem from stories passed down to us through photographs that we, in turn, produce and pass down to future generations. We, too, are memory-makers.

Although my photographic reaction differed from Frank's on that spring day, I still felt a connection to Joseph. Through this carved, stone object and the "naturally" preserved landscape, I embraced a physical, touching, and even sacred link to this soldier and the Civil War. Growing up in California, the war was always something "out there"—something that happened far beyond my own small worldview. Visiting the battlefield and bonding with my ancestor through the landscape drastically altered my understanding and "memory" of the Civil War.

I was so moved by my attachment to the landscape, that battlefield preservation became my calling after graduating from DePauw University in 2002. For three years I worked for the Civil War [Preservation] Trust, dedicating my time and energy to the non-profit intent on preserving the nation's most significant and endangered Civil War battlefields.<sup>2</sup> My time at the CWPT—and the numerous tours I took—only encouraged my love of preserved battlefields. In 2005 I returned to school—excited to bring my love of historic preservation back into an academic setting under the auspices of a Masters and PhD in History at the University of California, Riverside.

In 2009, while working as a fellow for the Society of Architectural Historians, I made my way back to the D.C.-metro area and Civil War battlefields. I spent a fair amount of time in Sharpsburg, Maryland, documenting Antietam National Battlefield's

War Department era structures (1890 – 1933) for the National Park Service’s Historic American Buildings Survey.<sup>3</sup> As post-war artifacts, the structures reflected the early phases of battlefield preservation rather than the Civil War itself. That summer, I again returned to Gettysburg with family. This time, I took photographs beside the 33<sup>rd</sup> Massachusetts Monument with my aunt, cousin, and his wife. I watched and listened as my family experienced the same connection with Joseph I felt eight years earlier. Yet, my understanding of the monument and the battlefield now differed. My view of historic preservation and preserved battlefields had changed since my last visit. The love and emotional connection I felt to my Civil War ancestor and the Civil War itself was now a bit skewed. My graduate school experience dulled my sense of nostalgia and, instead, an uncontrollable need to analyze the constructed nature of historic preservation emerged. Rather than caring about the historic nature of the battle itself, I found myself studying the physical artifacts of Gettysburg’s commemorative and interpretive efforts in the post-war period. I considered how the process of public memory throughout the long twentieth century led me to this very battlefield and encouraged my own emotional reaction.

For good or for bad, I now saw a different battlefield than my aunt, cousin, father, sister, mother, and even great grandfather, Frank. I no longer felt the same pure, romantic longing for a past that I never knew. Through the camera lens of 1915, 2001, and 2009, I saw a larger world that expanded beyond the battlefield itself; I saw how the preserved battlefield reflected much more of my own time (and my great grandfather’s time) than just the Civil War past. I now looked in at the nation’s memory-making process of the Civil War past through a scholarly lens. To say that my analysis was objective, however,

would be misleading. My familial connection to the battlefield would not allow me to lose an attachment to the site. My personal relationship to the battlefield makes me a memory-maker, just like my great-grandparents, parents, and all the generations of visitors and “managers” of the battlefields. Today, however, I am a conscious memory-maker that simultaneously analyzes the nation’s complex and intriguing memory-making process. It is this self-reflective transformation of my own role in battlefield preservation and memory-making that led me to this point and this dissertation.

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<sup>1</sup> Van Wyck Brooks, “On Creating a Usable Past” in *Van Wyck Brooks: The Early Years: A Selection from His Works, 1908-1921*, Claire Sprague, editor (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1968), 224-225.

<sup>2</sup> At the time of my employment (2002-2005), the organization was known as the Civil War Preservation Trust. In 2012, the non-profit officially changed its name to the Civil War Trust.

<sup>3</sup> My time with HABS/HAER/HALS resulted in five Historic American Buildings Survey reports now stored at the Library of Congress. Susan C. Hall, “Antietam National Battlefield, Observation Tower, HABS No. MD-934-A,” in *Historic American Buildings Survey* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 2009); Susan C. Hall, “Antietam National Cemetery, HABS No. MD-936-A, C-E,” in *Historic American Buildings Survey* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 2009).

## **Introduction**

### **LOVE IS A BATTLEFIELD**

On July 27, 2005, *Boston Globe* correspondent Diane Daniel began her piece on Fredericksburg, Virginia's tourism industry by exclaiming, "if love is a battlefield, that could explain why 'Virginia is for Lovers...'"<sup>1</sup> Daniel's reference to eighties pop icon Pat Benatar and Virginia's tourism slogan in a single swoop, though humorous and clever, is not necessarily a joke. As she states, "Virginia is overrun with Civil War battlefields," and the state's extensive preservation of these battlefield sites suggests a true "love" of the Civil War past. Virginia is not alone in its affinity for nineteenth-century battlefields. In certain portions of the country, battlefields from the American Civil War and Indian Wars play an integral part in establishing a public memory of the past and a local, regional, or national collective identity.

### **For Love of the Land: Twenty-First Century Sentiment of Nineteenth-Century Wars**

Those who visit the physical landscapes of the United States' nineteenth-century Civil War and Indian War battlefields often idolize them as witnesses to great events, people, or activities—raising them on a pedestal of historic validity.<sup>2</sup> Visitors venerate them as icons—using them to highlight war's gore and glory. At Antietam Battlefield in Sharpsburg, Maryland tourists look out on a landscape where 23,000 soldiers were killed, wounded, or sent missing—marking it as the single bloodiest day in American history. In Spotsylvania County, Virginia, the public visits the site where Confederate General Stonewall Jackson's own men mortally wounded him at the Battle of Chancellorsville—

said to have turned the entire course of the Civil War. The bloody Big Hole landscape near Wisdom, Montana marks one of the battlefields along the Nez Perce's 1877 retreat—Chief Joseph's famous "last stand" against Anglo settlement and the government's reservation system. Sand Creek in southeastern Colorado allows visitors to see where Colorado Militia clashed with the Cheyenne and Arapaho during the Plains Indian War during the settlers' violent attempt at native eradication in the name of statehood.

Historian Richard Francaviglia argues that visitors to these historic sites get swept up in the notion of the battlefield as an historic artifact, in part due to the sweeping visual gaze that enables them to take it all in, without disruption:

Whatever their shape, heritage landscapes possess sufficient design integrity to appear as if they belong to another time. The idea of the view or vista...is essential to the understanding of heritage landscapes. It assumes that the viewer will experience an image sufficiently large...to be readily recognized as artifactual evidence of the past.<sup>3</sup>

A battlefield is situated in time as the nineteenth century past and in space bounded by the location where the conflict took place. By virtue of its designation (and visitation) as a battlefield, the landscape is anointed as a "relic." In discrediting the notion of America's "historical amnesia," Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen discovered that "visits to museums and historic sites made respondents feel extremely connected to the past." Rosenzweig and Thelen learned that "Americans believe they uncover 'real' or 'true' history at museums and historic sites."<sup>4</sup> In other words, the public visits preserved battlefields in an effort to learn about and experience the "real" history of the nineteenth-century United States.

Visits to these nineteenth-century sites of bloodshed and trauma can be more than intellectual exercises of education. They also lead to a deeply personal and emotional experience with the past. In *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches from the Unfinished Civil War*, reporter Tony Horwitz notes how visitors to the Shiloh battlefield feel a familial, even religious connection to the bloody landscape and those who died on it.<sup>5</sup> Edward Linenthal's *Sacred Ground: Americans and their Battlefields* suggests that Americans visit battlefields for the purpose of experiencing environmental intimacy and a sacred connection to the past.<sup>6</sup> What grew out of disparity and hatred becomes a love affair for those removed from the heat of battle and nineteenth-century war. Ironically, a sentiment of affection, compassion, and nostalgia is born out of a landscape that promoted bloodshed and violence to settle deeply rooted debates over race, space, and nation.

### **Cultural Landscapes: Looking Behind the Curtain of Battlefield Preservation**

Yet nostalgia and sentiment only add to the complexity and importance of how the landscape may be engaged as a means of viewing or experiencing the past. Battlefields are landscapes more expansive in nature, crossing geological time and the social production of space. This dissertation argues that as mediated, ever-evolving artifacts of memory rather than authentic relics of the past, battlefields function as sites of public involvement.<sup>7</sup> According to philosopher Pierre Nora, memories operate as active agents of contemporary life, not unfiltered views into history. They are “non-threatening” environments where citizens (and non-citizens alike) try to come to terms with the political, economic, and social status of the nation and their role in it. Despite being



presented as visual, 4-D portals into the past, preserved battlefields actually *reproduce* historic environments to fit the needs of those viewing them. Visitors bring their own circumstances and wishes to the site and its interpretation. At the same time, preservationists—a malleable term used in this dissertation to describe individuals and groups of people seeking to save battlefields—use these landscapes most commonly to encourage a shared view of the Civil War and Indian Wars that promotes a collective understanding of contemporary society. In other words, memories established via preserved battlefields serve as a form of individual catharsis while simultaneously mobilizing constituents for civic engagement.

Acknowledgment of inauthenticity, however, threatens the very nature of preserved battlefields. In losing their originality and historic legitimacy, battlefields lose their authority and aura, much like the great Wizard of Oz when exposed behind his curtain. The intent of this dissertation is to remove the veil of unquestioned authenticity and authority from these preserved battlefields by exposing the complex memory-making processes behind them.<sup>8</sup> However, these sites will not lose their significance. Instead, they will encourage a new, public history of battlefield preservation; they will forge a new path, serving as sites of self and collective reflection, making transparent the very relationship between history, memory, and civic engagement that has guided them all along. Nearly one hundred years after Van Wyck Brooks' lamentation over prescribed history, this dissertation will pull back the curtain to reveal who and what drove the previously set narratives of the preserved battlefields. In exposing what was important to them, we can better consider "what is important to us."<sup>9</sup>

By removing the veil that keeps battlefields squarely in the nineteenth century past, this dissertation examines battlefields as *cultural landscapes* that are not fixed in meaning. They are not evidence of one year, one day, or one event. Rather, they represent constructed spaces reflecting the processes in which culture—and cultural conflict—manipulates, affects, and frames nature over the long twentieth century (1865-present). As cultural landscapes, battlefields become tools utilized by preservationists—politicians, the federal government, local residents, racially defined communities, and concerned citizens—to publicly redefine the relationship between race, space, and nation.

Cultural landscape studies enriches the analysis of preserved battlefields by denouncing the idea of static spaces. Geographer Carl Sauer's theory, the *morphology of the landscape*, examines space as a continuous process of manipulation. As the agents, cultures act out upon the medium of the land ("nature").<sup>10</sup> In this instance, the agents—historic preservationists—use the land—preserved battlefields from the nineteenth century—to not only reconsider the place of race in the nation's historic narrative but the place of race in their own contemporary time. French philosopher Henri Lefebvre takes his examination one step further with his theory of the *active production of space*. He suggests that "different layers of time are inscribed in the built landscape, literally piled on top of each other...."<sup>11</sup> A closer look at these preserved battlefields reveals the impact these different agents have had on the landscape over time. By excavating the past, Lefebvre argues that the landscape exposes a heterogeneous space rather than the image of a homogeneous one often put forth by those in power or those currently in control.<sup>12</sup>

For much of the long twentieth century, historic preservationists—those with the power and those competing for the power to publicly memorialize battlefields—helped maintain this illusion of a homogenous, nineteenth-century space of battle.<sup>13</sup> A legend circulates among National Park Service employees that a female tourist approached a ranger at Gettysburg National Battlefield in Pennsylvania. Recognized as one of the bloodiest battles of the Civil War, Gettysburg led to more than 51,000 casualties among Union and Confederate soldiers. According to lore, the woman came to the park ranger with a confused look on her face and asked, “Why did so many soldiers die? Why didn’t they hide behind all of the monuments?”<sup>14</sup> The legend produces laughs and eye rolls among park rangers, exemplifying the hierarchy of knowledge and understanding between those who work at preserved battlefields and those who visit them. It suggests that among the general population, a romanticized “love” for the past misconstrues what these battlefield sites were—a bloody site of war—and what they are today—a memorial.

However, as stewards of the sites, empowered by the federal government, the National Park Service’s (NPS) very charge is to serve as guardians of “unimpaired” natural and cultural resources that will “inspire” ever after.<sup>15</sup> One way that the NPS often fulfills this mandate is by preserving one particular moment in time, simplified, idealized, and seemingly impermeable to revised interpretation. This holds true for battlefields, too. Edward Linenthal suggests that

Physical preservation is designed to preserve the sanctity of the site itself and to separate sacred space from surrounding secular space. There are often attempts to restore or to “freeze” the natural landscape of the battlefield as it was at the time

of the battle so that visitors can reflect on the meaning [and significance] of the epic event in an “authentic” landscape.<sup>16</sup>

In accordance with federally recognized guidelines, Native-Anglo and Civil War battlefields are meant to be “physical record[s] of [their] time, place, and use.”<sup>17</sup>

Preservationists offer historic sites as products, used to legitimize the past through their unaltered state of authenticity, described in formal NPS guidelines as “integrity.”<sup>18</sup> In doing so, however, the NPS, its mission, and its rhetoric, often encourages the romanticized, sanitized attachment visitors develop.

The federal government encourages a sterile vision of battlefields so much so that even those studying cultural landscapes miscategorize them. In the Introduction to *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, Arnold Alanen and Robert Melnick include a photograph of the Fredericksburg battlefield and attach the following caption:

A historic Civil War battlefield scene at Fredericksburg, Virginia. Battlefield sites generally commemorate events that occurred over a few days only. Preserving such scenes, which represent only a snapshot in time, poses different questions and issues for managers and interpreters than do landscapes characterized by multiple layers of history.<sup>19</sup>

The authors find little fault with presenting battlefields as snapshots of the past rather than recognizing them as ever-evolving artifacts, continuously reconstructed to grapple with collective memory and national identity. Historic preservationists turn to material forms of memory-making, such as battlefields, to help them work through complex notions of citizenship and civic identity, past *and* present. David Lowenthal put it well when he wrote, “the past thus conjured up is, to be sure, largely an artifact of the present. However faithfully we preserve, however authentically we restore, however deeply we

immerse ourselves in bygone times, life back then was based on ways of being and believing incommensurable with our own.”<sup>20</sup> As nationally significant sites, these cultural landscapes must be classified as unique artifacts, used by preservationists to mediate between the past and present for a public audience.

The National Park Service uses the concepts of authenticity, integrity, and significance at historic sites to establish a visible boundary between the past and present. Therefore, a disjuncture emerges between what the NPS intends the historic site to be seen as and the messy, layered meanings that have actually constructed the site over the years. Nationally preserved sites are anything but isolated spaces protected by the federal government for the benefit and ownership of the American people.<sup>21</sup> Preserved battlefields reflect changing and competing interpretations of the relationship between people and land. The widely accepted boundaries used to gauge the quality of integrity at historic sites makes it difficult—and sometimes undesirable—to acknowledge change over time. However, in promoting a static interpretation of battlefields, preservationists ignore that they themselves work as active participants in the memory-making processes that produce layered landscapes with multiple histories. Upon closer examination, the battlefields reveal consecutive and competing generations of preservationists who understood the relationship between race, space, and nation in many different ways. Over time, preservationists have used the battlefields to present numerous different narratives about race and the nineteenth-century past, thereby producing many different contemporary lessons regarding race, citizenship, and national identity.

The battlefields are, therefore, artifacts of war but not of a single day, event, or battle. Instead, as this dissertation demonstrates, they document years of post-war interpretive “battles” that play out on the landscape. These battlefields record layers of competing national narratives influenced by the post-war conflicts defining the nation racially, spatially, and economically throughout the long twentieth century. Federal Reconstruction, Jim Crow, Indian Removal, the era of expansionism and imperialism, the Great Depression, the Cold War, the Civil Rights Movement(s), and 9/11 all affected the collective memory of the Civil War and Indian Wars. Recognizing these sites as artifacts of nineteenth-century wars shaped by post-war memory-making processes helps expose the battlefields’ multiple-purpose function. While preserving nineteenth century racial and spatial conflicts regarding the nation’s republican ideals of liberty, citizenship, and rights, the battlefields actually provide a physical forum for their continued debate.

### **The Key Motivator: Sentimentality**

Although this dissertation exposes battlefields as multiple layers of post-war memorialization and education, one particular element remains constant across space and time: sentimentality. According to philosopher Robert Solomon and feminist theorist Teresa Brennan, sentimentality relies on the affective transmission of emotion and passion to understand and internalize the subject at hand.<sup>22</sup> Scholar June Howard explains that although it is difficult to define sentimentality, it can most abstractly be understood as the relationship between emotion and lived experience, “the moment when emotion is recognized as socially constructed.”<sup>23</sup> To the annals of academia, socially constructed emotions cloud historical reason, suppressing rationality and impeding objectivity. In

other words, sentimentalism is used to develop a socially constructed nostalgia, establishing a yearning for the past rather than a “natural” understanding of it.<sup>24</sup> In the past, academics believed sentimentality had no place in the objective sphere of historical scholarship. Only recently have they reconsidered this critical treatment toward sentimentality, recognizing its pervasive power over history. Historians such as Edward Linenthal, Timothy Smith, and Richard Sellars demonstrate that throughout the long twentieth century, their own emotional states guided conservationists to preserve battlefields.<sup>25</sup> Under the old rule of thumb, this suggests that nostalgia irrationally drove battlefield preservation rather than being reasonably driven by a clear, logical objective.

This dissertation argues that despite being driven by subjectivity and emotion, the prominent role of sentimentality on preserved battlefields was highly logical and effective. Sentimentality helped assign deeper significance to the Civil War and Indian Wars, establishing an emotionally driven collective memory that controlled the meaning of the past while simultaneously confronting social, racial, and economic challenges of the present. These contemporary concerns affected how preservationists conserved and interpreted the battlefields at any given time. Yet, emotions did not just encourage the federal government, local citizens, and regional and racial communities to invest time and energy into the preservation of the battlefields. These groups of people strategically employed sentimentality to influence how others understood the battlefields as well. An investigation of sentimentality’s steady and constant role in the preservation and interpretation of Indian War and Civil War battlefields lies at the heart of this dissertation. It analyzes how emotions helped forge a profound—yet changing—

relationship between historic preservation, race, and national identity, seamlessly creating a bond between the past, present, and future of the nation.

Historians have addressed what they call “the cult of sentimentalism” as a movement that progressed in two phases in the United States. Eighteenth-century sentimentalism is said to have developed in the public space of politics *and* the private space of the home. According to Mary Chapman, the eighteenth century inception “constructed the figure of the ‘man of feeling’ as a male body feminized by affect, a sort of emotional cross-dresser.”<sup>26</sup> Sentiment encouraged “manly virtue,” establishing a bond of brotherhood among those people seeking to found a new ideal of republicanism and popular sovereignty during the age of enlightenment. In addition to manly virtue, sentiment also encouraged the ideology of Republican Motherhood. Mary Beth Norton and Linda Kerber argue that this introduced the private, domestic, feminine space of the home to the nation’s early republican ideals. The nation’s future leaders would be nurtured with love and proper guidance in the home, learning their central duties as ideal citizens of republicanism.<sup>27</sup> In actuality, “brotherhood” and “motherhood” were limited ideologically; sentimentalism reached only those well-educated, literate, politically and economically engaged men influenced by the literary and philosophical movements of their age. In other words, the cultural and educated elite reserved the cult of sentiment for themselves. Despite the role of motherhood, eighteenth-century sentimentalism created a body politic comprised of well-informed, well-connected, public-minded *men*.



In the nineteenth century, however, the cult of sentimentality entered popular culture and the mainstream. As the United States established a more clearly defined boundary between the public and private spaces in the growing confines of the middle class, scholars argue, sentimentalism grew almost exclusively in the home. Logic and reason now dominated public spaces, leaving feelings and emotions restricted to the “weaker,” feminine space.<sup>28</sup> Mary Chapman contends that the home became the feminine realm,

where a woman’s influence reigned over the affections of her children and husband. For the man, domesticity offered a “haven in a heartless world,” where he could seek comfort after a day in the marketplace. The public sphere was a correspondingly masculine realm, a site of rational political discourse and economic production characterized by competition rather than sentiment...<sup>29</sup>

Historians Shirley Samuels and Laura Wexler explain that any number of mediums, most notably fictional literature, photography, and art, portrayed this feminine-driven sentimentality. Through these venues, sentimentalism was geared specifically at a female audience and/or portrayed images of feminine spaces.

Historical critiques of the nineteenth-century movement—even those reaching far into the twentieth century—argued that sentimentalism was a gender-specific tool relying on erratic feminine emotions, qualities undeveloped or used by those of the masculine sex of the nineteenth century. Rather than relying on logic and facts to gain support, nineteenth-century sentimentalists relied on the unstable drive of women’s emotions.<sup>30</sup> More recently, however, scholars indicated the central role feminine sentimentality continued to play in expanding and influencing the nation’s nineteenth-century body

politic.<sup>31</sup> It helped develop new relationships that introduced important questions regarding race, space, and national identity to a wider audience.

At the same time the cult of sentimentality developed in middle-class homes across the nation, a select group of Civil War and Indian War veterans began preserving the battlefields on which they once fought. Although preservationists claimed to preserve an undisturbed, unmediated historical artifact, sentimental attachment actually made the preservation of battlefields a subjectively driven action of affect. Emotions—both positive and negative—drove and defined the post-war relationship between Americans and these nineteenth-century battlefields. As far back as 1863, when President Lincoln dedicated the Soldiers Cemetery in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, affect played a key role in understanding the bloody landscape. This relationship between preservation and emotions was not lost on the public—even to those who disapproved of it. In reaction to the President’s now-famous address, a Massachusetts newspaper, the *Springfield Republican*, exclaimed positively that “his little speech is a perfect gem, deep in feeling....” On the contrary, the Democratic-leaning *Chicago Times* articulated that “the cheek of every American must tingle with shame as he reads the silly flat dishwattery [sic] remarks of the man who has to be pointed out as the President of the United States.... Is Mr. Lincoln less refined than a savage? ... It was a perversion of history....”<sup>32</sup> Like the artist’s deployment of fictional novels and photography, preservationists used battlefields to tap a particular set of powerful emotions. Through these emotions of pity, shame, pride, fear, and anger, they gained support and influenced how the public interpreted the battlefields’ significance. Sentimentalism, therefore, was a central tool of affect on the battlefields,

subtly and blatantly harnessing emotions to subjectively manipulate one's individual memory of a collective past. A closer examination of the nineteenth-century cult of sentimentality reveals that battlefield preservationists used a number of the same central components to achieve its aims.

### The Suffering Other

The relationship between the viewer, reader, or listener and the “sufferer” stood at the heart of sentimentality's calculated influence. It required a set of characters that experienced an inevitable hardship, lending themselves to sympathy and empathy from the reader or viewer; Jane Tompkins describes this association as sympathetic relations. Through sympathetic relations with the sufferers, the reader or viewer forged connections with the characters that obscured boundaries across space and time.<sup>33</sup> Shirley Samuels also explains, “as a set of cultural practices designed to evoke a certain form of emotional response, usually empathy, in the reader or viewer, sentimentality produces or reproduces spectacles that cross race, class, and gender boundaries.”<sup>34</sup> In other words, sentimentality broke down society's well-established boundaries.

It enabled the reader to feel compassion for “Others”—those unlike themselves. Though not always the case, writers manipulated sympathy by relying on the tragic circumstances of *female* sufferers and their families. For example, through Harriett Beecher Stowe's 1852 novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, female readers felt an emotional connection to the suffering of Eliza—a Kentucky slave determined to run away to keep her child from being sold further south. Likewise, Helen Hunt Jackson's 1884 tale

*Ramona* established sympathy among its female readers for the plight of the novel's Native American heroin and her husband who suffered discrimination and dispossession at the hands of California's government and greedy settlers. Because of sentimentality, female readers felt for the female slave's loss of a child or the native's fate to wander restlessly, far from their lost homeland. Preoccupation with the feelings of Others—slaves, Native Americans, and women—actually reflected one's own personal fears and desires.<sup>35</sup> Through the sufferer, the reader formed a relationship with a larger community of people comprised of other readers who shared their same fears and hopes. In doing so, readers formed an unlikely bond with each other, supporting a common cause against slavery and native dispossession.

In the case of battlefield preservation and interpretation, nineteenth-century sentimentalism became a tool by which preservationists could produce this response of empathy in others while simultaneously understanding the battlefield sites themselves. Crossing temporal boundaries, sympathy affected both the preservationists' and visitors' memory of the Civil War and Indian Wars. On the preserved battlefields, individuals came together with the collective nation of American people, making the private and public as one and inseparable. Visitors became a part of a larger, national community on the battlefields by relating to the suffering of the common soldiers who fought and died there. Familial understanding gained the most sympathy. Visitors felt pain at the realization that these soldiers were someone's sons, brothers, and fathers; they left behind wives, mothers, and children. In her work entitled *This Republic of Suffering*, Drew Gilpin Faust not only explores the toll of war on the common soldier but their families as

well. War did not just cause physical pain; it drained people emotionally. She notes, “after the bloody battles in Virginia in the spring of 1864, when Grant’s Army suffered 65,000 casualties in about seven weeks, the Washington directory office was almost overwhelmed with families and friends in search of news.”<sup>36</sup> Like novels, preserved battlefields were mediating tools of cultural production, enabling visitors to experience similar sentiments of grief and empathy felt by those during the war. Standing on the preserved battlefields where thousands had died, visitors could imagine their own emotional pain at the loss of a loved one. In their common connection to the nineteenth-century soldier, preservationists and visitors also developed a relationship with one another.

#### Private Emotions for a Public Aim: the Big Questions of Nationhood

The research of twenty-first century historians, Faust among them, indicates that despite nineteenth-century criticism of feminine sentimentalism and its supposed absence from the masculine public sphere, it was a key part of the nation’s public space. Today’s historians and authors demonstrate that nineteenth-century nationalism and statehood did not pick up where sentimentalism left off—on the doorstep of the home.<sup>37</sup> According to Samuels, the masculine body that comprised the nation—and its citizens—opposed the feminine space, the private, and the sentimental. However, just as in the eighteenth century, nineteenth-century “women were responsible for managing the relation between national embodiment and national bodies.”<sup>38</sup> Nationhood linked intricately to the home, domesticity, and sentimentalism. Amy Kaplan argues that domesticity does not just refer to *home* but the *homeland*.<sup>39</sup>

By establishing a public community out of private emotions, historians today interpret sentimentality not as its own genre—deployed *by* women in the home *for* women in the home—but rather as an operation or tool used to achieve larger aims of influencing the “national project.”<sup>40</sup> American sentimentality helped characterize a nineteenth-century project intent on envisioning the nation and its citizens by asking and addressing some of the country’s “big questions.” While consumed in the home, women used sentimentality as a tool in the public realm of culture and politics—broaching difficult subjects that helped define and redefine the course of the new—and expanding—country. Rather than through factual logic, however, these writers of sentimental fiction tackled the abstract notion of nationhood through personal emotion. They addressed the larger questions of national identity plaguing the second and third generation of Americans and advocated for a new place for race in the “national project.”

Some critics argue that the “national project” silenced emotions and encouraged a “national embodiment...[that] repeatedly excluded the racial...body.”<sup>41</sup> However, historians Cari Carpenter, Shirley Samuels, and Jane Tompkins, among others, disagree. Authors and activists such as Harriett Beecher Stowe and Helen Hunt Jackson did have a public intent—a national intent. In many instances, these authors used sentimentalism as a tool, connecting the readers or viewers with the “Others” in order to address issues of racial otherness and constitutional equality. They used familial love to debate deep political issues such as racial entitlement and disenfranchisement, as well as its relationship to freedom, citizenship, and sovereignty.<sup>42</sup> Through sentimental literature, readers better understood the plight and predicament of women, slaves, and Native

Americans. They used fiction and controlled imagery as a tool to publicly challenge who had the requisite power to be included as part of the national project.

As memorial spaces operating under the same premise, preserved battlefields also had the potential to publicly control (or challenge) who had the requisite power to be included and excluded as part of the nation's project. The central role of sentimentalism in battlefield preservation only communicates further that people did not leave emotions on the doorstep of their homes. In their interpretation of the battlefields, preservationists glorified the suffering of the citizen soldier on the battlefield where he, according to preservationists, fought, died, and was buried in the name of his homeland and the national project he devoted his life to. Those soldiers left their families in order to pursue a new national agenda. They left the safety and comfort of their home to suffer for the nation—to help define what it would become. Soldiers of the Civil War and Indian Wars became “citizen soldiers” who suffered for a larger principle—a purpose presented, preserved, and ultimately challenged through the landscape of the battlefield. Personal, individual emotions, inextricably linked to the belief in a larger public good, drove them to the battlefield and those same patriotic emotions shaped the preservation, interpretation, and memory of the bloody spaces—connecting those who suffered on the battlefields with those who visited them later.

Like their literary equivalents, however, preserved battlefields were semi-fictitious spaces based on melodramatic accounts of the past. They did not preserve a narrative of the past; they preserved desired interpretations of the past to better serve the

present. As opposed to their bloody, wartime counterparts, these now bloodless battlefields contributed to the *post-war* project which debated who had the requisite political power and access to be included in the nation *as well as* in its collective memory of nineteenth-century warfare. Where African Americans and Native Americans fit into the collective memory of the battlefields actually reflected where preservationists believed they “fit” in the present. In addition to politicians, economists, and the general population, they debated if and how the nations’ minorities would be included in this national experiment and under what terms. Preservationists harnessed emotion and feminine domestic rhetoric to bolster the post-war landscape’s significance in that debate. For example, at his Gettysburg Address, Lincoln articulated the foundation of the nation in feminine, familial terms to redefine the place of African Americans after the Emancipation Proclamation: “Four score and seven years ago our *fathers* brought forth on this continent a new nation, *conceived* in liberty...” Lincoln utilized the personal domain of the family to address his goals of redefined liberty—goals that he, as a preservationist—not a soldier—wanted to identify and control.

For many battlefield tourists, these national goals remained abstract and beyond the scope of their personal lives—defined through vague terms such as liberty, equality, freedom, and rights. Sentiment, however, made these abstract concepts personal, connecting visitors to the land through the citizen soldier who, according to preservationists, fought for these very ideals. The private—but simultaneously shared—emotions of battlefield visitors served a public aim in addressing the theoretical, ideological, and practical questions regarding citizenship and freedom.<sup>43</sup> In controlling



memories of why the citizen soldier fought, preservationists believed they controlled the big questions of race and nationhood that their post-war world faced.

### Relations of Sympathy or Relations of Power?

This desire to control and change the post-war world through battlefield preservation reveals the contradictory element of nineteenth-century sentimentalism. Samuels points out the fine line between the relations of sympathy and the relations of power.<sup>44</sup> While some preservationists and visitors harnessed sentimentalism to establish change in racial inequalities, this was not the case for all sentimentalists. In fact, Laura Wexler's research indicates that pro-imperialists used sentimentality as a key tool for the United States' sanction of nineteenth-century colonialism abroad. Sentimentality's "innocent eye" and "gentle delivery" deceived and manipulated—hiding a dirty underbelly that reasserted a racial hierarchy between the United States and the "Others" it "helped" around the globe.<sup>45</sup> Maternalism and intimacy provided an "invisible persuasion," ultimately controlling how much the general public understood of the nation's role in colonialism. Colonial-driven sentimentality supported American Exceptionalism and Anglo-American superiority under the guise of benevolent good, hiding the selfish, greedy, manipulative interests at the heart of its expansion abroad.<sup>46</sup>

Sentimentalism employed on the preserved battlefields of the United States threatened to hide the dirty underbelly of the nation's continental expansion as well. By emotionally connecting visitors to the citizen soldiers, collective memory often silenced or sidelined a number of other important players. Like domestic imagery of colonialism

abroad, soldier-focused sympathy on the battlefield marginalized the causes and outcomes of the wars, most notably slavery and native dispossession. By sidestepping African Americans and Native Americans in the past, preservationists could also ignore the deep racial conflicts plaguing their present. Through genuine sympathy for the dead, preservationists controlled the absence of any racial contestation on and through the battlefield. They removed race, racism, and racial conflict from the meaning of nation and nationhood when in actuality, as this dissertation reveals, the two sets of concerns were one in the same.

Although battlefield preservation supports Wexler's findings that sentimentality was used as a tool of racial control and marginalization, Native American Studies scholar Cari Carpenter asserts that the use of nineteenth-century sentimentalism did not have to act against the Other. In fact, Carpenter's research in *Seeing Red: Anger, Sentimentality, and American Indians* indicates that African Americans and Native Americans themselves made use of sentimentalism as a tool to gain support and voice their frustration against a government and nation that continued to marginalize their rights as part of the national body.<sup>47</sup>

Carpenter argues that sentimentality served as a means of activism for Native Americans at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>48</sup> Like their Anglo counterparts, Native American sentimentalists examined deeper questions of nation and nationhood. When used by native activists, however, sentimentalism defied traditional, Anglo-centric interpretations of "nation" and "nationhood" and instead reintroduced the idea of internal

colonialism in a supposedly post-colonial society. It questioned America's exceptionalism as a benevolent helper by recognizing that more than one "nation" populated the continent despite the United States' best efforts to eradicate or assimilate them for personal gain.<sup>49</sup>

African Americans challenged the nation's sanitized vision of nation and nationhood as well through sentimentality. In her book, *Photography on the Color Line*, Shawn Michelle Smith demonstrates how African Americans used sentimental domestic imagery in photography to dispute their second-class status in a supposedly "equal" society. In 1900, at the World's Exposition in Paris, France, African American scholar and activist W.E.B. DuBois unveiled his American Negro Exhibit in an effort to portray African Americans as worthy members of the nation's political body. Through domestic and familial imagery, DuBois visually articulated an image of African Americans that questioned the dominant narrative of racial inferiority.<sup>50</sup>

Throughout the long twentieth century, two competing applications of sentimentality emerged on the preserved battlefields. One helped maintain a racially exclusive status quo while the other challenged whose domestic imagery was emphasized. Native and African American activists used this alternative domestic imagery in an effort to promote their larger goals of civil rights, constitutional change, and cultural agency. Through sentimentalism, African Americans and Native Americans used preserved battlefields to encourage contemporary racial change by redefining

nationhood to be more racially inclusive and multi-faceted. In doing so, they also influenced the collective memory of the Civil War and Indian Wars.

My analysis of nineteenth-century battlefields indicates that by the second half of the twentieth century, preservationists' and visitors' sympathies expanded beyond the citizen soldiers and the battlefields themselves to suffer with and feel affection for those Native Americans and African Americans affected by the causes and outcomes of nineteenth-century warfare. They felt a connection to those freedmen emancipated by the Civil War and sorrow for those natives dispossessed of their lands as a result of the Indian Wars. In coincidence with the national, grassroots civil rights movements, this sentimental attachment to Others, concrete and complex understandings of nation-building and national identity slowly began to replace the battlefields' abstract, simplified, and romanticized memories.<sup>51</sup> This dissertation demonstrates that by sympathizing with Native Americans and African Americans, battlefield visitors were more likely to recognize, though not necessarily act upon, the racial inequalities that too often defined "nationhood."

### The Prominent Emotions of Sentimentalism

These components comprising the cult of sentimentality—a relationship with the sufferer, a larger connection to "nationhood," and sentimentalism as a form of control, agency, and change—are central to both nineteenth-century sentimentalism and battlefield preservation. However, emotions themselves remain the driving energy behind the cultural forces shaping the sites and how they are interpreted. Historians of nineteenth-century (and twentieth-century) sentimentalism demonstrate that emotions—

considered personal and private—are actually a social construct of affect, manipulated by time, place, and community.<sup>52</sup> Erika Doss explains that they are the driving force behind “heated struggles over self-definition, national purpose, and the politics of representation.”<sup>53</sup> Scholars such as Doss, Carpenter, and Sianne Ngai earmark a number of different feelings that most strongly establish a controllable connection between the sufferer, reader or viewer, and the nation.<sup>54</sup> This dissertation indicates that preservationists effectively utilize these same emotions in the conservation and interpretation of Civil War and Indian War battlefields.

A number of these emotions are what Ngai defines as ugly feelings.<sup>55</sup> Ugly feelings such as envy, anxiety, and disgust result from the suspension or restriction of agency.<sup>56</sup> These “sentiments of disenchantment” as Paolo Virno interprets them, often result from a rapidly changing society.<sup>57</sup> In this instance and others, this change is traumatic, resulting in a heightened sense of emotions.<sup>58</sup> *Fear* of change (an uncertain future) and fear of loss (the past) encourages romanticized, sanitized memories and can result in another reactionary emotion: *anger*. Sentimental anger often includes the central components of entitlement. Whether from an Anglo, Native, or African American perspective, anger is a righteous emotion—promoting one’s own rights over those that threaten them. It emphasizes a sense of entitlement, often spurred on by the threat of loss, denial of privileges, or the actual action of confiscation. Anger aggressively asserts deliberate power through rhetoric and physical action at the peril of loss and change.<sup>59</sup> Although perhaps reactions to different cultural, political, and social problems, the public display of these feelings acts as an aggressive, active form of sentimentality.<sup>60</sup>

Yet, not all emotions utilized by sentimentalists were or are so aggressive or “ugly.” Although these sentiments rely on action and rhetoric, they also harness symbolic imagery and artistic expression to gain support. *Spiritually*-driven emotions, for instance, reliant on secular sacredness, internal meditation, and divine intervention, are more “attractive”; they possess a redemptive tone rather than a vindictive one.<sup>61</sup> People employ spiritual emotions to combat feelings of loss and denial in a more affable manner. Reliance on something bigger and more powerful than humankind helps prevent change while simultaneously encouraging it.<sup>62</sup>

Perhaps the most exploited emotion pervading American sentimentalism, however, is *love*. Although love takes many different forms, familial love dominates actions, rhetoric, visual imagery, and artistic expression in an effort to gain understanding.<sup>63</sup> Love takes the direct approach by relying on one’s own emotional attachment to family; however, it also takes the more symbolic route, relying on the use of indirect objects and imagery to link domesticity—which lacks emotion—to love, which *is* emotion. Through the family, the domestic space of the house becomes a home. In both a literal and figurative sense, *home* becomes the physical and symbolic locale where one’s family, and thus, love, resides. As a result, the home extracts a strong emotional connection to love. It becomes a place of comfort, tenderness, safety, and joy. Such feelings encourage people’s love affair with the past, or, as David Lowenthal argues, people love the past because “we are at home [there]... the past is where we come from.”<sup>64</sup>

### The Uniqueness of Battlefield Sentimentalism

Like the feelings essential to nineteenth-century sentimentalism, the battlefield landscapes explored in this dissertation are social constructs. Although they rely on the same components and emotions to influence the collective memory of the past, important factors distinguish this battlefield analysis from other scholarly works on American emotion and affect. First, battlefields are a unique venue to make use of sentimentalism. Unlike other culturally constructed mediums conveying sentimentality, such as photography, literature, and art, preservationists rely on the culturally constructed concept of “nature” to laud the battlefield’s superior authenticity.<sup>65</sup> Battlefields make use of *all* of the senses. Visitors must stand and physically experience these landscapes of warfare in order to fully understand their relationship to collective memory and national identity. The visitors’ stance alone—meaning the very place from which they view the landscape—can shape their phenomenological experience and thus, the deeper meaning they take away.<sup>66</sup>

In addition to being physical venues of collective memory and national change, preserved battlefields complicate the historiography of affect and emotions. Until recently, scholars of American sentimentalism argued that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sentimentality had different goals and thus, deserved separate analysis. They limited their research to eighteenth century masculine public politics *or* nineteenth-century feminized private domesticity.<sup>67</sup> More recently, scholars noted that nineteenth-century sentimentalism served the same political function even though it was presented through the private, domestic, feminized space of the home.<sup>68</sup> Although fewer in number,

scholars of twentieth-century emotions argue that the political use of nineteenth-century feminized domesticity went public around the turn of the century; women introduced intimacy directly to the public to promote political change for women and the nation.<sup>69</sup> This dissertation, however, argues that even while private, parlor politics reigned, sentimentality already had a place in the public. Decades before scholarship's recognition of the "intimate public," feminized sentimentality played a key role in establishing—and maintaining—the nation's preserved battlefields. Emotions took a strong hold of the battlefields during their early phase of preservation in the nineteenth century, but they continued to serve an important role in preservation and interpretation even into the twenty-first century. Although the battlefields' narratives changed over the course of the long twentieth century (from 1862 to the present), sentimentality remained.

Despite recent strides in the historiography of affect studies, most contemporary scholars of American sentimentality still tend to demarcate its use across rigidly defined temporal and gendered lines. Eighteenth century men of letters and enlightenment relied on emotion while women in the domestic space of the home made it their domain in the nineteenth century.<sup>70</sup> Even scholars of the twentieth century's "intimate public," such as Lauren Berlant, Hazel Carby, and Laura Wexler, tend to focus on the role of affect and power along gender lines.<sup>71</sup> They argue that twentieth-century women relied on intimate emotions to promote change and air grievances.

The history of nineteenth-century battlefields tends to be understood along rigid temporal and gendered lines as well; they are interpreted as definably masculine in



nature, message, and memory. They symbolize a nation carved by guns, blood, grit, and “real power.” According to preservationists, the battlefields represent the “real” history of the nation—where blood determined its fate. Initially preserved by war veterans and the federal government, they stood in contrast to the passive, feminine landscape of the “home front,” articulating that the nation was tested, carved, and formed on the battlefield by men.

Although the nation accepts battles as purely masculine in nature, the preserved battlefields are not. In addition to redefining the place of race on the battlefield, this dissertation explores the changing place of sentimentality on it as well. Like Mary Chapman and the scholars who contributed to *Sentimental Men*, this dissertation “question[s] any uncomplicated gendering of sentiment as feminine.”<sup>72</sup> Carpenter suggests, in fact, that the intricate relationship between masculinity and violence has an innate femininity to it.<sup>73</sup> Thus, this dissertation recognizes that the unique qualities of Civil War and Indian War battlefields lead to a distinct, complicated understanding of the “intimate public” where domestic-dominated emotions of affection are used to preserve and interpret a male-dominated, nondomestic environment of violent action; it introduces the components of a private, domestic (i.e., sentimental) space to an extremely public, masculine, and open landscape. This falls more in line with what Chapman defines as the affect of masculine sentimentality—seemingly feminine emotions and imagery used by men to bolster their masculine, public agendas.<sup>74</sup>

As sites of nineteenth-century sentimentality, these spaces appear as contradictions—employing domestic imagery and rhetoric to boost a message centered on masculine warfare and the land. This dissertation, however, relies on nineteenth-century masculine sentimentality to reexamine the role of affect on preserved battlefields. Despite relying on Chapman’s analysis of the cult of sentimentality, it looks beyond her gendered boundaries of letters, prose, and time. Today, men, women, and children of all ages both influence and ingest the battlefields’ message through the well-established formula of nineteenth-century sentimentality. This dissertation moves into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries to examine affect’s sustaining power in driving the memory of preserved battlefields.

### **Sentimentality and the Nineteenth Century Wars**

Although preserved battlefields are unique examples of the cult of sentimentality in America, its ties to the bloody landscape did not just occur in a post-war environment of memory making. Sentimentality helped determine the course of bloody conflict itself, lying at the very roots of the Civil War and Indian Wars. Emotions, suffering, and perceived suffering were intricately linked to larger questions of nationhood that led to the nineteenth-century wars. Sentimentality acted as a—if not *the*—vital motivator in the heated, bloody, and deadly debate over space, race, and nation.

### **Love of the Land – Geographically Defining the Nation**

While the preservation of nineteenth-century battlefields confines the emotional debate over the “national body” to a limited piece of historic acreage, the battles and their outcomes literally helped define *the* national body in its entirety. The Civil War and

Indian Wars determined the United States' physical geographic borders. In 1893, historian Frederick Jackson Turner proclaimed that the American Frontier had closed; America's history was "...the history of the colonization of the Great West. The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward..."<sup>75</sup> Today, historians critically analyze Turner's thesis, recognizing his failure to acknowledge the vast number of complex racial relationships in the West—the very same relationships this dissertation emphasizes. Despite its narrow interpretation, however, Turner understood one particularly important idea that should not be overlooked: the *power of place*. Space lay at the heart of America's ethos. The land literally stood as a reminder and indicator of that ethos. The United States' political, social, and economic history could not be separated from the land that it progressively consumed into its national body. In fact, the Civil War and Indian Wars were fought over competing views of the national body's geographic makeup. Battlefields were nineteenth-century landscapes that resulted directly from power struggles over sovereignty and citizenship, land and property—who had entitlement to what land and thus, its available resources.

#### Want of the Land: Resources and Power

Although viewed through different lenses, both the Anglo Americans and Native Americans saw the land as a resource to be used for sustenance, consumption, power, and control. In his environmental work on colonial America, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*, historian William Cronon notes the different

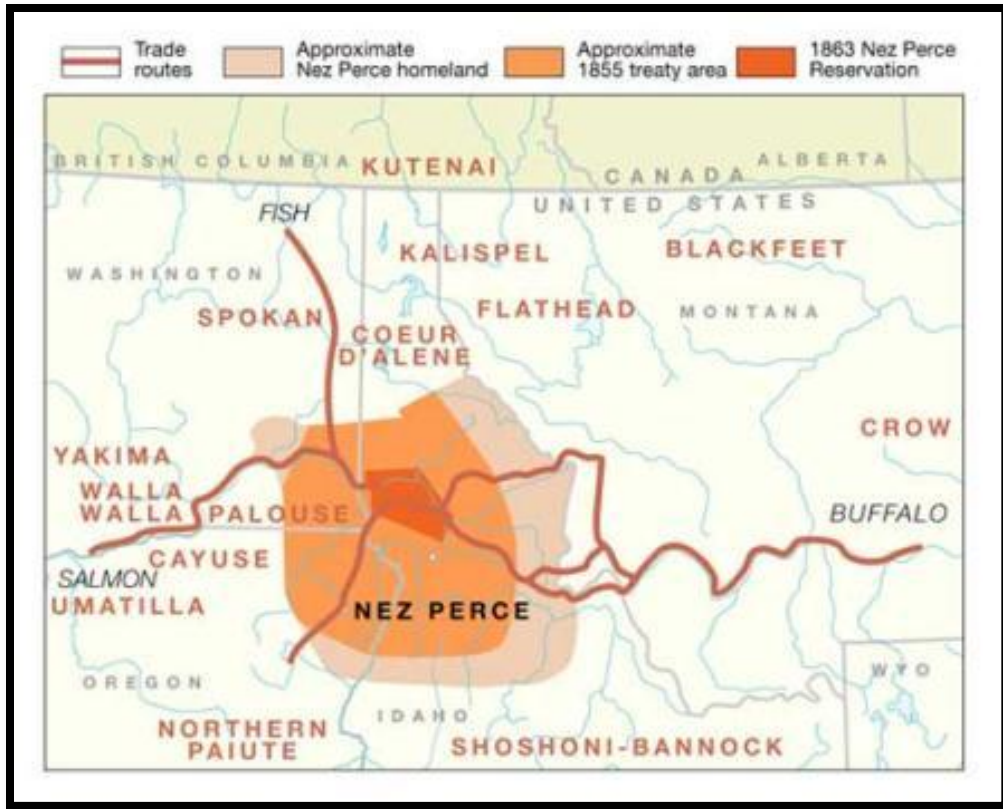
ways in which colonists and Native Americans understood the land they both occupied. Native Americans viewed land in mobile terms—traveling to and with the resources rather than controlling them. The colonists, on the other hand, viewed the land and its resources in fixed, stationary terms—through plowed fields, fences, and corralled animals.<sup>76</sup>

These competing and conflicting relationships with the land developed in the nineteenth-century West as well. The Nez Perce of the Columbia Plateau traveled as far east as the northern Great Plains, hunting buffalo and grazing. Hunting parties often stopped in the Big Hole Valley in southwestern Montana, taking time to rest and replenish themselves and their Appaloosa horses on the valley's lush grass.<sup>77</sup> Along their hunting route, they came in regular contact with the Flatheads who lived beyond the Bitterroot Mountains and the Crows of eastern Montana territory. The Cheyenne and Arapaho, who traveled from the north in the 1820s, gathered and traded wild horses on the plains of Colorado territory while hunting buffalo. For the Nez Perce, Cheyenne, and Arapaho, horses articulated the tribes' wealth—their ability to hunt more effectively, thus providing goods for trade, and maintaining a sustainable living for their people.

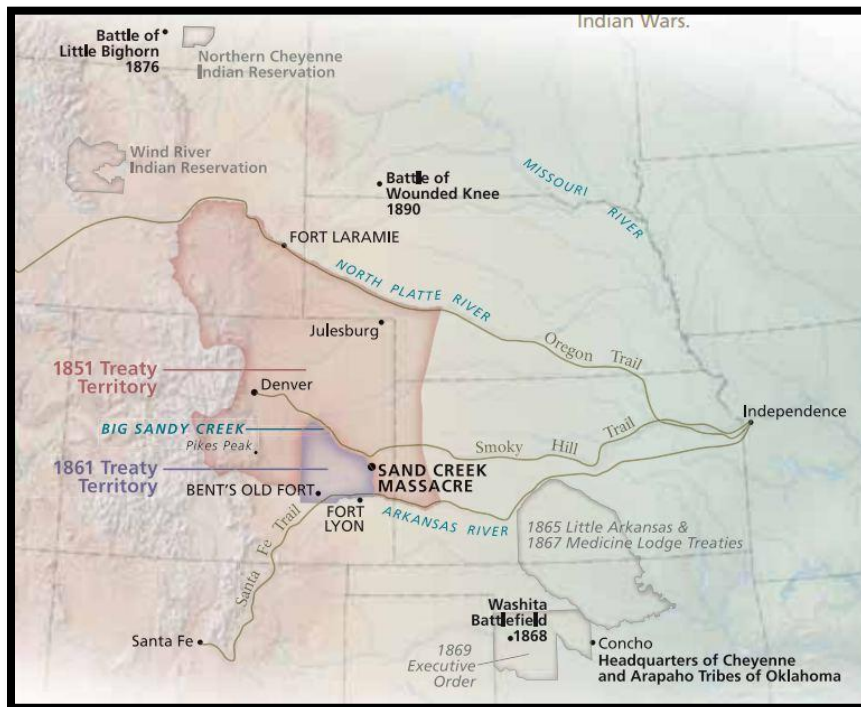
Importantly, the Nez Perce, Cheyenne, and Arapaho not only traded with other native tribes, they traded with those Anglo Europeans they had interacted with for several decades.<sup>78</sup> They came in contact with fur traders, missionaries, and early explorers from Russia, France, Spain, Britain, and the United States. As the nineteenth century progressed, natives saw an increasing number of Anglo Europeans enter their homeland

seeking to settle on the land rather than explore it. As migrants travelled to the lush, coastal regions of Washington and Oregon in search of gold, rich farmland, and lucrative business opportunities, the Nez Perce traded their horses for guns, ammunition, oxen, and other items.<sup>79</sup> The Cheyenne and Arapaho traded their horses with American settlers as they migrated west to Pike's Peak in search of gold or settled in and around the territory's grassland for ranching.

As more Americans migrated westward, however, they more fervently and permanently altered the landscape, manipulating the land and its resources to accommodate the lifestyle of more people. When Americans turned to the west for its gold, furs, and farmland, they built railroads, constructed barbed wire fences, and killed the buffalo to near extinction—creating a patchwork of land rather than the seamlessly flowing landscape the natives saw. Questionable treaties between the native nations and the United States further divided the land—partitioning the natives' traditional lands into smaller patchworks of reservations with limited access to the land's remaining resources **(Figures 2.1 & 2.2)**.



(Figure 2.1) The shrinking Nez Perce land. Courtesy of the National Park Service.



(Figure 2.2) The Treaty of Fort Wise, 1861. Courtesy of Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site.

### Sacredness of the Land

Western land, however, was not just a product to be consumed and traded for economic control and power, as Cronon suggests in *Changes in the Land*.<sup>80</sup> It simultaneously functioned as a sentimental, romanticized space for Native Americans and Anglo Americans alike; natives had it and Americans *desired* it. In essence, Americans had a love affair with land and the idea of land. In their yearning for it, Americans threatened to dislodge the attachment natives already had with the land. Therefore, in the nineteenth century, land was both practical and sentimental, inspiring emotions of fear, anger, love, and spirituality for the land itself. Ultimately, competing “affections” for the land became part of the hard science of economic imperialism that led to the Civil War and Indian Wars.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the United States took great strides to expand its borders and consume the space it loved so dearly. Rather than verbalizing its greed for the land, however, the nation relied on a higher power to justify its actions. The United States’ westward expansion and the resultant Indian Wars were heavily influenced by theoretical and divinely inspired belief in Manifest Destiny. According to journalist John O’Sullivan—first credited with the phrase Manifest Destiny—the nation had a “divine destiny” to “establish...the moral dignity and salvation of man” throughout the globe, because of its core noble values of equality and personal enfranchisement. In 1845, O’Sullivan explained that it was the nation’s “manifest destiny to overspread the

continent allotted by Providence for the free development of [its] yearly multiplying millions.”<sup>81</sup> By 1848, most Americans accepted Manifest Destiny as the law of the land on a personal and national level. It was the God-sanctioned destiny of the United States to expand from coast to coast, bringing its ideals of freedom and democracy, and its civilization to the entire continent. Acquiring land from coast to coast became a national goal, one that patriotically united north and south in a common aim. When the United States acquired California and the southwest from Mexico in 1848 at the conclusion of the Mexican American War, Manifest Destiny was “complete.” By the end of the century, artwork, photography, and literature captured the nation’s reliance on this sacred notion justifying years of bloody fighting against the Native Americans (**Figure 2.3**).<sup>82</sup>



(**Figure 2.3**) John Gast, *American Progress*, c. 1872. Columbia, the deified and personified version of the United States leads the nation’s citizens westward in accordance with Manifest Destiny. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

The settlers met bloody resistance from Native Americans who inhabited the west, because they, themselves, felt a spiritual connection to the land. Many native



nations believed their creator gave them their land, and they were not easily willing to give it up. The Nez Perce called more than twenty-five thousand square miles in the inland Pacific Northwest home, given to them by Coyote when he created them at the Heart of the Monster.<sup>83</sup> In speaking out against the 1855 Treaty between the northwest tribes and the United States, one Christian Yakima gave the consensus of the people, including his non-converted neighbors, among them many Nez Perce: ““God names this land to us...I am afraid of the Almighty. Shall I steal this land and sell it?””<sup>84</sup> In reflecting back on her ancestors’ relationship to the land, Elsie Maynard explains,

Our traditional relationship with the earth was more than just reverence for the land. It was knowing that every living thing had been placed here by the Creator and that we were part of a sacred relationship...entrusted with the care and protection of our Mother Earth, we could not stand apart from our environment.<sup>85</sup>

According to historian Elliot West, the Nez Perce were “some of the most geographically blessed people on this continent.”<sup>86</sup> When the advancing settlers and poorly constructed treaties threatened their geographical blessing, the Nez Perce fought for it.

Oral traditions and ceremonies indicate that the Cheyenne and Arapaho also felt—and continue to feel—a sacred connection to the resources of the Great Plains. According to tribal knowledge, the Creator gave a Cheyenne medicine man a sacred hat. When worn during the Sun Dance, the hat enabled the Cheyenne to control the buffalo, who gave themselves to the people for food.<sup>87</sup> The Creator gave another Cheyenne, Sweet Medicine, a sacred bundle of arrows. This bundle of arrows taught Sweet Medicine songs, prophecies, magic, and offered materials for warfare and hunting. Two of the arrows gave the Cheyenne power over the buffalo, helping them to hunt and herd

them for survival.<sup>88</sup> Together, the Buffalo Hat and sacred Arrows forged a covenant with the Creator, the Cheyenne, and the land. These objects gave them the power to obtain food, shelter, and clothing, as well as the strength to defend against their enemies.<sup>89</sup>

When the Arapaho's creator made the earth using his flat pipe, the buffalo cow took pity on the people and helped them by offering knowledge of survival.<sup>90</sup> As the United States and its citizens expanded across the continent—hunting buffalo for sport and using the land selfishly and carelessly—it encountered Native Americans who retaliated in an attempt to preserve their way of life and *their* sacred rights to the land and its resources.<sup>91</sup>

### The Land and Family

America's supposed God-sanctioned settlement of the West did not just contend with those natives who inhabited the land. They also had to contend with one another. The American Civil War threatened to destabilize the United States' relationship with the western landscape. From 1861 to 1865, the nation fought over whose interests and rights would be best served by the acquisition and settlement of the West. Southern plantation owners fought for the right to expand their large agrarian economies; they seceded from the Union, intending to dissolve the national body, under the argument that the federal government threatened to restrict their state sovereignty and right to westward expansion. On the other hand, Northern industrialists and small Midwest farmers saw the West as an opportunity for themselves—endangered by an oligarchy of powerful, influential, and rich southern plantation owners. They fought to preserve the national body, thereby defending the Union founded on democracy and “equality.”

While the political and economic role of the land played a crucial part in the Civil War, it was also about much more. Northerners and Southerners alike understood the Civil War and the conflict for western land in intimate, familial terms. Northerners feared the loss of the Union—itsself a term conjuring up images of marriage, referring to the joining together of two or more entities. In his 1858 speech campaigning for a senatorial seat, Abraham Lincoln announced that a house divided—north and south—could not stand: “I believe this government cannot endure” in its current condition.... I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided.”<sup>92</sup> The south, on the contrary, felt no other choice but to dissolve the Union, because, according to secessionists, it lost the ideals and principals of state sovereignty that the Founding Fathers believed in. Although all of the original states entered into a “sisterhood,” united under one nation, the south no longer felt protected under the federal government; instead, it felt vulnerable and exposed. On formally seceding from the Union, the State of Georgia explained, the Union “endeavored to weaken our security, to disturb our domestic peace and tranquility...”<sup>93</sup> Mississippi articulated that, among other things, secession was necessary because the federal government intended to ruin its agricultural and social system—destroying any remnant of “living together in friendship and brotherhood.”<sup>94</sup> Following in the footsteps of their fathers, southerners saw separation as necessary.

However, the Civil War was not just about the nation—symbolized as a teetering house or a fractured brotherhood; it was personal and private—directly influencing the lives and livelihoods of individual families. The West stood as a place of opportunity,

hope, and desire for Northerners and Southerners. They both believed they deserved access to this place. In the North, where industrialism, immigration, and the working class grew exponentially, the west offered a means of escape—reprieve from the growth of urbanism. The west offered an opportunity to break free from the controlling, dependent nature of factory-life and dwindling farmland in the east. Northern farmers and urban dwellers wanted to move west and establish homesteads—plots of land on which they could sustain themselves and their nuclear families. The west represented *change*. President Lincoln acknowledged the centrality of the individual home when he established the Homestead Act of 1862. Under the Act, he encouraged northerners to own and operate their own land west of the Mississippi River.

While many northerners saw the west as an opportunity to change their familial lifestyles and break from the confines of the east, secessionists hoped it would maintain their current familial lifestyle. Ironically, the south touted the Founding Fathers' decision to break from Britain, articulating the desire to follow in the footsteps of their patriotic predecessors. However, the Confederacy did not wish to promote change. Instead, secessionists wanted to extend their way of life on to the frontier. For southerners, the Civil War and the dissolution of the Union was necessary to maintain the agrarian lifestyle of the south—framed by the ideals and traditions of Jeffersonian democracy. According to the state of Georgia, the federal government intended to “subvert our society and subject us not only to the loss of our property but the destruction of ourselves, our wives, and our children, and the desolation of our homes, our altars, and our

firesides.”<sup>95</sup> Northern economics, politics, population growth, and modernization threatened to destabilize the traditional rights and values of the Old South.

Even those yeoman farmers without their own plantations felt a connection to the chivalric cultural system of the Antebellum South. According to Stephanie McCurry, yeoman farmers related to and supported the plantation economy as a goal and ideal because they themselves were masters of small worlds—smaller versions of the plantation system they aspired to politically, economically, and culturally. They ruled their families, clinging to the southern notion that the household and land, however small or large it may be, was their domain and space of control. Southerners feared the loss of this domain, this society of mastery and dependency.<sup>96</sup>

Whether turning to the west for change or maintenance in lifestyle, the Civil War itself destroyed many families and homes. Wives, mothers, and daughters lost husbands, sons, and fathers. At the Battle of Antietam in September of 1862, more than 23,000 Union and Confederate soldiers were killed, wounded, or missing—prompting many loved ones to travel to the battlefield in search of their fallen family. Confederate General Stonewall Jackson’s wife made her way to his deathbed in Virginia; when he died in May 1863, he left behind not only his wife but also a newborn daughter. When the soldiers did return home, what they saw and did on the battlefields still managed to permanently scar them—physically and emotionally. Southerners lost their homes, crops, familial property, and pride to the war and its outcome in favor of the North. Robert E. Lee, commander of the Army of Northern Virginia, lost his wife’s home on Arlington Heights to the federal

army who purposely made sure that Lee never returned to the outskirts of the capitol. Lee retreated to western Virginia disillusioned and disappointed by his exile.<sup>97</sup>

While the Civil War sent a shockwave of disillusionment and disappointment through the lives of families, it did not stop the flow of westward expansion. In fact, westward settlement increased after the Civil War, and as migrants traveled west, they pressured the federal government to secure the land—protecting them from harm and the natives who already inhabited it. In an effort to prevent violence but maintain an upper hand, the federal government and settlers utilized intimate familial language to encourage a well-established power structure with Native Americans. As wards of the United States, federal “fathers and mothers” were intended to help civilize and assimilate the native people of the west.<sup>98</sup> According to Ann Laura Stoler, sentimentalism introduced “intimate colonialism” as a key role in continental conquest.<sup>99</sup> For decades, U.S. interpreters documented natives’ references to their Great White Father in Washington, D.C. Through the myth of the Great Father, the United States claimed to “protect” their dependents. In an 1861 treaty with the Cheyenne and Arapaho, Article 4 explained the treaty would “protect the said Arapahoes and Cheyennes in the quiet and peaceful possession of the said tract of land so reserved for their future home...”<sup>100</sup> In his June 1864 proclamation to the Colorado settlers and native people, Governor John Evans exclaimed, “the Great Father is angry” for the misdeeds of the tribes against “peaceable citizens” in the territory.<sup>101</sup> Cheyenne Chief White Antelope pointed out the hypocrisy of such rhetoric. In September of 1864, Simeon Whiteley, Ute Indian Agent, recorded White Antelope as saying, “ever since [I] went to Washington and received this medal, I have called all

white men as my brothers. But other Indians have since been to Washington, and got medals, and now the soldiers do not shake hands, but seek to kill me.”<sup>102</sup> White Antelope recognized that Anglo Americans acted out of brotherly love only when it served their best interests.

Although this sentimental language articulated an American-centered power structure through symbolic familial hierarchy, the power of family and home also prompted Native Americans to fight back against aggressive settlers. While the promise of the west led northerners and southerners to fight one another, natives utilized the personal, familial nature of the land to retaliate against their changing environment. Natives of the west not only fought over the prospect of losing resources, they fought at the prospect of losing their families and homes. Familial honor and the fear of its disintegration led to action; many tribal members took any means necessary to preserve their ancestral heritage and own way of life. Lamenting the loss of land from an 1855 treaty, Chief Looking Glass of the Asotin band of Nez Perce cried out, “My people, what have you done? While I was gone, you have sold my country. I have come home, and there is not left me a place to pitch my lodge.”<sup>103</sup> One Nez Perce explained, “if your mother was here suckling you, and if someone took and sold her, ‘how would you feel then? This is our mother this country as if we drew our living from her.’”<sup>104</sup> This fear of losing one’s ancestral homeland grew even stronger after the Civil War. Upon nearing his death in 1871, Chief Joseph’s father, Joseph the Elder, articulated to his son that the land of the Nez Perce people, the land on which he was to be buried, could not be sold. He explained, “My son, my body is returning to my mother earth.... When I am gone, think

of your country. Always remember that your father never sold his country.... My son, never forget my dying words. This country holds your father's body. Never sell the bones of your father and mother."<sup>105</sup> Natives fought to protect their families and their memory.

### Racially Defining the Land

Yet, Anglo settlers did not view Joseph's father's body in the same way they viewed their own. While sentimental affection for land, family, and home inspired western settlement and retaliation among Native Americans, another key component factored in to both the Civil War and Indian Wars: race and racism. While the United States' political, social, and economic history could not be separated from the land that it progressively consumed, neither could its racial history.<sup>106</sup> Warfare could not be detached from the sentimental notion of Anglo-Americans' racial superiority and thus, their "right" to the land. However, the nation's complex and violent reaction to race and racial conflict in the nineteenth century indicated that there were no clearly defined lines regarding whose *bodies* would comprise the *national body* and under what terms. The Constitution left too much open to debate and emotions only heightened the race-based uncertainties of the nation's future land expansion.

Contrary to Turner's post-war thesis, the land out west was in no sense of the word "free." The attainment of space and how it would be utilized by individuals and their families defined the West. However, America's ethos rested on the appropriation of space at the expense of others. This dispossession benefited Anglo-Americans—north *or* south—at the expense of non-citizens such as African slaves and Native Americans.<sup>107</sup> The "colonization of the Great West," therefore, was also the colonization of peoples—



using race to justify continental expansion. Native Americans, Anglo-Americans, African Americans, Yankees, and Confederates fought over land and property but, more importantly, who had a right to it and why.

Out west, American settlers wanted to “tame the wilderness” by bringing a sense of “order” and “civilization” to the land and its resources. When native eradication appeared infeasible, the United States turned to “civilizing” the wilderness’s people, whom they viewed—for some time—as savages impeding on progress. They were an “inferior race,” perceived so because of their distinct cultural, religious, economic, and political traditions.<sup>108</sup> Settlers established clear spatial boundaries on the plains landscape because, according to William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin, they helped develop a clear separation between “us” and “them,” Anglo settlers and natives. The settlers’ boundaries gave them a permanent sense of entitlement to the land.<sup>109</sup>

However, Native Americans were not the only “inferior” Others central to western settlement and the United States’ nineteenth century wars. Prior to the Civil War, the North and South were not united on how the wilderness would be civilized—small, individual farms or large, plantation systems. Slavery lay at the heart of this debate over westward expansion and settlement. Westward expansion into new territories with the potential to support plantation economies served as a catalyst in the national debate over slavery. According to historian David Potter, the relationship between slavery and territorial expansion was a key cause—if not *the* main cause—of the Civil War.<sup>110</sup> Although perhaps dated, Potter’s 1976 argument has withstood the test of time, as

historians in the decades since have reiterated the point.<sup>111</sup> He states that “slavery suddenly emerged as a transcendent issue in its own right...the slavery question became the sectional question, the sectional question became the slavery question, and both became the territorial question...”<sup>112</sup> In considering the expansion of slavery out west, the conflict over property rights incorporated land and *people*.

Southerners viewed slavery as a God-sanctioned system both economically and socially beneficial to the nation—citizens and non-citizens alike. They justified the bondage of others by relying on familial and religious rhetoric that mirrored the argument against Native Americans. As uncivilized, uneducated, child-like heathens, slaves needed the safety and security of bondage. The plantation system and the master’s watchful eye protected them. According to Texas’s secession records,

...the servitude of the African race, as existing in these States, is mutually beneficial to both bond and free, and is abundantly authorized and justified by the experience of mankind, and the revealed will of the Almighty Creator, as recognized by all Christian nations; while the destruction of the existing relations between the two races, as advocated by our sectional enemies, would bring inevitable calamities upon both...<sup>113</sup>

Almost all southern states that seceded in 1860 and 1861 clarified that the federal government’s growing opposition to the expansion of slavery in western territories played a crucial role in their decision to withdraw from the Union. Former Vice President John C. Calhoun articulated that slavery was a domestic institution that the federal government had no right to interfere with.<sup>114</sup>

A portion of the northern abolitionists saw the Civil War as a means to end slavery—a system they viewed to be morally and religiously reprehensible.<sup>115</sup> However,

most Union sympathizers did not disagree with the expansion of slavery for moral or religious reasons. Instead, they based their arguments predominantly on labor practices and labor rights. According to David Roediger, the concept of “whiteness” and white supremacy emerged out of the Anglo-working-class population of the north who felt threatened by the South’s slave system. Idealistically, the United States promoted independence and liberty for individuals. In reality, the free market and the capitalists who controlled it threatened to remove the working class as benefactors of these ideals and instead equate them with the black slaves of the South. The development of these dual, competitive institutions demeaned and controlled wage workers as slaves of the free-market economy.<sup>116</sup> Despite restrictions and control by the middle class capitalists, white wage workers promoted themselves as “free labor” versus the humiliating “slave labor” of the south. “Free” land out west provided these wage workers with more jobs and even the opportunity to work for themselves on the land. Allowing slave labor in the western territories was, for many northerners, not a moral dilemma but a political and constitutional issue that undermined the northern institution of free, wage labor.<sup>117</sup>

The Civil War ended slavery; however, it did not end a national desire for territorial expansion and western land. As a result, the Indian Wars continued throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, as Native Americans fought back against a land-hungry nation that more aggressively settled the west and attempted to assimilate its native inhabitants. They fought back against new treaties further decreasing their nations’ holdings or removing them from their homelands entirely. They fought back against forced attendance of native youth at boarding schools intended to eradicate their native

traditions and replace them with a reliance on Anglo culture. Whether over the right to “own” people or land, the Civil War and Native-Anglo battles mark only the first phase of power struggles over race and property. These struggles displayed deep, national conflicts that not only defined the battles themselves but the challenge of their memorialization afterwards.

### **Conclusion: Sentimentality and the Preservation of the Battlefields**

These conflicts over place and people did not end with a defeat or victory on the battlefield. Instead, they transitioned into a second phase that, though less violent and visible, continued to use battlefields as sites of negotiation over racial entitlement and disenfranchisement. The battlefields are sites where the very fundamental meaning of the wars and their battles are continuously negotiated. While some preservationists attempted to establish a national memory founded on the identity of Anglo Americans, other preservationists developed counter-narratives intent on subverting these “official” memories. With sentimentality infused into the Civil War and Indian Wars themselves, it was only natural then that this second phase of power struggles—reflected in the preservation and interpretation of battlefields—would also harness sentimentality. This dissertation demonstrates that these preserved battlefields relied on emotion in order to contribute to the larger national project intent on defining and challenging who had the power and access to be included in the national narrative and collective identity.

In January 2011, Historian David Blight gave a lecture entitled “Several Lives in One” at the Huntington Library. His talk provided a historiographic account of Frederick Douglass’s biography. Blight contended that biographers of Douglass’s life did not

present the man himself to readers. Instead, they presented glimpses of the man as seen through the filtered interpretation of the authors. Rather than meeting, seeing, experiencing Frederick Douglass, readers got to know a constructed rendering of the man.<sup>118</sup> Through an in-depth analysis of sentimentalism and battlefield preservation, it becomes clear that visitors to nationally preserved battlefields experience a similar phenomenon. Framed by generational interpretations of the past, the battlefields not only offer a look into nineteenth-century warfare, but the twentieth-century economic, political, and social challenges that influenced these memories as well. Each generation introduced new questions, emotions, and answers regarding racial politics, national identity, and collective memory.

Rather than being understood as romantic, sanitized, beautified spaces, this dissertation interprets preserved battlefields as ever-growing, ever-changing, multi-dimensional memory projects. They are unique physical, cultural spaces preserving multi-generational and multi-racial accounts of nineteenth-century warfare, its causes, and its outcomes. As complex, multi-source spaces, historians must sift through and reinterpret battlefields from a post-war perspective. This dissertation researches four particular “battlefields” now under the stewardship of the National Park Service (Department of the Interior): Antietam National Battlefield (Sharpsburg, Maryland), Fredericksburg & Spotsylvania National Military Park (Spotsylvania, Virginia), Big Hole National Battlefield (Wisdom, Montana), and Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site (Eads, Colorado). When examined thoroughly, these landscapes reveal the continued power of race and affect in Civil War and Indian War memory. They document whose

feelings and emotions are included or excluded from the national narrative at any given point in time over the long twentieth century.

At the dedication of Gettysburg's Soldier Cemetery in November 1863, Lincoln exclaimed, "we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hollow this ground." The soldiers, he eloquently announced, already did so. Those who fought there decided the battlefield's legacy. The President believed that "the world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here."<sup>119</sup> For many battlefield visitors, this holds true. They visit famous battlefield sites such as Gettysburg and Little Bighorn to relive what the soldiers did there and to connect with those who died there. Yet neither Lincoln's words—constituting one of his most famous speeches—nor his deeds at Gettysburg were forgotten. His address reveals that July 1863 did not seal the fate of the battlefield and its memory. Instead, it demonstrated that post-war memory-makers and their contemporary concerns regarding race and racial conflict had the power to influence how the public remembered nineteenth-century soldiers and their actions on the battlefield. No battlefield's legacy was settled during the Civil War or Indian Wars. In fact, its ever-changing legacy was just beginning.

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#### **Introduction Notes**

<sup>1</sup> Diane Daniel, "Bounty Amid Battlefields" in *Boston Globe*, July 27, 2005.

<sup>2</sup> Arnold R. Alanen and Robert Z. Melnick, eds., *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000); Richard Longstreth, ed., *Cultural Landscapes: Balancing Nature and Heritage in Preservation Practice* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> Richard Francaviglia, "Selling Heritage Landscapes," in *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, 47.

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<sup>4</sup> Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, *Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York, New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 32.

<sup>5</sup> Tony Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches from the Unfinished Civil War* (Vintage Publishing, 1999), 167.

<sup>6</sup> Edward Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and their Battlefields* (Champaign, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 3.

<sup>7</sup> In *Birth of the Museum*, Tony Bennett suggests the misguided notion of an authentic artifact. Bennett poses this argument because, in actuality the “visitor is never in a relation of direct, unmediated contact with the ‘reality of the artefact’ and hence, with the ‘real stuff’ of the past.” Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London, England: Routledge, 1995), 146-147.

<sup>8</sup> For an analysis of authenticity from the tourist’s point of view, please see Dean MacCannell’s *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1999).

<sup>9</sup> Brooks, 224-225.

<sup>10</sup> Carl Sauer, “The Morphology of Landscape,” in *Human Geography, an Essential Anthology*, eds. John Agnew, David N. Livingstone, and Alisdair Rogers (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 1996), 309.

<sup>11</sup> Andy Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre: A Critical Introduction* (New York, New York: Routledge Publishing, 2006), 105.

<sup>12</sup> Merrifield, 121. Kevin Lynch’s *What Time is This Place?* also examines the concept of a layered landscape. Kevin Lynch, *What Time is This Place?* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1980).

<sup>13</sup> For a groundbreaking analysis of power, history, and memory, see Michelle Rolph Trouillot’s *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995).

<sup>14</sup> I heard this story from Park Rangers while working as an intern at Ford’s Theatre National Historic Site (Washington, D.C.) in the spring of 2001.

<sup>15</sup> Its goal is to preserve “unimpaired the natural and cultural resources and values of the national park system for the...education and inspiration of this and future generations.” National Park Service, “The National Park System: Caring for the American Legacy” available from <http://www.nps.gov/legacy/mission.html>; Internet; accessed 4 May 2009.

<sup>16</sup> Linenthal, 5.

<sup>17</sup> National Park Service, “Archeology and Historic Preservation: Secretary of the Interior’s Standards and Guidelines [as Amended and Annotated]”; available from [http://www.nps.gov/history/local-law/arch\\_stnds\\_8\\_2.htm](http://www.nps.gov/history/local-law/arch_stnds_8_2.htm); Internet; accessed 1 May 2009.

<sup>18</sup> The concept of integrity can best be described by the Secretary of the Interior’s Bulletin on “Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes.” The bulletin indicates that integrity can be defined as “the authenticity of a property’s historic identity, evinced by the survival of physical characteristics that existed during the property’s historic or prehistoric period. The seven qualities of integrity as defined by the National Register Program are location, setting, feeling, association, design, workmanship, and materials.”

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As designated historic sites, the battlefields' character defining features are recognized as particular qualities and characteristics that preserve an "authentic" image of the landscape as it was at the time of the battle. In other words, "according to the NPS, the physical record must be sufficiently intact—still on the ground, so to speak—to allow today's visitors to experience an environment that existed at a specific time in the past." Visitors to battlefields are to be presented with an authentic—"the real, actual, true to life"—artifact of the past. National Park Service, "Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes: Defining Landscape Terminology"; available from [http://www.nps.gov/history/hps/hli/landscape\\_guidelines/terminology.htm](http://www.nps.gov/history/hps/hli/landscape_guidelines/terminology.htm); Internet; accessed 14 April 2009; Catherine Howett, "Integrity and Value in Cultural Landscape Preservation" in *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, eds. Arnold Alanen and Robert Melnick (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 189.

<sup>19</sup> Alanen and Melnick, 17.

<sup>20</sup> David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1985), xvi.

<sup>21</sup> Kevin Lynch explains in *What Time is This Place?*, "Recreated pasts ought to be based on the knowledge and values of the present...they should change as present knowledge and values change, just as history is rewritten." Lynch, 53. Preserved battlefields demonstrate this to be the case; they already are presenting how knowledge and values change.

<sup>22</sup> Robert C. Solomon, *In the Defense of Sentimentality* (Oxford University Press, 2004), vii. See also: Teresa Brennan, *The Transmission of Affect* (Ithica, New York: Cornell University Press, 2004).

<sup>23</sup> June Howard, "What is Sentimentality?" in *American Literary History*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Spring 1999) (England: Oxford University Press), 65-66.

<sup>24</sup> Lowenthal, 4-13.

<sup>25</sup> See: Linenthal's *Sacred Ground*; Timothy Smith's *The Golden Age of Battlefield Preservation*; and Richard Sellars' "Vigil of Silence." Richard W. Sellars, "Vigil of Silence: The Civil War Memorials." *History News*, July-August 1986, pp. 19-23.

<sup>26</sup> Mary Chapman, "Introduction," *Sentimental Men: Masculinity and the Politics of Affect in American Culture*, Mary Chapman and Glenn Hendler, editors (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1999), 3.

<sup>27</sup> Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800* (Ithica, New York: Cornell University Press, 1980); Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

<sup>28</sup> Chapman, 3.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> See Robert Solomon's *In Defense of Sentimentality* and Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: MacMillan Publishing, 1977).

<sup>31</sup> Shirley Samuels, editor, *The Culture of Sentiment: Race, Gender, and Sentimentality in 19<sup>th</sup> Century America* (England: Oxford University Press, 1992); specifically: Laura Wexler, "Tender Violence: Literary Eavesdropping, Domestic Fiction, and Educational Reform," Carolyn Karcher, "Rape, Murder, and



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Revenge in 'Slavery's Pleasant Homes:' Lydia Maria Child's Antislavery Fiction and the Limits of Genre," and Shirley Samuels, "The Identity of Slavery."

<sup>32</sup> National Park Service, Gettysburg National Battlefield, "Gettysburg/Resources: Resource #8: Reactions to the Gettysburg Address." Available online from <http://www.nps.gov/gett/forteachers/upload/8%20Civilians%20on%20Address.pdf>; Internet; Accessed 26 November 2012. This quote is available from any number of resources.

<sup>33</sup> Cari M. Carpenter, *Seeing Red: Anger, Sentimentality, and American Indians* (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Press, 2008), 4. See Jane Tompkins, "Sentimental Power: Uncle Tom's Cabin and the Politics of Literary History" in *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790 – 1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 122-146.

<sup>34</sup> Samuels, 4-5.

<sup>35</sup> Carpenter, 2.

<sup>36</sup> Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008), 113.

<sup>37</sup> Carpenter, 17.

<sup>38</sup> Samuels, 4.

<sup>39</sup> Amy Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity," *American Literature* 70.3 (1998), pp. 581 – 606.

<sup>40</sup> Samuels, 6.

<sup>41</sup> Samuels, 4.

<sup>42</sup> Samuels, 8. More specifically, see the following chapter in *The Culture of Sentiment*: Shirley Samuels, "The Identity of Slavery," pp. 157-171; see also Jane Tompkins, "Sentimental Power" and Cari Carpenter, *Seeing Red*.

<sup>43</sup> Samuels, 3.

<sup>44</sup> Samuels, 8.

<sup>45</sup> Laura Wexler, "Tender Violence," 6; Carpenter, 4. See Chapter 3, "Tender Violence, Domestic Photographs, Domestic Fictions, and Education Reform," in *The Culture of Sentiment*, pp. 94 – 126.

<sup>46</sup> Laura Wexler, Chapter 2, "What a Woman Can Do," in *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism* (Raleigh, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), pp. 15 – 51.

<sup>47</sup> Carpenter, 3-5.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> Carpenter, 6, 16.

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<sup>50</sup> Shawn Michelle Smith, Chapter 3, ““Families of Undoubted Respectability,”” *Photography on the Color Line: W.E.B. DuBois, Race, and Visual Culture* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2004), pp. 77-112.

<sup>51</sup> These same sentiments were experienced by others in the early decades of the twentieth century. Many Anglo-American reformers (such as Helen Hunt Jackson) and aesthetes (those doing both salvage ethnography and those interested in the Arts and Crafts movement) felt sympathy for Native Americans and African Americans. However, their sentiments did not necessarily carry over to the preserved battlefields— influencing their interpretations—until the impact of the civil rights movements.

<sup>52</sup> Carpenter, 8.

<sup>53</sup> Erika Doss, *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America* (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

<sup>54</sup> In *Memorial Mania*, Eric Doss organizes her analysis of 20<sup>th</sup> century memorials by different emotions: grief, fear, gratitude, shame, and anger. Doss argues, “driven by heated struggles over self-definition, national purpose, and the politics of representation, memorial mania is especially shaped by the affective conditions of public life in American today: by fever pitch of public feelings such as grief, gratitude, fear, shame, and anger.” Doss, 2.

<sup>55</sup> Sianne Ngai, *Ugly Feelings* (Harvard University Press, 2005). Ngai focuses on the emotions of envy, irritation, anxiety, paranoia.

<sup>56</sup> Ngai, 1-3.

<sup>57</sup> Ngai, 4.

<sup>58</sup> Jill Bennett, *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma, and Contemporary Art* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2005). In her analysis of art and loss, Bennett explains, “This theoretical distinction is, in effect, the rationale for this book, which looks at art as a kind of visual language of trauma and of the experiences of conflict and loss.... ‘what does art tell us about trauma?’” Bennett, 2.

<sup>59</sup> Carpenter, 7-8. See Chapters 3 and 6 of Erika Doss’s *Memorial Mania*.

<sup>60</sup> Twentieth and Twenty-First Century scholarship introduces the study of a “new” emotion of shame. Significantly, shame plays a crucial role in the Twenty-First Century reinterpretation of preserved battlefields (see the Conclusion of this dissertation). Silvan Tompkins, “Shame – Humiliation and Contempt - Disgust” in *Shame and Its Sisters: A Sylvan Tompkins Reader*, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick and Adam Frank, editors (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1995), pp. 133-178; Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2003).

<sup>61</sup> Leo Barsani *The Culture of Redemption* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1990).

<sup>62</sup> See Edward Linenthal’s *Sacred Ground*. For concepts of pilgrimage to battlefield sites also see David Wharton Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia, and Canada, 1919-1939* (Berg Press, 1998); David Chidester and Edward Tabor Linenthal, *American Sacred Space* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1995); John F. Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, 1989); Robert M. Utley, “Whose Shrine is it? The Ideological Struggle for Custer Battlefield” in *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (Winter 1992), pp. 70-74; Devin Zuber, Lecture, “Sanctimony,

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Memorials, and Sanctification: the Sacred and Profane in Re-membering Ground Zero,” International Conference organized by the U.S. Consulate and Bavarian-American Academy Amerika-Haus, Munich, Germany (15 July 2011); Thomas E. Jenkins, *The Character of God: Recovering the Lost Literary Power of American Protestantism* (Oxford University Press, 1997).

<sup>63</sup> “Family” is such a central part of scholarly analysis of Nineteenth Century American sentimentalism that few scholars actually dedicate entire works to its study, suggesting that to many, familial love and sentimentality are one in the same.

<sup>64</sup> Lowenthal, 4. See also: Cindy Weinstein, *Family, Kinship, and Sympathy in Nineteenth Century Literature* (England: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Leslie A. Fiedler, *Love and Death in the American Novel* (Dalkey Archive Press, 1997); June Howard, “What is Sentimentality?” in *Publishing the Family* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2001); Laura Berlant, “Remembering Love, Forgetting Everything Else: *Now Voyager*,” *The Female Complaint: the Unfinished Business of American Sentimentality in American Culture* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2008), pp. 169 – 206. Jane Tompkins provides a good explanation of motherly love in “Sentimental Power: Uncle Tom’s Cabin and the Politics of Literary History” in *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 122-146. According to Elizabeth Barnes, familial love not only encourages positive emotions but also promotes violence. For works focusing on familial love and violence, see: Elizabeth Barnes, *Love’s Whipping Boy: Violence and Sentimentality in the American Imagination* (Raleigh, North Carolina: North Carolina University Press, 2011); Shirley Samuels, *Romances of the Republic: Women, the Family, Violence, and Literature in the Early American Nation* (Oxford University Press, 1996); Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence*.

<sup>65</sup> For a philosophical analysis of nature and wilderness, see the following: Klaus Eder, *The Social Construction of Nature* (Sage Publications, 1996); Raymond William, “Ideas of Nature” in *Ecology, The Shaping Enquiry: A Course Given at the Institute of Contemporary Arts*, Jonathan Benthall, editor (London: Longman Publishing), pp. 146-164; Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (Yale University Press, 2001); Neil Evenden, *The Social Creation of Nature* (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); David Lowenthal, “Is Wilderness ‘Paradise Enow’?” *Columbia University Forum*. 7(2) (Spring 1968), pp. 34-40.

<sup>66</sup> Even Chapman and Hendler’s book, *Sentimental Men*, upon which this dissertation aligns, focuses on literary venues to redefine Nineteenth Century sentimentalism.

<sup>67</sup> For a strong historiographic account of this division, read Michael Bell, *Sentimentalism, Ethics and the Culture of Feeling* (New York: Palgrave, 2000). More recently, Michael L. Frazer analyzes Eighteenth Century sentiment in *The Enlightenment of Sympathy*. Michael L. Frazer, *The Enlightenment of Sympathy* (Oxford University Press, 2010).

<sup>68</sup> See: Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: “Woman’s Sphere” in New England, 1780-1835* (Yale University Press, 1977); Catherine Allgor, *Parlor Politics: In Which the Ladies of Washington Help Build a City and a Government* (University Press of Virginia, 2002); Mary Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, new York, 1790-1865* (Cambridge University Press, 1981); Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic*; Shirley Samuels, *Romances of the Republic and Culture of Sentiment*.

<sup>69</sup> Wexler, *Tender Violence*; Berlant, *The Female Complaint*; Hazel Carby, *Reconstructing Womanhood: The Emergence of the Afro-American Novelist* (Oxford University Press, 1987).

<sup>70</sup> See any number of works that address this division, including Mary Chapman’s Introduction to *Sentimental Men* and June Howard’s “What is Sentimentality?”

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<sup>71</sup> Berlant's analysis of the "intimate public" is focused on women. "This is a book about early twentieth century fictions and their filmic adaptations, whose main gaze is at the United States, at white women, at liberal heterofemininity, fantasy, and love." Berlant, 23; "We will see a culture of 'true feeling' emerge that sanctifies suffering as a relay to universality in a way that includes women in the universal while attaching the universal more fully to a generally lived experience," Berlant, 12. Berlant's analysis of female sentimentalism in the Twentieth Century reaches an international scope, which is significant. However, it is still female focused. See also Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence*; Hazel Carby, *Reconstructing Womanhood*.

<sup>72</sup> Chapman, 8.

<sup>73</sup> Carpenter, 17. See also Howard's "What is Sentimentality?" and Chapman and Hendler's *Sentimental Men*.

<sup>74</sup> Chapman, *Sentimental Men*, I.

<sup>75</sup> Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" (1893). <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/TURNER/home.html>. Accessed 8 February 2007.

<sup>76</sup> William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (MacMillan Publishing, 2011).

<sup>77</sup> Elliot West, *The Last Indian War: The Nez Perce Story* (Oxford University Press, 2009), 183. See also: Alvin Josephy, *The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest* (Houghtin Mifflin Harcourt, 1997).

<sup>78</sup> Ned Blackhawk, *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2008).

<sup>79</sup> West, 59.

<sup>80</sup> Cronon, "That Wilderness Should Turn a Mart" in *Changes in the Land*.

<sup>81</sup> John O'Sullivan, "Annexation," *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* 17, no.1 (July-August 1845): pp. 5-10.

<sup>82</sup> Joyce Appleby's *Capitalism and a New Social Order* looks to the 1790s as the foundation of Jeffersonian democracy and the importance of the land in America's ethos. While Federalists focused on the past, Jeffersonians used the economy to look to the *prosperity of the future*; by focusing on the rural farmer, Jeffersonians promoted growth of the nation through physical space. The future of prosperity for all individuals lay in the accumulation of more land. Yet, Appleby points out that while Jeffersonians sought to redefine who was included in the rhetoric of liberty and self-interest, Native Americans, women, and Africans were still not included in Jeffersonian ideals. Joyce Appleby, *Capitalism and a New Social Order: The Republican Vision of the 1790s* (New York, New York: New York University Press, 1984), 49-50, 101.

<sup>83</sup> West, 4-5.

<sup>84</sup> West, 64.

<sup>85</sup> National Park Service, Big Hole National Battlefield, "Nature & Science," available from [www.nps.gov/biho/naturescience.html](http://www.nps.gov/biho/naturescience.html); Internet; accessed 26 November 2012.

<sup>86</sup> West, 4.

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- <sup>87</sup> Richard Erdoes and Alfonso Ortiz, editors, *American Indian Myths and Legends* (The Pantheon Fairy Tale and Folklore Library, 1985), 36.
- <sup>88</sup> Harold N. Ottaway, "A Possible Origin for the Cheyenne Sacred Arrow Complex." *Plains Anthropologist*, Vol. 15, No. 48, May 1970. pp. 94-98.
- <sup>89</sup> Bureau of Land Management, "An Overview of Northern Cheyenne Culture and History," available from [http://www.blm.gov/pgdata/etc/medialib/blm/mt/field\\_offices/miles\\_city/og\\_eis/cheyenne.Par.48387.File.d/Chap2.pdf](http://www.blm.gov/pgdata/etc/medialib/blm/mt/field_offices/miles_city/og_eis/cheyenne.Par.48387.File.d/Chap2.pdf); Internet; accessed 26 November 2012.
- <sup>90</sup> Jeffrey D. Anderson, *The Four Hills of Life: Northern Arapaho Knowledge and Life Movement* (University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 51-52.
- <sup>91</sup> Ned Blackhawk debunks the previously accepted colonial history of the American West—pressed forth by Turner. In *Violence over the Land*, natives become the primary narrator, rather than remaining on the periphery of westward expansion. As part of a larger narrative of colonialism, he argues that American expansion was anything but exceptional or "natural." This dissertation will recognize the centrality of Native Americans in understanding westward expansion.
- <sup>92</sup> Abraham Lincoln, "A House Divided" Speech, 1858.
- <sup>93</sup> State of Georgia, "Declaration of Causes of Seceding States," *Official Records*, Series IV, Vol. 1, pp. 81-85. Available online from <http://sunsite.utk.edu/civil-war/reasons.html>; Internet, accessed 26 November 2012.
- <sup>94</sup> State of Mississippi, "A Declaration of the Immediate Causes which Induce and Justify the Secession of the State of Mississippi from the Federal Union," in *Journal of State Convention* (Jackson, MS: E. Barksdale, State Printer, 1861); available online from <http://sunsite.utk.edu/civil-war/reasons.html>; Internet, accessed 26 November 2012.
- <sup>95</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>96</sup> Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, & the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (Oxford University Press, 1995), 11.
- <sup>97</sup> Ethan S. Rafuse, *Stonewall Jackson: A Biography* (ABC-CLIO, 2011); Wallace Hettle, "Domesticating a Confederate Hero: Mary Anna Jackson's Story of Stonewall Jackson," in *Inventing Stonewall Jackson: A Civil War Hero in History and Memory* (Louisiana State University Press, 2011), pp. 69 – 85; Robert M. Poole, *On Hallowed Ground: The Story of Arlington National Cemetery* (New York: Walker Publishing Company, Inc., 2009).
- <sup>98</sup> Cathleen D. Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers: A Social history of the United States Indian Service, 1869-1933* (University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 6.
- <sup>99</sup> Ibid. Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2002).
- <sup>100</sup> "Treaty with the Arapaho and Cheyenne, 1861" in *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, Charles J. Kappler, editor (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 809.

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<sup>101</sup> Governor John Evans, "Proclamation" (Denver, Colorado, 27 June 1864), in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I - Volume XLI - Part I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), pp. 963-964.

<sup>102</sup> Indian Agent Simeon Whiteley, "Report of Council with Cheyenne and Arapahoe Chiefs and Warriors, Brought to Denver by Major Wynkoop" (28 September 1864). Available online from <http://www.kclonewolf.com/History/SandCreek/sc-documents/sc-weld-council.html>; Internet; Accessed 26 November 2012.

<sup>103</sup> West, 65-66.

<sup>104</sup> West, 64.

<sup>105</sup> Brian Schofield, *Selling Your Father's Bones: America's 140-Year War against the Nez Perce Tribe* (New York, New York: Simon and Schuster, 2009), 67.

<sup>106</sup> William Cronon's *Changes in the Land* provides a good explanation of the challenges that emerge when two different cultures have two different understandings of land "ownership."

<sup>107</sup> See Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Bruce Levine's *Half Slave, Half Free: The Roots of the Civil War* (New York, New York: Farrar, Strauss, 1991); Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (Oxford University Press, 1995).

<sup>108</sup> West, 60. Glenda Riley, *Women and Indians on the Frontier, 1825-1915* (University of New Mexico Press, 1984); Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: the Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (The President and Fellows of Harvard College, 1981); Richard White, "It's Your Misfortune and None My Own": *A New History of the American West* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1991).

<sup>109</sup> William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin, Editors, "Becoming West: Toward a New Meaning for Western History," in *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1992), 16.

<sup>110</sup> David M. Potter, *The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861* (New York, New York: HarperCollins, 1976).

<sup>111</sup> For example, see the following: Bruce Levine, *Half Slave, Half Free*; Eric Foner, *Politics and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War* (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1981); Roger Ransom, *Conflict and Compromise: the Political Economy of Slavery, Emancipation, and the American Civil War* (New York, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

<sup>112</sup> Potter, 48-49.

<sup>113</sup> State of Texas, "A Declaration of the Causes which Impel the State of Texas to Secede from the Federal Union," *Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas*, E.W. Winkler, editor, pp. 61-66. Available online from <http://sunsite.utk.edu/civil-war/reasons.html>; Internet; Accessed 26 November 2012.

<sup>114</sup> John C. Calhoun, "The Southern Address," 1849.

<sup>115</sup> James Stewart, *Holy Warriors: The Abolitionists and American Slavery* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1997). See also: James Stewart, *Abolitionist Politics and the Coming of the Civil War* (University of Massachusetts Press, 2008).

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<sup>116</sup> David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London, England: Verso, 1999).

<sup>117</sup> See David Montgomery, *Citizen Worker: The Experience of Workers in the United States with Democracy and the Free Market During the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1993); Bruce Levine's *Half Slave, Half Free*; Eric Foner's *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men*.

<sup>118</sup> David Blight, " 'Several Lives in One': The Problem of Autobiography in Writing the Biography of Frederick Douglass," iTunes lecture (The Huntington: 25 January 2011).

<sup>119</sup> Abraham Lincoln, "Gettysburg Address" (19 November 1863).

## Chapter 1

### **“THE STRANGE SPELL THAT DWELLS IN DEAD MEN’S EYES”: THE CIVIL WAR DEAD AND THEIR POWERFUL PULL AT ANTIETAM NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD (1862 – 1937)**

#### **Coming to Terms with the War and its Meaning through Antietam’s Dead**

On September 19, 1862, Mathew Brady’s photographic assistant, Alexander Gardner, made his way to the farm fields outside of the small town of Sharpsburg, Maryland. Located in Washington County near Virginia’s northeastern border, Sharpsburg was a pro-Union town. Maryland, however, was a border state during the Civil War, formally remaining in the Union but providing troops and loyalty to the Confederate cause. Although Sharpsburg did not have the large, tobacco-rich plantations that often symbolized the south and its economy, a number of local landowners did own slaves. The town of approximately 1,300 people, however, consisted predominantly of those who worked for the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, the nearby ironworks, or the small farms that surrounded the town of churches, taverns, and homes.<sup>1</sup> The land drew them to the region generations prior, and it was the land that brought the Civil War to their doorsteps in 1862.

On September 17<sup>th</sup>, two days prior to Gardner’s arrival, Sharpsburg witnessed the culminating engagement in Robert E. Lee’s Maryland Campaign during his first invasion of Union territory. The Battle of Antietam resulted in more than 23,000 casualties. It was and is the single bloodiest day in American history, representing more casualties than all of those from the Revolutionary War, War of 1812, Mexican War, and Spanish American



War combined.<sup>2</sup> Gardner took approximately seventy images of the bloody battle's aftermath. He moved his lens across the landscape, documenting what to his eyes were landmarks of destruction resulting from a series of disconnected actions comprising the three key phases of the battle. This was not the first time photographers used their technology to record the Civil War. Mathew Brady, Jay Dearborn Edwards, and Andrew Joseph Russell travelled to the battlefields to photograph significant locales of the conflicts and the camp life that followed it.<sup>3</sup> However, Gardner's camera detailed far more than the physical nature of the battlefield landscape or camp life. For the first time, the cameraman used the battlefield to capture the mentally exhausting nature of war's death, suffering, destruction, and loss.

Along the north end of the battle lines, Gardner caught where fighting between Lee's Army of Northern Virginia and Major General George B. McClellan's Army of the Potomac began at dawn. Here, Union General Joseph Hooker's men attempted to flank the left line of Lee's troops by attacking near Otto Poffenberger's farm, the East Woods, and David R. Miller's cornfield. Union troops under General Abner Doubleday and James Ricketts advanced along the Hagerstown Pike and Smoketown Road, moving through the North Woods and Cornfield. Union and Confederate canister and shell decimated the field, ruining Miller's crops and littering the land with fallen soldiers. In the years after the battle, Colonel John Gibbon, then commander of the Iron Brigade from Wisconsin, described the fighting as the "hottest of hornet's nests"; "bullets, shot and shell whistled and screamed around us, wounded men came to the rear in large

numbers....”<sup>4</sup> Here Gardner captured some of the first soldiers to die that day (**Figure 3.1**).



(**Figure 3.1**) Dead of the Stonewall Brigade at the Hagerstown Pike Road, Alexander Gardner. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Along with Miller’s cornfield, the Union’s morning assault against the Confederates’ left flank focused on the nearby Dunker Church and the West Woods (**Figure 3.2**). Home to a religious sect of German Baptists known as Dunkers, the church became a focal point of reports in the aftermath of the battle. Gardner featured the church as well, photographing the shell-shocked structure east of the Hagerstown Pike. A deceased horse and pile of lifeless soldiers lie in the foreground of the image, most likely

casualties of the troops' attacks and counterattacks prior to Union General John Sedgwick's breakthrough of the Confederate line.



(Figure 3.2) Dunker Church, Alexander Gardner. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

The second phase of fighting occurred mid-morning along the center of the Confederate line at a sunken road used by local farmers (Figure 3.3). Although the road began as a natural barrier strategically keeping Brigadier General William French's Union troops at bay, D. H. Hill and Richard Anderson's Confederate soldiers soon discovered that it also acted as a death trap. Caught in the confines of the road, the death toll grew as Confederate soldiers piled up in the sunken barrier. Gardner's images of the

road were particularly gruesome, recording how one could walk from one end to the other without actually touching the ground.



(Figure 3.3) The “Bloody Lane” or Sunken Road, Alexander Gardner. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

By the afternoon, fighting was concentrated a mile and a half south of the Sunken Road at Sharpsburg’s Lower Bridge (Figure 3.4). Gardner’s image of a Union soldier standing over the graves of his fallen comrades highlighted the death toll necessary to make Union General Ambrose Burnside’s attack successful. After three futile and bloody attempts to take the Confederate right at the bridge, Burnside’s men finally managed to cross the river and route the Georgian troops on the heights above. Pushed back to the

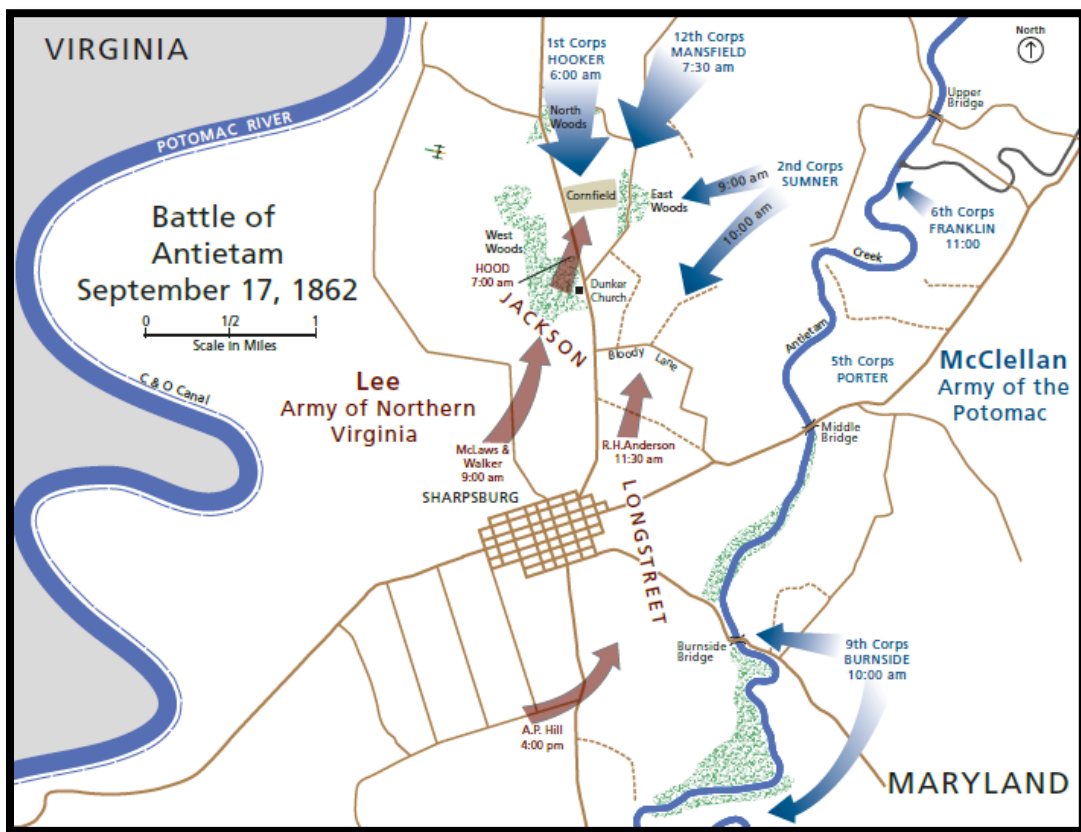
town of Sharpsburg, the timely arrival of Confederate General A. P. Hill prevented the destruction of Lee's army and a decisive Confederate defeat. Nonetheless, Lee's troops retreated back into Virginia on the night of September 18<sup>th</sup>.



(Figure 3.4) Burnside's Bridge (Lower Bridge), Alexander Gardner. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Like other fights prior, Gardner's photographs visually documented the Battle of Antietam, preserving significant sites and places of the engagement for posterity and the education of future military leaders (Figure 3.5). However, for the first time, he also captured the gruesome suffering of war. The photographs revealed that the Civil War was extremely destructive and deadly; it ruined property and lives. Although the images did not catch the sights, sounds, and smells of the battle itself, they were much more than sterile documents of war's topography; they embodied the battle's aftermath. The dead

featured in Gardner’s photographs inscribed the land with a deeper, more complex understanding of war and its atrocities. Through Gardner and his camera, the battlefield landscape of Antietam became a visual tool of understanding, internalizing, and remembering the war even as it raged on. His unique visual documentation was one of the first efforts to preserve and memorialize the Antietam Battlefield. He implied that the living made sense of the war and its deeper meaning directly through Antietam’s dead.



(Figure 3.5) Battle Map of Antietam. Courtesy of Antietam National Battlefield.

Gardner’s efforts to preserve and memorialize Antietam’s dead, in fact, *preceded* the war’s most famous work of battlefield commemoration. In his *Gettysburg Address* given at the dedication of the *Union Soldier Cemetery* in November 1863, Lincoln

honored those soldiers who died during the Union's July victory in Pennsylvania. He explained, "We are met on a great battlefield of [the war]. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live" and usher in a new birth of freedom.<sup>5</sup> In a mere few words, Lincoln brought together the bloodied land, individual sacrifice, and a cause: preservation of the union and *freedom* for all.<sup>6</sup> He created rhetoric of freedom centered on the memory of the battlefield landscape and the suffering of the Civil War soldier.

Gardner first conveyed this same sentiment through visual imagery at Antietam rather than verbal expression. The suffering and sacrifice of those who died on the Antietam Battlefield stood at the heart of the Civil War and, ultimately, its meaning. Yet, Gardner's photos alone did not communicate the War's significance or why soldiers sacrificed their lives, eternally bound to the earth, for someone else's independence. Lincoln's racialized rhetoric made the Civil War's legacy seem certain and final; the new birth of freedom marked the end of slavery. Unlike Gettysburg, Antietam's relationship to the Civil War, slavery, and its memory was not yet settled on a personal, regional, or national level. In fact, Gardner's photographs of Antietam more realistically reflected the Civil War's uncertain relationship to this elusive notion of freedom. They left room to contemplate the very definition itself. *Why* soldiers gave their lives on the battlefield was open to debate. At the turn of the century, the contested memory of the Antietam Battlefield became a tool used by its veterans and their supporters to reflect upon, question, and promote their shifting interpretations of freedom and race in the great national experiment. However, one thing remained constant; preservationists' emotional

connection to the dead acted as the primary means of memory-making at Antietam National Battlefield.

### **What's Worth Dying For? Memorializing Antietam's Dead During the Civil War**

Because the North and South continued to fight after the Battle of Antietam, the narrative of the Civil War and the land's meaning were not yet solidified (nor would they ever be). People did not feel certain about the causes of the war or what freedoms were worth dying for. The battle's locale in a border state, its undetermined outcome, and the sheer number of dead contributed heavily to this uncertainty. Nonetheless, in the aftermath of the September 17<sup>th</sup> battle, people used the Antietam landscape and its dead as a means of working through these doubts. For some, the battlefield functioned as a form of internalized empathy. It personalized freedom, or its lack thereof, by connecting one's family, friends, and lives to the war. A sentimental attachment to the battlefield, however, could also be used to join that personal investment in the war to something larger. Antietam also acted as a memory-making tool tackling public and political issues central to the national concept(s) of freedom: citizenship, Constitutional rights, and property rights. In other words, there was no one way to interpret the battle, its dead, and their meaning.

Although Alexander Gardner's photographs of Antietam served many different purposes throughout the war and its aftermath, they first acted as a tool of gruesome attachment to the battlefield. In October of 1862, shortly after his trip to the fields of Sharpsburg, Gardner's photographs were put on display in his employer's opulent, urban gallery space nearly two hundred miles away in New York City. Famed photographer



Mathew Brady entitled the exhibit simply “The Dead of Antietam” and presented it as a form of macabre entertainment. A *New York Times* review announced that until Brady’s showcase, “the dead of the battle-field come up to us very rarely, even in dreams.” The battlefields of war were only a remote reality in most Union states, and New York was no exception. The reviewer announced, “We see the list [of the War’s dead] in the morning paper at breakfast, but dismiss its recollection with the coffee.” However, Brady’s exhibit was a grisly side show of gruesome fascination.

Of all objects of horror one would think the battle-field should stand preeminent, that it should bear away the palm of repulsiveness. But, on the contrary, there is a terrible fascination about it that draws one near these pictures, and makes him loth to leave them. You will see hushed, reverend groups standing around these weird copies of carnage, bending down to look in the pale faces of the dead, chained by the strange spell that dwells in dead men’s eyes.

Ironically, the same sun that hastened the dead’s decay on the battlefield, enabled Gardner to catch “their features upon canvas,” giving them permanence and perpetuity.<sup>7</sup>

Through the eyes of Gardner’s sun-soaked bodies, however, New Yorkers felt a deeper connection to the war and the battlefield landscape. Through the eyes of the dead, viewers imagined and experienced the loss of war. As a result of Brady’s exhibit, New York City residents crossed space, becoming some of the first active participants in the preservation, commemoration, and interpretation of the Battle of Antietam. The reviewer exclaimed, “Mr. Brady has done something to bring home to us the terrible reality and earnestness of war. If he has not brought bodies and laid them in our dooryards and along the streets, he has done something very like it.” In the photographs, New Yorkers saw both Union and Confederate dead who did not hesitate to “seal and lamp their convictions

with their blood, -- men who [had] lunged themselves into the great gulf of the unknown to teach [the] world that there are truths [larger] than life, wrongs and shames more to be dreaded than death.” These soldiers gave up their own right to life for these truths. Yet, Brady and the *New York Times* left these larger “truths,” “wrongs,” and “shames” unnamed.<sup>8</sup>

Instead, it was the intimate reality of war the exhibit conveyed the strongest. Although Brady brought the war home, the dead remained faceless, blurred, distorted, and deformed from the brutality of battle and the sun’s harsh rays. As unidentifiable soldiers and civilians, viewers were left to imagine their fathers, husbands, and sons as those unfortunate victims of war. The personal sacrifice and heartache of the soldiers’ actual widows and orphans, after all, could not be photographed. It was in this act of imagined heartache that the *New York Times* emphasized the war’s deeper, more personal meaning. Despite their ambiguity, these soldiers sacrificed their lives for these “truths.” As a result, their homes were “made desolate, and the light of life in thousands of hearts has been [extinguished] forever.” This pain of war was not visible in the photographs but had to be conceptualized and internalized by the viewers themselves, much like the sentimental works of fiction written in the nineteenth century. Through the exhibit, viewers became active participants in a site and event far removed from their every-day realities. Together, Brady and those who visited his gallery helped keep Antietam’s memory alive.<sup>9</sup>

For those New Yorkers, the battlefield dead symbolically defined the loss of freedom; sacrificing their lives for their loved ones, Gardner's soldiers were now confined to the earth rather than moving among the living. Although active participants in the early phases of the memory-making process, the exhibit viewers did not physically experience this loss. Sharpsburg's civilians, on the other hand, dealt with its grisly reality. The *New York Times* even noted that "...our Marylanders, with their door-yards strewed with the dead and dying, and their houses turned into hospitals for the wounded, know what battle-fields are."<sup>10</sup> The actions of those Sharpsburg residents captured in Gardner's lens demonstrated that the toll of war was not only emotionally exhausting but physically draining as well. They personally experienced the debilitating constraints war put on the life and livelihood of those still living. The blood shed on the battlefield physically drained the life source of its soldiers, but it also threatened to do the same to the town itself. For Sharpsburg's residents, the Battlefield of Antietam was a physical reminder of war's destructive nature, because it damaged their homes and property. They suffered their own loss of sustenance when troops trampled their crop fields and occupied their hearths. For them, the battlefield represented the loss of their autonomy at the hands of two invading armies.

The means by which both armies dealt with the property of Sharpsburg's local landowners left much to be desired. Historians Stephen Sears and Kathleen Ernst note that along with bloodied farm fields, Union and Confederate troops cleaned out barns, haylofts, corncribs, and henhouses for food and forage; "fields of ripe grain and corn [were] trampled, livestock driven off or butchered, prim orchards stripped bare, beehives

destroyed, and root cellars emptied.”<sup>11</sup> Even items such as “women’s bonnets, silver spoons, and other knick-knacks” were plundered from vacant homes.<sup>12</sup> When not picked over for food, firewood, and other goods, artillery destroyed the town and farm structures of Sharpsburg residents. The Dunker Church displayed remnants of an artillery bombardment and soldiers deliberately burnt Samuel Mumma’s farm house and barn to the ground.<sup>13</sup>

Despite the visible signs of war’s destruction, Sharpsburg residents made efforts to regain control over their property, possessions, and livelihood by asserting agency over the land and its occupiers (alive *and* dead). They opened their homes as hospitals for the wounded but made a particularly strong effort to bury the dead. They helped the Union Army’s burial crews gather and dig graves for the bodies of Union and Confederate soldiers. However, not all of the deceased were properly buried—or even hastily buried for that matter. Pressed for time, soldiers left a few bodies in gutters, covering with brush and leaves.<sup>14</sup> One local farmer found fifty-eight Confederates thrown down his well.<sup>15</sup> Other farmers unearthed the remains of soldiers as they went about tilling their fields, making it challenging to return to the routines of everyday life.<sup>16</sup> Seven hundred men alone who died in or near the sunken road were buried on William and Margaret Roulette’s neighboring property.<sup>17</sup>

According to local lore, an old Sharpsburg resident stopped by the “Sunken Hog Trough Road” after the battle which was then piled deep with dead bodies. Overwhelmed by the site of the sunken road, “she descended from her carriage, knelt in prayer, and

asked God's blessing on the men who had fallen in that 'bloody lane.'"<sup>18</sup> The gruesome memories of the sunken road did not dissipate once the army buried all of the bodies. Months after the battle, rain storms still turned the water red as it ran down Bloody Lane, acting as a reminder of the lives and property lost during the Civil War. Social Historian Kathleen Ernst argues that Bloody Lane was "an ever-present reminder of the physical and emotional stains of the battle."<sup>19</sup> Representative of what should safely stay in the body, Bloody Lane metaphorically captured the nation as it was torn asunder during the Civil War. It symbolized the loss of unity through the ultimate icon of suffering on both sides: blood.

While the battlefield instilled a powerful sense of loss for many individuals, others recognized Antietam and its dead for what they had to offer. Politicians demonstrated that the sentimental attachment to death could be harnessed to address a larger message regarding the constitutional rights to freedom and liberty. Two weeks after the battle of Antietam, Alexander Gardner took another photograph of the battlefield. This time, he focused on the living rather than the lifeless. Instead of death and destruction, the photo symbolized hope and rebirth at the hands of the federal government. In the photograph, President Lincoln and commander of the Union Army George McClellan sat together beneath a makeshift tent. Because McClellan failed to pursue Robert E. Lee's Army as it retreated, Antietam was militarily inconclusive. However, Lincoln used the battlefield as a catalyst to publicize his Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, 1862. Lincoln's Proclamation stated that all slaves held in rebelling states were to be freed on January 1, 1863 (**Figure 3.6**). He hoped that such

an issuance would provide the Union with more foreign support and lead to a tactical blow against the Confederacy, its workforce, and food supply. As a result, the bloody fields of Sharpsburg became a *strategic* landscape, utilized by Lincoln and the federal government for a larger, national purpose set on preserving the Union *and* ending slavery. In theory, Lincoln introduced a new moral, ethical, and racial element of freedom to the Antietam Battlefield and the legacy of its dead.



(Figure 3.6) The Emancipation Proclamation. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

To African Americans and abolitionists, the introduction of this moral and ethical dilemma of slavery was not just political and public. It was highly personal. Ironically, Lincoln's Proclamation did not free those slaves living in the state of Maryland. After all, it was predominantly a strategic move rather than a moralistic one, intending to hurt the morale and workforce of the Confederacy rather than point out their sins. That irony, however, did not prevent African Americans and other abolitionists from viewing the Antietam battlefield with a sense of hope, optimism, and sacred reverence. To abolitionists emancipation was not a political, strategic move; it was personal and emotional, symbolizing freedom and the opportunity of positive change. They saw Antietam as sacred land, because according to President Lincoln's Proclamation, the soldiers who fought and died there did so to end slavery.

This sacred optimism attached to Antietam led a Philadelphia-based abolitionist minister to visit Sharpsburg in the battle's aftermath. However, in a letter to his brother printed in the African American *Christian Recorder*, the minister reflected on the complicated emotions he felt while tending to the souls of the wounded and dying. He experienced the suffering of death and the anguish of those left behind. He saw

Fathers and brothers in search of sons or brothers who were wounded, were sick, or near to death...In the hotels, the hospitals, the field, everywhere, we met men in search of friends. Sometimes they were successful soon, sometimes they were directed from hospital to hospital, from town to town, for days, sometimes they searched in vain. The person sought for had been removed, or had died, or was buried in an unmarked grave.<sup>20</sup>

He noted that little attention was given to the spiritual condition of those in the battlefield's hospitals. They suffered without care and comfort and many died without a proper Christian burial.<sup>21</sup> In an effort to console those he could, the minister interacted with Union and Confederate soldiers, taking the opportunity to increase their spiritual awareness.

Although attending to the spiritual needs of both North and South, the abolitionist's recollections indicate that unity in the face of shared anguish and pain was not yet possible. Despite the Emancipation Proclamation, Antietam remained a site of heated divisiveness. As an abolitionist, he saw Antietam as a landscape symbolizing emancipation and opportunity. However, he encountered Confederate prisoners who viewed it as the opposite: a bloody landscape signifying their right to own slaves. Some Confederate prisoners shared their intentions to fight to the death for this right; they feared the loss of their own property rights. He recounted that "they generally spoke of the Abolitionists wanting to free the negroes as the cause of the war. Some said John Brown began the war, and they appear to be fighting him yet..." One Confederate soldier proclaimed he fought " '...for slavery. I believe it right, and therefore, it ought to be extended. You believe it is wrong, and, therefore, it ought not to be extended. Now that's the difference, and we're trying to fight it out..." The author's focus on those southerners determined to uphold the institution of slavery indicated that a clearly defined relationship between emancipation and the Antietam Battlefield would not be an easy one but rather a highly emotional and contested one.<sup>22</sup>



In the winter, spring, and summer of 1862 and 1863, the war moved on from the fields of Sharpsburg to other bloody landscapes such as Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. From those fields, Union and Confederate soldiers continued to physically fight for their families, homes, and constitutional rights of property, liberty, and freedom. Nonetheless, Sharpsburg residents, northerners and southerners, Anglo Americans and African Americans returned time and again to the bloody fields of western Maryland. Over the years, the landscape and its legacy changed, as war-era veterans and their children debated their rights as part of the national body. Despite these changes, the dead remained the focus of Antietam Battlefield's commemorative landscape.

### **Promoting Post-War Power from the Grave**

Even the outcome of the Civil War did not settle the debate over Antietam Battlefield and what its dead represented. In April of 1865, General Robert E. Lee surrendered his troops to Union forces in Appomattox Courthouse, Virginia. For all intents and purposes, the Civil War ended. The Union won, bringing the nation back together and officially ending slavery with the Thirteenth Amendment. Yet, an end to the military fighting did not resolve the dispute over the causes of the war and its legacy. Reconstruction introduced the second Civil War, as the federal government, freedmen, and former Confederate states fought over their right to power and self-determination. The post-war period did not settle the debate over freedom; it further complicated it. Historians such as Eric Foner and John Hope Franklin argue that during Reconstruction, Radical Republicans in the federal government wanted to reassert their authority over the ex-Confederacy by implementing political, social, and economic constraints against the

former rebels who attempted to usurp their power through war. A physical military presence in the South reminded the former Confederates of their failed challenge against federal authority.<sup>23</sup>

Likewise, the new population of former slaves wanted to affirm their rights as freedmen. African Americans established their own terms of post-emancipation. They chose to request, and oftentimes achieve, what was denied them as slaves. They took new names, traveled, reunited with loved ones, and openly married, thereby redefining their post-war relationship to place, family, and rights. They also created their own communities, voted in elections, ran for political office, and pushed for the right to forty acres of land and their own mule to farm it.<sup>24</sup>

Yet, ex-Confederates wanted to reclaim their independence and agency despite military defeat. Anger over their loss only encouraged further post-war resistance. Local and state governments took legal and extra legal means to control the newly freed black population. Former Confederates employed Black Codes to restrict African Americans much in the same way they were controlled under slavery. The Codes made travel, voting, and employment much more difficult. Vigilante justice was implemented through the formation of the Ku Klux Klan. As a secret society intent on returning political rule to white southerners, the KKK terrorized black voters away from the polls.

Civil War historians Alice Fahs, Joan Waugh, Gary Gallagher, and Drew Gilpin Faust suggest that the early stages of Civil War memory and commemoration reflect this conflict over post-war authority and agency.<sup>25</sup> In the immediate aftermath of the war,

Washington, D.C. hosted a Grand Review of the victorious Union Army. In May of 1865, nearly 150,000 troops marched down Pennsylvania Avenue, pausing in front of the White House for review by President Andrew Johnson and his cabinet. Symbolic in its pomp and circumstance, the Review demonstrated the Capitol city's reassertion of its authority and strength while simultaneously articulating controlled pride and patriotism.<sup>26</sup> While the federal government affirmed its power through parades, African Americans celebrated their emancipation and entrance into civic life through other forms of artistic expression. For instance, the Freedmen's Memorial dedicated to Abraham Lincoln was erected in Washington, D.C. in 1876. Funding for the monument came in large part from African Americans who actively campaigned to design and construct the sculpture.<sup>27</sup> Southerners, however, asserted a sense of honor and independence despite their loss. Monument construction and parades were implemented to restore pride in a romanticized Antebellum South defended by its noble, heroic soldiers.

The commemorative practice of sculpture-building and parades were brought together on the ceremonial grounds of battlefield cemeteries where they functioned as the central component of memory-making for the Civil War generation and their children. Although the physical fighting ended, battlefields still remained significant spaces from which to dispute the racial boundaries of citizenship rights. The dead who occupied these solemn spaces enabled ex-Confederates, African Americans, and the federal government to affirm their sense of control in an uncertain post-war environment. Throughout the South, former Confederate soldiers were buried in cemeteries where widows, children, and supporters came to grieve and honor the dead, keeping the memory of their sacrifice

alive. In her essay “Marking Union Victory in the South,” historian Catherine Zipf contends that the federal government actively asserted its influence on Civil War commemoration via the establishment of its National Cemetery System. National Cemeteries located on and near Civil War battlefields throughout the south were a direct affront to the Confederacy, purposely excluding the Confederate dead from their hallowed ground. Civil War cemeteries, like other forms of commemoration during Reconstruction, segregated memories of the war and competed over its significance.<sup>28</sup>

A closer look at Antietam during the Reconstruction Era, however, indicates that these different voices of commemoration and interpretation, though often segregated in memory, came together in shared spaces. In empathizing with the dead, they fought one another for control of Civil War memory. Antietam’s landscape suggests that perhaps more so than a parade or monument, the battlefield had the power to influence and control memory, because of the number of soldiers who gave their lives on the rolling farm fields. In his speech at the dedication of the Antietam National Cemetery in 1867, Maryland’s Ex-Governor William Bradford elaborated on the place’s power to evoke strong emotions:

Viewing these hills and valleys, as we do to-day, in the full luxuriance of their autumnal beauty, restored by the indomitable energy of their thrifty population to the condition they presented before hostile armies selected them as the theatre of their contest, and then calling up to memory or imagination, the spectacle they exhibited when that contest-closed, and the harvest of death lay heaped in horrid swarths all over their undulating surfaces, and how impressive, almost appalling, is the sense of the destruction which a few brief hours had accomplished?<sup>29</sup>

Bradford acknowledged that although death and destruction marred the landscape, it recovered to reveal a place of beauty and positive energy.

The orator's words suggested that Antietam's landscape was not only beautiful but also sacred, providing a peaceful place in which individuals could commune with the dead. Others felt this way as well. In recounting his experiences on the battlefield for the *Christian Recorder*, James F. Brown, an African American soldier, indicated the landscape gave him solemn pause. Approaching Antietam Creek and Burnside's Bridge, Brown used the battlefield to remember the dead. When he stood "upon that bridge, and saw its waters flowing swiftly beneath" him, he thought of those who "crimsoned it with their precious blood."<sup>30</sup> Upon visiting Antietam in 1867, President Johnson acknowledged the battlefield's powerful pull as well. It was through the landscape that his "reflections and...meditations will be in silent communion with the dead..."<sup>31</sup> Commemoration of the dead existed in the private reflections of those individuals who made their way to the Antietam Battlefield.

Yet, the battlefield was not just a personal, private, or silent place in which the living *individually* connected with the dead, internalizing the meaning and memory of the Civil War. It was also a *public* and vocal space where people loudly and heatedly debated the significance of the battle in a post-war environment. Sharpsburg's residents pushed for the removal of the dead from their farmlands even before the war ended. They wanted to corral the fallen soldiers in an organized battlefield cemetery in order to reclaim their land and establish some semblance of normalcy in the midst of continuing war.<sup>32</sup> Importantly, their war-time efforts to create a cemetery helped transition the battlefield's meaning in the war's aftermath. Rather than relying on Gardner's photos to foster

disturbing images of wartime dead, the cemetery provided a peaceful haven for those at permanent “rest.””

While orators presented the dead as peacefully “at rest” after the war, those who visited the battlefield cemeteries and publicly contested the war’s legacy were neither peaceful or at rest. The shock of Gardner’s war-time photos encouraged vague, internalized, and personal memories of the war, leaving its larger importance open to individual interpretation. During Reconstruction, however, politicians used Antietam’s dead in a blatant attempt to control Civil War memory and its outcome. Public figures argued the partisan politics of Reconstruction through the cemetery dead. Bradford announced in his dedication oratory, “Think not for a moment, my friends, that I am about to desecrate the solemnity of such an occasion by any discussion of the partisan topics of the day.”<sup>33</sup> However, the controversial dedication of the Antietam National Cemetery in 1867 reflected these very post-war conflicts Bradford intended to avoid. Partisan and regional politics emerged in force at Antietam as Federal supporters and ex-Confederates competed for power by promoting their own Reconstruction-driven interpretations of the Civil War. Antietam battlefield, its cemetery, and the dead were sacred, but *who* it remained sacred to and *why* remained open to debate.

The federal government’s participation in the establishment and dedication of Antietam National Cemetery in 1867 reflected its Reconstruction-Era stance on the ex-Confederacy and its post-war place in the nation. In fact, on the surface, the establishment and dedication of Antietam’s National Cemetery marked the ultimate

symbol of the federal government's post-war display of authority and control. Both the purpose of and organizational layout of Antietam National Cemetery modeled the Rural Cemetery Movement that developed in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>34</sup> The movement grew out of the desire to construct an orderly, protected environment that counteracted the chaos of overcrowded, industrial urbanism where cemeteries were desecrated sites lacking caretakers.<sup>35</sup> At Antietam, the ordered landscape of the cemetery kept the disorder and chaos of the nearby battlefield at bay. It also counteracted the turmoil and confusion of Reconstruction. In theory, removing the cemetery from the surrounding battlefield enabled it to become a beautiful, peaceful space that counteracted the traumatic, bloody battle and the tension of Reconstruction.<sup>36</sup> While Gardner's photographs preserved the shock of war, the National Cemetery introduced the federal government's post-war message of established peace and order.

In 1864, State Senator Lewis P. Firey presented a resolution to the Maryland Senate for the formation of a joint committee to purchase a portion of the Antietam Battlefield for the purpose of establishing a State and National Cemetery. When Senator Firey first proposed the National Cemetery, he intended it to serve as a final resting place for both Union *and* Confederate soldiers who died on the battlefield. The Senator's vision for the cemetery symbolized his vision of the post-war nation: a house reunited through the dead, who would be at rest together. However, Firey's desire to establish a state-controlled National Cemetery raised a particularly important question. Would the inclusion of Confederate dead detract from the larger purpose of a national cemetery as a place to honor those who died fighting for and protecting the Union? That the question

was raised at all is an important one, reflecting Antietam's distinct situation as a site of Civil War memory-making during the Reconstruction era.<sup>37</sup>

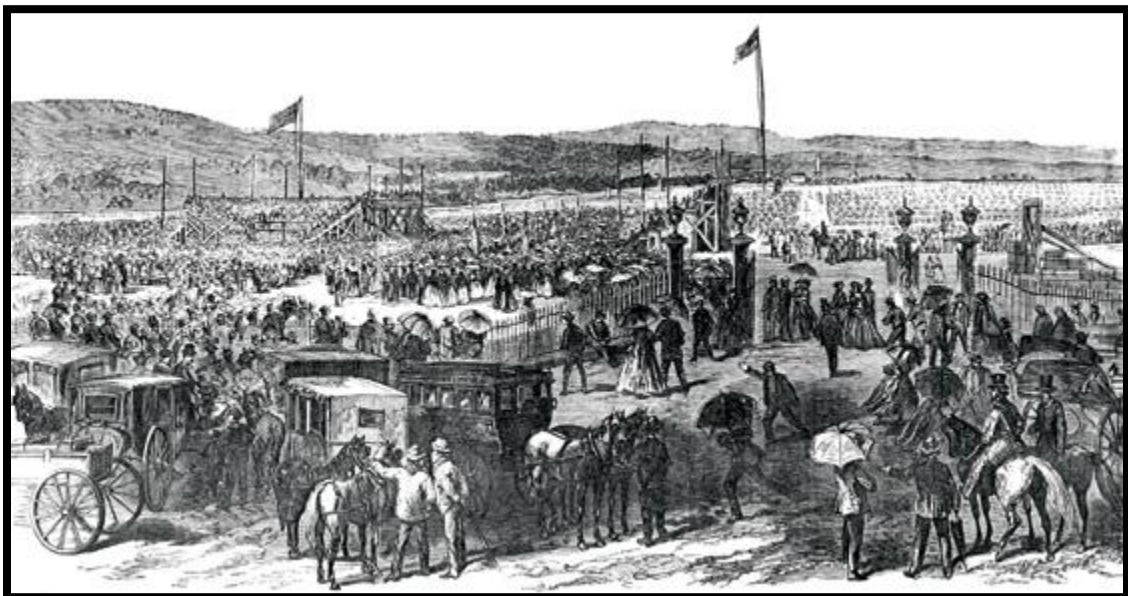
Maryland was a border state that, while remaining loyal to the Union, provided military strength to the Confederacy. Interring Union and Confederate soldiers in the cemetery would encourage the loving, intimate sentiment of brotherhood above the negative, divisive emotions that encouraged sectional tension in the first place. According to an article in *The Washington Chronicle* dated December 9, 1867, the Board of Trustees discussed:

The propriety of designating a certain portion of the cemetery for the interment of the rebels who lost their lives in the series of engagements in that section. After a length discussion it was decided to set apart a portion of the enclosure for this purpose, as a section of the Maryland incorporating the cemetery provided that this should be done.<sup>38</sup>

The Trustees argued that just as many Maryland soldiers fell in the Maryland Campaign fighting for the Confederacy as they did for the Union. As a result, they had a "right to demand that a separate part of the Cemetery shall be appropriated to that class and that the Board shall take the same steps towards accomplishing this part of their trust as they have done to fulfill that relating to the Union soldiers."<sup>39</sup> The federal government's ultimate decision to inter *only* Union soldiers in the cemetery created quite a stir. The removal of Confederate dead from the cemetery reiterated the ultimate goal of the Reconstruction-era cemetery: to establish a "national," federally-sanctioned burial site meant to commemorate those soldiers who fought and died to *preserve* the nation, not dissolve it.



Although the decision to inter Union soldiers in the cemetery reflected the federal government's desire to assert its post-war authority over the ex-Confederacy, its memory of the Union soldiers was less clear. During the war, President Lincoln used the Battle of Antietam as a catalyst to issue his Emancipation Proclamation, introducing slavery as a specific cause of the war. Although still sentimental in nature, the government's post-war message regarding the causes and legacies of the war were much vaguer. Union soldiers fought and died at the Battle of Antietam for the constitutional rights of liberty and property, as well as the personal love of family and home. Despite its emphasis on the abstract ideal of freedom, the Cemetery's dedication events did not reference those freedmen who, in theory, gained their right to popular sovereignty after the Battle of Antietam (**Figure 3.7**). Emancipation had no prominent place at Antietam.



(**Figure 3.7**) Antietam Cemetery Dedication, September 17, 1867. Courtesy of the National Park Service.

Although the Cemetery dedication lacked any direct discussion of emancipation, the rhetoric of freedom and rights lent itself well to the Antietam Battlefield. After all, the battle took place on the same day as the ratification of the Constitution in 1787. Through sentimental language, a familial and sacred relationship between God, the founders, and Union soldiers was established at Antietam. In his dedication day address on September 17<sup>th</sup>, 1867, Ex-Governor Bradford venerated the Founding Fathers. He praised their Constitutional notion of popular sovereignty, which was preserved by Union victory in the Civil War. He exclaimed, "... their names [shall] be preserved as the men who perished to perpetuate what their fathers had so struggled to establish -this Heaven-appointed Government of popular freedom."<sup>40</sup> In other words, northern soldiers fought and died in order to protect the Constitution and Union established by their fathers.

This glorified relationship between God, the Union's battlefield dead, and freedom received mention in another instance during the official cemetery dedication. The second stanza of Reverend Meyer's Hymn emphasized the Union soldiers buried in Antietam and why they fought. They came "at Freedom's trumpet call," willing to give up life and limb for "truth and right."<sup>41</sup> Freedom for who and what the "truth and right" was left up to the listener, much in the same way Brady's exhibit did five years earlier. However, the Hymn did suggest that the Union soldiers not only fought for a higher cause of "truth and right" but much more intimate reasons: "hearth and home." The war was personal. The Union soldiers buried at Antietam gave their lives to protect their loved ones and their property.

Importantly, emancipation's verbal exclusion from the dedication day events did not keep African Americans from participating or feeling an emotional connection to the land. The *Christian Recorder* noted that "The colored people turned out *en masse* from thirty to forty miles around."<sup>42</sup> In the atmosphere of a "general holiday," "Colored and white were huddled in the Cemetery together," enjoying refreshments and singing alongside one another. Despite the atmosphere of merriment, the cemetery dedication was a solemn and serious moment of contemplation for many African Americans. Although many of the participants in the cemetery dedication emphasized a rhetorical notion of freedom and Union protected by the federal soldiers, those African Americans who travelled to Sharpsburg in 1867 had a specific comprehension of freedom. As a member of the Gray Reserves, a colored unit of Philadelphia's National Guard, James Brown thought of the brave *Union* soldiers at Burnside's Bridge, who "hallowed [the] spot, where many a brave defender of his country sleeps in an unknown grave!"<sup>43</sup> The Bridge served as a point of internal reflection and public appreciation, where Brown thanked those who sacrificed their lives for his freedom.

Brown's attendance at the ceremony documented not only his appreciation for those Union soldiers who died for his freedom but his outright disdain and anger for those who wanted to deny it. He placed blame for the war and its aftermath heavily on the ex-Confederates and their supporters. Brown's disgust for those living marginalized his appreciation of the Union dead. He found it hypocritical that President Johnson and "his parasites" dedicated a National Cemetery to the Union dead while proclaiming "respect for the dead of both parties." Brown's contempt for President Johnson, or "His

Accidency” as he referred to him, was elaborated upon with his arrival in the reserves’ camp. The battlefield and its dead were no longer at peace:

The enemy of the great radical party did come, and ... the sky in one instant was all darkness and the mighty thunders from having peeled forth as though gun after gun was being discharged on the heights of Antietam , as the warning of God to a faithless President to prepare for his certain doom; and at the same time the winds blew as from so many loyal nostrils, and the rain dropping as from the eyes of Angels in heaven, showing to the ingrate who was expected every moment, that vengeance is His and He will repay. He comes! He comes! The so-called hero comes! The word is passed along the lines. Fall in! Fall in! The men obey, not as in the days of old, when the now sainted Lincoln was too passed by, but slowly, slowly the men fall in with the rain coming down in terrents.

Brown believed that he was not alone in his dislike of the President. As Johnson moved on down the line of soldiers, he left behind him a wake of burning rage.<sup>44</sup>

Brown’s disdain of the unreconstructed was justified. Although the War Department hoped to control the memory of the Civil War by dictating who was buried in the cemetery, they did not manage to control *how* others utilized it to establish their own memories. Despite their physical removal from the cemetery, Democratic, pro-Confederacy, and anti-Republican orators honored the Confederate dead. At the dedication ceremony, they returned blame on to the Radical Republicans and their supporters whom, they claimed, placed such harsh treatment on the former Confederacy. They did not allow the memory of Antietam’s Confederate dead to take the brunt of federal abuse. President Andrew Johnson announced that “When we look on yon battle field I think of the brave men on both sides, who fell in the fierce struggle of battle, who sleep silent in their graves.”<sup>45</sup> Unlike the Confederate dead, the living were not silent or diplomatic toward the Union. Brown’s editorial noted how a “rebel” attacked a “colored

loyal man” over the headstone of a Union soldier’s grave.<sup>46</sup> The attack spoke volumes more than the mere mention it received in the *Christian Recorder*. It suggested that some of the “unreconstructed” used the cemetery dedication as an opportunity to physically display their frustration with Radical Reconstruction and the rights it gave to African Americans. This physical display of violence indicated that Antietam was still a “bloody” landscape; although the dead rested, the living did not.

Although these competing views of the dead reflected the emergence of segregated memories during Reconstruction, a theme of remembrance did develop at the Antietam Battlefield that was absent elsewhere: reconciliation. This call for peaceful compromise relied on a unique claim made most strongly by former border states. The dedication ceremonies illustrate not only the federal government’s, ex-Confederacy’s, and African Americans’ continued factionalism and finger pointing but those who wanted to put the causes of the war aside in favor of reunion. Early reconciliationists at Antietam relied heavily on visual sentiment of the familial home, recognizing the state of Maryland as *the* house divided by war. While the North and South continued to blame one another for the war, these orators hoped to put the past behind them by reuniting brother with brother. However, when calling on their fellow citizens to forgive and forget, they actually called on the nation’s Anglo-American citizens to reconcile at the expense of the country’s newest citizenry: African Americans.

Southern sympathizers were the most outspoken advocates of reconciliation. President Johnson argued that the fallen soldiers rested in peace and that the living

should as well. He hoped the nation would “restore harmony to our distracted and divided country.”<sup>47</sup> Maryland’s Democratic governor, Thomas Swann, called on “Almighty God” for this reunion. He asked

for a speedy restoration of harmony and brotherly love throughout this broad land; and that North, South, East and West, laying aside the animosities of the past, we may stand together hereafter, and in all future time, as one people, having a common origin and bound together by a common destiny? May this Union be perpetual.<sup>48</sup>

After the Civil War, this common destiny focused its attention on the West, where the nation fought those Native Americans who threatened the United States’ continental expansion and settlement.

Even former Governor Bradford himself, who eagerly promoted the Union causes of the war, proclaimed his desire to restore unity. He imagined a time, if only in the future, when the battlefield was no longer bloodied. Bradford was a Republican who served as Maryland’s Governor during the Civil War. He ardently supported the preservation of the Union, and in 1864, he ended slavery in the state.<sup>49</sup> Yet, his message at the cemetery dedication also cheered the idea of Antietam as a site of familial reunification.

May not imagination, as it seeks to portray the future of this great American Republic, without any overstraining of its powers, see the coming time, distant it possibly may be, but none the less desirable or certain, when her sons from every State shall seek this little hamlet for its hallowed memories of the past, and coming from the South as well as North, reunited in fact as well as theory, in affection as well as formality, shall stand here together as pilgrims at a common shrine, and forgetting the feuds of the past, save only the mighty powers which their results developed, mutually admit, as they appeal to the records of this field, that they have sprung from the same stock, and united in the same destiny,

entitled to the same respect, and animated by the same heroic and patriotic impulses?<sup>50</sup>

In the name of reconciliation and moderation, Bradford denounced the partisan politics of Radical Reconstruction and those on both sides who metaphorically continued the bloody fight via political agitation.<sup>51</sup>

In addition to politicians, fraternal organizations in Maryland encouraged unity at Antietam Cemetery's dedication. As private organizations established on companionship and brotherhood among men, these fraternities found it easy to rely on familial and religious rhetoric to encourage reconciliation among former foes. The second stanza of the Mason's hymn proclaimed the nation was "Bound in one Brotherhood/Owning one common blood, Children of thine / Fill us with kindness, Prompt us to relieve distress, Wearing thy true impress/ Master Divine."<sup>52</sup> As family of the same blood, the Masons did not want more bloodshed. Ironically, the hymn relied on the rhetoric of bondage to encourage reunion. It acknowledged that only *one* true master remained in the wake of the Civil War. With the abolishment of slavery, earthly masters no longer existed, at least in theory. Ultimately, however, sovereignty was not granted to the federal government in the wake of the war; it was granted to God. According to the hymn, reconciliation came at the hands of a higher power. Rather than visualizing the imagery of slavery that tore the nation apart, the hymn used the same rhetoric to unite North and South. Despite being "owned" by one common blood, the war divided the bondage of brotherhood. With the strength of God, they were once again united.

In a former border state, whose loyalties were divided, unity was a particularly salient plea to make. However, these cries for peace indicated that North and South were not reconciled. Western Maryland was not yet reunited. On his trip to Sharpsburg, James Brown observed the divisiveness that remained in pro-Confederate regions of Washington County, Maryland. Brown was “not a little amused at the frowns of the unreconstructed. All the way from Hagerstown to Tuppen's Cross Roads we did not see the sign of an American Flag.”<sup>53</sup> In fact, Brown’s account demonstrated that in 1867, unity was wishful thinking rather than an actuality.

At Tuppen's Cross Roads, there are two stores. The one on the south side is kept by a Mr. A.J.P. Tayler, an uncompromising Union man, who made the remark, that it was something unusual to meet a good Republican this far down, and one in favor of universal suffrage. The one on the other corner, I was told, is a confirmed rebel. Whilst the drivers were giving their horses water, I spent all the money I had to spend at the store of the radical Republican. I then went over to my rebel enemy. Out of about five hundred good Republican soldiers of the gray Reserves, this man had only two in his store. I suppose this can be accounted for—the radical had his balcony draped with the Star Spangled Banner, the emblem of freedom and union, while the rebel did not display of flag of any kind, not even the rebel rag.<sup>54</sup>

Although the cemetery dedication promoted a vague, idealistic hope for unity, Brown’s story suggests that the anger of many pro-Confederates still ran high. They did not want to compromise. His account, however, also reveals a newly empowered and enfranchised community of African Americans who relied, in part, on Civil War memory to make their presence known and rebuke southern oppression.

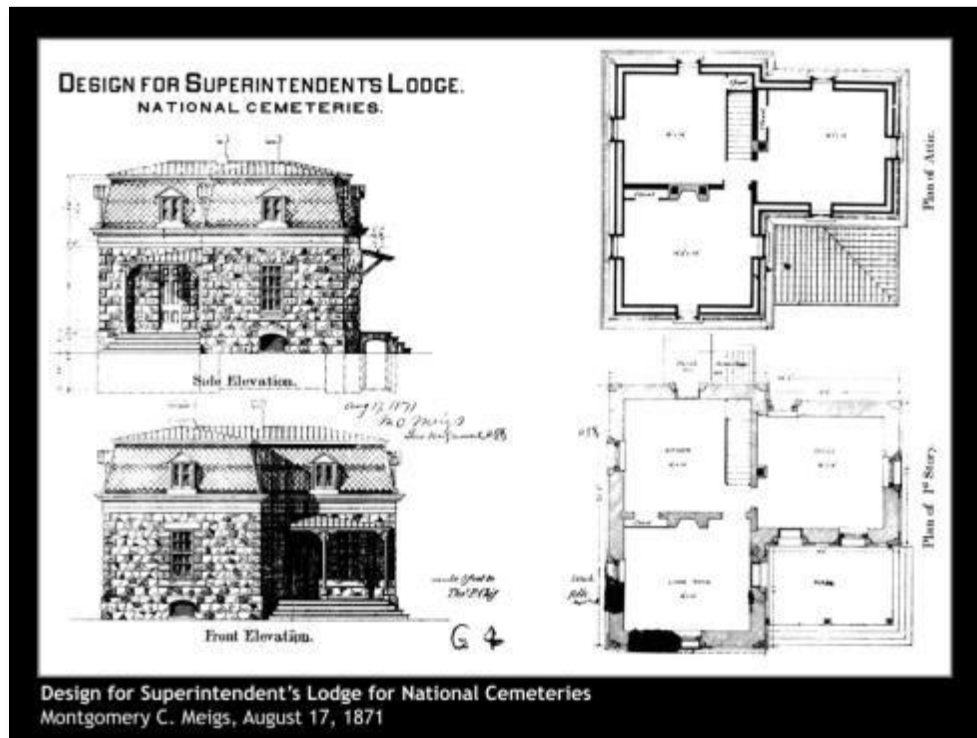
These sectional and racial tensions continued even after the formal dedication of the Antietam Cemetery in 1867 and are exposed in the development of the cemetery grounds itself. In many respects, the construction of the Keeper’s Lodge reflected these



conflicting views between the federal government, African Americans, and a state whose citizens supported both the Union and Confederacy. Like other national cemeteries developed after the Civil War, the lodge operated as a welcoming space and place of first contact for those who came to the cemetery to mourn, honor, and remember the Civil War's Union dead. It literally served as a guardhouse over the fallen; it was a structure that mediated between the dead and the living.<sup>55</sup>

However, the guardhouse also distanced visitors from the departed by controlling their access. Ironically, the War Department attempted to restrict public autonomy in the cemetery in an effort to maintain a memory of the war focused on Union patriotism, sacrifice, and *freedom*. Despite their best efforts, however, the federal government did not have ultimate control of the cemetery, the public, or the war's legacy. The Keeper's Lodge denotes the distinct position of the Antietam National Cemetery and its interpretation of the War's meaning and memory in Maryland. It represents the conflicts that arose between the federal government and the local population of a border-state who felt bombarded by outsiders, even in the war's aftermath. Although similar in function, the Guardhouse was not architecturally like the other lodges in the cemetery system. Quartermaster General Montgomery Meigs's standard plan for lodges at other cemeteries emphasized his regard for regularity, efficiency, and control.<sup>56</sup> Designed in the Second Empire style, these lodges promoted modernity by imitating the latest building trends (**Figure 3.8**). The plan was also similar to post-war structures being built in Washington, D.C.—linking the cemetery system to the authority of the federal government.<sup>57</sup> In contrast, Paul Pelz designed Antietam's cemetery lodge. Although he worked on a

number of federal projects, Pelz was a professional architect rather than a military man. He favored an architecturally ornate style over a functional one.<sup>58</sup> Antietam's Lodge was Gothic Revival in style; instead of looking to modernity for its influence, Pelz turned to a romantic and religious past for inspiration (**Figure 3.9**).<sup>59</sup> Though different than the romantic vision of the Antebellum past, Antietam's gothic spires did not celebrate federal authority in the modern age. Instead, they symbolized a small semblance of southern resistance in the face of federal Reconstruction.



(Figure 3.8) Standard Plan for the Cemetery Lodge, 1871. Courtesy of the Department of Veterans Affairs.



(Figure 3.9) Antietam's Cemetery Lodge, constructed by Paul Pelz. Courtesy of Antietam National Battlefield.

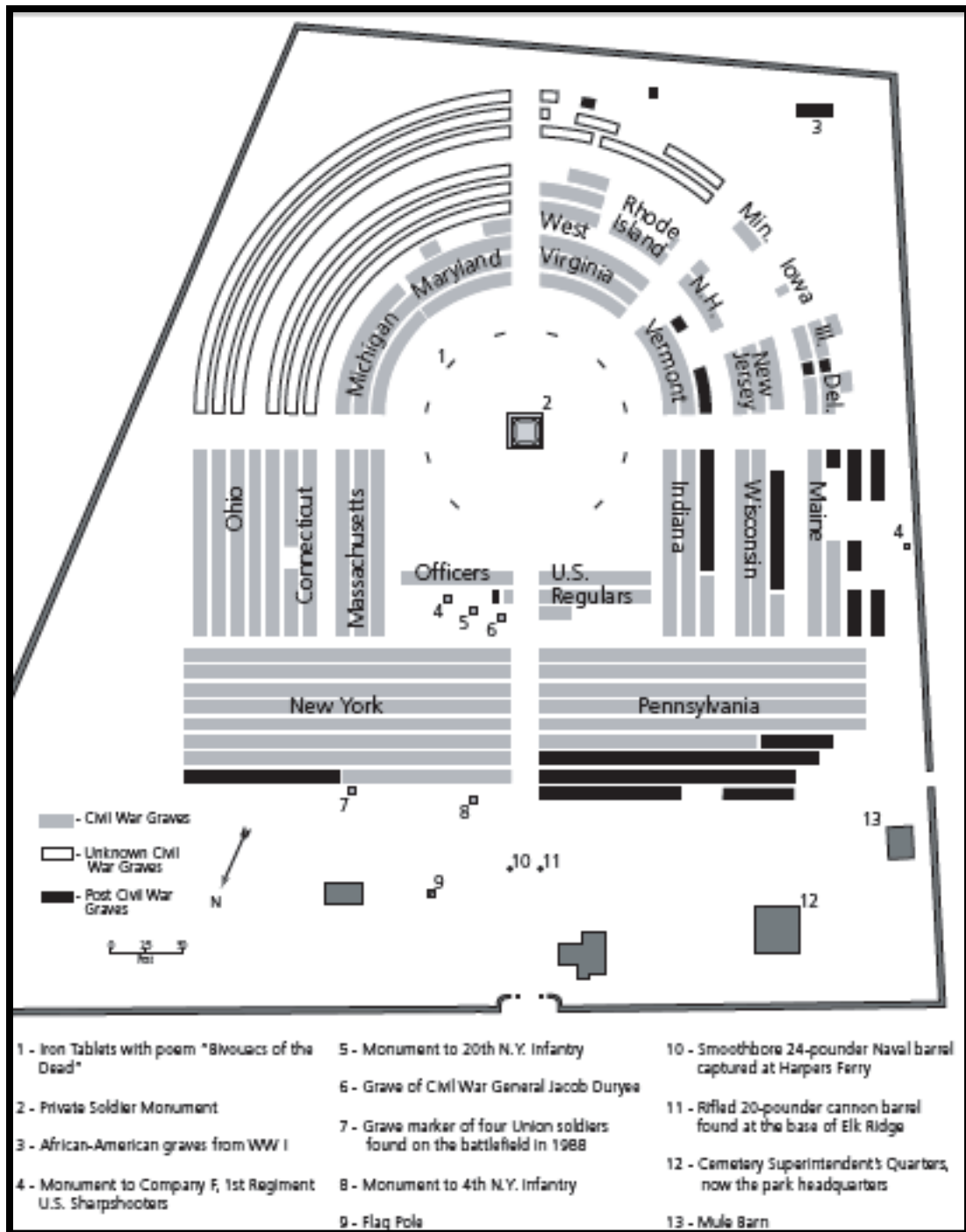
When Reconstruction ended in 1877, regional conflicts did not dissipate overnight, and reunification was not a given. This was evident at Antietam's cemetery, where the federal government gained full custody yet still struggled to assert its control over Civil War memory.<sup>60</sup> The post-Reconstruction erection of the cemetery rostrum reflected this desire for federal influence (Figure 3.10). Unlike the guard house, the rostrum *did* adhere to Miegs' standard. The War Department constructed the rostrum in 1879 as an elaborate pedestal for those asked to speak at formal occasions such as Decoration Day and the Battle's Anniversary. Its speakers faced the center of the cemetery, where the dead were watched over by Old Simon, the 44-foot tall statue of the Union's private soldier (Figure 3.11).<sup>61</sup> From the rostrum, orators literally spoke to the Union dead and their supporters (Figure 3.12).



**(Figure 3.10)** Montgomery Meigs's Standard Plan Cemetery Rostrum. Courtesy of Antietam National Battlefield.



**(Figure 3.11)** Old Simon. Courtesy of Antietam National Battlefield.



(Figure 3.12) Map of Antietam National Cemetery, including the Rostrum (to the left of #9), the Guard House (below #10 and #11), and the Soldier Monument (#2). Courtesy of Antietam National Battlefield.

Although the rostrum became a central architectural element in the federal government's efforts to manage Civil War memory, those who spoke from the platform continued to present a muddled message of *who* specifically was to be remembered and *why*. In the early years of the post-Reconstruction era, a contentious memory of the Civil War remained. The end of Reconstruction left the South to its own devices, but the dead still served as a tool to debate the federal government's role in determining one's rights. As a site of strong emotional attachment for veterans and politicians on both sides of the Mason-Dixon Line, would Antietam remain a site of bloody conflict or become a place of peaceful resolution for the past and the present, the dead and the living?

In 1880, Marriott Brosius, a Congressman from Pennsylvania, praised the sacrifice of the common Union soldier from the pedestal of the rostrum. However, he had no "gushing sentiment of honor to those who died in the act of rebellion."<sup>62</sup> In denouncing the act of rebellion, Brosius and his fellow Northern Republicans used the rostrum as a podium to criticize Southern Democrats. With Reconstruction only several years in the past and sectional tensions still high, Republicans touted themselves as the keepers of prosperity, moralism, and most importantly, nationalism. Congressman Brosius's speech reiterated the necessity of Federal authority. Anything less would not be tolerated, he explained, because "the republic can have no standard of law or morals that does not condemn as a crime the act of rebellion against her constituted authorities."<sup>63</sup> A strong, central government was necessary to prevent such rebellions and protect the nation's institutions.<sup>64</sup>

At his own Decoration Day appearance at the rostrum in 1885, General George B. McClellan condemned a strong central government.<sup>65</sup> McClellan honored both Union *and* Confederate soldiers who died at the battle and in the war in order to make a point. Their deaths, he claimed, were the result of extremists on both sides.<sup>66</sup> McClellan, who ran against Lincoln in the 1864 Presidential election, believed the Federal Government gained too much power after the Civil War. According to the *Baltimore Sun*, the general gave “a graphic sketch of the greatness of this republic” and stated “a centralized government would create friction that would result in dismemberment... Let the general government keep within the restrictions of the constitution, and all will be well.”<sup>67</sup> Although McClellan predicted further friction and dismemberment at the hands of the free-wheeling federal government, one relinquishment of central authority did deeply alter regional relations. After Reconstruction, the federal government still wanted to maintain some semblance of central authority over the nation. When President Hays pulled federal troops out of the South in 1877, however, he made one thing particularly clear: protecting the enfranchisement of African Americans was no longer a priority at the national level.

The freedmen’s secondary status in Jim Crow America was reflected in their emerging marginalization in battlefield preservation. While their power and enfranchisement during Reconstruction was celebrated through their active participation in the Antietam Cemetery dedication, the African American community questioned their relationship to the post-Reconstruction battlefield. In January of 1883, twenty years after the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, a group of young black leaders gathered

in Washington, D.C. to honor the achievements of Frederick Douglass. As a leading figure in the African American community, Douglass proclaimed the need for abolition prior to the Civil War and promoted the rights of freedmen afterwards. In reflecting on the last two decades, Douglass believed that Civil War memory went astray due, in no small part, to the nation's misguided attraction to battlefields. He argued that the Civil War " 'was not a fight between rapacious birds and ferocious beasts, a mere display of brute courage and endurance, but it was a war between men of thought, as well as of action, and in dead earnest for something beyond the battlefield.' "68 Douglass worried that the moral, ethical meaning of the war and its outcome was lost in popular memory. Anglo Civil War memory marginalized slavery, emancipation, and enfranchisement of African Americans, because it relied too heavily on the battlefield as a source of recollection. The speeches of even those Union sympathizers at Antietam indicated this to be true. Ironically, however, by turning away from battlefields as important memory-making tools for African Americans, Douglass himself marginalized the significance of the Emancipation Proclamation from the bloody battlefield. In doing so, he helped establish a barrier between African Americans and the Antietam Battlefield.

### **Reunion, Respect, and Masculinity: Antietam's Dead During the Age of American Imperialism**

Although African American's lack of participation in Antietam's memory-making reflected their marginalization in national politics and society during the early years of Jim Crow, the speeches given from the platform of the cemetery rostrum revealed that domestic tensions over individual freedoms and states rights continued to plague the



Antietam Battlefield even as race was removed from the equation. By the end of the century, however, even proponents of a strong central government gave up on using the preserved battlefield as a site of continued contention. Instead, they encouraged a message of bloodless, peaceful memories in Sharpsburg. Significantly, the federal government's encouragement of reconciliation did not indicate their relinquishment of authority or represent a new tactic to regain control domestically. Instead, the federal government turned to a message of reconciliation in order to expand its larger, imperial agenda and control over its military engagement overseas.

As the century wound to a close, the United States entered the world stage of expansionism and needed national support for its global endeavors. The United States, in fact, was "late to the game"; much of Europe had been participating in the imperialist land grab for centuries. The United States saw itself as a unique power—exceptional because of its own former colonial status under British rule. It justified its economic, militaristic, and humanitarian endeavors abroad by claiming to battle against those European colonial oppressors occupying Cuba and the Philippines. Pro-Imperialists believed that unity at home was required for the nation's successes abroad. Internal feuding over politics, regionalism, and states rights prevented the enemy's defeat and hindered the nation from sharing its ideals of freedom, democratic rights, and economic opportunity with the world. It was through global expansion and the promise of racial uplift that Antietam's dead finally became a tool of domestic peace rather than divisiveness.

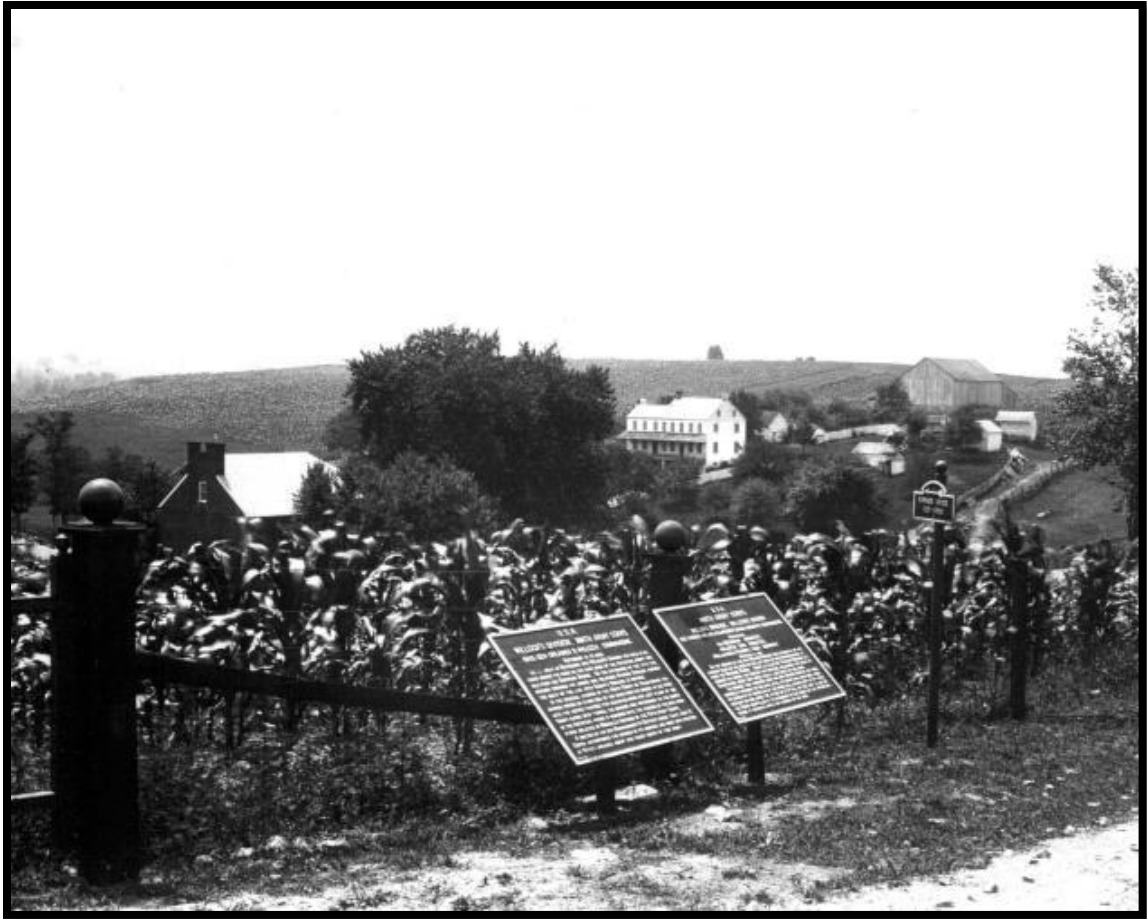
Ironically, through this new phase of Civil War memory the State encouraged another era of warfare. This time, however, the nation would fight united against a foreign foe. During the age of expansion, preservationists pushed aside the contentious aspects of the Civil War in favor of reunion and respect.<sup>69</sup> Rather than focusing on the war's causes and outcomes, preservationists highlighted its more positive components: the manly and heroic virtues of the Civil War soldier. According to scholar John Pettegrew, expansionists promoted Union *and* Confederate soldiers as the models of masculinity, possessing the qualities of bravery, honor, and sacrifice that made the United States exceptional.<sup>70</sup> Like their forbears during the Civil War, a new generation of masculine men was necessary to safeguard the United States' own institutions while spreading them abroad to those less fortunate.<sup>71</sup> Through the revitalized theory of nationalism, both Union and Confederate soldiers, Northerners and Southerners, helped make up the national body.<sup>72</sup> Acknowledgement that Union and Confederate soldiers fought to safeguard competing institutions was marginalized in Civil War memory, as was any recognition that the War liberated the nation's own oppressed people but failed to protect them as part of the national body in its aftermath. Instead, memory of the Civil War encouraged a feel-good message of reconciliation at the turn of the century. Through an abstract emotional connection, former foes stood united again in one [white] brotherhood that would uplift and free the uncivilized peoples of the world.

This pervading attitude of reconciliation and brotherhood in Civil War memory was notable in the establishment of Antietam National Battlefield in 1896. The 1890s represented a period that historian Timothy Smith describes as the "Golden Age" of

battlefield preservation, when veterans put aside sectional tensions to help federally preserve the country's original National Battlefields.<sup>73</sup> In addition to Antietam, Acts of Congress established battlefield commissions comprised of Union and Confederate veterans to preserve Gettysburg, Shiloh, Chickamauga/Chattanooga, and Vicksburg—all intent on stimulating the message of reconciliation, unification, and patriotism. According to preservationists, these five national battlefields served as unmediated, unaltered physical reminders of the nation's military past in order to encourage education and promote heritage tourism. An emphasis on the military tactics of both the Union and Confederate Armies allowed *all* troops to shine on the battlefield, teaching the next generation of brave soldiers the tactics necessary to win their battles overseas.<sup>74</sup> In highlighting military strategy over the causes and legacies of the war, Civil War battlefields became shared spaces of patriotic heritage that developed a wider audience of memory-makers. Ironically, this promotion of heritage tourism relied on the economic drive of turn-of-the-century industrialism—the very modern development that preservationists sought to combat by turning to the past. In addition to Civil War veterans, young soldiers, and politicians, the general populace of white Americans made their way to Antietam battlefield to honor and remember all of the soldiers who, through death, gave up their own freedom for the betterment and eventual glory of the nation.

By the end of the century, reconciliation was an acceptable form of Civil War commemoration at Antietam battlefield—one promoted heavily by the federal government and reflected in Antietam's unique preservation plan. Despite its place among the founding national battlefields, Antietam marked a distinct departure from the

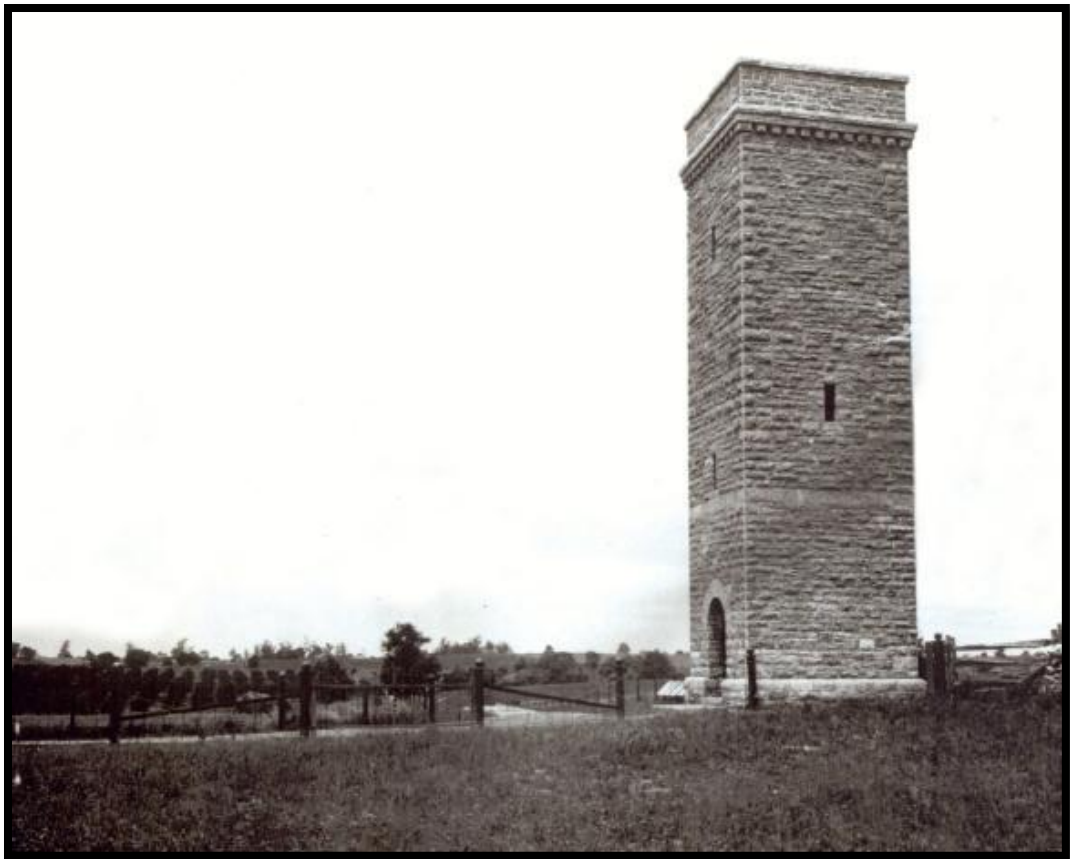
other sites.<sup>75</sup> While Chickamauga—the first national battlefield—was preserved through major land acquisitions, the Maryland battlefield was preserved through the Antietam Plan: purchasing small tracts of land from local landowners. The Commission—comprised of both Union and Confederate veterans—purchased seventeen acres of land used to create five miles of public-access roads along Antietam’s battle lines. Iron tablets lined the roads indicating important military information (**Figure 3.13**). The War Department and national cemetery had a rocky relationship with Sharpsburg’s local population since the battle itself.<sup>76</sup> However, this new preservation plan for the battlefield supported a better rapport with the people of Sharpsburg, reconciling not only the North with the South but the federal government with local residents as well. The Commission argued that purchasing less land saved money and enabled Sharpsburg’s agricultural landscape to remain intact. The Board, therefore, justified the purchase of small avenues around the Antietam landscape in order to look out for landowners. Small strips of government owned land kept visitors off the farmers’ fields, simultaneously guiding visitors along the historic lines of battle—where both Union and Confederate soldiers fought and died with bravery.<sup>77</sup>



(Figure 3.13) Antietam Battlefield's iron tablets. Courtesy of Antietam National Battlefield.

While protecting local farmland from trampling sightseers, Antietam's public access roads demarcating the lines of fighting also functioned as the front lines of the battlefield's post-war landscape of Civil War memory. Like the cemetery's keeper lodge, the access roads on the battlefield helped direct visitors' understandings of the war. With only limited and controlled access to the "public" site, visitors internalized a landscape veiled in the hazy romance of distance. Antietam's observation tower sat at the center of this detached memory (Figure 3.14). Along with the roads and iron tablets, the tower was part of what Timothy Smith defines as the "sprint to build the park" that began in October

1894 and ended officially in March 1898.<sup>78</sup> The tower itself was located along the historic and bloody Sunken Road. As a result of the Antietam Plan, the tower sat on a War Department road in between two private properties.<sup>79</sup> Importantly, the sunken road itself was not destroyed to construct the tower. Instead, it was placed at the highest end of the historic road, preserving a key sacred site on the battlefield. While located next to a particularly sacred piece of battle land, the tower's aerial view enabled visitors to connect with other salient sites on the battlefield by providing visual access to key points of the battle. With the help of the tower and larger Antietam Plan, preservationists believed visitors would experience an authentic 1862 Civil War battlefield.<sup>80</sup>



(Figure 3.14) Antietam's Observation Tower. Courtesy of Antietam National Battlefield.

In actuality, Antietam's preservation plan—or any battlefield's preservation plan for that matter—did not provide visitors with an unmediated and unfiltered escape into the 1862 past. Preservationists and memory-makers fought for control of the Antietam battlefield and its meaning since the Civil War itself. The turn of the century was no different. From the parapet of the tower, visitors looked out onto a landscape that, though seemingly undisturbed, was constructed by veterans and the federal government to reassert a narrative of national reunification and peace. Monument building stood at the core of this message. Although a seemingly “natural” and “innocent” part of mourning, Antietam's monuments to the dead reflected these larger goals. Much like Laura Wexler's description of the social production of photography during the Age of Imperialism, monument building naturalized and enforced the preservationists' prevailing message of reunion.<sup>81</sup> Just west of the tower, visitors on the platform saw two of Antietam's six mortuary monuments to the battle's fallen generals. Located along Bloody Lane, these two monuments honored the ultimate sacrifice of Union Major General Israel B. Richardson and Confederate Brigadier General George B. Anderson. Similar monuments honoring Union and Confederate dead were located throughout the park, mourning those—North and South—who led others bravely into battle. Through newly erected monuments, the battlefield that once represented a killing field of hatred and anger between feuding brothers, as well as hope and freedom for former slaves, now promoted commemoration through white reconciliation.

The most significant reconciliatory monument was dedicated by the former border state of Maryland. Between 15,000 and 25,000 people gathered for its dedication in 1900.

Though located near Dunker Church, the large monument's copper-coated dome "crowned with a bronze statue of 'Peace' " was visible from the top of the observation tower (**Figure 3.15**). As the only monument on the battlefield directly dedicated to both sides of the conflict, the monument honored Maryland's "Sons, in both Union and Confederate Armies, who, on her own soil, at the battle of Antietam, offered their lives in maintainance [sic] of their principles, but also in recognition of the precepts of peace and fraternity, which now find their embodiment in the hearts of a united people."<sup>82</sup> In doing so, veterans from the North and South helped establish the landscape as a site of commemoration and unity, relying on the noble characteristics of the citizen soldier. Rather than focusing on the differences that brought soldiers of the Blue and Gray together on the battlefield, the Maryland Monument helped place sectionalism purely in the past.





(Figure 3.15) Maryland's Antietam Monument. Courtesy of Antietam National Battlefield.

To suggest that reunification, however, too often ignored deeper concepts of freedom, emancipation, race and racism on the Antietam battlefield is a misnomer. Those practical and idealistic sentiments that influenced Civil War memory during the war and Reconstruction continued to influence the nation's memorialization on the battlefields at the end of the nineteenth century. Rather than focusing domestically, however, it turned global—using the Civil War as a backdrop for its imperialistic endeavors. An examination of Antietam Battlefield in this turn-of-the century environment indicates that reconciliation and deeper, rhetorical concepts about citizenship, freedom, and race went hand in hand, rather than competed against one another. Pro-Imperialist supporters used this message of reconciliation to extol America's virtuous ability to rise above, making it

a true leader and world power. These virtues venerated the intelligence and superiority of America's Anglo population by emphasizing the less "civilized" status of the savage "Others" burdened by wanton desires of Europeanists. According to Wexler, "sentimental power was grounded historically in the institution of slavery and subsequently extended to colonization."<sup>83</sup> In true sentimental fashion, therefore, Antietam's preservationists focused on a new suffering Other whose uncivilized nature was used to uplift the Anglo American people. Antietam's monuments helped solidify the battlefield's race-based message of cultural domination and superiority.<sup>84</sup>

At the dedication of the Maryland Monument, Secretary of War Elihu Root indicated that the monument commemorated "the noblest qualities of a race peaceful in its purposes, slow to anger, long suffering, but of warlike fibre and terrible in its capacity for strife and for victory."<sup>85</sup> In the midst of the Spanish-American-Filipino War, Root's message was clear. Discipline, mutual respect, and peaceful reunification, enabled the United States to rise to great power. Its Civil War soldiers taught future generations the capacity to command, obey, display discipline and loyalty, and to rise "above the greed of gold and the selfish interests of the hour ... devoting life, even unto death, for a flag, for a cause, for a Nation."<sup>86</sup> Root concluded in a dramatic fashion:

And so your [Maryland] monument commemorates not merely the fallen, but it commemorates the service of the living, and it shall ... mark the loyalty and the devotion of all the men who fell and ... survived, that all of us who come after them may justify their sacrifice for the country reunited, for the promotion of law and liberty under this flag, ... that we might live and ever spreading through the world the blessings that we enjoy.<sup>87</sup>

In fighting and reuniting, they continued the greatness of the Republic, protecting civilization and upholding patriotism.

Like his Secretary of War, President McKinley glorified the United States and its “free” institutions. He praised America’s virtues highlighted by the success of reunification, noting that after several decades, North and South met on the battlefield with only one sentiment: “that of loyalty to the Government of the United States, love for our flag and our free institutions, and determined, men of the North and men of the South, to make any sacrifice for the honor and perpetuity of the American Nation.”<sup>88</sup> McKinley received a loud and enthusiastic applause when he concluded his speech by referencing the “common heritage” of valor that brought the nation together during the Spanish American War. Former enemies “...vied with each other to show their devotion to the United States...[they] fought side by side ... in those far off islands [and] are standing to-day fighting and dying for ... the flag that represents more than any other banner in the world, the best hopes and aspirations of mankind.”<sup>89</sup> Like Roots, McKinley put the United States, its institutions, and its soldiers on a pedestal—venerated by those here in the States as a means of justifying overseas actions against those less fortunate.

At the dedication of the New Jersey Monument in 1903, President Roosevelt praised the nation and its citizenry as well. He focused on the three qualities of those whom he viewed as successful citizens in both their private and public lives: courage, honesty, and common sense.<sup>90</sup> Antietam’s Civil War soldiers displayed these qualities and changed the course of the nation:

this battle was of momentous and even decisive importance, for when it had ended and Lee had retreated south of the Potomac, Lincoln forthwith published that immortal paper, the preliminary declaration of emancipation; the paper which decided that the Civil War, besides being a war for the preservation of the Union, should be a war for the emancipation of the slave, so that from that time onward the causes of union and of freedom of national greatness and individual liberty, were one and the same.<sup>91</sup>

To Roosevelt, Antietam signified the nation's greatness through the promise of freedom and individual liberty. Its preservation and memorialization reflected even more. He argued that the United States was a superior nation not only because it had the common sense to emancipate its slaves, but it had the strength and will to reunite despite of it. He explained that the nation progressed forward, learning to cast aside differences and distinctions which "sunder one man from another." It stripped "off the husks of occupation, of position, of accident, until the soul stands forth revealed, and we know the man only because of his worth as a man."<sup>92</sup> He argued that in 1863 and in 1903, the nation knew the "character of the individual man" is what mattered most. A generation after the Battle of Antietam, the same courage, honesty, and common sense of its citizens was what made the United States great and worthy of expansion, once again bringing individual liberty and freedom to those less civilized and fortunate.

While imperialists such as Roots, McKinley, and Roosevelt proclaimed their intent to bring its democratic institutions to those poor races suffering around the world, their speeches reveal the irony of the "white man's burden." While extolling racial progress and uplift abroad, many anti-imperialists noted that it had not even happened at home.<sup>93</sup> The United States' own domestic environment of Jim Crow demonstrated that despite the Emancipation Proclamation, individual liberty and freedom had not been

achieved. The blessings and institutions supposedly enjoyed by the nation and extolled by Roots and McKinley were not granted to the country's African American population after Reconstruction. The nation's "common heritage" displayed at Antietam, therefore, did not include African Americans. Despite applauding the Emancipation Proclamation and the "character of the individual man," an engrained level of racism drove Roosevelt's imperialistic rhetoric on the Antietam Battlefield as well. He used the spirit and valor of those Civil War soldiers to commend and validate the efforts of those soldiers upholding "the honor of the flag in the far off lands."<sup>94</sup> This rhetoric pervading the early monumental history of Antietam, extolling the virtues, heroism, and character of Americans, came at the expense of both African Americans and those being colonized by the United States—most notably in the Philippines. The rights of citizenship celebrated by Roosevelt as the nation's triumphant legacy were systematically denied to African Americans and the nation's protectorates. Like the memory of the Civil War itself, imperialism put a veil of romance over the nation's race issues at home and abroad. The peace and reunification that brought together North and South institutionalized the nation's racism in the form of Jim Crow and spread its sentiment elsewhere in the world.

### **Courage as the Key to Success: Remembering Antietam's Fallen Soldiers during the Great Depression**

Throughout the first three decades of the twentieth century, Antietam Battlefield was a commemorative site that encouraged reunion between families, generations, and geography. It developed a positive, united, and patriotic interpretation of the Civil War in order to present the United States as an exceptional and progressive home of liberty and

freedom. The battlefield functioned as a tool of patriotism and pride for the nation's involvement in global affairs through World War I. By the 1930s, however, the country's economic woes once again led the nation to reflect inwards rather than globally. The economic and agricultural decline thwarted the nation's narrative of progress and opportunity during the Great Depression; the unproductive American landscape—once presented as lush, rich, open space at the center of the nation's identity and success—now threatened to unravel the nation. Rather than relying on Antietam's dead to join forces against a world foe, Antietam's preservationists promoted patriotic pride, progress, and unity at home to combat its own domestic challenges and boost national morale. In 1933, Antietam National Battlefield was incorporated into the National Park Service. Under the NPS, Antietam's narrative of land-based nationalism grew even stronger than before. Up until 1933, the park system focused primarily on natural landscapes of the West—such as Yosemite and Yellowstone. These natural landscapes celebrated rugged individualism and progress of Anglo-American civilization. By incorporating Civil War battlefields into the National Park System, the visual documentation of American history through expansion and progress was more complete.<sup>95</sup> The Civil War and its dead, after all, determined how the West was settled. Antietam became part of a system that romanticized and idealized this progressive relationship between the American “people” and “their” land. Preservationists wanted to pass their message along to future generations: Antietam *belonged* to all [white] Americans.

Washington County residents highlighted this positive relationship between the people and their land during the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Battle of Antietam in 1937. For

the first time on a large scale, local citizens took an active role in the battlefield's commemorative process. The Antietam battlefield was not just a source of national pride but also *local* pride—becoming part of the larger celebration that honored the county's 200-year history and “march of progress.” Locals relied on the positive sentiment of thrills and patriotism to encourage participation. As part of the events commemorating the battle anniversary, Washington County residents hosted “an awe-inspiring pageant of thirty-two scenes” entitled “On Wings of Time”—offering a “comprehensive resume” of the county's history, connecting residents across space and time.<sup>96</sup> According to the *Lewisburg Standard-Journal*, “from a section rich in history and its lore, one expected much, and, received even more. Staged on a gigantic scale, the program was nothing short of stupendous with its fifteen hundred performers, huge stage with movable floors and backdrops; eight or ten wings large enough to permit the entrance and exit of coaches...”<sup>97</sup> In the pageant procession, the Civil War only played a partial role. Yet, Antietam was the drawing force behind the fanfare and received top billing in the “Official Program and Guide, National Antietam Commemoration.” In addition, “Miss Antietam” was crowned on September 4<sup>th</sup> and oversaw the entire affair, symbolizing “the spirit that took the boys of blue and those of gray to battle on Antietam fields.”<sup>98</sup> Miss Antietam celebrated the boys of the blue and gray who had the courage to fight for their convictions but also managed to overcome the obstacle of war and disunion. Their spirit of courage and unity symbolized the character, drive, and bravery necessary to overcome the Depression.

Although commemorative events continued to promote reconciliation and pride, events celebrating the region's history did introduce a mixed message regarding racial progress and racism. In its special edition highlighting the pageant, the *B. & O. R.R. Magazine*, published in Arlington, Virginia, paid particular attention to the Emancipation Proclamation, acknowledging the fact that "Lee's advance into the North had been checked gave President Lincoln the opportunity for publishing his long contemplated Emancipation Proclamation."<sup>99</sup> Washington County residents themselves, however, did not highlight the proclamation, despite their reenactment of Lincoln's battlefield visit in 1862. Instead, they relied on a sentimental attachment to the death of Lincoln himself—the deified President—to whitewash the past's racial strife and supposed resolution. In its reenactment of Lincoln's funeral procession on the "Thatcher Perkins" railroad car in 1865, program reviewer Florence Utt Focht suggested that the deceased president was seen as a martyr and the great Emancipator. The pageant was so moving that she exclaimed, "We could almost see the silent, sorrowful people, many of them negroes, who had come to pay homage to the great Emancipator."<sup>100</sup> Although the program noted "a group of negroes pay homage to the great Emancipator," it is unclear whether African Americans actually participated in the pageant, because the "sorrowful people" appeared to be imagined in Focht's eyes.<sup>101</sup> However, they did receive recognition elsewhere. One newspaper article noted that a colored veteran of the Civil War attended the events. Interestingly, the snippet on Albert Ray, 96 of Hinton, Oklahoma, was segregated from a list of the rest of the veterans under the sub-title "Colored Vet at Antietam."<sup>102</sup> Ray's participation was more of an oddity to be noted than seen as the norm. Nonetheless, the



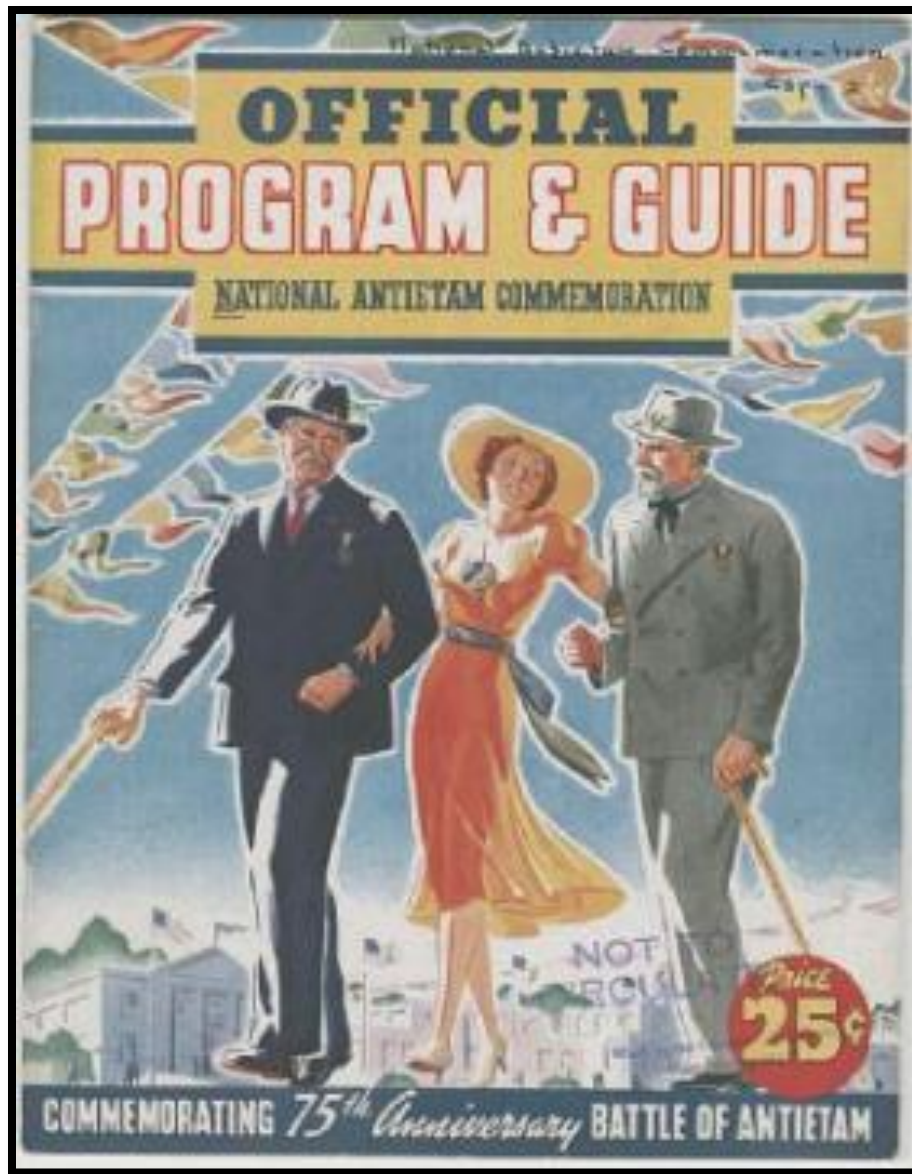
inclusion of African Americans—real and imagined, past and present—in accounts of the events is significant. It hints at public recognition of African Americans and their investment in the commemoration and memory of Antietam and the Civil War.

Regardless of this positive, if small, development in the relationship between Civil War memory and race relations, other events of the 75<sup>th</sup> Anniversary reasserted notions of racial superiority displayed during the age of imperialism. Like at the turn of the century, the Anglo race was highlighted as a measurement of progress, civilization, and supremacy. The exposition brought “others” to the forefront—using them as a tool to boost morale during the domestic depression. The area’s first inhabitants of “Red Men” made an appearance in the pageant—representing the “savage Indians” through dances that symbolized their “highly imaginative nature.”<sup>103</sup> The Junior World’s Fair demonstrated the prominence and strength of the region—and the nation—on the world stage by spotlighting those “Others” less civilized. The Carnival Midway included “a series of villages depicting life in foreign countries.”<sup>104</sup> Journalists also emphasized the atrocities of war occurring in other countries at the time. Even as a form of violence and hostility, Antietam was seen differently. Newspapers noted that unlike the “Japanese butchery in China,” men at Antietam displayed noble gallantry—like that of the Romans.<sup>105</sup> The distinction between Japan’s wanton butchery and Antietam’s gallantry suggests that the United States had moved beyond such efforts of aggression. Post-war unity put Americans on a pedestal of heroism, separating them from the uncivilized actions of others.

The commemorative anniversary in Washington County, in fact, indicated that the theme of patriotic reconciliation had expanded. It now crossed economic, gender, and generational lines, rather than just geographic boundaries between north and south. It did not, however, cross racial lines. Despite their inclusion both historically and contemporarily, African Americans and other minorities remained segregated in the celebrations—receiving only brief and ancillary mention. Anglo American progress and courage in the face of adversity was the theme of the event. Queen Antietam, Julia Louise Brandt, and her court were all young, Anglo-European females, and the cast of the pageant was comprised of Anglos as well (**Figure 3.16**).<sup>106</sup> A young, beautiful female graced the cover of the official program, also suggesting the involvement of the county's younger generation. The young female walked joyfully arm in arm with two Civil War veterans, one Union and Confederate—the unofficial representatives of the commemorative events. Each man held a cane, military metal on his suit breast, and a smile on his face (**Figures 3.17 & 3.18**).<sup>107</sup> They exclaimed, “We’re going! Are you?...Come and Join us.” The *Washington Post* columnist Edward T. Folliard wrote that “the scars [of war] are all gone now...the streets are garlanded with two kinds of flags, the Stars and Stripes of the victor and the Stars and Bars of the vanquished...the bands play ‘Dixie’ as well as the national anthem...” The columnist noted that time had sentimentalized the war, making it a memory accessible to former foes.<sup>108</sup>



(Figure 3.16) Miss Antietam, 1937. Courtesy of the Washington County Historical Society (Hagerstown, Maryland).



(Figure 3.17) Official Program. 1937. Courtesy of the Washington County Historical Society (Hagerstown, Maryland).



(Figure 3.18) National Antietam Commemoration Advertisement, 1937. Courtesy of the Washington County Historical Society (Hagerstown, Maryland).

This sentimentalization of events and advertisements relied on what Roland Marchand refers to as “Advertising in Overalls.” During the Depression, advertisers suggested that “the key to success was courage.”<sup>109</sup> Courage would help down and out Americans recover from the Depression, once again asserting their strength and identity as a free people. The glorification of Civil War soldiers—former foes reunited through courage, bravery, and heroism—featured the same characteristics necessary to pull through the Depression. It was this sentimentalized relationship to overcome adversity that President Franklin Roosevelt highlighted in his speech on the Antietam Battlefield in 1937. While his uncle acknowledged the role of Emancipation at Antietam, FDR did not.

He spoke ill of Reconstruction and its divisive powers over the nation, articulating the rights and freedoms taken away from the former Confederates. He declared,

Today, old and young alike, are saddened by the knowledge of the bitter years that followed the war —years bitter to the South because of economic destruction and the denial to its population of the normal rights of free Americans—years bitter to the North because victory engendered among many the baser passions of revenge and tyranny.<sup>110</sup>

In the midst of the Great Depression, the President pushed aside the sectional differences that led to the battle and instead focused on the nationalism that resulted from World War One. He “commend[ed] the nation for ‘not only acting but also thinking in national terms’ under his administration.” However, like his imperialist predecessors, FDR’s commendation of the national body came at the expense of others present at the commemorative events. In denouncing Reconstruction for its denial of “normal rights” to “free Americans,” the President disregarded those rights of African Americans which had been gained by the blood, sacrifice, and death of Union soldiers at Antietam.<sup>111</sup>

FDR’s powerful and poignant words celebrating the nation’s greatness were demonstrated physically when more than 25,000 visitors watched as National Guard and regular troops reenacted the fight for the Sunken Road. Standing next to the Sunken Road, spectators looked on in patriotic celebration where Alexander Gardner once stood in silent, thoughtful solemnity. In the midst of these reenactments—on the stage and in the field—visitors to Antietam still expressed their appreciation of experiencing “the real thing” on the battlefield. Edward T. Folliard of *the Washington Post* wrote that “this really looks like a battlefield...most of them don’t, and the result is disenchantment...”<sup>112</sup>

To the public, Antietam was enchanting, because they believed it offered an undisturbed view into the past. On his visit to the battlefield, however, Folliard did not experience the real thing. He had a guided view of the landscape, led by an individual who “steered” him toward such sites as Burnside’s Bridge and the Tower at Bloody Lane. Ironically, he himself acknowledged the change; “now the corn is growing again, waving serenely in a field once irrigated with blood.”<sup>113</sup> Folliard did not see the same battlefield Gardner or Lincoln did seventy-five years earlier. While Folliard recognized that time sanitized the land—removing blood and death from site—he failed to acknowledge its changed narrative as well. In an effort to reunite the nation, glorify its soldiers, and strengthen the economy, the power to grant emancipation through military might was all but silenced on the battlefield. Its silence, in fact, demonstrated that perhaps emancipation had not yet been fully achieved. Seventy-five years later, Lincoln’s strategic use of the Antietam Battlefield and its dead had not reached full fruition.

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### Chapter 1 Notes

<sup>1</sup> James McPherson, *Crossroads of Freedom: Antietam* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2002), 134.

<sup>2</sup> McPherson, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Bob Zeller, *The Blue and Gray in Black and White: A History of Civil War Photography* (Connecticut: Praeger Publishers, 2005) p. xi.

<sup>4</sup> John Gibbon, *Personal Recollections of the Civil War* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1928), 82-83.

<sup>5</sup> National Park Service, Lincoln Home National Historic Site, “Gettysburg Address”; available from <http://www.nps.gov/archive/liho/writer/address.htm>; Internet; accessed 10 May 2008. It is important to note that initially, Lincoln hallowed the ground on which Union soldiers died, and the push for preservation was done locally by Pennsylvanians. After the war, however, particularly after Reconstruction, the battlefield took on a new image: one that honored both the Union and Confederate soldiers.

<sup>6</sup> Kristin Ann Hass, *Carried to the Wall* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1998), 37.

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<sup>7</sup> Unknown, "Brady's Photographs: Pictures of the Dead at Antietam," *New York Times* (20 October 1862). Available at <http://www.nytimes.com/1862/10/20/news/brady-s-photographs-pictures-of-the-dead-at-antietam.html>; Internet; accessed 28 January 2013.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Stephen W. Sears, *Landscape Turned Red: the Battle of Antietam* (New York, New York: First Mariner Books, 2003), 335; Kathleen A. Ernst, *Too Afraid to Cry: Maryland Civilians in the Antietam Campaign* (Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books, 1999), 160.

<sup>12</sup> Ernst, 160.

<sup>13</sup> Ernst, 158.

<sup>14</sup> Ernst, 165.

<sup>15</sup> Ernst, 159. Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008), 69.

<sup>16</sup> Sears, 335.

<sup>17</sup> Ernst, 163.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ernst, 185.

<sup>20</sup> Unknown, "A Visit to Sharpsburgh," *The Christian Recorder* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), October 25 1862.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863 – 1877* (New York: First Perennial Classics, 2002); John Hope Franklin, *Reconstruction after the Civil War* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1994).

<sup>24</sup> See: Herbert Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925* (New York, New York: Vintage Books, 1976). Jaclyn Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family, From Slavery to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 2010); W.E.B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860 – 1880* (New York: Free Press, 1998); Laura Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion: The Political Culture of Reconstruction* (Illinois: University of Illinois, 1997); Tera W. Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War* (Massachusetts: Harvard, 1997); Leon Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long: the Aftermath of Slavery* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1979).



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<sup>25</sup> Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*; Alice Fahs and Joan Waugh, editors, *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture* (University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, editors, *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000).

<sup>26</sup> Stuart McConnell, *Glorious Contentment: the Grand Army of the Republic, 1865-1900* (University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 1-3.

<sup>27</sup> Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth Century America* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 89-90.

<sup>28</sup> Catherine Zipf, "Marking Union Victory in the South: The Construction of the National Cemetery System," in *Monuments to the Lost Cause: Women, Art, and the Landscapes of Southern Memory*, Cynthia Mills and Pamela H. Simpson, editors (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), pp. 27-45.

<sup>29</sup> Augustus Williamson Bradford, "The Oration of Ex-Governor Bradford" in *History of Antietam National Cemetery* (The Maryland Board of Trustees of the Antietam National Cemetery, 1869), 30. Available from Washington County Free Library, Western Maryland's Historical Library (hereafter WHILBR), <http://whilbr.com/itemdetail.aspx?idEntry=1103&dtPointer=0>; Internet; accessed 28 January 2013.

<sup>30</sup> James Brown, "IN MEMORIAM. ----- A Trip to the BattleField of Antietam -Laying of the Corner Stone of the New Cemetery, at Sharpsburg, Maryland, on September 17th, 1867," *The Christian Recorder* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 5 October 1867).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Ernst explains that "it was hard for civilians to piece their lives back together when the devastation and horror seemed to linger. The shallow graves weren't sufficient, and residents frequently came across gruesome reminders of September 17. 'It was a common thing to see human bones lying loose in gutters and fence corners for several years,' Mr. C.M. Keedy recalled, 'and frequently hogs would be seen with limbs in their mouths.'" Ernst, 185.

<sup>33</sup> Bradford, 47.

<sup>34</sup> Kelsey Cass describes the nineteenth century cemetery movement in two stages: "In the first, between 1830 and 1855, the "rural" and "garden" cemetery dominated. During this period, the evolution proceeded in tandem with the development of the profession of landscape architecture and the public parks movement. Stage two, between 1855 and 1920, the "lawn" or "park" cemetery, headed by Mount Auburn Cemetery in Boston, prevailed." Kelsey Cass, "None Else of Name: The Origin and Early Development of the U.S. National Cemetery System" (Ph.D. diss., Claremont College Graduate School, Ca, 2001), 12-13.

<sup>35</sup> Thomas Bender, "The 'Rural' Cemetery Movement: Urban Travail and the Appeal of Nature," *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (June 1974), pp. 196-211.

<sup>36</sup> Cass, 17.

<sup>37</sup> Charles W. Snell and Sharon A. Brown, *Antietam National Battlefield and National Cemetery: an Administrative History* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior/National Park Service, 1986), 14. Out of eighty national cemeteries in existence by 1880, Antietam was only one of two established and run by a state.

<sup>38</sup> Newspaper clipping, no title, *Washington Chronicle*, December 9, 1867. Clipping found in Box 6, Entry 576 - General Correspondence and Reports Relating to National and Post Cemeteries ("Cemetery File"),

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1865-1914 (hereafter Entry 576), Record Group 92 – Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General (hereafter RG 92), National Archives I, Washington, D.C. (hereafter, NARA I). This statement in the newspaper was supported by the Cemetery’s Trustee meeting, where R.E. Fenton stated that “the remains of the soldiers of the Confederate Army to be buried in a part of the grounds, separate from those of the Union Army.” “Proceedings of a Meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Antietam National Cemetery, Held at Philadelphia, June 21, 1871,” p. 5, Box 5, Entry 576, RG 92, NARA I.

<sup>39</sup> “Proceedings of the Trustees,” 7.

<sup>40</sup> Bradford, 44.

<sup>41</sup> Reverend Edward Meyer, Composer, “Hymn 1 – Old Hundred” in *History of Antietam National Cemetery*, 23. Available from (WHILBR).

<sup>42</sup> Brown, “A Trip to the Battlefield.”

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> President Andrew Johnson, “Speech of President Johnson,” in *History of Antietam National Cemetery*, 54.

<sup>46</sup> Brown, “A Trip to the Battlefield.”

<sup>47</sup> Johnson, 54.

<sup>48</sup> Governor Swann, “Speech of Governor Swann,” in *History of Antietam National Cemetery*, 22-23.

<sup>49</sup> George Derby, James Terry White, *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, volume 9 (New York: James T. White and Co., 1899), 307-308.

<sup>50</sup> Bradford, 45.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Mason’s Hymn, “America” in “Programme of Ceremonies of Masons,” in *History of Antietam National Cemetery*, 26-27.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Catherine Zipf indicates that the national cemetery lodges throughout the country after the Civil War served these functions. She explains that “the lodges served not only as living quarters but also functioned as centers for welcoming visitors, maintaining records of the dead, holding funerals, and organizing Decoration Day festivities.” Zipf, 30.

<sup>56</sup> Zipf, 37.

<sup>57</sup> Virginia and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1988), 242. Zipf, 37.

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<sup>58</sup> Robinson & Associates, Inc., *Antietam National Cemetery Lodge: Physical History and Condition Assessment, Final Submission*, (Washington, D.C.: architrave p.c. architects, 5 March 2003), 18-19.

<sup>59</sup> McAlester, 242.

<sup>60</sup> Until 1877, Antietam National Cemetery was both a State and National Cemetery. Although the War Department took an active role in planning and maintaining the cemetery site, the State of Maryland played a large role in raising funds for the project.

<sup>61</sup> Old Simon was not erected in Antietam Cemetery until 1880. However, the monstrous sculpture was already envisioned as part of the cemetery during the early stages of planning, adopted officially by the Cemetery Board on September 16, 1867. Maryland Board of Trustees, *History of Antietam National Cemetery*, 21.

<sup>62</sup> Susan W. Trail, "Remembering Antietam: Commemoration and Preservation of a Civil War Battlefield" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, College Park, 2005), 120.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> Worth Robert Miller, "The Lost World of Gilded Age Politics" in *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (January 2002), 51.

<sup>65</sup> The article listed the following important individuals in attendance, as well: "Judge Henry W. Hoffman was president, and introduced the orator. Among the gentlemen on the rostrum were Col. Douglas, Hon. Wm. T. Hamilton, E.W. Mealey, Capt. W. W. Walker, Buchanan Schley, George M. Stonebraker, Alexander Neill, Isaac Loewenstein, Wm. Kealhofer, John L. Mcatee, R.T. Semmer, George W. Harris, State Senator Lane, P.A. Witmer, Jacob Marker, Col. Wm. A. Morgam, and those who made up the McClellan Party." "Antietam Battlefield Gen. McClellan's Reception in Western Maryland and His Oration," *Baltimore Sun*, June 1, 1885. See also "From the Peninsula to Antietam – Posthumous notes by General McClellan, -- with an introduction by General McClellan's Literary Executor," *Century Illustrated Magazine*, Vol. XXXII, No. 1 (May 1886), 121. Despite focusing on McClellan's Civil War career, it does make note of the former general's return trip to Antietam in 1885 and includes an image of the Rostrum from which he addressed his audience.

<sup>66</sup> Trail, 150.

<sup>67</sup> "Antietam Battlefield Gen. McClellan's Reception in Western Maryland and His Oration."

<sup>68</sup> David W. Blight, " 'For Something beyond the Battlefield: Frederick Douglass and the Struggle for the Memory of the Civil War,' " in *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 75, No. 4 (March 1989) (Organization of American Historians), 1164.

<sup>69</sup> David Blight, *Beyond the Battlefield: Race, Memory, and the American Civil War* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 103-104. See also David Blight, *Race and Memory, the Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001).

<sup>70</sup> John Pettegrew, "'The Soldier's Faith: Turn-of-the-Century Memory of the Civil War and the Emergence of Modern American Nationalism,' " *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (January 1996) (Sage Publications, Ltd.), p. 60-62.

<sup>71</sup> Pettegrew, 62.

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<sup>72</sup> Pettegrew, 67.

<sup>73</sup> Timothy Smith, *The Golden Age of Battlefield Preservation: the Decade of the 1890s and the Establishment of America's First Five Military Parks* (Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press, 2008).

<sup>74</sup> During the age of imperialism, the Civil War battlefields and battle reenactments were used on numerous occasions to teach the next generation of soldiers the proper military tactics. In 1912, students from the Army War College in Washington, D.C. under the command of Colonel Hunter Liggett traveled to Antietam and Gettysburg battlefields—on horseback—to study the conflicts' legendary military maneuvers. In September of 1924, Antietam was visited by the Marine Corps Expeditionary Forces who used the battlefield as an outdoor classroom and training ground by refighting the Battle of Antietam. Battle exercises included a reenactment of the actions at Bloody Lane. Nine years later, National Guard officers from the Twenty-ninth Division, met at Antietam to “discuss the general military plan of the battle of Antietam during the Civil War in relation to modern military methods, both from the tactical and strategic points of view.” “To Study Battlefields” Special to *The Washington Post* (Washington, D.C.), June 9, 1912, p. 9. “Thousands to view marines in battle program this week” *The Washington Post* (Washington, D.C.), September 7, 1924, p. 14. “29<sup>th</sup> Staff Studies Battle of Antietam” Special to *The Washington Post* (Washington, D.C.), May 7, 1933, p. 11. From H.L. Ward to The Quartermaster General. August 28, 1924. Box 56, Entry 1891 - General Correspondence, Geographic File 1922-1935, 601.53 Ann Arbor – 611 Antietam (hereafter Entry 1891), RG 92, NARA I.

<sup>75</sup> Snell and Brown, 68. The first national battlefield established was the “Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Park or Military Park” on August 19, 1890.

<sup>76</sup> As the primary structure in the Cemetery, the Keeper's Lodge was often the focal point for conflicts that arose between the federally employed Superintendent and the local people of Sharpsburg. These conflicts indicate the complications of running a tightly controlled federal bureaucratic system in the midst of a small Maryland community. As early as 1879, there were signs of discontent and disrespect toward the Cemetery among the townspeople. The local *Herald and Torch* announced on September 17, 1879 that “the tower on the lodge house is also being replastered, painted and otherwise repaired. We hope that the foolish habit of writing on the wood work will be stopped, otherwise the persons who indulge in it will get themselves in trouble.” “Rostrum at Antietam Cemetery,” *The Herald and Torch*, September 17, 1879. The article text is hand copied and located in the Antietam Library cemetery files. Disrespect extended out beyond the Lodge's walls, as well. An incident between Superintendent Walter A. Donaldson and the Sharpsburg townspeople in 1880 reiterate the challenges of controlling the conduct of both visitors and superintendents. On August 30, 1880, Charles G. Biggs, Attorney at Law wrote a letter of complaint on behalf of the citizens of Sharpsburg. He explained that since Lieutenant Haverfield had been removed from the Cemetery and Captain Donaldson put in his place, “a great many regulations [were instituted that were] entirely uncalled for and unnecessary and in carrying them into effect acted in the most arbitrary and offensive manner to many of our best citizens, among them some of the most respected ladies in the community.” Biggs stated that the regulations were met without complaint until “other acts of his have aroused the indignation of almost the entire community against him.” Along with neglecting the care of the cemetery, Sharpsburg residents believed Donaldson used the cemetery grounds for private use, and paid his son for labor rather than an ex-soldier. In addition, Biggs stated that Donaldson “has insulted a number of ladies in the community to one of whom he was compelled to apologize.” A signed petition listed pages of Sharpsburg residents who disapproved of Donaldson's actions. File Folder – Report National Cemetery Lodge, Box – Antietam National Cemetery, Antietam National Battlefield Library, Sharpsburg, Md. Letter, Chas. G. Biggs to Hon. Milson Urner (30 August 1880), Box 5, Entry 576, RG 92, NARA I.

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<sup>77</sup> Timothy Smith, 92. The Antietam Plan was not just about relations with local landowners or preserving authenticity, however. Secretary of War Daniel Lamont believed that the Antietam Plan was the best strategy to pursue the preservation of other future battlefields, as well. He argued that “such an approach would not only lower costs but could also be accomplished rather quickly. ‘It is earnestly recommended that Congress authorize the marking of the remaining important battlefields in the same manner adopted at Antietam...’” Timothy Smith, 40.

<sup>78</sup> Timothy Smith, 104. Major George W. Davis was President of the Board until March 18, 1898, at which time the Antietam Board was dissolved. Snell and Brown, 559.

<sup>79</sup> Trail, 29-30.

<sup>80</sup> This authenticity even influenced the construction of the observation tower itself. Although the observation tower was designed by a federal entity, the War Department, it was intended to be constructed by local help, made with local materials, and blend in with the local landscape. The Boards and Commissions of the initial War Department battlefield parks wanted “the battlefields preserved in the state and configuration of the war-era fields, and any modern construction to provide access, they argued, should be kept to a minimum and should not alter the terrain or historical remnants of the battles.” Local stone, cut from local quarries, therefore, would help the Observation Tower blend in with its surroundings. In fact, the use of local stone used in the construction of the Tower became a particularly salient topic of discussion and concern among the Board members. Not only would local stone blend in with the surrounding landscape, it would also be more cost effective. In a May 14, 1896 letter to Ezra Carman, George W. Davis explained in detail his vision for the tower. If possible, he wanted to obtain native limestone from a quarry near Keedysville that had been used to construct the coping stone of the wall around the National Cemetery. Geo. W. Davis, Major, U.S.A. to General E.A. Carman. May 14, 1896, File No. 552, Entry 707 (index Entry 706)—Records of Cemeterial Commissions, 1893-1916 (hereafter Entry 707), RG 92, NARA I. See also Geo. W. Davis to General Carman. May 16, 1896, File No. 552, Entry 707, RG 92, NARA I.

One particularly important feature on the Observation Tower solidified the structure’s connection to its surrounding landscape. The eight directional tablets placed on top of the tower’s coping were melted down cannon from the Battle of Antietam itself. In November of 1897, *The Philadelphia Enquirer* described the process in a piece entitled “Antietam Gun to be Melted.”

On the top of the coping, extending around the top of the column, will be found a bronze plate, with full explanation of the location of all the more memorable events of that battle.... It is to lose its present identity, only to reappear in another condition of far more peaceful utility. The gun weighs 1955 points. It is seven feet long, measuring fourteen inches at its larger diameter, and eleven inches near its mouth... This old engine of destruction is to become that tablet on which will be engraved the several designed arrowed indices, such as will mark the localities of all the more thrilling adventures which made famous the history of that day... This gun will first be broken into small pieces. It will then be consigned to the crucible, there to be reduced to a proper state, preparatory to its recasting in the form of a plate. When the casting process is begun the metal of this gun will be made into eight sections. These sections will be mitered together on the coping of the Antietam tower, and will be the register on which will be engraved the explanatory record of that memorable battle. (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 7, 1897)

The cannon’s direct connection to the battlefield—past and present—created a romanticized aura about it that was reflected in the dramatized descriptions of the Tower. According to *The Washington Post*, the “hallow column” was 100 feet in height. At the platform of the tower, tourists could “read the story of this great battle told on the tablet” while simultaneously examine the whole battlefield. In actuality, the tower stood 54 feet high and the stories of the battle provided on the coping tablets were merely directional arrows with simple supporting text. Special to The Post, “Old Cannon Cuat Into a Tablet,” *The Washington Post* (Washington, D.C), October 28, 1897, p. 3.

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<sup>81</sup> Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism* (Raleigh, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 59.

<sup>82</sup> Quote taken from the “Maryland Monument of Antietam” design solicitation, January 16, 1899. Trail, 261.

<sup>83</sup> Wexler, 54.

<sup>84</sup> Wexler, 59. See also: Matthew Frye Jacobson’s *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000).

<sup>85</sup> “Mr. M’Kinley at Antietam,” *New York Times*, May 31, 1900. Available from <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=F00E1EFE385A16738DDDA80B94DD405B808CF1D3>; Internet; accessed 16 November 2012.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> “On Field of Antietam” *Los Angeles Times*, September 18, 1903. See also “At Antietam, September 17, 1903,” in *Addresses and Presidential Messages of Theodore Roosevelt, 1902-1904* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, 1904), pp. 245 – 249.

<sup>91</sup> Trail, 29-30.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> Not all anti-imperialists objected to expansion for racially motivated reasons. However, a number of individuals pointed out the hypocrisy. Poet Anna Manning Comfort, for instance, took Rudyard Kipling’s poem, “The White Man’s Burden,” and turned it on its head by pointing out the plight of African Americans, Native Americans, and women in the United States in “The Home Burdens of Uncle Sam.” Anna Manning Comfort, *The Public*, May 13, 1899.

<sup>94</sup> Trail, 29-30.

<sup>95</sup> See Marguerite S. Shaffer, “The National Parks as National Assets,” *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), pp. 93-129.

<sup>96</sup> Florence Utt Focht, “Fuf Says, After Seventy-Five Years!” *Lewisburg Standard-Journal* (Lewisburg, Pennsylvania), September 9, 1937. WHILBR. Available from <http://www.whilbr.org/itemdetail.aspx?idEntry=2385>; Internet; accessed 28 January 2013.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> “Miss Antietam is Crowned as Fete is Begun,” *Waynesboro PA Record Herald*, September 4, 1937. WHILBR. Available from <http://www.whilbr.org/itemdetail.aspx?idEntry=2432&dtPointer=7>; Internet; accessed 28 January 2013.

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<sup>99</sup> “National Antietam Commemoration, September 4-17,” in *B. & O. R.R. Magazine*, August 1937, p. 21, 63. WHILBR. Available from <http://www.whilbr.org/assets/uploads/B&O%20RR%20Magazine.pdf>; Internet; accessed 28 January 2013.

<sup>100</sup> Focht.

<sup>101</sup> Washington County Historical Society, “Official Program and Historical Guide of the National Antietam Commemoration,” (The Official Program Committee, 1937), 19.

<sup>102</sup> “Many Aged Veterans Present for Re-Enactment of Battle,” *Morning Herald*, no date. WHILBR. Available from <http://www.whilbr.org/itemdetail.aspx?idEntry=2361&dtPointer=2>; Internet; accessed 28 January 2013.

<sup>103</sup> Washington County Historical Society, “Official Program”, 17.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Edward T. Folliard, “The Post Impressionist – Antietam Reverie,” the *Washington Post*, September 7, 1937. WHILBR. Available from <http://www.whilbr.org/itemdetail.aspx?idEntry=2440&dtPointer=1>; accessed 16 November 2012. In July of 1937, the Japanese began an all-out attack on the Chinese in Beijing, beginning the second Sino-Japanese War. The war is most notable for the horrific “Rape of Nanking” which did not happen until after the September anniversary of Antietam.

<sup>106</sup> Photograph, “Feature of Historical Pageant in Maryland.” *The Boston Herald*, September 2, 1937; Photograph, “Pageant,” September 1937, Kelley’s Studio (W. Washington Street). WHILBR. Available from <http://www.whilbr.org/itemdetail.aspx?idEntry=2375&dtPointer=6> and <http://www.whilbr.org/itemdetail.aspx?idEntry=2431&dtPointer=3>; Internet; accessed 28 January 2013.

<sup>107</sup> Washington County Historical Society, “Official Program,” cover.

<sup>108</sup> Folliard.

<sup>109</sup> Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 317.

<sup>110</sup> Franklin D. Roosevelt, “Roosevelt Speech at Antietam,” *Boston Herald*, September 18, 1937. WHILBR. Available from <http://www.whilbr.org/itemdetail.aspx?idEntry=2565&dtPointer=0>; Internet; accessed 28 January 2013.

<sup>111</sup> Photo Standalone 19 – No Title, *New York Times*, September 26, 1937, 173. This photo shows the battle reenactment with the observation tower in the background. See also: “Roosevelt Acclaims Nation’s United Spirit,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 18, 1937, 6; Staff Correspondent, “Roosevelt Extols Reunion of States,” *New York Times*, September 18, 1937, 20; “Roosevelt Cites Unity of Nation,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (18 September 1937), 1. A number of the photographs showing the reenactment show the Observation Tower in the background.

<sup>112</sup> Folliard.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

## Chapter 2

### **HOME, SWEET, HOME: THE SENTIMENTAL POWER OF HOME AT THE FREDERICKSBURG/SPOTSYLVANIA NATIONAL MILITARY PARK (1928 – 1965)**

#### **From the Steps of Smithfield: the Centrality of Virginia’s Domestic Landscape on the Civil War and its Memory**

In the fall of 1928, President Calvin Coolidge made his way fifty miles south of Washington, D.C. to Fredericksburg, Virginia. The President traveled to the southern state for the dedication of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battle Fields Memorial. In his address, he spoke of sectional reunification, arguing that the congressional establishment of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania battlefield memorial—pushed forth by northerners *and* southerners—indicated “not only that the war is over, but that reconciliation is becoming complete.”<sup>1</sup> During the peak of the Twenties’ prosperity and optimism, Coolidge asserted the nation was stronger domestically and internationally because of the people’s ability to reconcile.

Despite his call for reconciliation, Coolidge stressed the honored role of Virginians at the dedication. He placed the area’s Civil War men among a great line of Anglo-Virginians: “...men who have lived and wrought in this section of Virginia cast a mighty influence over the course of the affairs of this Nation.”<sup>2</sup> Due to Virginians, Coolidge praised, the United States was a vast continental empire; “your soldiers led the forces in the field and your statesmen directed the negotiations at the council table in bringing together that vast area stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific.”<sup>3</sup> While Washington County, Maryland inserted itself into a larger, national history via the



Antietam landscape, Coolidge inserted the national narrative into Virginia's storied past via the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania battlefields. He cheered that

The Union which this Commonwealth did so much to establish, the Union hallowed by the name of [President George] Washington, the Union which [Thomas "Stonewall"] Jackson defended with a fervor no less pronounced than that of Lincoln, the Union which took a new place in the world under [President Woodrow] Wilson, is not accorded a loyalty in any other part of our Republic more devoted and sincere than that which is constantly manifest in the life of the people of Virginia.<sup>4</sup>

Through his speech, the President elevated the state's status, encouraging a sentiment of love and enthusiasm for Virginians and their home-state among *all* of the nation's citizens.

However, it was the President's words in conjunction with his surroundings that best articulated the new battlefield park's course of Civil War commemoration. Although the sentimentalization of Sharpsburg's past relied predominantly on the monumentalization of the dead masses, Fredericksburg relied heavily on the perpetuation of its antebellum landscape. This is reflected prominently in the visual tools utilized by Coolidge during the dedication. While his words were grand and celebratory in nature, the plaque commemorating the President's participation was simple and unassuming. Resting on a bolder lacking any ornamentation, the plaque contrasted greatly with those found on Antietam. Rather than honoring the heroism, bravery, and honor of the fallen into stone, it merely documented the dedication event (**Figures 4.1 & 4.2**). The venue where the President spoke, however, did not present the same modest sentiment. Rather than standing on the battlefield itself, Coolidge addressed a crowd of approximately

5,000 people from the steps of Smithfield, a once-prominent local plantation in Fredericksburg. The red brick colonial plantation was most notable for its elaborately paned windows with keystone lintels, numerous chimney tops, the door framed by an elliptical fanlight, and a grand, white, two-story portico.



(Figure 4.1) The Coolidge Monument, built 1928. Courtesy of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park.



(Figure 4.2) President Coolidge speaking from the steps of Smithfield. *Richmond News Leader*, October 20, 1928. Courtesy of Dementi Photograph Studio (Richmond, Virginia).

The Smithfield plantation had a long, revered history. First constructed in 1760, it was home to many important Virginians, among them its original owner, Robert Brooke, an early governor of Virginia, and two of his sons, early surveyors who worked with Thomas Jefferson's father. During the Civil War, Confederate troops patrolled the property and the Union Army used the plantation home as a field hospital in 1862. Although the home saw its fair share of changes and additions over the years, Smithfield remained a local icon of Fredericksburg's plantation past.<sup>5</sup> Coolidge's dedication of the national battlefield from the steps of Smithfield, therefore, was quite telling (Figure 4.3). Home and the strong sentimental emotions that it encouraged through physical, symbolic, and rhetorical imagery became the central component of Fredericksburg's Civil War

memory among local Virginians, the federal government, and African Americans in the mid-twentieth century. The home was utilized by historic preservationists as a means of reconciling the twentieth-century-present with the past and vice versa.

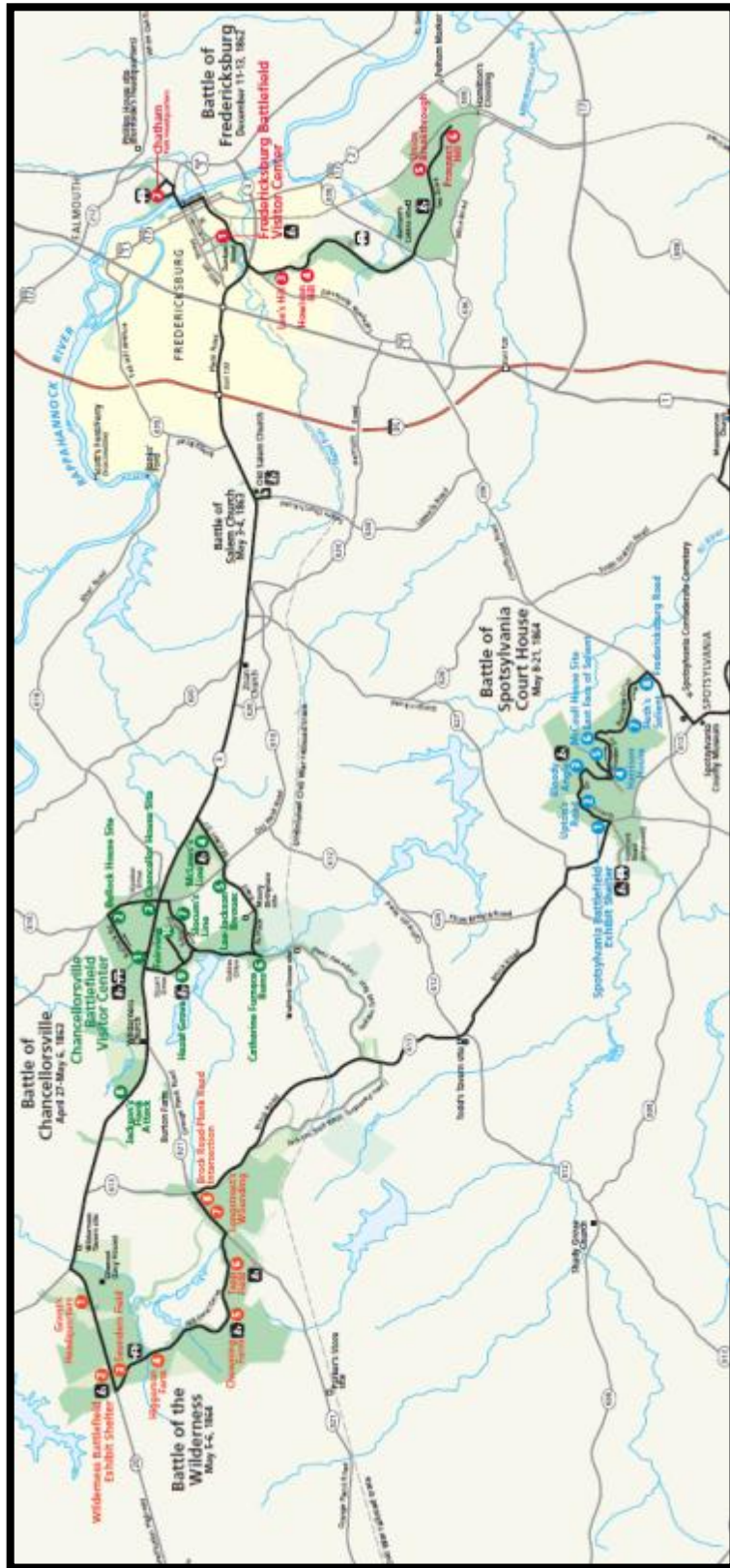


(Figure 4.3) Smithfield Hall. Courtesy of the Historic American Buildings Survey, Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

### **Beyond the Plantation Porch: the Destruction of War**

While the beauty and grandeur of the Smithfield plantation survived, it looked out on to a sea of physical and emotional destruction after the Civil War. From the steps of Smithfield in 1928, Coolidge surveyed a landscape strewn with numerous other antebellum homes—large and small. However, he also saw a landscape littered with the remnants of antebellum homes lost to the ravages of war and time. Together, these homes

and their ghostly remains were artifacts of a period in the nation's history when it looked as though Virginia's land owners would lose their homes and livelihoods to the Civil War. The homes of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County, in fact, required a disproportionate amount of vigilance and protection during the War. It was the center of fighting between two of the nation's most glorified armies. Nestled in between Richmond—the capital of the Confederacy—and Washington, D.C.—the capitol of the Union, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County caught the attention of Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia and the Union's Army of the Potomac under Ambrose Burnside, Joseph Hooker, and Ulysses S. Grant. As a result, the area was a hotbed of bloody conflict; in total, the battlefields led to 85,000 wounded and 15,000 killed (**Figure 4.4**).<sup>6</sup> Altogether, the national memorial “embraced” the battlefields of Fredericksburg, Spotsylvania, the Wilderness, Chancellorsville and Salem Church and documented just how many homes and properties it threatened, damaged, and destroyed.



(Figure 4.4) Park map of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park. Courtesy of the NPS.

The town of Fredericksburg lay just north of Smithfield, resting along the banks of the Rappahannock River. In the winter of 1862, after Robert E. Lee and George B. McClellan met one another on the battlefield of Antietam, the Confederate army retreated back to the safety of Fredericksburg, Virginia. Because of its strategic locale, the Union Army followed. Now under the command of Ambrose Burnside, the Union troops made camp on the heights across the river from Fredericksburg. In the early afternoon of December 11<sup>th</sup>, the Union army began their attack, marking the start of the Battle of Fredericksburg. 150 guns lobbed their artillery shells at the town in an attempt to keep Confederate troops at bay and allow Union troops to cross the river. Over the course of two hours, the Army of the Potomac fired 8,000 projectiles at the town—causing severe damage and destruction. When Union troops then entered Fredericksburg, there was fierce fighting in the streets—one of the rare examples of urban combat during the war. Block by block, Confederate troops fell back. By early evening, they withdrew to the south and west of town, leaving Union troops to their own devices (**Figure 4.5**).<sup>7</sup>



(Figure 4.5) Halt of Wilcox's Troops in Caroline Street (Union troops looting property on Caroline Street) by Arthur Lumley, December 13, 1862. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Rather than organizing an attack against the Confederates, however, Union troops wasted December 12<sup>th</sup> looting and vandalizing the abandoned town. In addition to the artillery damage, Fredericksburg's residents faced the destruction of their personal and commercial property. While Union troops squandered their time, the Confederates entrenched themselves near the heights surrounding the town. Lee's lines stretched for seven miles—poised to assault their enemy as they crossed an open expanse of land. On the morning of December 13<sup>th</sup>, Burnside pushed toward Lee's right flank at Prospect Hill—where he was met with fierce artillery fire and responded with a futile bayonet charge.

Closer to town, on Marye's Heights, artillery supported Georgians who found themselves in the lucky position of occupying a natural entrenchment along Telegraph



Road. As the main thoroughfare to Richmond, the road saw years of heavy wagon traffic. Much like the bloody lane at Antietam, the wagon wheels created a sunken road supported on either side by a stone retaining wall. Although Antietam's sunken road proved disastrous for those occupying it, Fredericksburg's sunken road was devastating for those attempting to reach it. The Union assault on Marye's Heights commenced around noon on the 13<sup>th</sup>. In one hour, the Union Army lost almost 3,000 men. By nightfall, the stone wall had still not been reached—leaving the Union's wounded and dying exposed to the elements and rifle fire. On December 14<sup>th</sup>, Burnside's commanders dissuaded him from renewing an attack, and on the evening of December 15<sup>th</sup>, the Union retreated across the Rappahannock—leaving behind a decimated town but a victorious Confederate army.

After the disastrous debacle at the Battle of Fredericksburg, Joseph Hooker replaced Burnside, restoring the morale of the Army of the Potomac so that by the spring of 1863, it was ready to once again attack Lee's army—who still occupied their Fredericksburg entrenchments. Hooker sent John Sedgwick's troops across the Rappahannock below Fredericksburg, near Smithfield Plantation, while the rest of the Army of the Potomac crossed above town, drawing the Confederate troops into the rural environs of surrounding Spotsylvania County. Leaving Jubal Early's forces behind, Lee turned his attention west to Hooker's superior numbers. On April 30<sup>th</sup>, Union troops arrived at the junction of the Orange Turnpike, Orange Plank, Ely's Ford, and River Roads and the troop lines of the Battle of Chancellorsville began to take shape. When the Union commander failed to advance further, Confederate troops attacked them on the

morning of May 1<sup>st</sup>—forcing the Union into a defensive position. The next day, Confederate General Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson took the offensive, breaking away from Lee’s main column and striking the Union’s right flank of the 11<sup>th</sup> Corps under Oliver Otis Howard (**Figure 4.6**). Despite Confederate success on the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> at Chancellorsville, Lee’s troops left behind in Fredericksburg did not fare as well. They were driven from Marye’s Heights toward Lee’s rear. Union General John Gibbon noted in his official report that his troops helped “assault the center at Marye's Heights...my batteries assisting with their fire. As soon as the heights were carried, I...moved by the left flank into town again, under a heavy artillery fire, and joined in the pursuit of the enemy.”<sup>8</sup> The Confederates finally matched their adversaries four miles west of town at Salem Church, the local House of God built along the Plank Road. Hooker’s defeat was complete by May 6<sup>th</sup> when the Union Army once again retreated across the Rappahannock.



(**Figure 4.6**) Salem Church served as a site of refuge for townspeople during the Battle of Fredericksburg. During the Battle of Chancellorsville, however, it witnessed the ravages of war. Courtesy of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park.

At the Battle of Chancellorsville, the Union suffered a disastrous defeat. However, the Confederacy also suffered a blow—the mortal wounding of Stonewall Jackson by friendly fire on the evening of May 2<sup>nd</sup>. After amputating his left arm, doctors took Jackson to the home of Dr. Chandler in Guinea Station, where he died on May 10<sup>th</sup>. Although Chancellorsville was a stupendous military victory for the Confederacy, it came at an extremely high price—considered by some to be the beginning of the end for the Army of Northern Virginia. General Lee himself announced that he lost his “right arm” when Jackson died.

A year after the Battle of Chancellorsville, on May 5<sup>th</sup>, 1864, Union troops under the command of Ulysses S. Grant once again returned to the farm fields west of Fredericksburg and Smithfield. Lee moved his troops along the well-travelled thoroughfares of the Orange Plank Road and Orange Turnpike, meeting Grant in formidable terrain that lent itself to the battle’s name: The Wilderness. Despite the Union’s superior numbers, fighting proved challenging for both armies on the first day of the battle. When Colonel Roy Stone’s Pennsylvanians advanced through Mrs. Higginson’s property, trampling her garden without thought, the woman scolded them exclaiming their defeat would come swiftly enough (**Figure 4.7**).<sup>9</sup> When James Longstreet’s troops arrived to support Lee on the 6<sup>th</sup>, the Union men were shaken by Confederate efforts along Grant’s right flank and the Widow Tapp’s small, log house near Brock Road. The 55-year-old Catherine Tapp watched as Longstreet’s Texas Brigade routed the Union troops across her farmland.<sup>10</sup> On the evening of the 6<sup>th</sup>, fire

broke out in the thick of the forest, filling the air with smoke, burning those who lay wounded in the brush, and ending the Battle of the Wilderness. Lee hesitantly marked the conflict as a military victory, but unlike Fredericksburg or Chancellorsville, Union troops did not retreat from the region. Instead, Grant turned south to Richmond via Spotsylvania Court House.



**(Figure 4.7)** Mrs. Higginson’s property, trampled by Union troops on the first day of fighting during the Battle of the Wilderness. Courtesy of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park.

Grant’s march to Spotsylvania Court House was grueling for his troops—marked by Confederate harassment and little rest. On the morning of May 8<sup>th</sup>, the Union troops reached Spotsylvania, believing they beat the Confederate Army to their destination. However, Richard Anderson’s troops marched all night as well, and the two armies spent the rest of the day preparing their defenses on the battlefield. Confederate lines were so strong that Grant spent two days trying to break Lee’s flanks to no avail. Finally, on May 10<sup>th</sup>, a select group of Union troops managed to break through the Confederate salient

known as the “Mule Shoe”—making it to the center of the salient at the McCoull House before being pushed back. On May 12<sup>th</sup>, a larger Union force once again assaulted the Mule Shoe, focusing their attention on a slight bend known as the Bloody Angle. The attack resulted in some of the worst close-quarters combat of the war. In the early hours of May 13<sup>th</sup>, Confederate troops withdrew from the Mule Shoe, but they did not withdraw from the battlefield. Despite numerous more attempts to break the Confederate line, Grant finally moved away from Spotsylvania Court House two weeks after arriving (Figure 4.8).<sup>11</sup> Ultimately, Lee’s efforts at the Battles of the Wilderness and Spotsylvania Court House proved inconclusive. However, the battles’ destructive power was very clear. The residents of Spotsylvania County had watched as their farm fields and homes became casualties of war not once but four times.



(Figure 4.8) The McCoull House in the 1880s. The house does not stand today. Courtesy of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park.

## **What Makes a House a Home? Defining the Meaning of Fredericksburg's Civil War Significance**

By embracing the southern home as his centerpiece, Coolidge gave credence to a Civil War memory that long pervaded local and southern sentiment: the Civil War was fought by southerners to protect their homes, property, and state sovereignty from the powerful reach of the federal government and their Union Army. In Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania, southern livelihoods were threatened by the destruction of their homes. Significantly, though perhaps unsurprisingly, the domestic landscape Coolidge envisioned was a sanitized one centered on the visual structure and symbolic nature of the antebellum plantation home. Smithfield was an icon of the southern lifestyle promoted by the Lost Cause. In the decades following the Civil War, the south developed a public memory that placed the Confederacy, southerners' sacrifice, and their wartime effort in the best possible light—romanticizing the genteel, plantation lifestyle of the antebellum south, and the men who protected it.<sup>12</sup> Although the Confederacy fell, the plantation home still stood as a symbol of the South's resiliency. Sentimental attachment to home—the structure and all the good it represented in the antebellum south—remained the lynchpin of Fredericksburg, Spotsylvania County, and Virginia's memory after the Civil War.

That Coolidge, a New Englander, supported this Lost Cause ideology through the antebellum plantation home is not altogether surprising. The president, after all, clung to an idealistic image of American history, one that was happy, prideful, peaceful, and, above all, triumphant. At the same time, the plantation lifestyle, at least on the surface,

supported Coolidge's idyllic vision of 1920s economics. In addition to being architecturally inspiring, Smithfield was a symbol of successful business and commerce practices—a notion Coolidge repeatedly cheered on during his administration.<sup>13</sup> He hailed the South's advancements in wealth, manufacturing, mineral extraction, farm production, banking resources, exports, and the construction of schools and churches. From the steps of Smithfield, President Coolidge painted an image of the South that prospered despite the war that had threatened to destroy it.

Under such a framework, Virginia's antebellum and post-war landscape fit well with Coolidge's support of *laissez-faire* economics. Throughout his administration, Coolidge sought to administer to the common good through strong business practices centered on production and, even more importantly, consumption.<sup>14</sup> The President supported an economy centered on a rising standard of living which relied on the concept of individualism—the choice to purchase for one's home, family, and self without the interference of the federal government.<sup>15</sup> Freedom under capitalism was the driving force behind the plantation system and was the center of 1920s identity.<sup>16</sup> Virginia's plantations, in all their nineteenth century grandeur, symbolized a wealth and lifestyle Americans could hope to achieve in the 1920s. The leisure and pleasure of Smithfield's private, restricted country-club lifestyle, while different from nineteenth-century gentility, relied on a similar set of values that previously characterized southern plantation living. Wealth and success were necessary to achieve a certain level of leisure in the 1920s, and it was wealth and success that helped define those southern plantation owners who fought to protect their homes and property from a controlling federal

government. For Coolidge, Fredericksburg's Civil War homes symbolized individual liberty and the right to economic success—past and present.

The southern home's significance and legacy in Civil War memory was so prominent, that President Coolidge concluded his 1928 dedication speech by symbolically deploying just such a home as the dwelling place of the American people. Rather than being built with hands, Americans built this "mansion" with "integrity, high character, and abiding faith." In 1858, Abraham Lincoln argued that a house divided could not stand. Seventy years later, Coolidge demonstrated that the house, the mansion, had stood, because it was no longer filled with sectional animosities. Instead, "progress, peace, and tranquility" filled the mansion, as well as vigilant people who went to great lengths to protect their constitutional liberties and right to personal choice.<sup>17</sup> His verbal affection for the Virginia plantation home provided a solid foundation for the battlefield park's Civil War memory throughout the mid-twentieth century.

Coolidge's reliance on the Virginian home to support his view of 1920s economics and Civil War memory fell in line with his administration's policies. Rather than imposing foreign federal edicts on local and state systems during his administration, the President, at least in theory, wanted to work *with* local communities. The same tactic applied to his memorialization of the Civil War. Rather than imposing a pro-Northern or federal-centric memory onto Virginians, the President wanted to work with the memory they had already established. After the Civil War, local Anglo Virginians took steps to reclaim their homes and reassert their control by rebuilding despite their defeat. Local



efforts to commemorate the Civil War reasserted this message of resilience. For some Anglo Virginians, the antebellum home became a powerful and symbolic tool of this southern spirit. Near Marye’s Heights, the stone wall, sunken road, and nearby structures were symbolic of the Confederacy’s survival and perseverance—at least in memory. In 1917, the United Daughters of the Confederacy placed a monument to Martha Innis at the base of Marye’s Heights. The monument honored the local resident’s efforts to aid the wounded and dying by proclaiming her a “friend to the Confederate soldier.” The plaque established Innis—and her nearby bullet riddled home—as a local legend whose larger than life status promoted a pro-Confederate narrative (**Figures 4.9**). The woman helped those soldiers who protected her rights and property as a citizen of the Confederacy.<sup>18</sup>



(**Figure 4.9**) The Innis House, preserved today. Photo by Susan C. Hall, 2010.

However, Coolidge’s reliance on local Anglo memory to support a relationship between 1920s American economics and the antebellum lifestyle ignored a particularly

crucial element of the equation: African Americans. The same idealistic, veiled view of the antebellum south *and* 1920s economics failed to address the ironic notion that while touting the home as an expression of freedom, choice, and personal wealth, it simultaneously ignored Fredericksburg's slaves and freedmen who made it possible. In reality, the economic prosperity of the county prior to the Civil War came at the expense of the area's African American population. Most of these African Americans belonged as slaves to those who fought to protect their homes and property. In Fredericksburg alone, the town's slave population numbered approximately 1,300 in 1860. As a River-based town, Fredericksburg relied on slaves to help harvest, pack, and ship the region's crops.<sup>19</sup>

The President's decision to ignore racial issues from the steps of Smithfield also fit well with his administration's policies. In addition to his romantic vision of the past, the President did not often interfere in local affairs. In his 1923 state of the union address, he explained "to a large extent local problems which must be worked out by the mutual forbearance and human kindness of each community" should not be forced to deal with "outside interference."<sup>20</sup> Although he made efforts to change civil rights policies at the federal level, Coolidge did not get directly involved in the racial component of southern politics. In Fredericksburg's post-war environment, freedmen faced political, social, and economic oppression from a community that relied on discrimination and segregation to stifle their constitutional freedom and maintain some semblance of their antebellum control and racial hierarchy. As a segregated, "whites only" facility in 1928, Smithfield itself physically and symbolically supported the maintenance of this racial hierarchy.

Despite their marginalization in society, African Americans were a visible part of Fredericksburg's landscape and sought to establish their own definition of domesticity in Virginia's post-war environment. They took new names, traveled, reunited with loved ones, and openly married, thereby redefining their relationship to home, family, and rights.<sup>21</sup> Rather than being property in someone else's house of economic opportunity, freedom, and wealth, freedmen now had the chance, in theory, to establish Fredericksburg as their own home.

In addition to establishing new communities in Fredericksburg, African Americans embraced a new act of civic duty that included public commemoration of those Union soldiers who died to make them free. Their public involvement in these events garnered much attention. In 1871, freedmen participated in a multi-racial Memorial Day program at the Cemetery.<sup>22</sup> A committee composed of the Laboring Mechanics' Union, an African American organization known as the Good Samaritan Temperance Division, and Fredericksburg's Union sympathizers met members of the Grand Army of the Republic at the train station and proceeded to the National Cemetery where a crowd of 1,500 people gathered.<sup>23</sup>

The reaction of many local Anglo residents demonstrated two very distinct understandings of "home" and the establishment of two competing and long-prevailing Fredericksburg narratives of the Civil War. The editor of the *Fredericksburg News* lambasted the event, decrying those who honored the Union soldiers for destroying the homes and property of Fredericksburg's residents:

Who are these ‘heroes’ whose graves you invite this community, white and black, unitedly, to ‘honor?’ Are they not some of them, the men who bombarded and destroyed one half of Fredericksburg? who sacked our houses? who profaned and polluted our homes and firesides and most sacred relics of the past? who robbed us, and even destroyed what they could not steal?...<sup>24</sup>

Twenty years later, local editorials still derided the event, lambasting those Union soldiers who destroyed their properties and homes during the Battle of Fredericksburg. They took away their opportunities, freedoms, choice, and very livelihood.<sup>25</sup> African Americans, however, celebrated those Union soldiers who gave them a new chance for opportunity, freedom, and choice.

### **The Great Depression: Toppling the Virginian Home**

By the 1930s, the homes that Anglo Virginians rebuilt and African Americans redefined were both under threat. In an attempt to alleviate the economic distress of the Great Depression, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt pledged “a new deal for the American people.”<sup>26</sup> The goals of his New Deal policies were to reduce unemployment by increasing public works, provide welfare for the poor, improve agricultural practices and regulate production, adjust banking practices, and boost the morale of the American people.<sup>27</sup> It was under this New Deal programming that the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania battlefields really took shape—physically and emotionally—as a national park. It was only appropriate that Spotsylvania County’s battlefields were affected by the New Deal, for like the Civil War itself, FDR’s programs called the nation to arms, asking its citizens to help “restore America.”<sup>28</sup> Although the battlefield park was dedicated during a period of relative affluence and economic prosperity, the Great Depression caused its message to take new meaning. Now an established part of the National Park

Service, the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania Military Park became a means to perpetuate the national narrative of opportunity, freedom, and even leisure through the home—past and present.<sup>29</sup>

As part of his New Deal plan, FDR utilized the nation's public lands—including those in Spotsylvania County—to encourage employment opportunities. Under the Civilian Conservation Corps, a public works relief program for young men, workers made their way throughout the United States, improving roads, conserving natural resources, and encouraging the appreciation of and tourism to the nation's natural wonders and historic sites. According to Neil Maher, "the physical changes affecting both the young men joining the CCC and the natural landscapes upon which they labored influenced new deal politics by raising public support for FDR's efforts to expand the modern welfare state."<sup>30</sup> National battlefields—among them Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania—benefited from this push to “improve” America's historic landscapes and expand government reform. Under the New Deal, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania employed a population of African Americans in the Civilian Conservation Corps. As part of the CCC's colored units, these young, single men between the ages of 18 and 24 helped restore the battlefields by reseeding the landscape, removing excess brush, preserving trees, and reconstructing earthworks—claimed to be the “first intricate system of trenches ever constructed by soldiers on a battlefield.”<sup>31</sup> They also helped encourage public appreciation and tourism by building comfort stations and public picnic grounds, developing education guides, and directing traffic during battle reenactments (**Figures**

4.10 & 4.11).<sup>32</sup> Income earned under the CCC was sent home to corps members' families.<sup>33</sup>



(Figure 4.10) CCC colored units transplanting trees at Chancellorsville. Courtesy of the National Archives.



(Figure 4.11) CCC colored units hauling a boxwood for the Administration Building. Courtesy of the National Archives.

Fredericksburg's CCC program did not just offer employment to members of its three colored units; it also functioned as a home to them, where they slept, ate, learned, and socialized. In August of 1934, 200 African American men moved into the MP-3

Chancellorsville Camp, planning to work primarily on forestry projects on 450 acres of the military park's land.<sup>34</sup> Company 333, Unit MP-4 resided in the Wilderness Camp in 1937 and 1938.<sup>35</sup> Though rustic and simple in nature, these camps symbolically and even physically mimicked the environs of the antebellum plantations preserved nearby. A closer look at Company 362's monthly newspaper, *the Battlefield News*, indicates that they did much more than feed and house the corps members. Camps functioned as places where members learned and expressed the values of citizenship, education, freedom and economic opportunity, cultural pride, and even leisure.<sup>36</sup>

Neil Maher argues that the manual labor of the CCC was so intricately tied to the American landscape that it helped turn Italians, Irish, and Poles into American men; in other words, the manual labor on the landscape brought new pride in being Americans and being citizens.<sup>37</sup> According to the *Battlefield News*, Fredericksburg's CCC camps offered a "road back for a new start in life." It gave "opportunities" to these young African American men.<sup>38</sup> In a featured editorial, Mr. Chester B. Goolrick, Commissioner of Revenue and editor of the Fredericksburg *Free Lance-Star*, gave credence to the work ethic of the CCC colored unit. He announced,

One of the finest and most consistent things in the history of human progress is that each of us considers that we are doing is of high importance. ...and the reason that this is so is that in believing in the importance of our individual tasks, we fasten our faith to a fundamental truth, for no matter what our role in life may be, it is of high importance.<sup>39</sup>

Goolrick's inspiring message to the unit relied heavily on a symbol with negative connotations: the chain. This chain, however, was not that of slavery, binding one man to his master. Instead, it was a chain that bound the entire nation together in an effort of

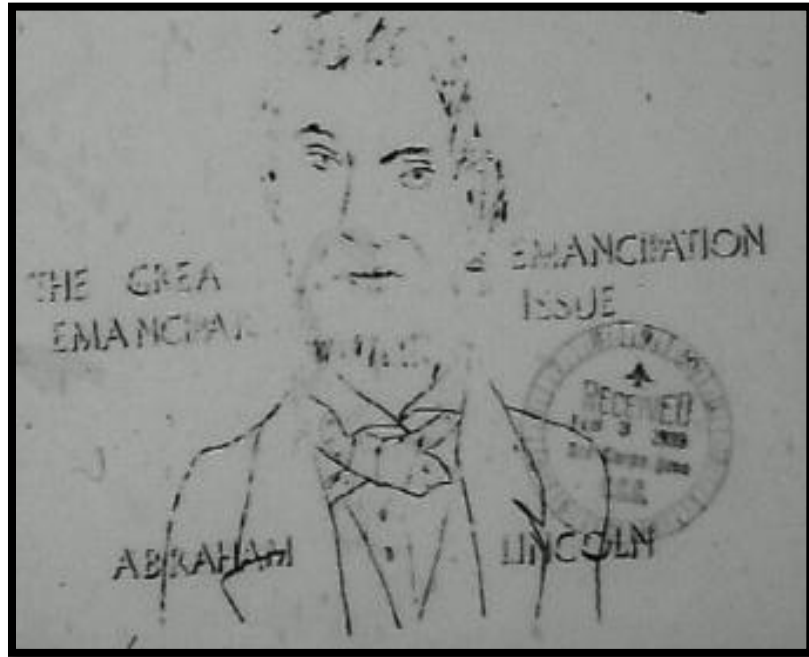
economic survival. Rather than slavery, this chain supported “a new idea, a new theory of life, a new policy and a new human endeavor” through the New Deal.<sup>40</sup> Each member of the CCC was an integral part of this new system.<sup>41</sup>

While Goolrick suggested that members of the CCC could serve society, the Corps also encouraged the men to help themselves. The CCC provided a unique educational opportunity for its African American members, many of whom had little to no formal education. In March of 1939, the editor of the *Battlefield News* noted that “one of the most important purposes of the CCC is to train the American Youth in body, thought and soul. But woe be unto the man who didn’t take advantage of the one opportunity which might never again be offered to him.”<sup>42</sup> Many enrollees participated in the camp’s education program as a means of advancing themselves in preparation for employment beyond the CCC.<sup>43</sup>

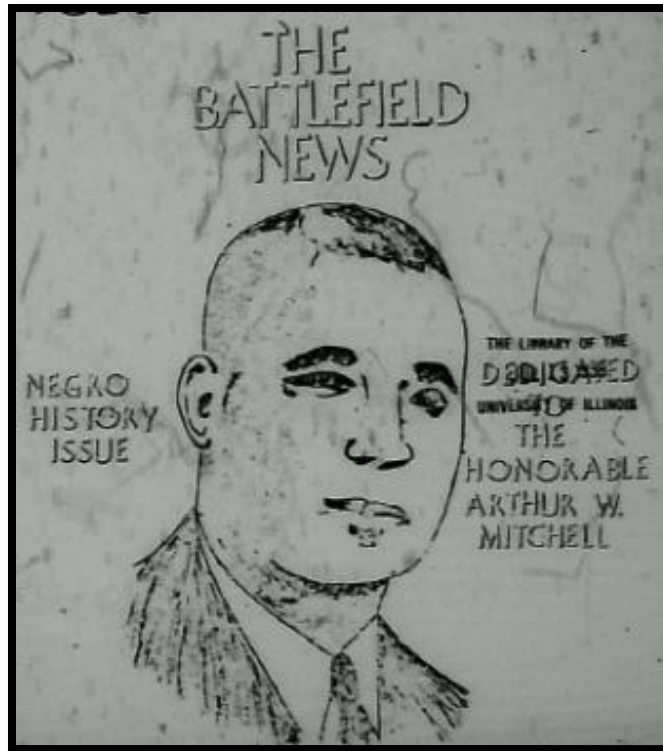
Although the CCC helped men in the colored units become prideful, useful American citizens, they also took pride in being African Americans.<sup>44</sup> The CCC camps articulated that pride in one’s present and future stemmed from knowledge of one’s past. Events and holidays featured in the *Battlefield News* showed that the CCC unit was proud of their African American culture and celebrated it as a reminder of their freedom and achievement as a people. The periodical dedicated several issues to their history and reflected it often in their cover art. In January 1939, the “Emancipation Issue” of the *Battlefield News* featured an image of Abraham Lincoln, the “Great Emancipator” (**Figure 4.12**).<sup>45</sup> The next month, the “Negro History Issue” was dedicated to “the



Honorable Arthur W. Mitchell”—the first African American Democrat elected to the House of Representatives in 1935 (**Figure 4.13**).<sup>46</sup> In the same issue’s editorial, the *Battlefield News* reprinted an article from the *Chicago Defender*, featuring the story of a black man, Crispus Attucks, memorialized in granite alongside three white comrades on a Boston monument. It saluted the sacrifice of Attucks, the African American man killed at the Boston Massacre on March 5<sup>th</sup>, 1770. The article noted that Attucks, a slave, fought and died for the love of his country—for freedom and democracy. In doing so, the article explained, a black man’s desire for freedom helped set off the American Revolution, making Attucks a hero of the anti-slavery movement and an inspiration to members of Company 362.<sup>47</sup>



(Figure 4.12) *The Battlefield News*, Volume 3, No. 4.



(Figure 4.13) *The Battlefield News*, Volume 3, No. 5.

CCC events featured African American heritage and history as well. In February 1939, the unit celebrated “National Negro History Week” with programs held in camp and at Mount Zion Baptist Church in town. The church hosted a Glee Club performance as well as a talk by the Camp Educational Advisor entitled “The Negro’s Contribution to American Civilization”—recognizing the *past* achievements of African Americans as active, beneficial members of society.<sup>48</sup> In March of 1939, the CCC held a program at the Shiloh (New Site) Baptist Church on the subject of “The Future of the Negro in America”—highlighting the *future* role of African Americans as functioning members of the United States citizenry.<sup>49</sup>

Nonetheless, what the CCC claimed and what it did were not always the same.<sup>50</sup> The colored units in Spotsylvania, like other CCC units, encouraged a masculine, patriotism among its members during a rather arduous time in the nation.<sup>51</sup> However, their work at the Spotsylvania County battlefields introduces a unique irony not often considered by scholars. Although boosting their masculinity and morale as breadwinners, the CCC encouraged these colored units to restore a Civil War landscape their ancestors toiled on as slaves. Outdoor manual labor kept slaves segregated from their American masters and in many ways, kept African American Corps members segregated in 1930s.<sup>52</sup> Their return to the Spotsylvania fields reiterated that the American home (symbolically deployed through the antebellum plantation house) denied them in the nineteenth century was once again denied them during the Depression.

Although the CCC initiated ways to manage resources and simultaneously strengthen communities and the economy, it also continued to segregate African Americans in thought and practice. Concerned about the local response to “colored companies” of workers, the National Park Service decided to place the units in Spotsylvania County. Herbert Evison, the Acting Regional Director of the CCC, believed that Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania was a “non-mountainous section where negro companies might be used without local opposition, and where...there are considerable negro populations.”<sup>53</sup> Evison condescendingly noted that “a negro company is at least fully as useful as a white one, and I am inclined to believe actually better. Certainly their type of work, tremendously valuable as it is, is of a much simpler nature than that carried on by [other] camps assigned to the National Park Service.”<sup>54</sup> Despite their incorporation

into New Deal programs, the federal government still held on to derogatory stereotypes about African Americans.

Although Evison believed Fredericksburg would accept the presence of an African American unit, this was not initially the case. As early as 1934, local officials protested the transfer of 200 to 300 African American men into Camp 362 at Chancellorsville. The City Manager, L.J. Houston, Jr., as well as the Chamber of Commerce, led by former Senator C. O’Conor Goolrick, filed formal complaints in opposition.<sup>55</sup> Goolrick argued that the Chamber’s objection was not based on their race, but the unit’s geographic origins in the north; “if the colored World War veterans were Southerners no objections would have been raised he said.”<sup>56</sup> The protests filed unsuccessfully deterred the placement of a colored unit in the region.<sup>57</sup> On August 8<sup>th</sup>, 1934 a detachment of approximately 190 African Americans transferred into the Chancellorsville camp.<sup>58</sup> This detachment, however, was predominantly from Virginia—a concession made to Fredericksburg’s objections. Goolrick believed “the people of this section will [not] experience any trouble from the men...they are mostly Virginians and are used to our ways and our customs.”<sup>59</sup> Importantly, these southern customs included racism and segregation.

Local newspapers were quick to point out crimes committed by the enrollees. Less than ten days after their arrival, the *Free Lance Star* noted the “first disturbance” by the African American workers. According to the report,

a group of six were taken into custody for ‘roaming around the streets and making too much noise.’ Officers escorted the colored...workers to headquarters and

informed them that they would be expected in the future to ride back to camp on the truck which leaves nightly at midnight and not remain behind to disturb the alumbors [sic] of the local citizenry...<sup>60</sup>

In 1937, another enrollee, James Abeney, was sentenced to one year in jail for his assault and battery against Miss Margaret Ayers, a white woman.<sup>61</sup> Importantly, the newspaper did not just note CCC crimes committed against the town's white population. In September of 1934, a fight broke out between local African Americans and CCC workers after a dance at the town's "colored" Odd Fellows Hall. The fight landed one CCC worker in the hospital and the local offenders on the loose.<sup>62</sup> The *Free Lance Star* sided with the local offenders, noting that it was the outsiders who disrupted Fredericksburg's local community and customs. Time and again, Fredericksburg residents noted that the CCC enrollees stepped outside their proper place—both literally and racially—within the community.

Unfortunately, the colored units' troubles did not just involve the local population of Fredericksburg. They also involved those visiting the battlefield park. In the summer of 1938, Herbert Evison addressed a request that the colored unit of MP-3 be transferred out of Fredericksburg. The request was made based on "a very special and pressing need in the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Park." The park believed it needed white enrollees to serve as visitor contacts and offer guide services around the battlefields. The request noted that "the unfavorable public reaction to performance of such service by negroes makes it impossible and that service, so vital to satisfactory operation of the park, is now virtually at a standstill."<sup>63</sup> The NPS and CCC questioned whether or not the battlefield park could truly uplift the American people if they were hesitant to engage

with the African American enrollees who occupied it. The government's hesitancy to use African American corps members for public relations positions at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania demonstrated that despite their inclusion in the New Deal work force, they were not entirely afforded the same opportunities or freedoms as their Anglo counterparts.

The organization and goals of the CCC provided African American men an opportunity—if only in a limited form—to participate in a system previously denied them; the government's interpretative efforts under the New Deal, however, did not necessarily support the same aims. Unfortunately and ironically, the battlefields' colored units helped restore and reconstruct a Civil War memory that they were not a part of. In Fredericksburg, the Park Service supported a patriotic memory through the well-established southern interpretation of the Lost Cause. It willingly glorified Confederate soldiers—most notably Virginia's noble generals Thomas Stonewall Jackson and Robert E. Lee—who gallantly and honorably fought to defend their homes and the Antebellum south—a genteel, pastoral place where agriculture defined Jeffersonian Democracy. In romanticizing the pre-war South, the Lost Cause marginalized the institution of slavery—presenting slaves as happy subordinates who loved and obeyed their masters. Lost Cause Historians promoted it as *the* authentic, accurate, and true representation of the pre-war South and the Civil War.<sup>64</sup> Under the New Deal development of the battlefield park, the National Park Service defined its Civil War narrative by perpetuating Virginia's sentimental attachment to the romanticized southern home.

The federal acceptance of this patriotic Lost Cause sentiment was first publicly displayed at the May 1935 reenactment of the Battle of Chancellorsville—which the local CCC camps helped produce.<sup>65</sup> Between 30,000 to 40,000 people gathered on the fields of Spotsylvania County to see more than 1,500 soldiers reenact the bittersweet Confederate victory of 1863. Numerous newspaper accounts noted the realistic nature of the battle, describing it as authentic, true to life, and thrilling (**Figure 4.14**).<sup>66</sup> Although presented as the real thing, the mock battle actually promoted national patriotism centered on the Confederate’s idolized generals: Jackson and Lee. Venerated as gods or idols under the Lost Cause, Jackson and Lee were most “at home” on the battlefield—where their skills, leadership, and innovativeness determined southern victory in May 1863.



(**Figure 4.14**) Chancellorsville Reenactment, 1935. Courtesy of the National Archives.

As a sacred military space, the battlefield functioned as a church, the house of God, and the reenactment like an uplifting revival where attendees came to be moved and inspired. While the soldiers fired, charged, and fell in splendid fashion, the audience

heard Virginian editor and historian Douglas S. Freeman’s description of the battle (Figure 4.15).<sup>67</sup> Major Jeffry Montague, retired, described Freeman as “the greatest living authority on the history of the Confederate war—offering people the opportunity to “have their souls uplifted beyond the daily grind” by “the light his brilliant mind is carrying.”<sup>68</sup> In addition to his editor’s position on the *Richmond Dispatch*, Freeman was well known for his biographical works on Confederate figures—which glorified Robert E. Lee and Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson to the highest of military deities. Montague believed Freeman could “picture, as no other man [could], the knightly soldier at the very peak of a warrior’s success...”<sup>69</sup> Led by Lee and Jackson, the Battle of Chancellorsville highlighted the military greatness that could be claimed by *all* Americans seventy-two years later.



(Figure 4.15) Douglas S. Freeman described the Battle of Chancellorsville, 1935. Courtesy of the National Archives.



In singing the praises of the Confederate generals, the reenactment simultaneously celebrated their loyal followers. Montague explained that those who attended the Chancellorsville reenactment would witness the “spirit of our race” that “flamed high at Chancellorsville.” It was this same spirit that would renew the American people and their faith in the nation in the face of an “economic war.”<sup>70</sup> The Department of the Interior praised the success of the reenactment and its organizers, highlighting their inspirational ability to bring together—as if in communion—two distinct bodies: “that the National Park Service was permitted to cooperate with the city of Fredericksburg...in this splendid achievement gives me the greatest pleasure. The friendship and cooperation between the two bodies, one of the citizenry and the other federal officials...is very delightful.”<sup>71</sup> A look at those in attendance indicated that this “spirit of race” and communion found in the body of the American citizenry was comprised predominantly of Anglo Americans (Figure 4.16).<sup>72</sup>



(Figure 4.16) Crowd gathered at the Chancellorsville Reenactment, 1935. Courtesy of the National Archives.

While the Chancellorsville reenactment praised the deified status of Lee and Jackson, another project helped entrench it in a more permanent home. When Guinea Station—the building where Jackson died—changed its name to the Jackson Shrine in March of 1936, the building accepted the holy status of Stonewall Jackson.<sup>73</sup> No longer named after Mr. Guiney—a business man big in the freighting industry—the site changed its association (**Figure 4.17**).<sup>74</sup> When the Shrine was donated to the National Park Service in the fall of 1937, the federal government inherited and embraced its new meaning and memory.<sup>75</sup> The *Free Lance-Star* believed that the Park Service’s acquisition insured “the preservation of this shrine for all time as a sacred spot.”<sup>76</sup> At the same time, it solidified the Park Service’s recognition of the Lost Cause ideology as its main narrative of the Civil War. The NPS acknowledged Stonewall Jackson not only as a Confederate deity but a national deity as well. On October 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1937, a “pilgrimage” commemorated the fallen hero and the NPS’s acquisition of his shrine. Park Service personnel and other officials made their way from Fredericksburg to the site of the last meeting between Robert E. Lee and Jackson and concluded at the Shrine. By automobile, mourners reenacted the actual path of Jackson’s last journey, promoting a sense of authenticity at the solemn occasion.<sup>77</sup>



(Figure 4.17) Stonewall Jackson Shrine. Photo by Susan C. Hall, 2010.

The retooled association with Jackson was seen as a means by which the NPS “strengthens patriotic feeling, deepens the sense of national unity, and diminishes sectional antagonisms by recalling to this and future generations the courage, sacrifice, and loyalty manifested in former times by Americans, whether Northern or Southern.”<sup>78</sup> West likened the Jackson Shrine to other conservation efforts set forth by FDR’s New Deal. He suggested that just as with natural resource conservation, “so conservation of historic sites is necessary to preserve and deepen knowledge and administration for the great men and events of the American past.”<sup>79</sup> Rather than judging the causes of the war, the Jackson Shrine was dedicated to judging the character of the man for whom it was named.

Jackson was portrayed as both god-like and human—in essence, a metaphorical savior figure. According to Call, Jackson’s defining human traits of manhood, integrity, and honor were found among and cherished by Union *and* Confederate soldiers. The Shrine offered the opportunity for visitors to reflect on an inter-sectional respect for all those men who held or strove for such virtues.<sup>80</sup> Viewed as a savior of the Confederacy, Jackson’s death changed the course of the nation. In the room where Jackson died, R. Walton Moore, the Assistant Secretary of State, explained that Jackson was the “most gifted soldier produced on this continent” and his death saw “the hopes of the Confederacy fail. Had Jackson lived the fortunes of war would have been different but in his death fate decided the destiny of the Confederacy and the United States.”<sup>81</sup> Moore’s prophetic interpretation of Jackson’s death indicated that the federal government gave credence to the myth and legacy surrounding Stonewall Jackson and the fall of the Confederacy.

The Jackson Shrine stood as an artifact of the lost Confederacy but also Jackson’s continued inspiration. Through the Shrine, the nation proclaimed its reunification. Call concluded, “the United States Government today honors equally, on the battlefields of the War Between the States...Each section respects the other and pays tribute to the valor of its men.”<sup>82</sup> Newspaper articles uttered a similar unified sentiment. Una Franklin of the *Washington Herald-Times* went as far as to say that “a rain-soaked Confederate flag waved from a golden Virginia Hillside today while national leaders, in hushed tones, stood beside the bed in which Stonewall Jackson died” and announced the completion of

the nation's reconciliation. She described the occasion as a dedication of the shrine that united the American people.<sup>83</sup>

Although Jackson's Shrine had the power to unite the American people during the Depression, it was not a grand church or monumental temple; it was a small, simple structure. Because of its size and simplicity, however, the Shrine spoke volumes. Newspaper articles and tourist materials used the terms "home" and "house" freely to describe the Guinea Station structure—romanticizing, domesticating, and personalizing the site where Stonewall Jackson died. The *Washington Post* picturesquely described the building as "the little white house standing on a green knoll overlooking the little village of Guinea."<sup>84</sup> An Associated Press article noted that the preservation of "the plain little Homestead at Guinea Station" helped honor Jackson and Lee.<sup>85</sup> Scott Hart poeticized the house by describing a crowd that gathered at "the small white frame house...the house that was the end of Stonewall Jackson's dusty roads..."<sup>86</sup> Hart gave further credence to the farm house interpretation by incorporating Lucy Chandler into his article. Although only eleven years old at the time of the Battle of Chancellorsville, Hart decreed that she "knew the story": "Yes, I can remember when they brought him in that door right there, the door to the left of the house... You know, it's easier to remember those things when you're old than anyone would think."<sup>87</sup> Chandler, the Park Service, and reporters used the small white home—now preserved for posterity—as a means of presenting an authentic, heart-warming account of Virginia's Civil War past.

Yet, Lucy Chandler, reporters, and the federal government inaccurately portrayed the structure where Jackson died in 1863. The imagery of a plain little homestead conjured up images of simple, yeoman Virginian farmers making a subsistence living off the land. The “house” in which Stonewall Jackson died was in fact, not a house. Rather, it was the last remaining outbuilding standing on the Chandler property—an extensive plantation at the time of the Civil War.<sup>88</sup> At the time of the battle, the Chandler’s large brick mansion—the plantation’s big house—was already overcrowded with wounded and dying soldiers. Ironically, there was no more room for this soon to be savior-like figure. Instead, Dr. Chandler placed Jackson in his office adjacent to the Big House, so that he had constant attention.<sup>89</sup>

Although preservationists all too willingly embraced Dr. Chandler’s office as his home, the National Park Service’s newly constructed Park Administration and Museum Building was a more accurate reflection of Dr. Chandler’s status. Appropriately, the NPS dedication of the Jackson Shrine occurred on the same day as the dedication of the battlefield’s new museum. Designed by architect William N. Dunton of the Park Service’s Eastern Division of the Plans and Design Branch, and contracted by Doyle and Russell of Richmond, the building was constructed with labor provided through the local National Reemployment Service office.<sup>90</sup> Like the preserved “House Where Jackson Died,” the new museum served as an architectural tool for remembering the past. On the date of its dedication, the Acting Secretary of the Interior, Charles West, announced that the purpose of the new museum was for education. He stated, “the museum will enable us

to present the history of this area.” With the help of other educational tools, the museum building would provide visitors with a dramatic and effective account of the 1860s.<sup>91</sup>

More accurately, the new museum—both the building itself and the exhibits inside it—helped perpetuate the romanticization of the South and sympathy for its antebellum lifestyle (**Figures 4.18 & 4.19**). While the House Where Jackson Died inaccurately conjured up images of Virginia’s yeoman farmer, the construction and design of the new museum center supported a grander vision of the region’s Civil War past, keeping “in harmony with the city’s historic atmosphere.”<sup>92</sup> The *Free Lance-Star* described the new administration building as both handsome and imposing. At a cost of \$53,000, the building was designed as a mid-colonial type—an architectural style distinct to the area.<sup>93</sup> Most of the building’s interior and exterior features mimicked “traditional architecture of the vicinity and when completed they will be in keeping with such notable examples as... ‘Kenmore’ and other early types”—such as Smithfield.<sup>94</sup> Although the Administration Building was newly constructed, it presented an historically authentic representation of Fredericksburg’s rich, dignified past.



(Figure 4.18) Status of Visitor Center construction, November 1936. Courtesy of the National Archives.



(Figure 4.19) The Fredericksburg Visitor Center. Photo by Susan C. Hall, 2010.

The two-story building, made of dull red, hand-made bricks, consisted of a central structure with two single-story wings. According to local accounts, more than 45,000



common bricks and 7,000 face bricks completed the building.<sup>95</sup> The newspaper described the entrance doors and windows as having “beautifully molded [wood] cornices” that were “fashioned after the fine manor houses of the late eighteenth century and the leaded glass sidelights and transom at the main entrance were inspired by those at historic old ‘Brompton.’” Wrought iron railings and large lanterns flanked the stone steps leading up to the main entrance.<sup>96</sup> Inside the building, the entranceway had a “finely molded wood wainscot and cornice with plaster walls and ceiling. It is lighted by a single crystal chandelier inspired by the design of early candelabras.”<sup>97</sup> The Park Service painted the walls in soft tones, which dominated paint hues in colonial times. Even the building’s radiators were carefully hidden behind walls “so they will not detract the architectural effect.”<sup>98</sup>

While the new museum architecturally displayed the grandeur of antebellum Fredericksburg, one of the highlights of the new museum space visually documented its demise. Ned Burns—“recognized as one of the world’s outstanding experts in dioramics”—designed the “ruins of Fredericksburg diorama.”<sup>99</sup> The famous photograph of “ruins in Fredericksburg, Va., After the Battle December 12, 1862” was used as the model for the diorama featured in the visitor center museum exhibit (**Figures 4.20 & 4.21**). The diorama captured the town’s ruin as a result of the Union bombardment during the Battle of Fredericksburg.<sup>100</sup> It featured shell-shocked buildings located at the intersection of George and Hanover Streets, showing “the effects of war on a civilian population.”<sup>101</sup> The *Free Lance-Star* described the diorama as part of the exhibit that

most interested park visitors, due in no small part to the historical detail it displayed and the sentimental reaction it garnered.

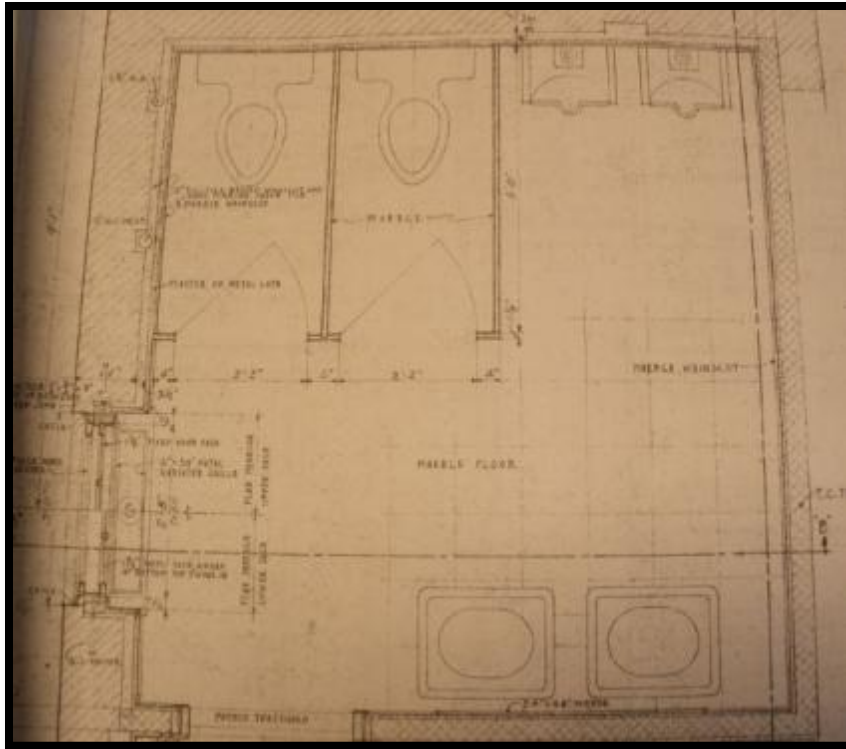


(Figure 4.20) The Ruins of Fredericksburg (photograph). Courtesy of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park.

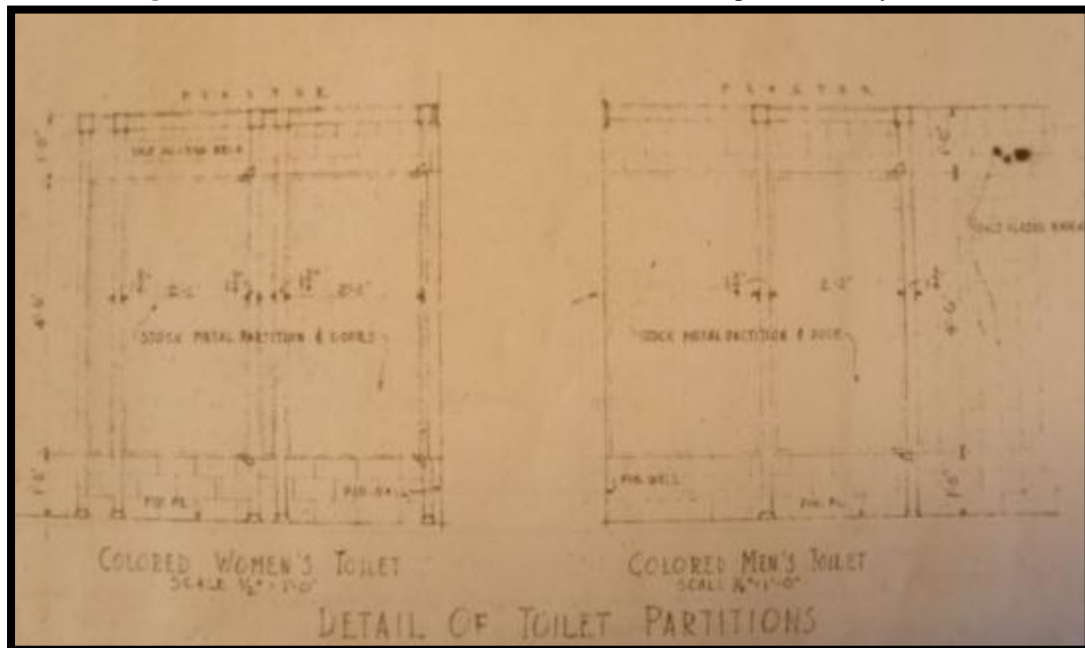


(Figure 4.21) The Fredericksburg Diorama (still viewable in the visitor center today). Photograph by Susan C. Hall, 2010.

Through the diorama and museum building, the Park Service used Fredericksburg's homes as a focal point of their federal narrative, presenting structures as true, unmediated representations of the past. However, the new museum—both the building itself and the exhibits inside it—perpetuated a Lost Cause narrative centered on a veiled view of the southern home. In relying on a glorified image of Fredericksburg's homes rather than considering the complex reality of those who occupied them, the federal government ignored its own role in developing African American freedom, accomplishment, and opportunity during Reconstruction. The Museum Building, for instance, embodied the contemporary southern ideals of Jim Crow segregation. The Park Service proudly explained that despite evoking the eighteenth century, the building embodied “all of the principles of modern construction.” This included segregated rest rooms (**Figures 4.22, 4.23, & 4.24**). In describing the future opening of the new museum, in 1936, the *Free Lance Star* noted that the basement included “rest rooms for tourists” that were designed with white marble wainscot and floors.<sup>102</sup> Unfortunately, not all tourists were welcome equally at the visitor center. Both blue prints and newspaper coverage indicate that the Park Service relegated African Americans to the colored restrooms located in the Park Service garage at the rear of the main museum.<sup>103</sup> Although the federal government worked adamantly to provide freedmen equal rights and protection during Reconstruction—the museum's restrooms demonstrated that they had since conceded to local pressure.



(Figure 4.22) White restrooms in the main facilities. Blueprints courtesy of FRSP.



(Figure 4.23) Colored restrooms in the garage. Blueprints courtesy of FRSP.



(Figure 4.24) Marble detailing of the white women's restroom. Photo by Susan C. Hall, 2010.

While the new museum building discouraged African Americans from actively engaging in memory-making on an equal footing with their Anglo counterparts, the diorama inside removed them entirely from Civil War memory. Although it was impressive and visually stimulating to visitors, the diorama misguided people's emotions. It led visitors to inaccurately link the scene to the Lost Cause opinion that the federal government and Union Army ruined the life and livelihood of the white antebellum south. Yet the structures represented in the diorama refute this narrative romanticizing the *white* southern south. The buildings at George and Hanover Streets did not document the destruction of Fredericksburg's Anglo property because the neighborhood was that of a local free-black community.<sup>104</sup>

According to historian Ruth Coder Fitzgerald, this site was part of “the old Liberty Town, a suburb of Fredericksburg which was inhabited primarily by free blacks before the Civil War.”<sup>105</sup> Liberty Town was a recognized part of Fredericksburg as early as 1816, when a deed book listed the neighborhood as located between George Street, Prince Edward Street, Charlotte Street, and Byrd Willis’ land. By 1843, another section was linked to Liberty Town between the Turnpike, Liberty Street, and William Street. By the Civil War, Fitzgerald believed free blacks also lived on Barton Street near George Street.<sup>106</sup> The neighborhood bordered an old potter’s field and incorporated a colored cemetery that was used until the 1880s.<sup>107</sup> She argues that “because the area contained cemeteries, because it was marshy and because it was the outskirts of towns [sic], whites did not want to live there. So the area became a black residential area.”<sup>108</sup> Importantly, those free blacks who could afford to live in Liberty Town were most likely skilled laborers working as brick masons and carpenters, having the knowledge and skills to build the homes represented in the diorama. Whether free blacks actually lived in the homes or not, Fitzgerald concludes they were a part of Liberty Town—information left out of the Park Service’s exhibit space.<sup>109</sup>

Although the Great Depression introduced a unique relationship between African Americans and the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County battlefields, it was one of economic opportunity rather than shifting memory. The battlefields, in theory, offered a place of employment, education, and betterment, but the community of Fredericksburg did not want to concede its Lost Cause interpretation of the Civil War. The National Park Service willingly supported this romanticized, whitewashed memory as a means of

uniting [white] people in a patriotic view of the past. After World War II, two new trials would emerge, once again threatening the nation's status quo and its national narrative. These trials would help entrench the Lost Cause memory of the Civil War in Fredericksburg while simultaneously encouraging a dramatic new interpretation of the past.

### **The Hypocrisy of "Home": The Cold War, Civil Rights, and Civil War Memory**

While the domestic crisis of the Great Depression literally threatened Virginia's homes during the 1930s, a global crisis of economic, political, and cultural significance symbolically endangered them after World War Two. This global crisis, known as the Cold War, pitted America's economic ideals and lifestyle of a capitalist democracy against the communist Soviet Union. On the most basic of levels, the nation, a symbolic home of all Americans, was threatened by communism. As the home of freedom, faith, opportunity, prosperity, and choice, the United State was exceptional and great. According to many Americans, the Soviet Union and their harsh, aggressive desire to spread communism opposed these very qualities; it threatened "home"; it threatened Virginia. The preservation and sustaining power of Virginia's historic landscape, then, became a local rally cry against those who wanted to topple it. Civil War commemoration demonstrated that these qualities could survive in the face of threats, just as the nation had one hundred years prior.

As the nation faced off against a foreign foe, however, the country's own African American population spoke out against the nation's hypocritical use of Cold War rhetoric. While arguing that the Soviet Union threatened to undermine the nation's ideals

of freedom, prosperity, and opportunity, these same ideals were systematically denied to African Americans throughout the United States. By the 1960s, a new wave of public support strengthened the Civil Rights Movement's protests against social and legal inequalities. Fredericksburg was no exception. When the Civil War Centennial began its preparations as early as 1959, Fredericksburg was a segregated city facing its own peaceful, non-violent tactics of protest. On July 1, 1960, eight students—trained by local NAACP leaders and community activists—entered Woolworth's segregated lunch counter and sat down, beginning Fredericksburg's first sit-in. The students rotated between the segregated lunch counters of Woolworth's, Grant's, and People's, forcing the staff to put up "This Section Closed" signs. The protestors extended their boycott to a picket line attended by a number of sympathetic white residents. However, they met further resistance from racist, counter-protestors who waved Confederate flags as a symbol of Anglo solidarity and the maintenance of Anglo superiority. Their message was clear: opportunity and rights did not extend equally to Fredericksburg's African American citizens.<sup>110</sup> While the protestors' efforts challenged Virginia's segregated landscape, the counter-protestors' retaliation articulated a desire to maintain it. Within the heated context of the Cold War and Civil Rights Movement, these two clashing viewpoints played an important role in Fredericksburg's changing Civil War interpretation. From 1961 to 1965, preservationists fought over the battlefields' narrative, calling for both persistence and change in national memory.

During the Centennial Commemoration from 1961 to 1965, preservationists articulated a new message of perseverance by relying on a more abstract notion of



“home” in response to the Cold War. As the land of the free and the *home* of the brave—North and South—the United States was an exceptional place to live. Reflective of freedom, faith, opportunity, prosperity, and choice, Fredericksburg’s Civil War landscapes were physical reminders of what made the United States superior. Communism threatened to erase the memory of the Civil War, but battlefield preservation could help combat it.

The looming danger of Cold War amnesia and the significance of battlefield preservation as a remedy was the foundation of many Fredericksburg addresses during the Centennial. In December 1962, on the anniversary of the Battle of Fredericksburg, Dr. Raiford E. Sumner, the Chairman of the Fredericksburg Centennial Committee issued a statement regarding the purpose of the celebration. The public’s understanding of their priceless American heritage lay at the heart of the observance; Sumner wanted to establish a link between the public and their past, “to clarify the concepts upon which our democratic principles depend—individual responsibility based upon faith in God and service to country.” Through the Centennial, every man and woman had an opportunity to understand the nation’s philosophy and ideals founded on democracy. Sumner elaborated by exclaiming,

today it is our responsibility to see that the story of the Civil War is preserved and told in an interesting and understandable manner based on the most accurate information available so that succeeding generations will have an opportunity to know and appreciate the qualities of life so necessary for a worthwhile and meaningful existence and to assist in the preservation of our society.<sup>111</sup>

Sumner's statement mirrored those made throughout the nation during the country's Centennial remembrance of the Civil War. It was a call to arms against the foreign foe of communism.

Richmond newspaper editor and Pulitzer Prize winner Virginius Dabney called on American citizens to “meet the Communist threat ‘with the same high purpose and unflinching courage’ displayed by soldiers from both sides in one of the Civil War’s bloodiest battles.”<sup>112</sup> Dabney elaborated that “in contrast to the terrible conflict that was raging just a century ago, we are a united country now. The threat today is from beyond our borders, rather than internal.”<sup>113</sup> If the nation remained alert and aware of outside pressures, the future looked positive. Dabney suggested that the courage and fortitude shown by those at the Battle of Fredericksburg would inspire those in the present. He explained, “let us here solemnly resolve, as we face the threat of Soviet Russia and Communist China, to meet it with the same high purpose and unflinching courage that both Confederate and Union soldiers showed in the bloody engagement which hallowed this soil a century ago.”<sup>114</sup> Although communism challenged the United States, it proved to be a uniting force between North and South while commemorating Fredericksburg’s and Spotsylvania’s Civil War.

The outpouring of Centennial support and participation in Fredericksburg was significant—due in no small part to the number of battlefields located in the area. Fredericksburg’s Civil War Centennial Committee intended to make sure “every man and woman” knew the region’s significant link to American history.<sup>115</sup> They explained that

the Centennial provided “a splendid opportunity to channel the natural interest of Americans in the Civil War into an understanding of the philosophy and ideals of American democracy.”<sup>116</sup> Yet, a skewed understanding of democracy drove the Committee’s involvement in Civil War memory. This democracy, as had been the case since the Civil War and Reconstruction itself, emphasized the rights, freedom, and quality of life for a select portion of the region’s residents.

Every Fredericksburg citizen did not experience the qualities of life that the Centennial Committee promoted. Although all men and women in Fredericksburg had the opportunity to understand the nation’s democratic ideals, the town’s 1960 sit-ins demonstrated that its residents did not benefit equally from them. Virginians were fearful of and resistant not only to change from global forces but these domestic forces as well. Despite disruptions from the Civil Rights Movement—or more likely because of them—Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County’s Centennial programming celebrated a segregated landscape and memory—pushing a Jim Crow interpretation of the past in order to challenge change in the present. According to this viewpoint, Civil Rights protestors threatened to dismantle the South’s established way of life just as the Union did during the Civil War. As a result, the Centennial celebration became a means of promoting a domestically focused and sympathetically emotional interpretation of Fredericksburg’s *Anglo* history.

Centennial events were often hosted at segregated venues, excluding Fredericksburg’s African Americans from actively participating. As early as 1960, when

preparations were still under way, the committee held meetings and “a very ‘happy’ cocktail party” at the General Washington Inn—a “whites only” hotel.<sup>117</sup> Two years later, in honor of the Battle’s 100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary, the Statewide Civil War Centennial Assembly convened in Fredericksburg. The assembly hosted its registration and opening reception at the General Washington.<sup>118</sup> The Assembly chose the “continued maintenance of public interest in the Civil War Centennial” as their meeting theme.<sup>119</sup> The City of Fredericksburg actively engaged in sponsoring “public” events as well. The city’s Civil War Round Table funded a program at the General Washington Inn featuring the Honorable W.C. “Dan” Daniel, the former National Commander of the American Legion.<sup>120</sup> On December 12<sup>th</sup>, the Princess Anne Hotel hosted a buffet supper, and the Community Club supported a talk by Dr. VanNoppen of the Appalachian State Teachers College.<sup>121</sup> By hosting these public events at segregated sites, however, they excluded African Americans as part of the “public.”

Some institutions even reinstated a reliance on the town’s domestic imagery to commemorate the Centennial. By welcoming visitors to their Open Houses, the public was given access to something generally considered private and personal. The Spotsylvania Civil War Centennial Committee marked the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary with a public exhibit at the Fredericksburg Country Club, an antebellum home highlighting the architectural distinctiveness of the Old South. As a “whites only” facility, the Country Club displayed a handful of paintings, prints, and artifacts from the war for a white audience who did not normally have access to the exclusive club.<sup>122</sup> Even the Park Service actively engaged in public segregation during the Centennial when it held open

houses at the Fredericksburg headquarters. Although the Park Service welcomed African Americans to the museum, they did not do so under equal terms. By requiring them to use separate colored restrooms located in the garage rather than in the main “house,” visitors involuntarily reenacted the spatial and racial hierarchy of an antebellum plantation home.<sup>123</sup>

While many sites in Fredericksburg segregated African Americans from participating in the Civil War Centennial, organizers also segregated African Americans from Civil War memory. At a number of events, African Americans and their legacy were appropriated in the celebrations. In February of 1961, the Lions Club Minstrel Show performed “A Salute to the Confederacy.” The Maury Auditorium—ironically part of Fredericksburg’s white high school located within the bounds of Liberty Town—hosted the show produced and directed by Levin Houston. The Minstrel Show honored Jefferson Davis, “the Mississippi plantation owner and one-time U.S. Secretary of War” who, on February 18, 1861—one hundred years prior—became the first President of the Confederate States of America. As a means of celebration, the show preserved “the spirit” of Davis’s inauguration through song and dance.<sup>124</sup> In Act I, Frank Starling and Sidney Chichester performed “I got Plenty of Nuthin’” and “Summertime”—two noteworthy songs from a 1935 Gerwshin folk opera.<sup>125</sup> On December 12, 1962, the Prince George Hotel invited women to participate in a Plantation Cookery contest celebrating the old south cooking style.<sup>126</sup> Mrs. L.B. Mason of King George and Mrs. J.L. Surles of Chancellor won the grand prize for their Sally Lunn—a type of colonial English bread—and Tyler Pudding Pie—featuring vanilla pudding and coconut—respectively.<sup>127</sup>

Although Starling, Chichester, Mason, and Surlles could be recognized for their talents—both vocal and culinary—their programs appropriated African American achievements as their own. The “spirit” of the minstrel show and Davis’s inauguration degraded African Americans by assuming their narrative through song. *Porgy and Bess* followed the lives of African Americans living in the urban slums of Charleston in the 1920s. Starling and Chichester performed these songs out of context—taking them away from 1920s South Carolina and their original African American performers. They were adopted into a program dedicated to the first and only president of the Confederacy. At the Plantation Cookery, Anglo women took credit for plantation dishes originally cooked by house slaves for their masters and his family. Through song and food, Fredericksburg’s Anglo residents sidestepped the dark past that accompanied these activities and instead, introduced them as a form of celebration.

While the Civil War Centennial used Fredericksburg’s segregated landscape to perpetuate a sanitized memory of the Civil War and antebellum south, Fredericksburg’s landscape entrepreneurs used the Civil War Centennial as a means of maintaining and expanding a profitable, segregated community. During the Cold War, suburban housing became the ultimate symbol of the nation’s celebration of capitalist democracy. After World War II, suburban development saw a drastic increase all across the nation. Fredericksburg’s distance to Washington, D.C. and Richmond made it a prime locale for tract developments. During the centennial, developers used history to promote their subdivisions. Like the Fredericksburg Visitor Center, these homes featured modern colonial architecture as a means of harnessing the antebellum past *and* modern living. As

a symbol of America's capitalist democratic ideals, the subdivisions featured the benefits of modern America while embracing the memory of the battlefield land they occupied.

An advertisement for Argyle Heights, for instance, promoted itself as a "beautiful residential suburban development, ideally situated, keyed to modern living and within easy commuting distance of metropolitan centers." However, it also emphasized that "from these storied heights the officers of Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside's staff... watched in anguish as they saw their ranks of blue-clad soldiers" die at Marye's Heights (**Figure 4.25**). The Kennedy Realty Corporation, who owned and developed Argyle Heights, suggested that by purchasing a house in the subdivision, homeowners purchased a piece of history.<sup>128</sup> Artillery Ridge was another housing development that advertised during Fredericksburg's centennial in the hopes of benefiting from the region's Civil War past (**Figure 4.26**). Located along the Confederate artillery line from the Battle of Fredericksburg, the property did not witness the battle but participated in it. The development, under the exclusive realty agents of Pates Insurance & Realty, exclaimed that although it was a site of history-making events, it now provided a beautiful spot for "your home" "where cannons roar no more." Artillery Ridge was now "one of Fredericksburg's most charming subdivisions. Families seeking homesites among stately trees and natural contours and streams will find Artillery Ridge much to their liking." It offered a country-living lifestyle but with easy access to Downtown Fredericksburg.<sup>129</sup>

1861 The United States Troops made this trench at the base of the Premier after the initial fight Fredericksburg in water gardens in Argyle Heights.

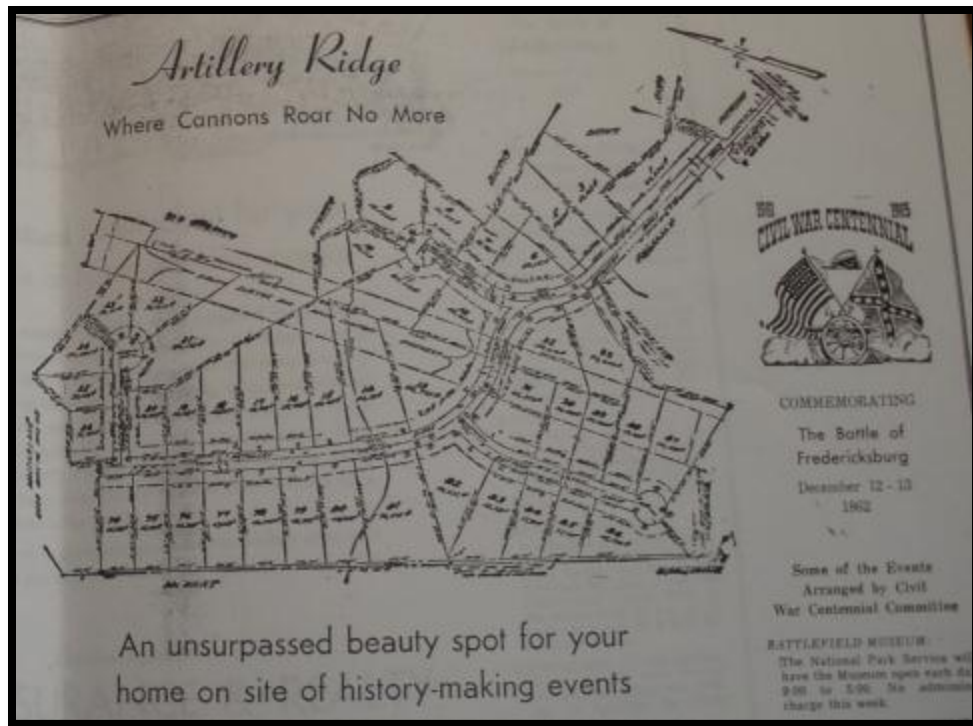
**ARGYLE HEIGHTS . . .** a beautiful residential suburban development, ideally situated, keyed to modern living and within easy commuting distance of metropolitan centers.

From their elevated heights the officers of Gen. Andrew E. Steiner's staff of the Union Army watched in anguish as they saw their ranks of bloodied soldiers "fall like masts on wave ground," as they met the devastating fire of General Lee's battle line. Then, too the defeated Federal forces retired to campgrounds where they spent the winter of 1862-63, only to meet another crushing defeat at Chancellorsville the following May.

**Commemorating The Battle of Fredericksburg**  
December 13, 1862

(Figure 4.25) Argyle Heights Advertisement. Courtesy of the Virginia State Library.





(Figure 4.26) Artillery Ridge Advertisement. Courtesy of the Virginia State Library.

Argyle Heights and Artillery Ridge helped mass produce the sentiment of choice, opportunity, freedom, and lifestyle first conveyed through Fredericksburg's plantation landscape. While Centennial organizers argued that the Civil War anniversary should be solemnly observed and used as an educational tool, industry in Fredericksburg used it to boost their businesses and, if possible, sell a piece of history—literally. However, not all residents of Fredericksburg could purchase a piece of history. As with most of the centennial events themselves, these middle class subdivisions were exclusive and restrictive. Racial covenants, grandfather clauses, and local ordinances enabled developers, realtors, and homeowners from selling to African Americans.<sup>130</sup>

### **Conclusion: Redefining the “Spirit of Union”**

The prevalent message of the segregated greatness of American opportunity and freedom was also emphasized at Chancellorsville’s Visitor Center dedication on May 4<sup>th</sup>, 1963. In his speech, Dr. James Robertson, Executive Director of the National Civil War Centennial Commission, argued that whether fighting for “the nation’s unity” or the “defense of state sovereignty,” “Americans of today and generations of Americans yet unborn must honor both sides.”<sup>131</sup> By honoring defenders of the Union *and* Confederacy without scrutinizing their motives, the Centennial Commission failed to acknowledge a third group of people: the slave population they fought over. Instead, Robertson viewed the new Chancellorsville Visitor Center in the same way the battlefield had been viewed thirty years earlier: a sacred home of military might, and “as deserving of reverence as any cemetery in our land...this building and these grounds are a shrine to American unity and freedom.”<sup>132</sup> Yet, a closer examination of Chancellorsville’s new visitor center reveals another perspective—one that did not accept a message of unity without questioning the need for change.

Although the Visitor Center did not negate reconciliation, it did expose the impact the Civil Rights Movement had on Civil War memory in the 1960s. Unlike the Fredericksburg Visitor Center, the Chancellorsville Visitor Center embraced the present rather than reflecting the region’s southern colonial past. Contemporary in design and function, the building had a spacious lobby, modern light fixtures, and glass expanses to unite the building with its wooded surroundings (**Figure 4.27**).<sup>133</sup> Importantly, the new

Visitor Center did not construct segregated bathrooms. Instead, the Chancellorsville Battlefield welcomed Anglo Americans and African Americans equally, at least in theory. Despite efforts to the contrary, the battlefields indicated that African Americans' relationship to the Civil War and its memory was changing for the better; Fredericksburg could be their home and their memory, too. Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania battlefields could be a place of change—a place that combated communism while simultaneously promoting civil rights.



(Figure 4.27) Modern Chancellorsville Visitor Center constructed in 1963. Photograph by Susan C. Hall, 2010.

During the Depression, African Americans helped construct a Civil War landscape of Fredericksburg that excluded them from memory. Nonetheless, the battlefields had been an important and much needed source of employment and future opportunity. By the sixties, the future had come and past but the opportunity for African

Americans to gain an equal footing in society—to be welcome on equal footing in their own home—had still not been attained. By the Centennial, African Americans changed their public view of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania battlefields. This time they engaged in Civil War memory-making by actively, publicly, and proudly inserting themselves into the national Civil War narrative. Instead of using Civil War memory as a means of gainful employment, African Americans used it to support the Civil Rights Movement.

As one of the events planned for the Battle of Fredericksburg's centennial, Dr. James H. Brewer gave a lecture on "the Virginia Negro during the Civil War."<sup>134</sup> Brewer, the Chairman of the Department of History at Virginia State College, hailed from Pennsylvania. As an African American academic, Brewer challenged the Lost Cause ideology when he announced, "the Civil War performance of southern Negroes still lacks historical respectability."<sup>135</sup> However, he also denounced the Northern portrayal of African Americans. He decried the distorted view of his race portrayed in W.E. Woodward's best-selling book *Meet General Grant*. Brewer quoted Woodward as writing, "The American Negroes are the only people in the history of the world, so far as I know, that ever became free without an effort of their own. They merely twanged banjos...and sang melodious spirituals."<sup>136</sup> In retaliation, Brewer highlighted the military efforts of African Americans during the Civil War. He argued, in fact, that the first colored unit mustered into the Union Army was the First South Carolina volunteers—a regiment of slaves. When the war ended, sixteen African American soldiers and four sailors received the Medal of Honor.

Brewer used the past to boost the morale of African Americans in the present, as they struggled to gain civil rights. The event itself—given at the Walker-Grant colored school—reflected the continued struggle for racial equality.<sup>137</sup> Only *one* newspaper article from the plethora of Centennial articles printed in the *Free Lance-Star* provided any detail on Brewer’s talk. On December 12, 1962, reporter Harriet Allen wrote that the assembly enabled students to “hear one of their own race review and interpret the war and the centennial’s meaning to them.”<sup>138</sup> Allen’s article suggested that African Americans had a separate, segregated memory of the war from the dominant, Anglo-American narrative.

Brewer did not let the segregated nature of his talk dampen its message. Instead, he used it as a learning tool. He declared,

As we Americans of color face the present struggle to secure our constitutional rights, let us take notice that the cost for freedom is high. Those who want it must be willing to pay the price. This willingness was reflected during the Civil War by the American Negro’s determined struggle for human dignity and for the right to bear arms in defense of his country.<sup>139</sup>

Like those historians who used the courage of Civil War soldiers as a message to combat communism, Brewer used Civil War era African Americans to promote the courage needed to survive the contemporary age of race discrimination.

Brewer’s participation in the Centennial events in Fredericksburg indicated not only the presence of slaves and freedmen in Civil War memory but African American’s active engagement in the Centennial events as well. Although Brewer presented his lecture before a segregated audience at a segregated site, other African Americans

participated in noteworthy desegregated events. A year earlier, in 1961, two African American women—Madaline Williams from New Jersey’s Centennial Commission and Eola Jett from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—traveled to Spotsylvania County to assist in the rededication of a New Jersey Monument near Salem Church. This small, brick house of God witnessed the last phase of the Battle of Chancellorsville—where Confederate forces stopped the advance of Union troops from Fredericksburg (**Figures 4.28 & 4.29**).



(**Figure 4.28**) New Jersey Monument (in the background) at Salem Church. Courtesy of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park.



(Figure 4.29) Salem Church. Courtesy of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park.

Rededication of the monument fit within the Cold War theme of the centennial events: unification. The state of New Jersey originally erected the tall, granite shaft in 1909, to the 23<sup>rd</sup> New Jersey Regiment but also, according to the plaque, “to the brave Alabama boys, our opponents on this field of battle.”<sup>140</sup> Master of Ceremonies Joseph Dempsey explained, “it is not the anniversary of the battle that took place at Salem Church that we want to observe...but rather the fact that there persisted some 44 years after the event, when the plaque was dedicated, a residue of affection which our Union veterans felt for their late enemies...”<sup>141</sup> Everett Landers, the Executive Director of New Jersey’s Centennial Commission, explained the monument “exemplifies the feeling of intersectional harmony...[and] also indicates the high mutual respect these fighting men had for each other, despite their ideological differences.”<sup>142</sup> Williams’ and Jett’s inclusion

in the event suggested that some memory-makers hoped respect and unity could cross not only sectional lines—as it had in 1909—but also racial lines.

Although Williams' and Jett's participation in the Salem Church ceremony was not the focus of the event, their involvement did not go unnoticed or debated. Despite the best efforts made by Virginia and New Jersey to promote a message of reconciliation rather than racial tension, the Alabama commission chose not to attend the event. Alabama explained that they wanted to wait for the battle's 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1963. Newspapers noted that “there were indications...that the absence of delegates from Alabama was not wholly unrelated to the furore [sic] stirred up over segregation when the New Jersey commission brought along a Negro member to a recent centennial function in Charleston, S.C.”<sup>143</sup> Williams' and Jett's involvement occurred under a cloud of concern stemming from the Charleston debacle a year earlier. When the States' Centennial Commissions convened in Charleston in 1960, Williams vocally protested her exclusion from the segregated venue hosting the affair. The protest received national attention and federal backlash, resulting in a rift between southern and northern commissions.

Fearful of a repeat incident, great care went in to preparing the event at Salem Church. In conversation with New Jersey and Alabaman commission members, NPS Superintendent Northington worked out a seating arrangement he believed suitable to all involved. On April 27<sup>th</sup>, a press release noted that “mutual affection and respect so frequently held by opposing forces during the Civil War will be the keynote of [this] unique tri-state rededication ceremony.” Everett Landers agreed, explaining that the basic



sentiment of the event was “one of intersectional respect and good will, something that everyone agrees would be a welcome relief from the turmoil surrounding the Charleston affair.”<sup>144</sup> A message of sectional truce, however, did not prevail entirely; Alabama did not attend the ceremony.

Despite bringing attention to the still heated racial climate of the 1960s, Williams’ and Jett’s participation in the New Jersey monument dedication emphasized a changing message of unity. After the event concluded, Mrs. Williams explained that the “spirit of union” was displayed, suggesting that the comradeship shown at the ceremony “should be carried on in all our endeavors.”<sup>145</sup> In so doing, Williams and Jett used the battlefield landscape to promote an agenda of racial understanding—the same racial understanding stressed by many of the nation’s non-violent Civil Rights activists at the time. Jett’s and William’s message appropriated the monument dedicated to sectional reconciliation in order to promote *racial reconciliation*. Importantly, Williams’ state centennial commission supported her involvement in the event—just as it did a year earlier in Charleston. Joseph Dempsey explained, we “feel that a recognition of those incidents which demonstrate the respect and admiration the combatants felt for each other are a more worthwhile source of memorialization than the recent events connected with the Centennial which tended to rekindle intersectional hostility.”<sup>146</sup> The meaning of the battlefield could be expanded to incorporate a deeper understanding of reconciliation among *all* Americans—black and white.

The interracial ceremony in Fredericksburg, in fact, did not create as much of a stir as the Charleston debacle. Lamenting Alabama's decision to abstain from the events, Superintendent Northington explained they "would have found an entirely different atmosphere here" than in Charleston.<sup>147</sup> This was true. Despite efforts to maintain a nostalgic, sanitized memory of Virginia's battlefields in order to combat communist infiltration, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania Battlefields still underwent a transformation during the Civil War Centennial. Fredericksburg could not escape the influence of the Civil Rights Movement. The Salem Church ceremony indicated that the Centennial supported a message of reunification between the North and South but also racial unity, if even on a small scale. In an effort to promote social, economic, and political change throughout the nation, the Civil Rights Movement dramatically altered the meaning of the Civil War. The Civil War Centennial did *not* have to produce racial contestation at the expense of regional unity and national survival. Instead, it could be used as a means to promote racial understanding, racial reconciliation, and *thus*, national survival. Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania's battlefields could be a place of change and changing memory.

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### Chapter 2 Notes

<sup>1</sup> Calvin Coolidge, "Address Dedicating the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania Country Battle Fields Memorial, Fredericksburg, Va.," October 19, 1928. Available from <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=464#axzz1d3g69aTN>; Internet; Accessed 18 November 2012.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

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<sup>4</sup> Clint Schemmer, "Country Club to Share 'Secrets,'" *Fredericksburg Free Lance Star* (Fredericksburg, Virginia), April 17, 2009. Available online from <http://fredericksburg.com/News/FLS/2009/042009/04172009/460060>; Internet; accessed 28 January 2013.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> National Park Service (hereafter NPS), Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park (hereafter FRSP), "America's Battleground." Available from [www.nps.gov/frsp](http://www.nps.gov/frsp).

<sup>7</sup> NPS, FRSP, "Battle of Fredericksburg History: The River Crossing." Available from <http://www.nps.gov/frsp/historyculture/fburg-hist-crossing.htm>; Internet; accessed 28 January 2013.

<sup>8</sup> Brigadier General John Gibbon, "Report of Brig. Gen. John Gibbon, U.S. Army, commanding Second Division," *Official Records*, Series I, Volume XXV/1 [#s39], 7 May 1863, letter to Captain J.N. Potter. Available from <http://www.civilwarhome.com/gibbonschancellorsvilleor.htm>; Internet; accessed 28 January 2013.

<sup>9</sup> Gordon C. Rhea, "May 5: Ewell Surprises Warren on Orange Turnpike," in *Civil War Series: The Battles of Wilderness & Spotsylvania* (Eastern National, 2007). Available from [http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online\\_books/civil\\_war\\_series/25/sec3.htm](http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/civil_war_series/25/sec3.htm); Internet; accessed 28 January 2013.

<sup>10</sup> NPS, FRSP, "Widow Tapp's Field," Battlefield Interpretive Panel, Wilderness Battlefield.

<sup>11</sup> NPS, FRSP, "History of Wilderness and Spotsylvania." Available from <http://www.nps.gov/frsp/wildspot.htm>; Internet; accessed 28 January 2013.

<sup>12</sup> Lloyd A. Hunter, "The Immortal Confederacy: Another Look at Lost Cause Religion" in *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War Memory*, Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, Editors (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000), pp. 185 - 218; Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2009).

<sup>13</sup> David Greenberg, *Calvin Coolidge* (New York, New York: Times Books Henry Holt and Company, LLC, 2006), 4.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Greenberg, 5.

<sup>16</sup> Greenberg, 6.

<sup>17</sup> Coolidge.

<sup>18</sup> Innis had owned a fair amount of property prior to and during the Civil War. Altogether, she owned four property lots, including two along the Sunken Road. Cheryl E. Yielding, "Planned Restoration Report" (Mary Washington College), April 30, 1979. File Folder (hereafter FF): Report – Planned Restoration by MWC Student, FRSP, Chatham Headquarters (hereafter FRSP Headquarters).

<sup>19</sup> J.B. Sener Ass't Marshall, "1860 United States Population Census – Schedule 2. Slave Inhabitants in Town of Fredericksburg in the County of Spotsylvania, in the State of Virginia, in June 1860"; available from <http://departments.umw.edu/hipr/www/Fredericksburg/census/1860US2.htm>; Internet; accessed 10 April 2010.

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<sup>20</sup> Greenberg, 87. More specifically, Coolidge was hesitant to involve himself in domestic racial issues. However, he saw little fault with “preventing” further racial and ethnic conflict by supporting the 1924 Restriction Act which limited immigration.

<sup>21</sup> For a sampling of African American community and identity development after the Civil War see: Karen Sanchez-Eppler, *Touching Liberty: Abolition, Feminism, and the Politics of the Body* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1997); Tera Hunter, *To ‘Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women’s Lives and Labors After the Civil War* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997); Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long : The Aftermath of Slavery* (Random House, 1979); WEB DuBois, *Reconstruction in America: An Essay toward a History of the Part which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880* (New York: Atheneum, 1969); Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: First Perennial Books, 2002).

<sup>22</sup> The editor of the *Virginia Herald* noted, with disapproval, that such an event was the “first thing of the kind we remember ever to have seen in this quarter.” Donald C. Pfan, “Where Valor Proudly Sleeps: A History of Fredericksburg National Cemetery 1866-1933” (2007), 202. FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Pfan, 203.

<sup>25</sup> In 1893, a writer for the *Free Lance-Star* once again derided the annual event and attempted to belittle its “misguided” historical significance: “Some twenty years ago...a few colored people, a scattering crowd of men, women, and children, headed by a forlorn white man..., and preceded by a wheezy band of dilapidated instruments blown by unskilled players, used to straggle out to the National Cemetery and scatter a few faded flowers over the graves. The white people looked on in disgust and contempt, and many refused to give the small darkey flowers for the ceremony. It was a pitiful sight, an honor sought to be paid by those who scarcely knew what honor meant, to the dead, in a land that regarded them as occupying dishonorable graves.” Pfan, 204.

<sup>26</sup> Franklin Delano Roosevelt, “Nomination Address,” July 2, 1932. Available from <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=75174>. Internet; accessed 21 November 2012.

<sup>27</sup> See: Steven Fraser, *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order: 1930-1980* (Princeton University Press, 1989).

<sup>28</sup> Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

<sup>29</sup> According to Neil Maher, the CCC helped reclaim the land for profit and play. CCC work on the battlefields in Spotsylvania helped encourage a sense of prosperity and leisure (through travel) in spite of the Depression. Neil Maher, *Nature’s New Deal: the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

<sup>30</sup> Neil M. Maher, “A New Deal Body Politic: Landscape, Labor, and the Civilian Conservation Corps” in *Environmental History*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (July 2002), 436.

<sup>31</sup> “Earthworks to be Restored in Park,” *Free Lance Star* (Fredericksburg, Virginia), October 1, 1935, p. 2. FF: publicity and statistics, publicity, newspaper articles (local), July 1, 1935 – Feb 29, 1936. FRSP Headquarters. Accessed April 2010.

<sup>32</sup> Civilian Conservation Corps, “Camp MP=4, Wilderness, Va., March 3, 1938,” report. Civilian Conservation Corps, “Narrative Report – Camp MP – 1, Spotsylvania, Virginia,” 1. Located in CCC

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Volumes 2 and 3, compilation files for the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania Military Park (Chatham Headquarters), gathered from Entry 42: Narrative Reports, CCC Camps (hereafter Entry 42), Record Group 79 (hereafter RG 79) – Records of the National Park Service, National Archives II (College Park, Maryland) (hereafter NARA II). Accessed April 2010.

<sup>33</sup> For more scholarship on the Civilian Conservation Corps and the New Deal, see: Neil M. Maher, “A New Deal Body Politic.”

<sup>34</sup> Civilian Conservation Corps, “ ‘Camp Report’ Camp No. MP 3, Week ending Aug. 25, 1934. MP-3, Chancellorsville.” FRSP, “Record Group 35, Entry 115: Camp Inspection Reports,” C.C.C. Volume 1 (FRSP Headquarters). Accessed April 2010.

<sup>35</sup> “Negro CCC Camp due to be Moved,” *Free Lance Star* (Fredericksburg, Virginia), November 30 1940, p 8, col. 4. Located in “The Free Lance-Star,” C.C.C. Volume 2, FRSP Headquarters. Accessed April 2010.

<sup>36</sup> Maher, “A New Deal Body Politic.”

<sup>37</sup> Maher, 446.

<sup>38</sup> C.C.C. Company 362, *The Battlefield News* (Fredericksburg, Virginia), Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 1-2. Microfiche available from Center for Research Libraries, Chicago, Illinois.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> C.C.C. Company 362, *The Battlefield News* (Fredericksburg, Virginia), Vol. 3, No. 6 (March 1939). Microfiche available from Center for Research Libraries, Chicago, Illinois.

<sup>43</sup> According to Howard W. Oxley, education in the camps intended to increase the employability of its enrollees and develop their civic effectiveness; “citizenship development is tied in with every course taught, with every job in camp and on work projects. . . .” Goolrick’s remarks to the colored units of Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania support this line of thought. Howard W. Oxley, “The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Education of the Negro,” in *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (July 1938), 375, 380.

<sup>44</sup> Maher, 449.

<sup>45</sup> C.C.C. Company 362, *The Battlefield News* (Fredericksburg, Virginia), Vol. 3, No. 4 (January 1939). Microfiche available from Center for Research Libraries, Chicago, Illinois.

<sup>46</sup> C.C.C. Company 362, *The Battlefield News* (Fredericksburg, Virginia), Vol. 3, No. 5 (February 1939). Microfiche available from Center for Research Libraries, Chicago, Illinois.

<sup>47</sup> Company 362, Vol. 3, No. 4, p. 2.

<sup>48</sup> Company 362, Vol. 3, No. 4, p. 5.

<sup>49</sup> Company 362, Vol. 3, No. 6, p. 4.

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<sup>50</sup> Labor economics analyst Linda Levine indicates that wages sent home from the camps were so low they could not support an entire family. Nor did they really boost morale. In essence, CCC members were not considered their family's primary wage earner. Linda Levine, "Job Creation programs of the Great Depression: the WPA and the CCC" (Congressional Research Service: January 14, 2010), 2, 9.

<sup>51</sup> Maher explains that the Corp's cure for the masculinity crisis plaguing new enrollees was for them to work in nature. Maher, 442.

<sup>52</sup> Maher, 448.

<sup>53</sup> Letter, To Mr. Stanton G. Smith, Liason Officer, Third Corps, 28 October 1937. "RG 79, Entry 65: Memoranda and Correspondence Concerning CCC Camps, 1935-1942, (MP-3 and MP-4)," C.C.C Volume 2, FRSP Headquarters. Accessed April 2010.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> According to the *Free Lance Star*, the men had originally been assigned to a camp in Lynchburg. However, vigorous protests in the area led them to abandon the transfer further south. Nonetheless, Fredericksburg made formal complaints as well. "Negro C.C.C. Camp for Spotsylvania," *Free Lance Star* (Fredericksburg, Virginia), August 3, 1934, p. 1. Located in "The Free Lance-Star," C.C.C. Volume 2, FRSP Headquarters. Accessed April 2010.

<sup>56</sup> "Defer Action on Negro C.C.C. Camp," *Free Lance-Star* (Fredericksburg, Virginia), 4 August 1934, p. 1. Located in "The Free Lance-Star," C.C.C. Volume 2, FRSP Headquarters). Accessed April 2010. Charles Johnson, "The Army, the Negro and the Civilian Conservation Corps: 1933-1942," in *Military Affairs*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (October 1972), 82-83. The War Department was guided by past experiences, as well as local laws and customs, when it came to African Americans (keeping them segregated). Charles Johnson's article suggests that this was the case throughout much of the United States and the south. Communities were more likely to accept African American camps if they came from the local surroundings and knew the local customs.

<sup>57</sup> In fact, the Park Service announced that if protests continued, the camp would be closed in its entirety. "Ultimatum Says May Close Camps," *Free Lance Star* (Fredericksburg, Virginia), August 7, 1934, p. 1, col. 1. Located in "The Free Lance-Star," C.C.C. Vol. 2, FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>58</sup> "Negro CCC Unit to Arrive Wednesday at Camp in County," *Free Lance Star* (Fredericksburg, Virginia) August 6, 1934, p.1 col. 7. Located in "The Free Lance-Star," C.C.C. Vol. 2, FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>59</sup> "Colored CCC Men at Camp in County," *Free Lance Star* (Fredericksburg, Virginia), August 8, 1934, p. 1. Located in "The Free Lance-Star," C.C.C. Vol. 2, FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>60</sup> "CCC boys Warned to be less Noisy," *Free Lance-Star*, August 16, 1934, p. 2, col. 5. Located in "The Free Lance-Star," C.C.C. Vol. 2, FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>61</sup> "Negro Draws Year in Assault on Girl," *Free Lance Star*, September 23, 1937, p. 1, col. 7. Located in "The Free Lance-Star," C.C.C. Vol. 2, FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>62</sup> "Seeking Ten Who Injured CCC Man," *Free Lance Star*, September 13, 1934), p. 2, col. 4. Located in "The Free Lance-Star," C.C.C. Vol. 2, FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>63</sup> Letter, Evison to Mr. Stanton Smith, August 3, 1938. Located in Correspondence, C.C.C. Vol. 2, FRSP Headquarters.

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<sup>64</sup> For some basic information regarding the formation of the Lost Cause ideology, see Edward A. Pollard's *The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates* (New York: E.B. Treat & Co., Publishers, 1867); Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1881); and Gary Gallagher's in-depth analysis of Jubal Early, *Jubal A. Early, the Lost Cause and Civil War History: A Persistent Legacy* (Wisconsin: Marquette University Press, 1995).

<sup>65</sup> "A Civic Duty, Editorial," *Free Lance-Star*, September 10, 1935, p. 1-2. FF: publicity and statistics, publicity, newspaper articles (local), July 1, 1935 – Feb 29, 1936. FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>66</sup> "Spectacular reenactment of Chancellorsville battle," *The Waynesboro News*, May 3, 1935, p. 1, 3. FF – Publicity and Statistics, Publicity, Newspaper Articles (Local), May 1934 – June 27, 1935. FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>67</sup> Photographs, *New York Times*, May 12, 1935, p. 2. FF – Publicity and Statistics, Publicity, Newspaper Articles (Local), May 1934 – June 27, 1935. FRSP Headquarters. "Celebration Next Week is Big Event," *Potomac Interest* (Colonial Beach, Virginia), April 25, 1935, p. 1. FF: "Chancellorsville Celebration, January 28, 1935 – April 26, 1935. FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>68</sup> "Montague Sees Value in Reproduction of Battle," *Free Lance Star*, April 25, 1935, p. 1. FF: "Chancellorsville Celebration, January 28, 1935 – April 26, 1935. FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> "Cammerer Praises Success of Battle Celebration on May 2," *Free Lance Star*, May 7, 1935, p. 4. FF – Publicity and Statistics, Publicity, Newspaper Articles (Local), May 1934 – June 27, 1935. FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>72</sup> "Spectators of a sham battle which proved almost too realistic Photographs," *New York Times*, May 12, 1935, p. 2. FF – Publicity and Statistics, Publicity, Newspaper Articles (Local), May 1934 – June 27, 1935. FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>73</sup> The building in Guinea Station, Virginia was restored as "the House Where Jackson Died" in 1928—specifically intended to coincide with the establishment of the new national battlefield park. In his opening address on October 12, 1928, Mr. Hunton, President of the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad, paid tribute to the Mr. William H. White—former president of the railroad—for "realizing the historic value of the house...thus securing a place which will always be a sacred one to Virginia people." Ann Barnett, "House in Which Stonewall Jackson Died To Be Preserved for All Time as Sacred," *Richmond News Leader*, July 6, 1936, p. 5. FF: Jackson Shrine, FRSP Headquarters. Another article explained that "the change of name brings to fruition several years of effort on the part of Caroline County residents and organizations." "Kill Guinea For Jackson Shrine," *Free Lance-Star*, February 21, 1936, p. 5. FF: Jackson Shrine, FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>74</sup> "Kill Guinea For Jackson Shrine."

<sup>75</sup> "Jackson Shrine is Presented to Park," *Free Lance-Star*, July 2, 1956, p. 2. FF: Jackson Shrine, FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>76</sup> Barnett.

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<sup>77</sup> “Son of Wartime Governor to Attend Jackson Ceremonies,” *Free Lance-Star*, September 13, 1937. FF: Jackson Shrine, FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>78</sup> “Jackson Shrine Accepted on Behalf of Government,” *Free Lance-Star*, October 25, 1937. FF: Jackson Shrine, FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid. Fredericksburg’s newspaper articles glorifying Jackson fit well with Wallace Hettle’s book, *Inventing Stonewall Jackson*.

<sup>81</sup> “High Tribute Paid Memory of Jackson,” *Free Lance-Star*, October 25, 1937, p. 1. FF: Jackson Shrine, FRSP Headquarters

<sup>82</sup> “Jackson Shrine Accepted on Behalf of Government.”

<sup>83</sup> Una Franklin, “Tribute Paid to Stonewall at Shrine Rite,” *Washington Herald-Times*, October 24 1937, p. A-7. FF: Jackson Shrine, FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>84</sup> “Program Listed for Rites at Jackson Shrine Today,” *Washington Post*, October 23, 1937. FF: Jackson Shrine, FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>85</sup> “Park Service Acquired Jackson Shrine,” n.n., October 24, 1937. FF: Jackson Shrine, FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>86</sup> Scott Hart, “How Jackson Died Like a Poet Told Again at Virginia Shrine,” n.n. (n.d.). FF: Jackson Shrine, FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>87</sup> Hart. In addition to Lucy Chandler, Eliza “Phenie” Tapp, the granddaughter of Catherine Tapp, also became a source of Civil War memory during the Depression when Park Historian Ralph Happel interviewed her. While Chandler helped perpetuate an inaccurate interpretation of the “modest” House where Jackson Died, Phenie could not glorify her family home, a run-down, lopsided, log cabin. It was neither quant nor theirs. Nonetheless, her memories as a young girl during the Battle of the Wilderness were just as powerful and dramatic as Chandler’s account. An NPS wayside at the Tapp field notes that “as her family fled their home bullets struck the dirt around them, kicking up dust like the first raindrops of a coming storm.”

<sup>88</sup> “Jackson Shrine is Presented to Park,” *Free Lance-Star*, July 2, 1956, p. 2. FF: Jackson Shrine, FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>89</sup> “High Tribute Paid Memory of Jackson,” *Free Lance-Star*, October 25, 1937, p. 1. FF: Jackson Shrine, FRSP Headquarters. Hart’s article poeticized the Jackson saga so much that he acknowledged the preserved building as an “office” but preferred to refer to it as a home. Hart.

<sup>90</sup> Beginning work on August 20<sup>th</sup>, it took eight months for the museum building to be completed. “Ceremony Planned at Jackson Shrine,” *Free-Lance Star*, September 8, 1937, p. 2., FF: Jackson Shrine, FRSP Headquarters; “Park Service Administration Building,” August 20, 1935, p. 1; FF: publicity and statistics, publicity, newspaper articles (local), July 1, 1935 – Feb 29, 1936. FRSP Headquarters. “Park Building is Near Completion,” *Free Lance Star*, January 22, 1936, p. 1; FF: publicity and statistics, July 1, 1935 – Feb 29, 1936. FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>91</sup> “Jackson Shrine Accepted on Behalf of Government,” “Park Building is Near Completion.”



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<sup>92</sup> “Park Building is Near Completion.”

<sup>93</sup> Accounts indicated that the final cost of the building would be closer to \$60,000. “Park Service Administration Building,” n.n., August 20, 1935, p. 1; FF: publicity and statistics, July 1, 1935 – Feb 29, 1936. FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>94</sup> “Park Service Administration Building.”

<sup>95</sup> “Making Progress on Park Building,” *Free Lance-Star*, September 19, 1935, p. 1. FF: publicity and statistics, July 1, 1935 – Feb 29, 1936. FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>96</sup> “National Park Service Will Move to New Administration Building,” *Free Lance Star*, April 11, 1936, p. 1. FF: Publicity and Statistics, Publicity, Newspaper Articles (Local), March 1936 to October 30, 1936. FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>97</sup> “National Park Service Will Move to New Administration building.”

<sup>98</sup> “Making Progress on Park Building.”

<sup>99</sup> “National Park Service Will Move to New Administration Building.”

<sup>100</sup> An assessment of the destruction found in the photograph leads some scholars and public historians to suggest that the artillery bombardment displayed in the diorama was caused by the Confederate Army, not the Union. In an email to Joan Zenzen, Superintendent Smith wrote: “My thought is that Lost Cause mythology attributed the suffering of Fredericksburg totally to the nasty Yankees. Any damage had to be Yankee damage. In fact, Robert E. Lee made the town a battlefield by refusing to surrender it. Confederate artillery played on the Union forces the whole time they were in town. Here's what Private Cyrus Forwood of the 2nd DE had to say about the Confederate bombardment: ‘Fredericksburg suffered greatly while we were there. The Rebels did it more damage than we did with their Artillery but our Soldiers ransacked every house.’ I'm not trying to rehabilitate the barbarous Yankees as much as I am trying to insure that we're not being a party to a biased view of history by not interpreting the diorama properly. We will be addressing that in the new exhibits.” Email, Russ Smith to Joan Zenzen, 18 December 2012.

<sup>101</sup> All of these buildings were gone by the 1930s, except for St. George's Episcopal Church, visible in the right hand corner of the diorama and photograph. “Flashback,” *Free Lance-Star*, December 13, 1963, p. 3. FF: Liberty Town – Sandy Bottom (Free Blacks on Battlefield), FRSP Headquarters. “Dedicate Museum Here on Saturday,” *Free Lance-Star*, October 22, 1937. FF: Jackson Shrine, FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>102</sup> “National Park Service Will Move to New Administration Building”; “Park Service Administration Building.”

<sup>103</sup> Blueprints; “National Park Service Will Move to New Administration Building”; “Making Progress on Park Building.”

<sup>104</sup> Postcard, “Ruins in Fredericksburg, Va., After the Battle December 12, 1862.” FF 9: 1959-1961, Local Centennial Committees: Fredericksburg, Box 45, Series 1: Correspondence and Subject Files, Local Centennial Committees, Dinwiddie-Gloucester, 1959-1966 (hereafter Series 1), Record Group 71 – Virginia Civil War Centennial Committees (hereafter RG 71), Library of Virginia, State Archives (hereafter LOV). The postcard caption reads: “Fredericksburg was the scene of two battles and a devastating bombardment during the Civil War. Within a circle of ten miles around the town, more men were killed and wounded than previously had been on any similar area in the world.”

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<sup>105</sup> Letter, Ruth Coder Fitzgerald to Robert K. Krick, June 29, 1983. FF: Liberty Town – Sandy Bottom (Free Blacks on Battlefield). FRSP Headquarters. According to Ruth Coder Fitzgerald, only one article in the *Magazine of American History* mentioned the site as a “suburb of free negroes on Sandy Bottom...between Burnside’s army and Marye’s Heights” by the 1980s.

<sup>106</sup> Fitzgerald to Krick, June 29, 1983.

<sup>107</sup> By the 1920s, James Monroe High School/Maury School, the town’s first public high school, had been built in the area. The Maury School, according to Fitzgerald, stood on top of the old potter’s field and the colored cemetery. The colored cemetery was in use until the 1880s, when the African American population moved to a new cemetery on Monument Avenue. When James Monroe was built, some of the bodies were removed to be buried elsewhere and others were burned. Fitzgerald believed that “if anyone ever digs into that area again, they will still find bones.” Interestingly, despite the fact that Maury School was located within the boundary of Liberty Town, it was an all-white high school. African American students of high school age attended Walker-Grant school. Fitzgerald to Krick, June 29, 1983. See also Bryan Clark Green and Mary Harding Sadler, *Matthew Fontaine Maury School*, 2006, nomination document, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, Washington, D.C.

<sup>108</sup> Fitzgerald could not say definitively that the homes depicted in the diorama were lived in by free blacks. Fitzgerald to Krick, June 29, 1983.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid. Other scholarship, personal notes, and correspondence refer to the neighborhood in the diorama as Sandy Bottom. Mary Beth Gatzka, however, notes that Sandy Bottom, located just beyond Liberty Town, was also a segregated neighborhood known to be occupied by freedmen. Mary Beth Gatzka, *Liberty Town: The Past and Present of a Fredericksburg Suburb*; edited by Gary Stanton and Susan Taylor (Fredericksburg, Virginia: Center for Historic Preservation, Mary Washington College, 1994). Both Historian Joan Zenzen and Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania Superintendent Russ Smith refer to the diorama as the Sandy Bottom neighborhood. Email Correspondence, Russ Smith and Joan Zenzen, 17-18 December 2012.

<sup>110</sup> John Hennessy, “Sit-In Corner: July 1960” in *Remembering: Musings on Fredericksburg and Manassas (and a few other things)* (4 August 2011). Available from <http://fredericksburghistory.wordpress.com/2011/08/04/sit-in-corner-july-1960/>; Internet; accessed 18 November 2012.

<sup>111</sup> “The Purpose of Centennial” *Free Lance-Star*, December 12, 1962 p. 17. FF 11 – Local Centennial Committees: Fredericksburg (Newspaper Clippings), 1961-1963, Box 45, Series 1, RG 71, LOV.

<sup>112</sup> “Courage of Civil War Battle is Needed Today, Editor Says,” *Richmond Times Dispatch*, December 14, 1962. Harriet Allen, “City Nears Wind-Up of Battle’s Centennial,” *Free-Lance Star*, December 14, 1962. FF 11, Box 45, Series 1, RG 71, LOV.

<sup>113</sup> “Courage of Civil War Battle is Needed Today.”

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> “The Purpose of Centennial.” Emphasis added.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Letter, Ray Sumner to James J. Geary. April 7, 1960. FF 9, Box 45, Series 1, RG 71, LOV.

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<sup>118</sup> It is interesting to note that on Friday, December 14<sup>th</sup>, the invocation at dinner was made by Rabbi Isadore Franzblau. The inclusion of Jewish participants in centennial events was significant, as was the role of Irish participants at other events. On the centennial anniversary of the Battle of Fredericksburg, Ireland's Ambassador Thomas J. Kiernan placed a wreath on the graves of members of the Irish Brigade in the Fredericksburg National Cemetery. The Irish Brigade played a crucial role in the Battle of Fredericksburg. The Ambassador announced that "out of the confusion of the Civil War grew a success of the greatest experiment in the fusion of human elements and ethnic groups that the world has witnessed. History holds, and we Irish hold with pride, the records of the courage of the Irish who fought during the Civil War whether for the Confederation or for the Union." Kiernan's wreath-laying officially began the centennial events of the Battle of Fredericksburg and thus, was an important part of the battlefield's commemoration. However, the participation of Jewish Americans and the Irish ignored a significant historical note. The Irish and Jews had long been discriminated against in the United States' past—seen as definably Other in this Anglo Protestant nation. In the nineteenth century, the predominantly white, Protestant nation was worried that immigrating Catholics were doing the Pope's bidding. At the beginning of the Civil War, they were concerned that the Irish were fighting for the Pope rather than for their nation. The ceremonies suggested that the Civil War helped pave the way for an acceptance of the ethnic Irish in the United States. Historians such as Linda Gordon, however, demonstrate this is not the case. Even at the turn of the century, many New Yorkers viewed immigrant Irish as another race, placing them little above African Americans as inferior Others. The centennial ceremonies, then, did not acknowledge the racial and ethnic prejudice that continued during and after the Civil War against the Irish and Jews, nor did these ethnic minorities acknowledge their relationship to African Americans who continued to struggle for equality. Program, "Statewide Assembly," (n.d.), p. 2. FF 9, Box 10, Series 1, RG 71, LOV. J.W. Davis, "Irish Envoy Will Open Centennial." *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, Sunday, December 9, 1962. "Calendar is Listed for Centennial Events," *Free Lance-Star*, December 8, 1962. Harriet Allen, "Cemetery Rites Open Centennial" *Fredericksburg Free Lance-Star*, December 10, 1962, Front page. FF 11, Box 45, Series 1, RG 71, LOV. Linda Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999).

<sup>119</sup> "Centennial Interest is Session Topic," n.n., December 5, 1962. FF 11, Box 45, Series 1, RG 71, LOV.

<sup>120</sup> "Civil War Centennial Committee – Tentative Program for the Observance of the Centennial of the Battle of Fredericksburg," FF 10, Box 45, Series 1, RG 71, LOV.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>122</sup> Program, "Statewide Civil War Centennial Assembly, General Washington Inn," FF 10, Box 45, Series 1, RG 71, LOV.

<sup>123</sup> "Open House Set: NPS to Mark Anniversary," *Free Lance-Star* (Fredericksburg, Va.), February 9, 1956, p. 19. "Open House Set" accessed from File A8215, Box 0674 – A8215 to A8215, Entry P11 – General Records, Administrative Files, 1949-1971 (hereafter Entry P11), RG 79, NARA II. See also: "Observance Takes Shape for Centennial of Battle," *Free Lance-Star*, September 24, 1962, p. 6. Blueprint copies of the 1937 administrative headquarters and museum were accessed on April 2010 at the FRSP headquarters located in Chatham Manor.

<sup>124</sup> Program, "The Eleventh Annual Lions Minstrel A Salute to the Confederacy," FF 9, Box 45, Series 1, RG 71, LOV.

<sup>125</sup> Letter, Lyon G. Tyler, Jr. to Levin Houston, 3<sup>rd</sup>, February 23, 1961. FF 9, Box 45, Series 1, RG 71, LOV. Program, "The Eleventh Annual Lions Minstrel A Salute to the Confederacy."

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<sup>126</sup> “Civil War Centennial Committee – Tentative Program for the Observance of the Centennial of the Battle of Fredericksburg.”

<sup>127</sup> “Civil War Dishes Compete for Prizes,” *Free Lance-Star*, December 13, 1962, p. 4. FF11, Box 45, Series 1, RG 71, LOV.

<sup>128</sup> Advertisement, “Artillery Ridge: Where Cannons Roar No More,” *Free Lance-Star* (12 December 1962), p. 18. FF 11, Box 45, Series 1, RG 71, LOV.

<sup>129</sup> Advertisement, “Artillery Ridge: Where Cannons Roar No More,” *Free Lance-Star* (12 December 1962), p. 17. FF 11, Box 45, Series 1, RG 71, LOV.

<sup>130</sup> This subject would not be addressed on a large scale level in Fredericksburg until 1967-1968, more than a year after Congress passed the 1966 Civil Rights Act requiring equal access to sales and rental of properties. John Goolrick, “Council Gets Plea for Housing Law,” *Free Lance-Star*, April 10, 1968. Anne Brooks Brauer, Letter to the Editor, “Open Housing Law Opposed by Broker,” *Free Lance-Star*, November 7, 1967. John Goolrick, “Little Changed by Housing Measure,” *Free Lance-Star*, November 24, 1967.

<sup>131</sup> “Civil War Center is Dedicated,” *The Staunton Leader*, May 6, 1963). FF 8: Battlefield Parks: Chancellorsville, Box 10, Series 1, RG 71, LOV.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> “Many Dignitaries to Attend Dedication of Visitor Center,” *Free Lance Star*, May 3, 1963. FF 8, Box 10, Series 1, RG 71, LOV

<sup>134</sup> “Observance Takes Shape for Centennial of Battle.”

<sup>135</sup> Allen.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> “Observance Takes Shape for Centennial of Battle”

<sup>138</sup> Allen.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> Press Release, April 27, 1961. FF A8215 N.J. Monument Rededication, FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>141</sup> Press Release, April 27, 1961, p 2-3.

<sup>142</sup> Ironically, after reading a note on the efforts being taken to have a ceremony honoring the unity of former foes, a fifty-eight year old Alabaman wrote New Jersey’s Civil War Commission expressing his support. His letter connected the theme of unity promoted by the centennial to larger events taking place in the world: “I think if that spirit would prevail all over the world today, we wouldn’t be worried about any atomic bomb being dropped anywhere, because this spirit that is being born up there could be the saving grace of the world if people would get behind it and pray about it...” Letter, Everett Landers to Elbert Cox, January 5, 1961. “\$5 Contribution,” *Newark Evening News*, September 20, 1960. FF A8215, FRSP Headquarters.

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<sup>143</sup> “Truce Reigns on Battlefield of Civil War,” *The Tuscaloosa News*, May 6, 1961. Additional material on the New Jersey Monument rededication is available in File Folder A8215 FRSP Headquarters.

<sup>144</sup> Letter, Everett J. Landers.

<sup>145</sup> Murray Illson, “Rites are Held in Fredericksburg, Va., and Virginia sends Delegates – Two Negroes are Participants,” *New York Times*, May 7, 1961, p. 61.

<sup>146</sup> Press Release, April 27, 1961, p 2-3.

<sup>147</sup> Memorandum, O.F. Northington, Jr. to Regional Director, Region One. May 17, 1961. FF A8215, FRSP Headquarters.

### Chapter 3

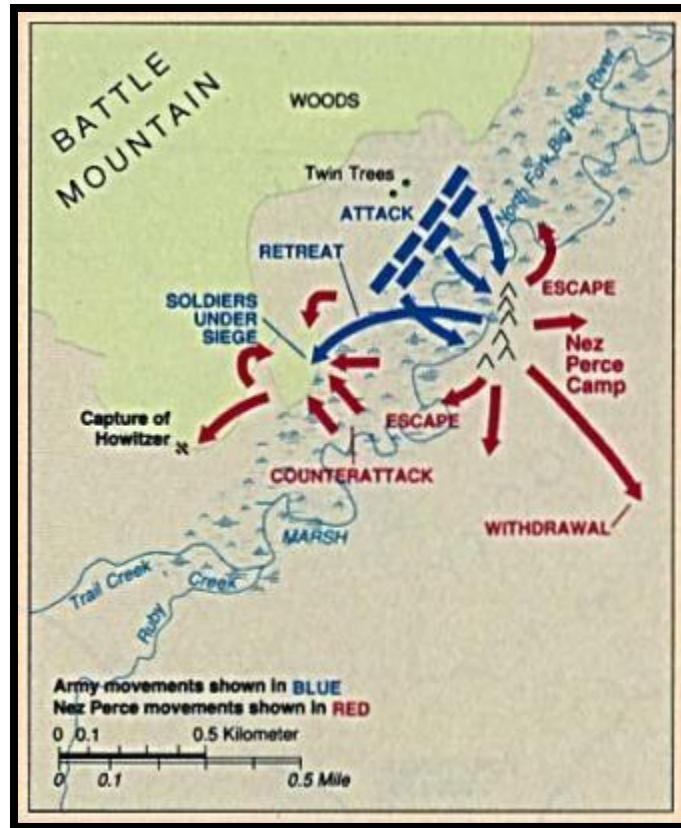
## **BIG HOLE NATIONAL BATTLEFIELD: FAMILY TRAVELS, NATIONAL TRAVAILS, AND CONSUMPTION OF THE BIG HOLE VALLEY (1950 – 1992)**

### **Introduction: Inheriting the Big Hole Valley**

In the early summer of 1965, *New York Times* columnist Jeanne Beaty made an important connection between southwestern Montana’s landscape and the past: “place” had the power to evoke strong memories. She poetically wrote that Montana’s Big Hole Valley was “one of the last remnants of the Old West”—a place where snowcapped mountains surrounded cattle grazing on wild hay. It was “the Old West” imagined in fiction and dreams, “seemingly remote and untroubled”—where the valley’s “scenic grandeur compete[d] with history.”<sup>1</sup> For Beaty, the valley’s natural beauty and its significant history competed for the attention of those families traveling through on summer vacation. They vied for the interest of those, young and old, male and female, looking to consume a romanticized piece of the Old West through the land. Although Beaty used this sentimental rhetoric to sell Big Hole’s historical, picturesque West to traveling families, the landscape was *not* “untroubled.” In the nineteenth century, two competing interpretations over familial inheritance of the land and its resources met in the Big Hole Basin. One was native, traditional, and migrated from the west; the other was American, “destiny,” and, in theory, traveled from the east. In 1877 they collided violently at the Battle of the Big Hole.

On August 9<sup>th</sup>, 1877, Colonel John Gibbon—who witnessed the bloody battles at Antietam’s Cornfield and on the streets of Fredericksburg—led a surprise assault against

the Nez Perce under the leadership of Chief Looking Glass. Gibbon attacked the Nez Perce camp along the North Fork of the Big Hole River only to be pushed back across the water and kept under siege until his retreat from the battlefield on August 10<sup>th</sup> (**Figure 5.1**). Although the Nez Perce came out the victors, Gibbon and his men killed nearly ninety men, women, and children. The site of carnage preserved only one battle from the Nez Perce War—described by some historians as the Northwest’s culminating conflict between Native Americans and Anglo Americans over race and space.<sup>2</sup> After losing their ancestral homeland in the Wallowa Valley of eastern Oregon, the non-treaty band of the Nez Perce began their 1,700-mile trek eastward—pursued by General Oliver Otis Howard’s Army of the Columbia—in an effort to avoid confinement on the reservations. Their hasty travels resulted in a number of other conflicts—including the Battle of White Bird Canyon, a run-in with tourists in Yellowstone National Park, and the Battle of Bear Paw. Although the Nez Perce won the Battle of the Big Hole, they did not win the war. On October 5, 1877, Chief Joseph surrendered to General Nelson Miles near Chinook, Montana—forty miles from the Canadian border. Even after their surrender, however, the Nez Perce travails did not end; Chief Joseph and the others, like prisoners in exile, were forced to Kansas, Oklahoma, and ultimately the Colville Indian Reservation in northeast Washington.<sup>3</sup>



(Figure 5.1) Big Hole Battle Map. Courtesy of the National Park Service, 1994.

Though the battle was the first dramatic fight between Native Americans and Anglo Europeans in the remote Valley, the Nez Perce and Anglo Americans traveled to and through the Big Hole Valley to consume the land and its resources throughout much of the nineteenth century. In other words, the Valley had a long history of competing migratory and territorial traditions. Though a mildly sedentary people, Nez Perce ancestral tradition of hunting buffalo led them eastward each season to the Great Plains from their land in the Pacific Northwest. The Valley often served as a resting place for the Nez Perce and their horses that grazed on the grass before heading further east. Between 1804 and 1806, Sacajawea guided Thomas Jefferson's expeditionary team led



by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark through the Big Hole Valley on their way west to the Pacific. Lewis and Clark's early exploration of the continent encouraged a strong tradition of national inheritance, founded on the premise of America's destiny to conquer the land from coast to coast. Except for minor conflicts, however, the Valley remained a relatively peaceful space utilized by Native Americans and Anglo Americans throughout much of the nineteenth century. The Nez Perce War, however, removed competing consumption of the landscape by expelling the Nez Perce from the Valley. It paved the way for permanent—rather than migratory—frontier settlement in Big Hole; in other words, military success permitted unthreatened Anglo habitation in the Valley.<sup>4</sup>

In doing so, the 1877 military victory over the Nez Perce helped launch a patriotic, military-centered memory of the battlefield. When President Taft dedicated the Big Hole Battlefield National Monument in 1910, he established it as a place of honorable memoriam, celebratory veneration, and national pride. As a National Monument, the Big Hole narrative emphasized the Nez Perce Warriors, U.S. military, and those local volunteers who resorted to violence to help “tame” the landscape for Anglo settlement of the Valley and the West. The preservation of the landscape itself reflected this military focus. Maintained by the War Department since 1883, the five-acre parcel of land along the western edge of the Valley protected a small portion of the Siege Area from the conflict—where Nez Perce warriors attacked and overwhelmed U.S. soldiers in their rifle pits.<sup>5</sup>

Significantly, the battlefield's small preserved acreage and National Monument designation reflected what was placed on the land in its aftermath more so than what happened on it in 1877 (**Figure 5.2**). The original granite obelisk erected on the landscape in September 1883 established the federally-recognized monumentalization of the site. Authorized by Secretary of War Robert T. Lincoln—Abraham Lincoln's son—sculptors cut the monument in New Hampshire, shipped it by railroad to Dillon, Montana, and carried it to the battlefield by a team of oxen. Mimicking many other monuments dedicated to fallen soldiers, the War Department placed the obelisk on the battlefield to honor those soldiers and civilians who died at the Battle of the Big Hole.<sup>6</sup> No easy feat, much manpower, money, and dedication went in to moving the six-ton monument to the valley of the Big Hole.



(Figure 5.2) Obelisk Monument. Photo by Susan C. Hall, 2010.

Those [few] visitors who made their way to the remote National Monument around the turn of the century were veterans of the affair or local settlers who prospered as a result of it.<sup>7</sup> Although the monument honored fallen soldiers, visitors received a much more powerful message about the relationship between military strength and nationhood. To trained nineteenth century eyes, the large, obelisk frame articulated patriotism and strength—bringing a national history of strong military tradition and pride to the remote Valleys of the West. A telling message of courage and heroism in the face of [temporary] defeat accompanied the names of those officers, soldiers, and citizens killed in the battle: “On this field 17 officers and 138 enlisted men of the 7<sup>th</sup> U.S. Infantry

under its Colonel Bvt. Major General John Gibbon with 8 other soldiers and 36 citizens surprised and fought all day a superior force of Nez Perce Indians...”<sup>8</sup> Recognizing the Nez Perce as a “superior force” only made the military’s victory over them two months later that much more powerful. With the help of the obelisk, the War Department memorialized those American citizens and soldiers as a venerated crew who helped settle the West. Though they lost the August battle, these veterans made their way to Big Hole in order to remember and celebrate the West that they ultimately helped to “win.”

The National Park Service inherited this well-engrained, “natural” narrative when it became stewards of the battlefield in 1936.<sup>9</sup> According to a 1955 park brochure, the battlefield offered “mute evidence,” physically documenting the 1877 clash between the Nez Perce and the United States military.<sup>10</sup> Yet this evidence actually articulated a powerful message presented as innate and fixed; the battlefield naturally imposed a victorious military-focused memory on to the national narrative. The NPS indicated that the isolated location of the valley provided visitors with a safe and unthreatening emergence into the nineteenth century past. The military once fought for control of the land, but the native Nez Perce were no longer a viable threat in the twentieth century. Although the Nez Perce won the battle, their efforts were ultimately a futile attempt, as the 1955 brochure put it, “to escape from an imposed white man’s civilization.”<sup>11</sup> The battlefield documented the “scene of a tragic battle of the Indian Wars...that were part of the winning of the American West.”<sup>12</sup> Ironically, the battlefield, like a misappropriated trophy, celebrated the successful victory of the United States over the Nez Perce. Tucked away on distant reservations, the Nez Perce became a sedentary, “vanishing” people and

culture—safely deposited into the past, because, ultimately, according to the NPS, the United States “won” the West.<sup>13</sup> The battle helped seal the fate of the Valley and open the path to successful settlement; Big Hole was no longer a site of competition and neither was its legacy.

By the 1950s, however, global and domestic changes “threatened” to destabilize this “settled” memory of America’s military greatness. These pressures reveal that Big Hole National Battlefield and the historic Montanan landscape were not just artifacts of nineteenth-century migration, territorial conflict, US military victory, and ultimately, settlement. The complex and competing relationship(s) between family, mobility in and to the Valley, and consumption of its land once again took center stage as the driving force behind the landscape and its meaning. These sentimental attachments proved to be powerful stimulants for local residents, the federal government, national tourists, and Native Americans, influencing the collective memory of the Battle of the Big Hole in the latter half of the twentieth century. A closer look at the changing interpretations of the Big Hole Battlefield articulates the sustaining power of this relationship, defining its preservation, interpretation, and consumption.

### **Cold War Commemoration: Big Hole Battlefield and the American Dream**

Although veterans of the Nez Perce War originally preserved and memorialized the remote Big Hole Battlefield, families were encouraged to visit the Montanan valley and consume its message in the post-war period.<sup>14</sup> While the valley witnessed a relatively [small] influx of Anglo settlers after the Nez Perce War, the National Park Service wanted families to venture to the Valley after World War II. Upon reaching the 200-acre

park (via newly paved roads by the Fifties and Sixties), visitors toured the museum and then continued onto the walking trail in the Siege Area. Here, they meandered along the dirt trail reading a series of signs marking important points during the conflict.

Like the veterans before them, tourists visiting the preserved battlefield ingested a story of necessary conflict, Anglo-progression, and national triumph. This time, however, they themselves indirectly became the beneficiaries of the battle and its legacy. The epic story began with military aggression and concluded with undisturbed settlement by Anglo Americans as they migrated into southwestern Montana and made it home. The image of the rugged pioneer settler and his family remained the primary symbol of this Anglo-centered post-war narrative, which was anchored to the battlefield by a small log building constructed in the Siege Area in 1929.<sup>15</sup> The log cabin museum displayed firearms and other relics from the battlefield for tourists—solidifying the relationship between the nation’s military ventures and frontier settlement by its citizens (**Figure 5.3**).<sup>16</sup> According to Richard Slotkin and Patricia Limmerick, the log cabin symbolized the “recapitulation of civilized progress. A cabin, built with simple tools from local materials, proclaimed self-reliance and a connection with place. Usually isolated, it stressed the courage of the builder and the challenge that the surrounding wilderness represented.”<sup>17</sup> As the most prominent structure on the battlefield, the log cabin implied the values of hard work, “rugged individualism,” and reward that continued to make the nation great, exceptional, and prosperous.<sup>18</sup>



(Figure 5.3) Big Hole Battlefield Museum, built 1929, c. 1937. Courtesy of the National Archives.

In essence, the individuals and families who settled the Big Hole Valley unknowingly helped pave the way for the American Dream that defined post-war culture and ultimately encouraged battlefield tourism. In the Fifties and Sixties, the nuclear family's stability and prosperity represented the citizens' right to equality, freedom, and opportunity. The Great Depression and World War made many American families vulnerable and economically unstable. In the war's aftermath, families turned to consumption and activities of leisure in a symbolic gesture of strength, sustenance, and security.<sup>19</sup> According to Jeannie Kim, the "marketing of the national public landscape [National Park Service sites] toward the private car quietly transformed what was described as a democratizing gesture into a form of leisure that was directed toward a specifically white, middle-class nuclear family."<sup>20</sup> In other words, the Fifties and Sixties were defined by the iconic nuclear family that enjoyed prosperity and the fruits of their

labor.<sup>21</sup> The families of caravanning tourists who, in theory, visited Big Hole's log cabin were products of these changes.

However, historian Elaine Tyler May argues that the post-war environment that promoted the American Dream on a dramatic scale also threatened to undermine it.<sup>22</sup> In the eyes of Americans, the Soviet Union wanted to destroy both the sanctity of the nuclear family and its enjoyment of and reliance on consumer products. The vulnerability of the United States and its capitalist ideals during the Cold War era made the family and its right to upward mobility even more attractive to Americans. During this period of fear and unrest, the National Park System promoted itself as a curative by encouraging a system that boosted Americanism. It was within this Cold War context that interpretation at the Big Hole Battlefield changed, once again exploring competing relationships between family, mobility, and land rights.

In the decades when the nation's ideals and way of life felt exposed to outside forces, the Big Hole Battlefield served predominately as a place of comfort—where the NPS could remind American families that American patriotism and sacrifice always triumphed. The park unit's designation change from a Monument to National Battlefield in 1963 emphasized this development. The National Battlefield highlighted the qualities of military strength and democratic ideals that came to define Cold War America. Military strength ended migration and made settlement possible in the nineteenth century; that same military might would help the nation defeat communism. The valley and battlefield worked together, presenting a product that used the landscape and history to



promote American permanence, strength, and sustainability to, ironically, a migratory community of tourists.<sup>23</sup>

Local Anglo residents of the Big Hole and neighboring Bitter Root and Beaverhead Valleys also endorsed this interpretation of the battle's legacy during the Cold War. They believed their presence on the land demonstrated that permanent white settlement in the region was a natural progression stemming from the defeat of the Nez Perce in 1877. In 1956, on the 79<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the battle, the Bitter Root Valley Historical Society organized a museum display. The objects belonged predominantly to those Anglo-Americans who themselves participated in the battle and presented a pro-Anglo, pro-military, and pro-settlement narrative. An article featuring the exhibit reiterated this message by inaccurately describing the battleground as a "landmark along the old 'Immigrant Trail' that trailed over the hills into the Bitter Root Valley from Beaverhead Valley during the first years of white settlement."<sup>24</sup> In fact, the battlefield was not part of the "Immigrant Trail" coming from the east but rather the Nez Perce trail coming from the west. Nonetheless, the artifacts were used to symbolize an immigrant trail of "progression" in southwestern Montana; they expressed the immigrants' honesty, courage, and self-reliance that helped define the West and its Anglo inhabitants as exceptional.<sup>25</sup>

Southwestern Montanans not only took pride in their exceptionalism—products themselves of those citizen soldiers who fought at the Big Hole; they also capitalized on it. Local tourist entrepreneurs hoped to benefit from the valley's pioneer past of hard

work and rugged individualism while simultaneously conforming to Cold War standards of nuclear family living and leisure. The Diamond Bar Inn and Big Hole Development Association romanticized the valley landscape and the experience visiting families could have there. Located in Jackson, on the south side of the secluded basin, the Inn described the valley as “one of the most colorful yet least generally publicized parts of the west.” The Inn itself embodied the character of “a typical western ‘Cowtown’”—a beautifully designed structure that blended in well with its surroundings. In an effort to lure in the nation’s post-war suburbanites, however, the Inn also advertised its “suburban accommodations.”<sup>26</sup> The valley’s points of historical “lore” (including the Battle of the Big Hole) received brief mention by the Inn’s promoters—overshadowed by the valley’s ranching, hunting, and winter activities.<sup>27</sup> The Big Hole Development Association, on the other hand, recommended the Basin for those wishing to experience something beyond “the conventional tourist activities.” The Association dramatized the valley’s historic past by describing it as “the arena of a vast amphitheatre wherein the gladiators have constantly changed. Explorers, trappers, outlaws, settlers, miners, gamblers, and warriors, both red and white have contended and retired, whether in victory or defeat, to become a part of the rich historical background of the area.”<sup>28</sup> The valley’s rich history, however, was just that—background to its current state of prosperity and abundance during the fifties.

Valley residents made it clear that the military’s past victories effectively paved the way for their settlement and success. While many families traveled through the Big Hole Valley—merely embracing the landscape’s natural and historical sites before moving on to the next destination—other families called the Valley home. East Coast

publishers and entrepreneurs endorsed a message of wealth and opportunity of the Valley's Cold War family. The unique, familial lifestyle of "cow country" was not only economically beneficial to those who settled there but offered visitors a glimpse of the good life—the hearty individualism that defined the West and made the nation great. In 1952, the Philadelphia-based *Country Gentleman* proposed a feature article on the Big Hole Basin. Edmund Christopherson, the article's author, described Big Hole as the "Haymaker's Heaven,"

Snuggled against the rugged profile of the Continental Divide that skirts Montana's southwestern corner is a cow-country paradise called the Big Hole Basin....Hay, cut from the level floor of this huge pastureland, is so abundant that the area's been aptly nicknamed "the valley of 10,000 haystacks" (**Figures 5.4 & 5.5**).<sup>29</sup>

Christopherson highlighted the benefits of Big Hole's pastureland by featuring the Huntley family; the Huntleys owned a father-and-son cattle and hay operation that took place on their 6,000 acres. Their "comfortable new houses, set on the mountain slope to the side of the other white-painted ranch buildings" had a "terrific view of the valley, and the mountain in the background." Through the Huntleys, Christopherson romanticized the general livelihood of valley families.<sup>30</sup> In fact, Christopherson's editor believed Big Hole could be featured in a number of different series—among them *Country Living* and *Good Farming*. *Country Living*, in particular, was devoted "to the satisfactions the family gets from life on the land..."<sup>31</sup> The fulfillment the Big Hole Basin provided to its 1950s families were both agriculturally economical and aesthetically pleasing.



**(Figure 5.4)** The Valley of 10000 Stacks. Courtesy of the Edmond Christopherson Papers, K. Ross Toole Archive, University of Montana, Missoula.



**(Figure 5.5)** “The Rail Fence, Big Hole Valley, Montana.” Courtesy of the Edmond Christopherson Papers, K. Ross Toole Archives, University of Montana, Missoula.

While Christopherson used words to laud residents for their ingenuity and self-reliance in the remote Montana valley, his reflection on the Valley’s past was less praiseworthy. In adhering to the concept of American Exceptionalism during the Cold War era, Edmund Christopherson painted a positive picture of the present. He did so, however, by harkening back to a simplified and stereotyped view of “the old west”—which he believed the battlefield park only preserved “haphazard[ly].” Like the National Park Service and local residents, Christopherson’s writing presented the passing of the

Nez Perce from the region as natural and inevitable: “Before the white man discovered this hay-growing oasis, buffalo grazed its luxurious grasses, and the Nez Perce Indians brought their ponies here to sleeken out after the long winters.”<sup>32</sup> He praised the white man for his “discovery” of the Valley—comically describing Lewis and Clark as the “first tourists of record”—and presented the natives as “braves, squaws, and papooses.” Despite the military’s defeat at the hand of Chief Joseph and the “rebellious group of Nez Percés,” the natives were the ones who vanished into the night.<sup>33</sup> Like their physical distance from the battlefield, Christopherson’s formulaic representation of the “vanishing Indian” maintained an emotional distance between his readers and the Nez Perce, preventing them from empathizing with or understanding their wartime motives and ancestral ties to the land.

While most early Cold War memories of the Valley used the “vanishing Indian”—safely confined to the past—as a metaphor for the containment of communism, others broke free from the boundaries of this patriotic, Anglo-centric narrative. A counter-memory emerged that focused more heavily on the Nez Perce at the Big Hole Battlefield. In 1951, Thain White—a scholar of native and Montanan history—introduced this alternative memory for tourists to consider. On August 9, 1951, in the early hours of the morning, White and a fellow accomplice placed an unregulated monument to the Nez Perce in the Siege Area of the battlefield. The monument challenged Big Hole’s Cold War message, centered most prominently on a progressive narrative leading to permanent familial settlement on the Valley land.<sup>34</sup>

Importantly, however, White's narrative still relied heavily on the Cold War concept and sentiment of the family. The monument took this well-accepted notion of the family and exposed its many ironies—blatantly demanding the Park Service, Montanans, and visitors reconsider the battlefield's given account of events. The monument's simple design included a small, bronze plaque placed on a "purple" boulder. The plaque read: "In memory of the Indians, infants, children, women, and old men who were wounded and killed near this battlefield by white soldiers August 9, 1877" (**Figure 5.6**).<sup>35</sup> Despite its simplicity, the monument relayed a powerful message. The Big Hole Battlefield did not preserve a violent two-day conflict between the United States military and Nez Perce warriors. The Siege Area only preserved the *second* phase of the Battle of the Big Hole. Across the north fork of the Big Hole River sat the Nez Perce encampment—still held in private ownership in 1951. Nez Perce families settled near the riverbed on their retreat to take advantage of the valley's grasslands and feed their Appaloosa horses. On the morning of August 9<sup>th</sup>, 1877, Gibbon's men first attacked this camp of sleeping men, women, and children. They threatened the livelihood and familial stability of the Nez Perce much in the same way Americans feared the Soviets would do in the fifties. While Big Hole's caravanning tourists could leave the valley once they consumed the landscape, the Nez Perce had not been so fortunate; many Nez Perce never left the Valley in 1877.



(Figure 5.6) Thain White Monument Plaque. Courtesy of the Nez Perce National Historical Park.

White introduced a radical and groundbreaking message, because he altered the comforting icon of the family to expand the narrative of the Big Hole Battlefield. It forced viewers to acknowledge that these families were not part of the sentimental, American familial ideal of the 1950s but Native Americans of the nineteenth century. While the visitors' ancestors paved the way for their stability and comfort in the modern era, the Nez Perce did not fare as well. The monument also challenged—if even in a simple, understated way—the absence of a critical analysis of race in the federal narrative. In addition to western land, expansion, and settlement, Big Hole was about race, racism, and dispossession. *White* soldiers attacked the Nez Perce families in camp and dispossessed them from the land.



Despite its illegal placement on the battlefield, the National Park Service did not remove White's monument from the landscape.<sup>36</sup> Nonetheless, outspoken advocates in favor of this new native-centered interpretation remained isolated on the Big Hole Battlefield in the fifties; Thain White's monument was radical and early for its time. However, the Park Service's decision to keep the monument on the battlefield exposes the emergence of what Richard Slotkin defines as the "Cult of the Indian" among public interpretations of the Indian Wars during the Cold War. Whether relying on the fifties icon of the family or broaching the uncomfortable reality of race and racism, the monument reflected a growing effort among certain members of the public to reevaluate the memory of the 1877 conflict through sympathy of and association with the native Other. While the traditional progressive narrative of national history justified violence, power, and aggression to defend democratic values—past and present—this other wave of thought developed out of the domestic, non-violent demonstrations pushing for civil rights and equality led by the nation's minorities.<sup>37</sup> This growing dialogue and demand for domestic change likely led to a public discussion of Thain White's monument in 1961.<sup>38</sup> White's acknowledgement of his covert operation and the press's favorable reaction demonstrates how the push for racial equality influenced the battlefield's preservation and memory of the Nez Perce War during the Cold War.

There were, in fact, direct indications that the minorities' push to be heard in the Fifties and Sixties did not escape the Big Hole Battlefield. In the 1960s, Big Hole undertook the development of a new Historical Research Management Plan. The Plan hinted at the challenges of addressing racial discrimination in the midst of the burgeoning

civil rights movements. In his comments on the Research Management Plan, the Acting Chief of the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, Robert Utley, revealed sensitivity when it came to the memory of African Americans. Big Hole Historian Aubrey Haines' original draft of the report, dated November 1967, described a particular incident in the following manner:

While the soldiers were nervously awaiting the command to advance on the sleeping village, an equally tense vigil was being kept at the parked wagon train. There, Hugh Kirkendall had done all he could to fortify the position and had posted sentries, one of whom was William Woodcock, a colored servant of Lieutenant Jacobs. On one of his rounds, Hugh challenged the darkey, and that individual responded by discharging his shotgun at the feet of the wagon master.<sup>39</sup>

Utley pointed out that it was not alright to describe the sentry as a "darkey," because the term was "objectionable in a government document."<sup>40</sup> Haines' rhetoric implied a disconnection from Woodcock, describing him not only as "the darkey" but also "that individual."<sup>41</sup> The battlefield's isolation from the movements' southern and urban roots may have influenced Haines' unsympathetic rhetoric.

Ironically, the Nez Perce people did not live in Haines' isolated Big Hole Valley either in the 1960s. However, Haines' report reveals a high level of support and understanding for the Nez Perce at the Battle of the Big Hole. This is evident in portions of Utley's comments—where his reliance on a Cold War rationalization of violence questioned Haines' sympathetic tone toward the Nez Perce. The Acting Chief wanted Haines to tone down the rhetoric used by Big Hole staff members in their draft. Utley explained that to describe the surprise attack on the Nez Perce camp as "inhumanity" was "a bit extreme." Instead, he rationalized that "a surprise attack is an age-old military

tactic and objective when it can be achieved...”<sup>42</sup> Despite the order to dilute his language, Haines’s interpretation of the surprise attack as inhumane was important; it indicated the battlefield park’s chosen path of memory in the 1960s.

In 1951, Thain White needed to point out the cruelty of the battle to Big Hole personnel by reminding them the military killed women and children in the attack. By the sixties, Haines—representative of Big Hole personnel—officially supported White’s view by explaining that “an admirable people were treated to such inhumanities as the surprise dawn attack and volley firing into tipis inhabited by families.”<sup>43</sup> Haines believed that this attack demonstrated the “bitter end product of misguided policy”—which forced Native Americans off their homelands and onto the reservation system.<sup>44</sup> Although Haines lamented the loss of women and children attacked at Big Hole, his rhetoric still supported the well-established national narrative of progress and civilization. The surprise attack was heartless, because Haines believed the Nez Perce to be “the most upright and progressive Indians in the West (a people who had nearly bridged the gap between their own stone-age culture and the White man’s way of life).”<sup>45</sup> He did not clarify whether such an attack on a group of less “progressive Indians” would appall him as well. Importantly, Haines’s contradictory statements of sentimental progressivism—sympathy for the natives while ultimately upholding the value of Anglo civilization—reflect the path which Big Hole personnel and Valley residents took during the Sixties.

Although the Cult of the Indian gave more sympathy to and focus on the Nez Perce at the battle of the Big Hole, it was still a controlled and contained environment—

one in which people gave compassion, but not necessarily power, back to the Nez Perce. This is possible, because park personnel and Valley residents did not entirely view the Nez Perce as a contemporary native community. As a devote follower of the Cult of the Indian, Aubrey Haines maintained a sentimental attachment to the Nez Perce, because he understood them as a people of the past. Rather than a demand for contemporary rights or deep political changes, the battlefield predominantly encouraged a depoliticized narrative that relied on the romanticized, misguided desire for “peaceable cohabitation.” In this regard, the Big Hole Valley did not need to be a place of violent confrontation over land rights. Instead, it could be a place where Nez Perce and Anglo Americans came together in peace and mutual understanding. In 1962, as the 85<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the battle approached, *The Western News* newspaper noted that over two hundred people lost their lives in a “desire to live peacefully with their white neighbors.”<sup>46</sup> That same year, the *Missoulan* reported that even descendants of civilian participants changed their pro-militaristic view: “Times have changed and many of the descendants of the valley men who joined the soldiers for the Big Hole attack have heard the story straight from the tongues of their ancestors. And most of them agree... ‘The Battle of the Big Hole’ should never have been.”<sup>47</sup> Residents suggested that military violence was not a necessity for Anglo settlement.

Some people even acknowledged that their interpretation of the battlefield changed with time. In 1969, a writer known only as “B.K.” recounted her experiences traveling across the Big Hole basin in the *Ravalli Republican*. While walking over the

battlefield in 1904, B.K. thought she learned the importance of the battle in Montana history. However, her publication indicated that by 1969, she

learned the true history of the Big Hole battle. Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce Indians was a statesman and fighting only for the Indians' birth right, and if men and women and children of the settlers were killed in the wars in Idaho and Montana, just as surely were Indian women and children and men too old to fight, sacrificed in the conflicts.<sup>48</sup>

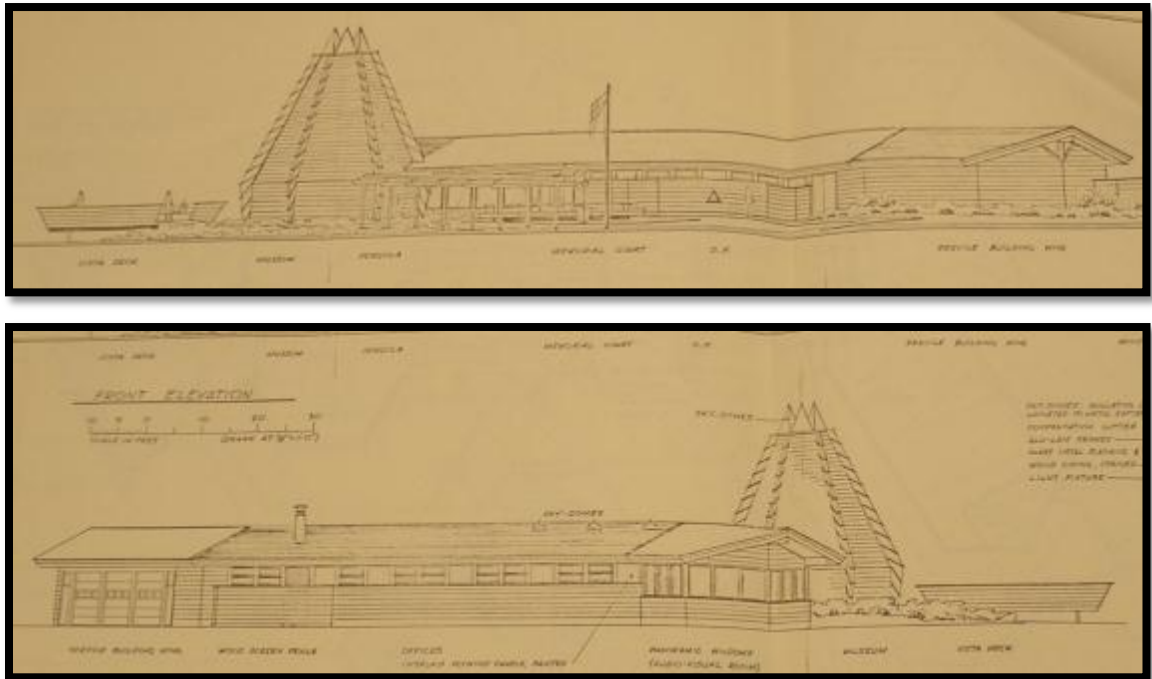
Nearly sixty-five years after her first visit, B.K.'s writings offered insight that only years could bring. Although the military used force against the native people, it was not necessary. Like B.K., herself, the NPS and Valley residents grew to empathize with the Nez Perce. At a federally-funded site, this emerging sympathy encouraged a new narrative combating the dominant message of American patriotism by acknowledging and sympathizing with the Nez Perce voice. While Big Hole's "sister site," Little Bighorn still lauded Custer, Big Hole introduced more complex emotions to the battlefield by presenting the Nez Perce in a different light.<sup>49</sup> In theory, Big Hole no longer glorified the region's past but rather, complicated it.<sup>50</sup>

This sympathetic interpretation of the Big Hole battle, however, merely changed the memory of the Nez Perce on the battlefield. It did not alter the outcome of the war, Anglo settlement, or broach contemporary native rights in light of larger domestic changes. The Valley could promote a desire for peaceable cohabitation, because the Nez Perce no longer lived in or visited the Valley. In essence, Big Hole Battlefield provided a venue to address race questions without offending anyone because it remained safely in the past.<sup>51</sup> In doing so, Big Hole's sympathy bordered on what Richard Slotkin defines as

Indian myth—glorifying and glamorizing the Nez Perce of the past rather than empowering the Nez Perce of the present.<sup>52</sup> Big Hole National Monument sentimentalized the outcome of the 1877 War by romanticizing the Nez Perce. The Cult of the Indian at Big Hole remembered the Nez Perce in two primary sympathetic ways. Rather than being the superior force that the military fought courageously and nobly, the NPS presented the Nez Perce as 1) helpless dependent families in need of protection, or 2) the lone native identified positively with the forces of “progress” and assimilation. These two themes—first introduced through Aubrey Haines’s 1967 report—are most notable in the battlefield’s Visitor Center.

As part of the National Park Service’s Mission 66 plan, Big Hole designed a new Visitor Center that functioned as *the* main component of the park unit’s vision of the Nez Perce family.<sup>53</sup> Significantly, the Center’s architecture itself reflected the emergence of this new historical perspective focused on a failed desire for peaceful cohabitation in place of aggressive militarization. Dedicated in July of 1968, the structure’s design and placement visibly articulated this shift in the battlefield’s narrative. Like the 1929 log cabin museum, the architecture emphasized a domestic, family-focused interpretation of the past. This new domestic symbol, however, highlighted both the Anglo settlers and Nez Perce through the modern interpretation of a log cabin and a Nez Perce teepee—what the Park Service described as an “Indian tipi motif” (**Figures 5.7 & 5.8**).<sup>54</sup> The public entered the visitor center through the log cabin portion of the structure and proceeded to the exhibit space located beneath the teepee. From the teepee, along the northwest elevation of the Center, visitors stepped out onto a deck that offered a

panoramic view of the battlefield below. Whereas the locale of the original museum stressed a military viewpoint—from within the Siege Area—the new Visitor Center offered guests a native perspective—from the east bank of the river behind the Indian Encampment full of women and children.

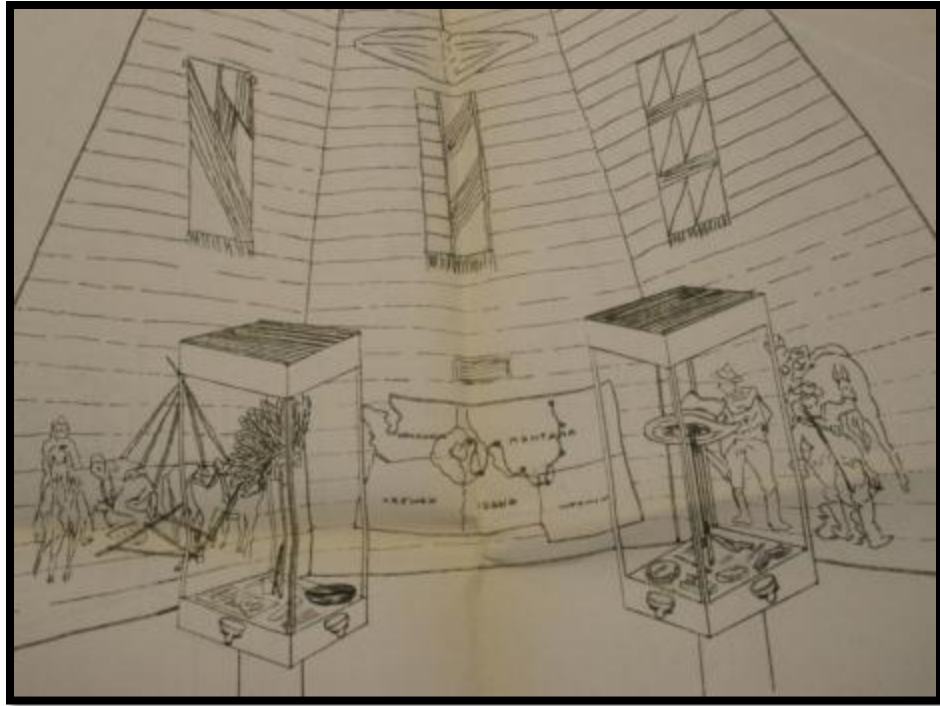


(Figures 5.7 & 5.8) Mission 66 Visitor Center Renderings. Courtesy of the National Archives.

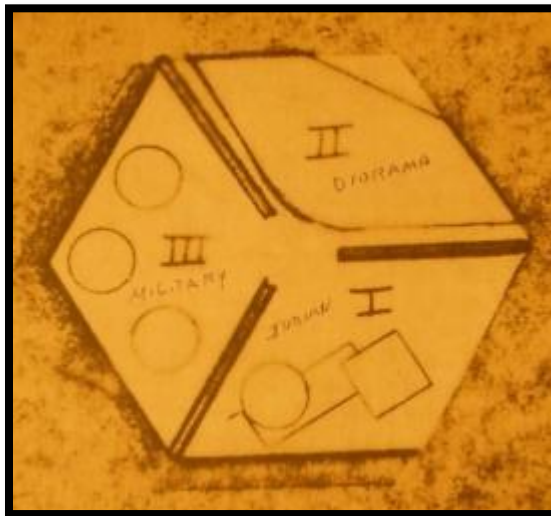
It was not just the visitor center's architecture that reflected this shift in the park's collective memory. Rather than focusing purely on the battle, its military components, and the settlers' legacy, the Center's new exhibits wanted to place the battle into a larger context by considering how the war's causes and outcomes impacted the Nez Perce people.<sup>55</sup> The tipi reminded visitors that while the Nez Perce won the battle, the war dispossessed Nez Perce families of their land and disrupted their way of life.<sup>56</sup> Inside the exhibit space, curators hoped to gain sympathy for the Nez Perce by introducing visitors

to their culture. Curator Gilbert Wenger admitted that the staff was “most anxious to have the benefit of Nez Perce designs and of knowing the types of clothing, articles, etc., they used ... so that [the] exhibits at Big Hole [would] reflect accurate data.”<sup>57</sup> Museum staff, in fact, felt that the unique exhibit space located under the teepee afforded the opportunity to incorporate new exhibits in an “interesting manner.”<sup>58</sup> However, the staff relied predominantly on traditional, Anglo-European modes of exhibition by using existing artifacts already circulating among the Park Service and private or educational collections (**Figures 5.9 & 5.10**). Floyd LaFayette of the Western Museum Laboratory suggested the inclusion of a cornhusk bag from the McWhorter Collection, because “the specimen” fit effectively with the display.<sup>59</sup> However, this cornhusk and many of the other acquired items were of little significance to the battle itself or the war. More importantly, none of them came from or specifically relayed the Nez Perce interpretation of the affair.<sup>60</sup> While the objects emphasized a sympathetic interpretation of the Nez Perce and their culture, they did not necessarily empower them.





(Figure 5.9) Sketch of Mission 66 Museum Exhibit Layout—featuring both the military and Nez Perce perspective through murals and artifacts. Courtesy of the National Archives.



(Figure 5.10) Sketch of Mission 66 Museum Exhibit Layout—featuring both the military and Nez Perce perspective. Courtesy of Nez Perce National Historical Park.

The local Park Service staff displayed so much excitement and enthusiasm about portraying the Nez Perce in a compassionate light that some thought they went to the

other extreme. The Regional Director of the Midwest Region heavily critiqued the Visitor Center's proposed audio-visual narratives and, ultimately, altered them dramatically. He argued that it was too native-centric. In one note he explained,

We would like to make a statement at this time regarding the philosophical orientation of this program and all of the interpretive presentations at Big Hole. We would hope the ultimate development does not over-play the Indian side of this story. The Battle of Big Hole was a result of two cultural forces encountering each other, and it produced and documented a human tragedy. As with all human tragedies, the forces producing them are inevitable, but understandable on both sides. We therefore feel the role of the U.S. Army and the soldiers who participated in these actions should be treated with as much sympathy and understanding as the Indian, and that the role of the Indian should be approached without emotion or any reflection of early 20<sup>th</sup> Century romantic attitudes toward them. Both peoples were taking actions they believed were valid and necessary, and we should communicate this fact to our visitors if we hope to help them understand the true dimensions of the events and its repercussions.<sup>61</sup>

Although the reviewer believed the film clip to be too native-sensitive, he failed to acknowledge other elements of the Visitor Center's audio-visual materials that conveyed emotional support for the Anglo perspective—a perspective that dominated national memory for decades. For example, an audio message of a friendly voice who exclaimed, “Howdy!” greeted visitors who came to the center after closing time. The warm-hearted, settler gentleman welcomed guests and launched into his speech about the battlefield and surrounding area.<sup>62</sup> Triumph of Anglo settlement was still necessary and unquestioned while native sympathy was not.

In fact, despite the efforts of Big Hole personnel, sympathies still remained predominantly with the Anglo settlers and the military, because those artifacts incorporated into the new museum exhibit tended to support this message. In the summer

of 1966, Aubrey Haines received a letter from Mr. Neil Fullerton in Thompson Falls, Montana. Fullerton informed Haines that a Mr. Galloway found a Nez Perce rendering of General Howard—the U.S. commander of the Nez Perce War. Haines admitted his interest in the rendering, because “I have never seen anything in print on the carving you have called to our attention. Apparently it has escaped the notice of historians.”<sup>63</sup> It escaped their notice because it was an artifact not yet acquired by the victors—making its way into the steady stream of collectibles circulating among archival repositories and private collectors.

Even some of those artifacts acquired to promote a pro-Nez Perce narrative could not fully escape pro-Anglo sentiment. In one instance, the NPS staff attempted to gain sympathy for the Nez Perce through the memory of an Anglo girl. In 1917, the caretaker of the battlefield, Tom R. Sherrill—also a civilian member of the battle—found the skeletal remains of a horse. “A small girl with light brown braided hair” lay buried beneath the horse. In 1966 the Park Service purchased a string of light blue ceramic trade beads and a braid of brown hair from Sherrill’s nephew, Theo. E. Sherrill. The NPS believed that this was the only remaining portion of the girl’s hair. According to lore—then believed to be fact—“a white girl about twelve years of age had been seen accompanying the Nez Perce before the Big Hole battle.” Because neither natives nor Anglos saw her after the battle, NPS personnel assumed that she died and the Nez Perce used the horse to cover her grave to protect her unmolested. Historian Haines acknowledged that the value of the braid would be difficult to ascertain, “because of the peculiar nature of the trophy.”<sup>64</sup> Nonetheless, on May 29, 1966, Big Hole put the artifact

on display.<sup>65</sup> Acquisition and display of this material during the Sixties is significant. For all intents and purposes, the story of the Anglo girl accompanying the Nez Perce was myth or lore. Yet, the fact that it existed at all was relevant. The Park Service believed that visitors felt more connected to and empathy for the Nez Perce through this one Anglo girl than the Nez Perce themselves.

Although used to express a degree of understanding for the women and children at Big Hole, the girl's remains served two functions. They also articulated an effort among the Park Service to provoke native sympathy through lone figures identified positively with the forces of "progress" and assimilation. Chief Joseph dominated narratives of the Nez Perce War since its happening, and Big Hole's Nez Perce display offered no exception. His rifle, robe, and eventually peace pipe, were of particular interest to the curatorial staff. They used Joseph to present a glorified, sanitized, and progressive interpretation of the native people.<sup>66</sup> Although a defeated native warrior, Chief Joseph simultaneously displayed "civilized" physical characteristics and personality traits that would help him survive as an assimilated hero.

Prior to the museum's groundbreaking, however, some people questioned Chief Joseph's status in the Big Hole narrative. A Social Science professor from Western Montana College, Dr. Stanley Davidson, wrote an editorial exclaiming the legend of Chief Joseph during the Nez Perce War grew to mythic proportions. Davidson argued that Looking Glass—a Nez Perce War Chief—led the flight of the Nez Perce, not Joseph. Although Joseph supposedly uttered the now-famous words at the Nez Perce surrender at

Bear Paw—“From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more forever”—he was not in charge of the Nez Perce warriors who took a stand against the United States military. Even though many historians openly recognized Chief Joseph’s actual role in the Nez Perce War, Davidson argued that “a few historians with the facts are no match for millions of sentimentalists with a myth.”<sup>67</sup> Despite their good intentions to incorporate the Nez Perce point of view, the Park Service helped perpetuate Chief Joseph’s legacy for sentimentalists; they still saw Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce as a defeated people who remained in the past.

This sentiment was relayed through another individual idolized during the development of the new exhibit space. Staff members recruited Josiah Red Wolf, the last survivor of the Battle of the Big Hole, for the groundbreaking of the Visitor Center. In anticipation of the ceremonial event, *The Montana Standard* featured Red Wolf’s complicated relationship to the battlefield—emphasizing his immense loss and pain. He was only four years old when the military killed his mother and baby sister on August 9, 1877. His granddaughter explained that ““He did not think it was going to be easy to come back because he remembers how it was when the soldiers attacked.””<sup>68</sup> He was present at Chief Joseph’s surrender at Bear Paw in October of 1877. After the war, Red Wolf’s grandfather raised him; as a medicine man, he “used to prepare amulets for him to wear around his neck” to put spirits into him. While in exile in Oklahoma, Red Wolf approached Chief Joseph and enquired as to why the Nez Perce did not fight more against the soldiers. Joseph told him that it would have been pointless and done no good.<sup>69</sup>

Although experiencing immense loss as an orphaned child, Red Wolf's "successful" assimilation became a lynchpin of the Park Service's non-violent, sentimental message of progress. When he came of age, federal agents sent him off to the Carlisle Indian school in Pennsylvania where he excelled in music and became a "band leader among the whites."<sup>70</sup> Upon meeting the man, Big Hole's Management Assistant explained that

by his own admittance [Red Wolf] is not a good source of factual information concerning the events... He is, however, a very personable old gentleman and to meet and listen to him tell of the old days a great pleasure. Although his mother was killed during the battle, he holds no bitterness against the Government or white people.<sup>71</sup>

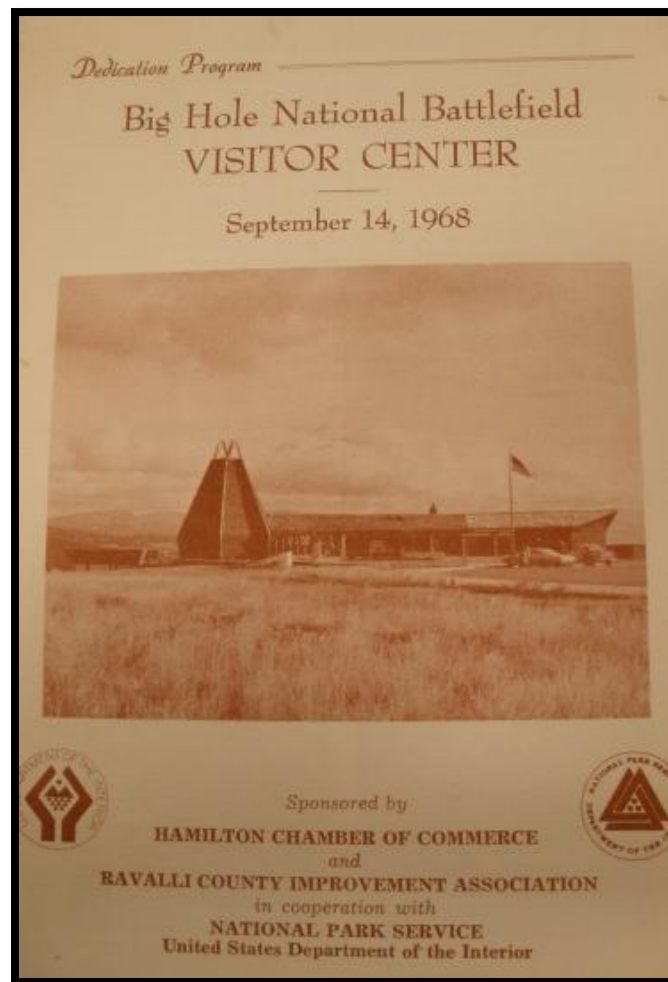
As the *last* survivor of the Battle of the Big Hole, the Park Service did not view Red Wolf as a threat. Instead, they thought he conveyed a positive, friendly attitude worthy of recognition and praise. Despite his past hardships, the Park Service and public believed that Red Wolf accepted Anglo society and came to terms with the past.

The ninety-four year old man, then, was an assimilated native. However, as the last survivor of the Battle of the Big Hole, Red Wolf was also a living artifact. The NPS and Montanan public viewed Red Wolf as a valuable product of the nineteenth century Vanishing Indian rather than a twentieth century native who, despite being forced onto a reservation, did not actually vanish into the past. According to Park Service correspondence, Red Wolf's involvement in the groundbreaking made it historical and, thus, worthy of commemoration. To mark the occasion, the Park Service prompted Red Wolf to sign a ceremonial shovel to be placed on display in the Visitor Center.<sup>72</sup> Fearful

of promoting curiosity rather than history, the Chief of the Western Museum Laboratory, Floyd LaFayette, did not want to plate the shovel. Nonetheless, he did suggest Red Wolf sign it a second time in a more prominent location—providing visitors with easier, visible access.<sup>73</sup> Despite his objections to a curio cabinet treatment of Red Wolf and the shovel, LaFayette’s focus on the signature and its visibility did suggest the item belonged in a cabinet of curiosity. It reiterated the idea of the “vanishing” Indian that needed to be preserved and put on display for others to marvel at. Marvel they did. Frank A. Shaw of Deer Lodge, Montana voiced his frustration that Red Wolf did not receive enough “space” in the *Missoulan*’s coverage of the groundbreaking.<sup>74</sup> Josiah Red Wolf became an oddity to admire among the general public.

The fanfare surrounding Red Wolf’s involvement in the groundbreaking may suggest why the Nez Perce showed hesitation in participating during the Mission 66 changes. Although altering its narrative to incorporate the native point of view, the stewards of Big Hole still romanticized the Nez Perce people and held on to the notion of their disappearing race. Red Wolf agreed to the ribbon cutting, but he refused to speak at the event. Interestingly, he did agree to speak at the Visitor Center dedication the following year (**Figure 5.11**). The survivor’s inconsistent support of the NPS battlefield reminded the rangers that despite their efforts of reunification, scars between the two cultures remained and could not be healed so quickly.<sup>75</sup> It articulated that the Nez Perce did not actively use the preserved battlefield as a site of self-controlled memory-making despite the pity shown them and their plight. The sympathetic memory, after all, was still under the federal government’s terms and intentions. Presented as a nineteenth century

artifact *and* a twentieth century assimilated native, Red Wolf served a dual purpose for the Park Service. Although the NPS recruited him to support their message of empathy toward the Nez Perce, his assimilation ultimately demonstrated the Cold War message of American strength, perseverance and military might.



**(Figure 5.11)** Visitor Center Dedication Program. Courtesy of Nez Perce National Historical Park, Big Hole Unit.

Despite their best efforts to present otherwise, the new exhibit space also implied this Cold War message. Because the staff relied heavily on the traditional trail of objects to tell its narrative, military artifacts still received a proportionate amount of exhibit



space—as they did at most National Park Service battlefields. The centerpiece of the new museum exhibit, in fact, was the mountain howitzer that played a key role in the 1877 battle (**Figure 5.12**). Gibbon’s men brought the howitzer over the Bitterroot Mountains as the men in the Siege Area faced fire from Nez Perce sharpshooters (**Figure 5.13**). The howitzer only managed to get off two shots before the Nez Perce overpowered them and dismantled it. The museum’s dedication program noted that the Nez Perce captured the howitzer, and the Superintendent of the Nez Perce National Historical Park offered up his services in flushing out the native perspective of the event. Nonetheless, the howitzer was displayed as an intact military artifact—rather than the dismantled Nez Perce trophy of war it became by the end of the battle.<sup>76</sup> Reclaimed by the United States in 1923, the howitzer inaccurately symbolized the military’s strength rather than its defeat at the Battle of the Big Hole.<sup>77</sup> In his reflection on the new museum space, one reviewer exclaimed that children’s ability to touch the Howitzer might be bad for the metal, but it was “great for giving them a sense of the reality of the thing.”<sup>78</sup> As *the* central component of the new museum space, the howitzer reemphasized the military aspect of the battle itself, not only misrepresenting its role at Big Hole but also maintaining a racial hierarchy despite an increased sensitivity toward the Nez Perce.<sup>79</sup>



**(Figure 5.12)** Mountain Howitzer on Display in the new Visitor Center exhibit space, 1960s. Courtesy of the Nez Perce National Historical Park.



**(Figure 5.13)** View of the Battlefield property from the Howitzer Site (north and south of the river). Photo taken by Susan Hall, October 2010.

The Mountain Howitzer's centrality in the museum's exhibit space indicates that despite the influence of domestic unrest, Big Hole's new narrative dramatized the past

rather than changed the present. Although Montanans and the Park Service struggled to reconcile with well-established notions of past racial hierarchy, they did not embrace new notions of racial equality in the present. While acknowledging and apologizing for the dispossession of the native peoples from their nineteenth century lands, the NPS and Montanan citizens did not necessarily want to return it to them. This lack of empowerment through the Big Hole landscape did not encourage many Nez Perce to venture back to the Montana valley. As a result, Bob Burns, the Superintendent of the newly established Nez Perce National Historical Park, served as a mediator to welcome the Nez Perce at Big Hole.<sup>80</sup>

Individuals such as Sam Waters, the grandson of Poker Joe—a survivor of the battle—lent their expertise to the exhibit-making process. The Park Service also contacted the Nez Perce Tribal Development Advisory Committee in Lapwai, Idaho to obtain “certain banners or parts of horse trappings for use in the...Museum.”<sup>81</sup> Committee member Mrs. Hyke responded that “the Nez Perce Arts and Crafts Guilds of both Lapwai and Kamiah make Indian articles...” and would be happy to be of service.<sup>82</sup> On August 26, 1967, the Park Service held a groundbreaking ceremony for the future site of the Visitor Center. Park Service officials attended as did a number of Nez Perce delegates including Sam Waters, Josiah Red Wolf, Mrs. Mazie Ramsey—his granddaughter—and Mrs. Imogene Goudy—his great-great granddaughter from Greenwich, Connecticut.<sup>83</sup>

Although the National Park Service showed an increased level of sympathy for the Nez Perce and their 1877 travails in the 1960s, Big Hole's new Visitor Center and museum exhibits did not necessarily provide them with any permanent rights or agency. Their involvement was important but also temporary. During the first two decades of the Cold War, the Nez Perce appeared as both a historically authentic people *and* a vanishing race. Historically, the Nez Perce and their culture were more central to the telling of Big Hole's story. Their incorporation in the federally sanctioned memory—through symbolic architecture, artifact display, and individual stardom—lent credence and increased emotional connection to the Battle and War. However, the Nez Perce “authenticity” as a native people lay safely in the past. While Civil Rights-inspired sentiment lamented the bloodshed of Nez Perce families at Big Hole, Cold War patriotism and pride ultimately maintained the battle and war as necessary; native containment on reservations and assimilation into American society was imperative.

### **Moving the Battlefield: Reconceptualizing Big Hole through the Nez Perce Encampment**

During the Seventies, however, glorification of and patriotism for the Indian Wars waned. Instead, sentiment was used to address deeper, more complex issues regarding the changing place of Native Americans in contemporary society. As Big Hole's centennial approached in 1977, the NPS turned its attention to the landscape itself in an effort to further reevaluate its understanding of the battle, its legacy, and the place of the Nez Perce within it. The staff focused on two primary goals for its centennial, building upon their well-intentioned yet shortsighted efforts introduced a decade prior. First, the NPS

wanted “to provide the visitor with appropriate interpretation and understanding of the life and feelings of the individuals involved on both sides.”<sup>84</sup> They also hoped to put the Battle of the Big Hole into a broader context—addressing its significance, its causes, and outcomes. The NPS focused its attention on the battlefield landscape in order to accomplish these centennial-driven goals. Importantly, this land-centered reinterpretation relied on a redefined relationship between family, mobility, and contemporary rights to and use of the Valley.

Big Hole’s reevaluation of the Nez Perce people and their relationship to the land and its story may have been indirectly fueled by national developments in the Seventies. Since the mid-1940s, the federal government supported a policy of termination toward Native American groups—disavowing their sovereignty and rights as trusted landowners in favor of outright assimilation and tribal extinction. The government wanted to disperse reservation land and silence native heritage by manipulating the memory of their ancestors. By the 1970s, however, particularly under the Nixon administration, a new policy of self-determination was implemented—one that reasserted native autonomy and ancestral pride through their status as sovereign land owners with their own unique, respected cultural heritage.<sup>85</sup> As a result of this new policy, the National Park Service more willingly recognized the Nez Perce as a surviving, autonomous people; this in turn affected the government’s, Valley’s, and tourists’ relationship(s) to the battlefield. More importantly, this changing view of native autonomy and cultural preservation influenced the Nez Perce relationship and rights to the preserved battlefield where their ancestors once fought and died.

The 1972 acquisition of the Nez Perce Encampment reflected the Valley's changing relationship with the Nez Perce, federal government, and local residents. According to the NPS, the encampment was a key step to accessing the sentiment of the Nez Perce involved in the battle and thus, a different interpretation of the war's legacy (**Figure 5.14**). Although Nez Perce involvement with the termination and self-determination policies was focused in Washington and Oregon, where the tribes now lived, the Park Service's acquisition of the Nez Perce encampment at Big Hole reflected the government's changing land policies toward native nations and their Anglo American neighbors. Located on a large grassy area east of the river, the campsite bordered the east boundary of the battlefield.<sup>86</sup> Public access to the campsite physically reiterated what had only been monumentally and symbolically explored through Thain White's monument in the Fifties and the Visitor Center in the Sixties. The "winning" of the West—Anglo settlement of the West—came at the expense of native rights to the land. Anglo families and their homes destroyed Native ones. Ironically, the federal government's acquisition of the Encampment did just the opposite. In attempting to make amends with Native Americans and complicate their Anglo-centric, progressive interpretation of the battle, the federal government made enemies with the Valley's Anglo population.<sup>87</sup> While the acquisition was a positive step in the historical interpretation of the site, it reignited a debate that led to the battle in the first place: property and who has a right to it.



(Figure 5.14) Big Hole National Battlefield Park Map, 1994. Courtesy of the National Park Service.

According to Park Historian Aubrey Haines, a survey conducted in July of 1961 showed evidence of a post-1893 homesteader’s establishment—suggesting that the encampment had “been under the plow, if only briefly.”<sup>88</sup> By the 1950s, as with much of the land in the Big Hole Basin, cattle grazed in the Encampment and irrigation ditches pulled water from the river for nearby farm fields. The Park Service argued that private ownership of the property kept them from researching the site—at least in theory.<sup>89</sup> Mark Clemow, the owner of the property, stopped on-site mapping by the Park Service in the past and did not look favorably on trespassers—official or otherwise—to his property.<sup>90</sup>

The staff also believed that the deeds to irrigation ditches on the battlefield property threatened the viewshed of the historic landscape.<sup>91</sup> They argued that “there is no desire to deny the private rights to the passage of the irrigation waters; however, the ditches and the access routes have a disturbing visual impact” and were “highly intrusive on the scene.”<sup>92</sup> In an ironic break from the past, the National Park Service saw this *private*, agricultural property as an obstruction to their goal of interpreting the entire battlefield site for the *public*. The Battle of the Big Hole—led by the U.S. military—helped pave the way for Anglo settlement in the region, and now the federal government took the land away—souring its relationship with much of the valley’s local population.

In theory, the acquisition of the Nez Perce Encampment presented visitors with a more historically “accurate” and authentic view of the 1877 battlefield. It completed the battlefield by adding one of the final historical resources to the property. Having acquired the campsite, however, the Park Service staff needed to properly preserve and present it—helping visitors comprehend the size of the camp and those Nez Perce families who inhabited it.<sup>93</sup> Understanding the campsite, “as is,” at the time of the battle, appeared to be futile. Archaeological evidence suggested that Anglo settlement eroded the land, making a reconstruction of the camp nearly impossible. In place of its reconstruction, Superintendent Al Schulmeyer suggested an alternative to serve as both an interpretive marker and symbolic memorial. Bare-framed teepees demarcated the campsite, helping to “illustrate the dimensions of the area. The intent was to be representative and mostly imaginative” (**Figure 5.15**).<sup>94</sup> The uncovered teepees prevented overly curious visitors from looking inside and proved to be minimally invasive for those who appreciated the



site's natural resources.<sup>95</sup> The teepees marked the camp site for those interested, but they also required visitors to use a bit of imagination to “fill in the details.” The overall message was clear, however: the Nez Perce “homefront” could not be separated from the “battlefield,” because they were one in the same. The Indian Wars destroyed native families and their homes in order to establish and protect the property of Anglo settlers.



**(Figure 5.15)** Skeleton Teepees in the Indian Encampment and Big Hole National Battlefield. Photo taken by Susan C. Hall, October 2010.

Although the NPS acquired the campsite in order to empower the Nez Perce, the bare teepees threatened to guide the public in another direction. Superintendent Schulmeyer believed the skeletal teepees set the somber ambiance of a newly abandoned camp.<sup>96</sup> By constructing a skeletal camp, Big Hole put the battle into its larger context. It

demonstrated that the Nez Perce settled along the banks of the Big Hole River prior to the battle, were attacked at their campsite during the battle, and forced to flee in its aftermath. Symbolically, it highlighted the idea that in this battle, and in the Nez Perce War, the natives were not the aggressors but rather, the victims. Yet, using the teepees simultaneously as interpretive markers *and* symbolic tools put the Park Service in a precarious situation. Choosing to reflect a defeated Indian through the skeletal camp rather than a flourishing Indian in a living, breathing [reconstructed] camp reasserted the notion of the “vanishing Indian.” It inaccurately suggested defeat as inevitable and permanent—a message the Nez Perce and other native nations were attempting to combat in the 1970s.

Despite their best effort to break from traditional memories of the Nez Perce War, the Park Service could not fully escape its well-established, progressive narrative of American triumph that misrepresented the past. In this particular instance, the United States did *not* defeat the Nez Perce. Anglo soldiers killed women, children, and old men in the camp, forcing others to flee. However, the Nez Perce ultimately won; the Nez Perce defeated Gibbon’s troops at the Battle of the Big Hole. In actuality, the Big Hole Battlefield was—and continues to be—a symbol of native survival, not defeat, in the face of conflict. By constructing skeletal teepees in the Indian Encampment, the NPS ultimately chose to memorialize the Nez Perce rather than historicize the battle or complicate its legacy. In doing so, the memorial overpowered the site’s historical significance and marginalized an important message of survival and autonomy. Despite the loss of land, the Nez Perce survived and, in the Seventies, wanted to reclaim what

was rightfully theirs. The NPS found it difficult to articulate this “history lesson” through the historic landscape.

The Park Service’s struggle to present Big Hole Battlefield as both a memorial and historical site indicates the difficulties of reinterpreting the battle, the Nez Perce War, and the narrative of the West through the physical landscape. Despite positive inroads made since the Fifties, the Park Service did not find one unifying way to incorporate the Nez Perce people—past and present—into its reinterpretation. The public faced a similar conundrum as well when relying on the battlefield landscape to display an appreciation for one particular element of the Nez Perce migratory culture: the Appaloosa horse. For centuries, the Appaloosa horse was a central component of Nez Perce traditions, economics, and politics.<sup>97</sup> In the Seventies, the Nez Perce Appaloosa Horse Club informally reenacted the flight of the Nez Perce by physically riding the trail of the non-treaty natives on Appaloosa horses. Along the way, local historians educated trail riders on the Nez Perce people, the Anglo-settlers of the area, and the events of the 1877 war. The organizers wanted to shed light on and honor the Nez Perce culture. However, aspects of the riders’ experiences still romanticized and simplified the West and the Nez Perce plight. The reenactment reflected elements of what Philip Deloria describes as “playing Indian”—Anglo appropriation of native customs, costumes, and, in this instance, experiences, that glorify and exoticize the “Other.”<sup>98</sup> In 1970, the riders’ six-day reenactment centered on the Big Hole Battlefield and included a tour of the site and its new Visitor Center. At photographers’ requests, the group lined up in “formation of two’s” to ride down toward the Indian Encampment. When a joker yelled “Charge!” the

riders took on a full gallop toward the camp—as if [inaccurately] simulating the massacre of the Nez Perce encampment.<sup>99</sup> Such an incident suggests that the group appropriated Nez Perce migratory culture for their own macabre entertainment rather than the empowerment of the Nez Perce people.

To some degree, the public’s understanding of the battlefield’s Centennial program seven years later highlighted a similar light-heartedness to that displayed by the riders’ reenactment. In 1977, photographer Tony Hadley noted military historians, reenactors, and those Nez Perce who proudly participated in the centennial “celebration.”<sup>100</sup> However, the National Park Service and many Montanans did not intend to “celebrate” the centennial of the Big Hole Battle. By using the battlefield land, they wanted to present the centennial as a somber, educational event, recounting the cultural conflict that stemmed from competing interpretations of the land and its uses. Leading up to the Centennial Anniversary, the *Ravalli Recorder* wrote that “there are at least two sides to every conflict.”<sup>101</sup> It explained, “encroaching settlements and rising tensions resulted in government attempts to negotiate for the Nez Perce homeland.”<sup>102</sup> While Valley residents noted their own role in the clashing cultures, the Park Service emphasized the military’s role in the bloody “negotiations.” Although the NPS struggled to let the land visually “speak for itself,” it managed to use the battlefield for temporary educational programs which helped complicate its message. Military historian Don Rickey addressed the U.S. perspective of events while the Montana National Guard served as military reenactors.<sup>103</sup> Although proud of their military tradition, the federal

government did not celebrate the Battle of the Big Hole and the eventual defeat of the Nez Perce.

Although proud of their ancestors and culture, the Nez Perce did not intend to “celebrate” the day’s events either; they did not view the Centennial as a form of macabre entertainment. This is not to say, however, that entertainment did not play a prominent role in the Centennial events. In 1977, entertainment acted as a means of education and empowerment for the Nez Perce people who, for the first time on this scale, willingly made their way back to the Big Hole Battlefield. Tribal historian Allen Slickpoo spoke on the Nez Perce involvement and Nez Perce dancers performed.<sup>104</sup> In addition to the dances and speeches, the programs featured in the Nez Perce Encampment highlighted native culture. Visitors toured the campsite and learned about the Nez Perce “way of life during those years” from native living historians in full dress.<sup>105</sup> Rather than empty shells of memorialization, the living historians presented the teepees as full of familial life. The active participation among the Nez Perce people at the Centennial events marked an important shift from the previous decade. Although the campsite memorialized those Nez Perce lost in the Battle of the Big Hole, the living historians who made use of the space were very much alive. Despite the empty teepees, the Nez Perce did not vanish, and the war and its meaning were still open to debate and interpretation.

### **Re-Righting the Past: Claiming Rights to Big Hole’s Memory and Meaning through Multiculturalism**

In 1982, students in George Washington University’s Museum Studies program mailed a questionnaire to museums and historic sites across the nation enquiring into

issues of racial and ethnic relations. The questionnaire reflected the social, political, and scholarly development of multiculturalism and identity politics in the Eighties and Nineties, as scholars, politicians, and the public tried to address particular issues concerning ethnic and racial diversity. Superintendent Schulmeyer replied to the students and informed them of their mistake. He argued that Big Hole National Battlefield did not fall under the category of an ethnic museum. In reality, however, it did. The battlefield landscape physically demonstrated that the preserved site thoroughly rethought its interpretation over the course of the Sixties and Seventies. By the early 1980s, visitors received a clearer message of how race relations and racial conflicts were deeply influenced by migrating cultural views that differed inherently on family and land consumption in the nineteenth century.

Although Schulmeyer did not view the battlefield as an “ethnic museum,” the site certainly demonstrated how two ethnicities and cultures collided in 1877. This new, pervading narrative led visitors to critically question the nation’s past rather than pridefully accept it. In fact, the narrative of the Frontier West as a controversial episode in American history—rather than a celebrated, patriotic, “natural” one—dominated the battlefield’s interpretation for the next several decades because of *post-1877* racial and cultural conflicts impacting the nation. Despite these developments, however, Schulmeyer did not view Big Hole as an ethnic museum, because the Nez Perce still remained predominantly—though not solely—in the past; rather than helping to interpret the Big Hole landscape themselves, the Nez Perce, more often than not, were interpreted with the landscape by the National Park Service and local residents. By the Nineties, the

Nez Perce disputed this approach to memory-making on the battlefield. They did so by directly challenging who held the rights to the land their ancestors lost claim to more than one hundred years prior.

Today, scholars Elliot West and Brian Schofield argue that the cultural fight over land consumption and inherited ownership did not end with Chief Joseph's surrender in October of 1877.<sup>106</sup> The conflict between the United States, settlers, and Nez Perce continued into the twenty-first century. In *Selling our Father's Bones*, Schofield effectively intertwines nineteenth century land battles with twentieth- and twenty-first century legal fights for its natural resources. In emphasizing the clash over natural resource rights, however, scholars tend to marginalize the debate over cultural resources—such as Big Hole National Battlefield. The privilege to claim rights to a place—influencing its memory and meaning—is also significant and should not be overlooked in favor of space. In the last decade of the twentieth century, Big Hole exemplified this cultural resource debate over inherited ownership.

In the Nineties, the federal government and Valley residents continued to influence the meaning of the Battlefield by focusing on the land itself. Though isolated in a rural basin of Montana, a national, international, and famous public travelled to Big Hole to join them in the effort. Their involvement articulated Big Hole's growing presence on a national—even international—stage, where more and more people believed they had an inherited right to help preserve it. On the heels of his 1990 film *Dances with Wolves*, Kevin Costner visited the battlefield in conjunction with a documentary he was

preparing.<sup>107</sup> In the fall of 1990, Country Music Singer and nearby neighbor of the battlefield Hank Williams, Jr. approached the Park Service with a donation. Williams wanted to fund an archaeological dig on the site, hoping the project would garner more attention for the remote battlefield.<sup>108</sup>

Staff and volunteers traveled from all over the globe to participate in the dig spearheaded by Dr. Douglass Scott, the Chief of the Division of Rocky Mountain Research in the Midwest Archeological Center. For three weeks, Scott and forty-five qualified volunteers worked on the battlefield, adding hundreds of artifacts to the inventory list. Their finds helped confirm some firsthand accounts but they also shed new light on the battle. The inventory of more than 1,000 items included military goods such as cartridge cases, bullets, a nearly in-tact 1841 Mississippi Rifle—most likely belonging to a Nez Perce Warrior—and military life materials such as camp knives, utensils, suspender hooks, and buckles.<sup>109</sup> According to Superintendent Whitworth, the finds helped tie the land back to the battlefield—to the ground. It was not something “out there” in the past. It was right in front of them, “hard evidence to place exact locations for skirmish lines, teepee sites and retreat routes...” which had been sparse before.<sup>110</sup> One volunteer, Derek Batten, from England, explained his excitement: “I feel like I am touching history.”<sup>111</sup> Technology was so advanced and the mark of each bullet so distinct that the movement of individual rifles could be followed. By doing so, the archaeologists followed the steps of individual men.<sup>112</sup> In addition to helping plot out the skirmish and retreat lines, personal items such as a meat cleaver and trade rings left behind in the Nez Perce site demonstrated the haste from which the camp was abandoned



by its families.<sup>113</sup> As a result of the study, the battlefield became much more personal and tangible—even for those who had no ancestral connection to the site. Following the steps of individual men—women and children—encouraged a new level of education but also emotional understanding by Americans and Native Americans alike.

The Nez Perce wanted to educate the public about their culture and ancestral heritage, and thus, they supported the dig. However, they also challenged this new archaeological focus on the land, because they hoped to protect and respect the sacred site where their ancestors fought and died. By the 1990s, importantly, new legal developments at the federal level occurred which enabled the Nez Perce to voice their concerns with more authority. Through these federal implementations, the Nez Perce introduced a major shift in the interpretation and memory of the Big Hole Battlefield. They did not add any monuments or construct buildings to indicate the emergence of this new interpretive viewpoint. Instead, the Nez Perce's relationship to the battlefield land itself became the dominant indicator of change.

The Nez Perce's changing relationship to the land stemmed from the establishment of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act. In November 1990, Native Americans gained an important step in asserting their right to and cultural influence over federal lands—among them the Big Hole National Battlefield—when Congress approved NAGPRA. The legislation protected Native American graves, as well as the human remains, cultural, and religious artifacts associated with them. Those items taken by non-native entities were to be returned to the

appropriate native group.<sup>114</sup> Although its practice came under scrutiny since its establishment, NAGPRA offered an important theoretical basis for Native Americans. It indicated a new level of respect for native groups, as well as their religious and cultural beliefs; it also argued that those individuals and groups who appropriated native artifacts for the purpose of scientific analysis, entertainment, and curiosity did so wrongly. Big Hole displayed NAGPRA's influence prominently during the archaeological survey. Because the Nez Perce recognized the ground as sacred space, the NPS put special measures in place to ensure that the dead were respected and the Nez Perce actively involved in the detailed land survey.

On August 23, 1991, during the third week of research on the battlefield, a metal detector located a piece of rusted knife near the Nez Perce camp. Five inches below the surface, where the knife was found, archeologists located some bone. When they located the hip bone, "a solemn quiet settled over the crew."<sup>115</sup> The crew immediately reburied the human remains and contacted the Nez Perce Tribal Executive Committee. Because the survey uncovered the remains near the eroding river, the Executive Committee asked that they be removed and reburied in a safer spot. The Committee also asked that an analysis be done to consider the cause of death and any further information about the body's identity. What they found sobered them. The bones belonged to those of a young Nez Perce woman around sixteen years of age. No cause of death could be found and unfortunately, archeologists found no skull either. The remains that they did uncover, however, showed clear evidence of mutilation and possible reburial. Superintendent Whitworth explained,

it was a different time... post-battle mutilation was a widespread phenomenon both on the North American continent and worldwide...Rage and anger were obvious reasons. But deeper cultural traditions about the afterlife could have been involved. Some felt that travel to, and even enjoyment of, the afterlife could be altered or stopped through mutilation.<sup>116</sup>

Historic accounts suggest that General Howard's Indian Scouts may have dug up the woman's body in an attempt to alter her afterlife.<sup>117</sup>

On August 28, 1991, just a week after archaeologists uncovered the bones, the Nez Perce held "a quiet, solemn" reburial ceremony in the Nez Perce camp. Allen P. Slickpoo, Sr., a Nez Perce Executive Committee member and tribal historian, and his son conducted the ceremony. A small group of other tribal members, the Superintendent, and other battlefield staff participated. During the ceremony, the Nez Perce sang ritual spiritual songs, offered prayers, and gave offerings. They placed traditional Nez Perce foods with the remains, and "the bones of the young Nez Perce woman, a victim of a war she could neither control nor avoid, were returned to the earth with honor and respect. Overhead, said Whitworth, two golden eagles and two hawks soared slowly – a sacred sign for the Nez Perce."<sup>118</sup> The ceremony was a sobering reminder that the "battle" claimed more lives than just U.S. soldiers and Nez Perce warriors. It also demonstrated that the Nez Perce reclaimed their right to the land, their sacred rituals, and, in doing so, battlefield memories.

By the 1990s, the Nez Perce did not just have a stronger sacred relationship to the land; they also had a much more permanent presence on the Big Hole Battlefield. It was during this time that Otis Halfmoon came on staff as a Park Ranger. While a handful of

Nez Perce returned selectively to the Battlefield in the past, they were not seen as permanent residents in the Valley's landscape. That changed with the arrival of Wilfred Otis Halfmoon. As a full-blood Nez Perce, Big Hole descendant, and a park ranger, Superintendent Whitworth believed that Halfmoon's presence at the site brought a much needed current-day perspective to the battle. Under Halfmoon's leadership, the battlefield incorporated Nez Perce culture on a regular basis to its interpretation and education. Halfmoon and his wife, Diane, held programs on Nez Perce culture and beadworking regularly throughout 1990.<sup>119</sup> On the battle anniversary, Halfmoon organized the "main event" in which culture(s) rather than the violence was emphasized.<sup>120</sup> Halfmoon and his programs celebrated the continuance of the Nez Perce culture, proving that they did not "vanish" despite the 1877 war.<sup>121</sup>

In addition to celebrating the survival of the Nez Perce people, Halfmoon's message focused on family and ancestry. He publicly lamented the loss of those families killed at Big Hole. When Halfmoon took his message to school children in the region, he brought a "different perspective to the way middle school students look at historical events involving Native Americans."<sup>122</sup> As the great grandson of Five Wounds—a victim of the Battle of the Big Hole—his rendition of the event "was obviously moving to many of the students..." Halfmoon's accounts were not muted for the benefit of the children. Instead, he spoke brutally and honestly. As the soldiers came into the Indian camp, they shot into the teepees killing women and children; "The soldiers crushed babies' heads under their boots, and the screams from the burning teepees were from the children."<sup>123</sup> In addition to school presentations, Halfmoon gave a talk sponsored by the Salmon Arts

Council and the Salmon National Forest. Rather than turning to traditional Anglo-circulated artifacts, Halfmoon relied on the oral narratives of his elders as the basis of his research. Halfmoon explained that he listened to the Nez Perce elders as they told their stories and, “I used to see these old men cry, just trying to tell what happened in the battle of the Big Hole.” His presentation made it clear that Gibbons’ soldiers disrupted a sleeping community, a peaceful community of families. The site of attack was not a pretty one; teepees burned, “blood ran, children screamed, and men and women wept.”<sup>124</sup>

Halfmoon saw himself not only as the guardian of his ancestors’ stories but also as the guardian of the Big Hole Battlefield, “protecting these hallowed grounds that to the Nez Perce are tantamount to Arlington National Cemetery.”<sup>125</sup> Despite the atrocious nature of the attack, the ground’s hallowed status led Halfmoon to develop a calming, peaceful relationship with the battlefield. Even though the river ran red with blood in 1877, he described the battlefield as beautiful. Nonetheless, it had run red with the blood of *his* ancestors and as a teenager, this made Halfmoon angry; “he hated the soldiers who killed his ancestors.” He explained, “I knew who stole our land. I knew what Christianity did to my people.”<sup>126</sup> Halfmoon wondered “why should someone be killed just for being an Indian?”<sup>127</sup> According to Halfmoon, his braids, long hair, and condemnation of the U.S. government were “radical” manifestations of his anger during the sixties and seventies.

As the century came to a close, Halfmoon realized that his sadness and anger could be shared by not only the Nez Perce, but Anglo Americans as well. His family also

contained those who attacked the Nez Perce. They were all *one* family. After getting the job at Big Hole, Halfmoon went down the Indian encampment and cried. Though his youthful anger stemmed from the loss of family, his mother taught him that he could reconcile with the past by understanding family, as well. She explained that ““What happened down there is like two brothers fighting... We are one people, our skin color might be different, but we are one people with one creator, one sky above us.””<sup>128</sup> After the army and college, Halfmoon became interested in Big Hole and its interpretation; he had a desire to understand both sides.<sup>129</sup> He recognized that the Nez Perce and their Anglo enemies could feel pain over what happened at the Battle of the Big Hole. He explained that ““the white [tourists] walk down [to the Nez Perce encampment] and they [don’t want to] believe it. Some come back [crying], and I tell them it’s OK to cry. [I know] exactly how they feel.””<sup>130</sup> Halfmoon’s previous feelings of rancor and bitterness faded and were replaced with compassion.

Identity politics encouraged Halfmoon to speak up on behalf of his ancestors, but multiculturalism simultaneously led him to embrace a desire for change through understanding. Mutual understanding, in fact, was promoted as the primary message of memory at the battlefield—beginning with the NPS’s participation in Montana’s centennial celebration in 1989. The state centennial ushered in an era in which Big Hole National Battlefield used cultural contrasts as a means of seeing different perspectives. Superintendent Jock Whitworth and Halfmoon believed the battle was a ““graphic and dramatic example of the conflict of the cultures of the day.””<sup>131</sup> However, whereas the site preserved a time when cultures tore people and families apart in bloody conflict, they

now believed the battlefield had the power to reunite cultures, bringing them together in a sentiment of empathy and understanding (**Figure 5.16**).



(**Figure 5.16**) Cultural Contrasts, displayed at a commemorative event highlighting the Nez Perce (shown here as dancers) and the Anglo-Europeans (shown here through the American and British flags). Not shown in the photo from this commemorative event are military reenactors and Nez Perce veterans from 20<sup>th</sup> century American wars. Courtesy of Nez Perce National Historical Park.

Over the next several years, many Nez Perce supported and participated in the anniversary celebrations of the two cultures as a means of rectifying the pasts' bloody conflict.<sup>132</sup> Halfmoon and Superintendent Whitworth planned a Memorial Observance in 1990, hoping that the activities would once again help people better understand each other. Halfmoon explained, ““If there’s any way we’re going to break some of the stereotypes, we have got to share each other’s culture, and each other’s knowledge.””<sup>133</sup>

Whitworth supported a level of empathy for the white men who participated in the battle;

“it is the popular belief that the Army was a faceless, cruel machine, when actually the soldiers were individual people” with their own thoughts and feelings. In the aftermath of the Nez Perce war, in fact, Colonel Gibbon developed a change of heart and spoke in favor of returning the non-treaty Nez Perce to their homeland. Westward expansion took a horrible human price for both Native Americans and Anglo Americans.<sup>134</sup> The National Battlefield marked Big Hole with an observance—led by the Nez Perce in honor of their ancestors—as well as living history presentations, history talks, and Nez Perce performances.<sup>135</sup> Although acknowledging and celebrating both cultures, the anniversary events predominantly encouraged commemoration of the Nez Perce dead while simultaneously celebrating the Nez Perce culture that survived since 1877.<sup>136</sup>

By the early Nineties, most people accepted a complicated—even negative—view of the Nez Perce War. This critical reanalysis of the nation’s race-driven conflicts over land consumption and familial access, in fact, took place on a national level. In 1992 the nation held its 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the arrival of Christopher Columbus in North America. In 1893, the nation celebrated Columbus with the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Illinois. One hundred years later, however, the anniversary offered the chance to critically question Columbus’ voyage and the complex relationship between Europeans and Native Americans that developed as a result. It provided the chance to scrutinize past narratives of U.S. History. Under the sponsorship of Senator Mark Hatfield (D - Oregon), the Senate passed Joint Resolution 217, asking that the President declare 1992 “The Year of the American Indian.” From the floor of the senate, Hatfield argued that “the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the discovery of the new world is the



perfect opportunity to reflect on the countless contributions made to America by the Indian community. Reflections on history, however, must often include examinations of unpleasant events.<sup>137</sup> Big Hole Battlefield, undoubtedly, preserved and examined one aspect of these unpleasant events and the Nez Perce deserved to contribute to its narrative.

Beginning in 1992, the Nez Perce dramatically influenced the rights, memory, and meaning of the Battle of the Big Hole when it became a unit of the Nez Perce National Historical Park.<sup>138</sup> Headquartered in Spalding, Idaho, the park encourages automobile tourism by connecting a trail of thirty-eight significant Nez Perce sites across five states. On October 5, 1992, Senator Slade Gorton of Washington, along with Senator Hatfield, urged the passage of the Nez Perce Park Additions Act. Gorton explained that the bill

answers many years of prayers from the Nez Perce Tribe who have sought a means of providing additional protection for their sacred sites, graveyards, and historic battlefields located throughout the Pacific Northwest. To even begin to understand the significance of this legislation to the Nez Perce People, it is necessary to revisit events and chapters in our history that contain many painful memories for a tribe that is known for having assisted the Lewis and Clark Expedition in 1803, and for having gone to great lengths to avoid a war that was forced upon them in 1877.<sup>139</sup>

In total, fourteen sites were part of this Additions Act, and Gorton noted that among the most significant were Old Joseph's gravesite, Chief Joseph's gravesite, and the battlefields at Bear Paw and Big Hole. Importantly, the Act brought not only the general public back to Big Hole but more specifically, the Nez Perce people.

On a national scale, it encouraged all Nez Perce, not just a select few already involved, to reconnect with and protect their ancestral heritage through the battlefield.<sup>140</sup> One of the bill's strongest advocates was Joe Redthunder, the oldest member of Chief Joseph's Band of the Nez Perce and descendent of War victims. At 84 years old, Redthunder was the great-grand nephew of Chief Joseph. By passing the act, Gorton explained, the Senate would help protect "the graves of Redthunder's ancestors and other hallowed places that earned Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce a special place in our Nation's history." Gorton believed that this legislation held "special importance and significance" in light of Columbus' anniversary voyage and the "Year of the American Indian." Passing the legislation "demonstrate[d] that the U.S. Senate took the time to reflect upon those unpleasant events that gave rise to the Nez Perce War of 1877 and led to the banishment of the Joseph Band from their homeland."<sup>141</sup> The government's treatment of the Nez Perce people most certainly fell under the unpleasant events in the nation's past—events that the federal government determined were worthy of recognition.

In his concluding remarks, Senator Gorton dramatically claimed that the passage of the legislation would "finally bring closure to a long and sad saga for the Joseph Band of Nez Perce Indians."<sup>142</sup> Like the Israelites wandering the desert for forty years, Gorton's remarks implied an end to the Nez Perce's travels. He failed to recognize that the national preservation of their Nez Perce heritage did not necessarily "bring closure," act as reparations for past mistakes, or end their travails. The legislation, however, did encourage an active return of Nez Perce to the Big Hole Battlefield, ushering in the next

wave of historical memory-making regarding the War of 1877 and the Battle of the Big Hole.

Future generations of Americans and Nez Perce people would learn about the West in a far different manner than their parents or grandparents had. When President George Bush signed the legislation on October 30, 1992, Representative Williams of Montana exclaimed, “Chief Joseph’s heroic leadership against veteran U.S. Army troops still stands today as one of the most extraordinary stories in military history.”<sup>143</sup> Though this may be true, the emphasis on the sites’ military significance was now, officially, only one part of the larger narrative presented through the Nez Perce National Historical Park. Williams himself understood this when he explained,

with this new law we will make sure these special places along the Nez Perce Trail will always belong to our children and grandchildren, both Indian and non-Indian, so they can better understand the past in the west.... Here in Montana, the new national park sites...will help us preserve our western heritage and tell the story of the Nez Perce to visitors and tourists from across the nation.<sup>144</sup>

Although families remained an integral part of the Big Hole Battlefield, the law altered the message of the Valley landscape for future generations of Americans and Native Americans—directly bringing the Nez Perce into the spotlight.

In theory, the battlefield’s inclusion in the Nez Perce National Historical Park turned the site’s narrative on its head—providing an entirely new paradigm in the Valley’s important relationship between familial mobility and access to the land. The United States’ history of expansion and settlement—which dominated Big Hole’s interpretation since its founding—was placed within the dominant history of the Nez

Perce people, their land, their culture, and their families. The Nez Perce would not return to the Big Hole Battlefield to support an American narrative of the West—if even a complicated, tragic one. Instead, Americans would return to the Battlefield to support a Nez Perce narrative of the West. While the War of 1877 is an important part of the Nez Perce place-based story, it is merely one part of the people’s larger narrative, history, and culture in the Pacific Northwest and inter-mountain region.

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### Chapter 3 Notes

<sup>1</sup> Jeanne Beaty, “A Last Remnant of the Old West in Montana,” *New York Times*, June 6, 1965, p. xx33

<sup>2</sup> Elliott West defines the Nez Perce War as the *last* Indian war. Elliott West, *The Last Indian War: The Nez Perce Story* (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

<sup>3</sup> For general histories of the Nez Perce War and its aftermath, see: Elliott West, *The Last Indian War: The Nez Perce Story*; Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., *The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest*; Brian Schofield, *Selling Your Father’s Bones*; Jerome Greene, *Nez Perce Summer: The U.S. Army and the Nee-Me-Poo Crisis* (Montana Historical Society Press, 2000); Cliff Trafzer, editor, *The Northwest Tribes in Exile* (Sacramento, Ca: Sierra Oaks Publishing Company, 1987).

<sup>4</sup> Schofield, 11-15.

<sup>5</sup> In 1910, the War Department turned the National Monument over to the Forrest Service—emphasizing its remote locale. It was not until 1939 that FDR increased the acreage size—still focused on the siege area and heights above. The park’s boundaries were expanded from 5 acres to 200 acres under Proclamation 2339. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, “Proclamation 2339: Excluding Certain Lands from the Beaverhead National Forest and Adding Them and Other Lands to the Big Hole Battlefield National Monument,” 29 June 1939. Available online at <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=76671#axzz1VPfRx1r2>; Internet; accessed 18 August 2011. Theodore Catton and Ann Huber, “Administration Under the Forest Service,” in *Commemoration and Preservation: An Administrative History of Big Hole National Battlefield* (Missoula, Montana: Historical Research Associates, Inc., 1999); available online [http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online\\_books/biho/adhi/adhi3.htm](http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/biho/adhi/adhi3.htm); Internet; accessed 27 November 2012.

<sup>6</sup> Catton and Huber, “Administration Under the U.S. War Department,” *Commemoration and Preservation*; available online [http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online\\_books/biho/adhi/chap2.htm](http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/biho/adhi/chap2.htm); Internet; Accessed 27 November 2012. Catton and Huber’s analysis of Big Hole National Battlefield is extremely insightful, providing in-depth detail of the site’s history. This chapter is not intended to be an administrative history of the Big Hole National Battlefield. Rather than focusing on a thorough history of the park’s programs and administration, this chapter intends to analyze just a small set of the NPS’s actions and motives within a larger historical and/or racial context using a theoretical framework in historic preservation and public history.

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<sup>7</sup> It should be noted, however, that there were occasions when the Nez Perce made their way back to Big Hole, too. Between 1927 and 1937, for instance, Catton and Huber explain that “on five separate occasions...[L.V.] McWhorter visited the Big Hole Battlefield with his Nez Perce friends and elicited their recollections of what happened on August 9, 1877.” Catton and Huber, Chapter 3: “Administration Under the U.S. Forest Service.”

<sup>8</sup> Big Hole National Battlefield monument text.

<sup>9</sup> Catton and Huber, “Forest Service.”

<sup>10</sup> Brochure, United States Government, “Big Hole Battlefield National Monument Montana,” O.F. - 323351 (U.S. Government Printing Office 1955). Courtesy of the Ravalli Historical Society. Hamilton, Montana.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Those Nez Perce who agreed to removal from their ancestral homeland were taken to a small reservation in Lapwai, Idaho. Upon surrender in October 1877, the non-treaty Nez Perce were taken to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, then on to Indian Territory in Oklahoma, and eventually placed on the Colville Indian Reservation in Washington State. For general histories of the Nez Perce War, see: Elliott West, Brian Schofield, and Alvin Josephy.

<sup>14</sup> Although the NPS as a whole encouraged family travels to its parks, Big Hole’s administrative notes indicate that this was not necessarily the case. According to Catton and Hubber, “Throughout the 1940s and early 1950s, seasonal rangers estimated annual visitation at between 2,500 and 4,000, or ‘ten cars on Sunday and an average of three on week days.’ Rangers described the majority of visitors as local residents, living within a radius of 50 miles.” This is not to say, however, that families did not visit Big Hole. After all, local tourism brochures appear to cater to families. Theodore Catton and Ann Hubber, “Chapter Four: Administration Under Yellowstone National Park, Early Years (1936-1956)” in *Commemoration and Preservation: an Administrative History of Big Hole National Battlefield* (Missoula, Montana: Historical Research Associates, Inc., 1999). Available online [http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online\\_books/biho/adhi/chap4.htm](http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online_books/biho/adhi/chap4.htm); Internet; accessed 18 August 2011.

<sup>15</sup> Catton and Hubber, “Forest Service.”

<sup>16</sup> Letter. “Aubrey L. Haines to Lt. Colonel George B. Davis. January 7, 1966”; FF: A6435 Big Hole Battlefield, Information-Reports-Public Use-Visitor-Narrative, 1966 (hereafter A6435), Box A-180, Collection: National Park Service Records (NPS), Series: Administration and Management Records (hereafter AMR); Yellowstone National Park Archives, Wyoming (hereafter Yellowstone).

<sup>17</sup> Richard White, “Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill,” *The Frontier in American Culture*, James R. Grossman, Editor (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1994),21.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> See Elaine Tyler May’s introduction to *Homeward Bound*. Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York, New York: Basic Books, 2008, 3<sup>d</sup> edition), pp. 1-18. According to Linda Kerber, the traditional family was always a fundamental part of the nation and its identity; the early republic upheld the family unit as an essential component of the United States’ survival and prosperity as a nation. Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic*.

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<sup>20</sup> Jeannie Kim, "Mission 66" in *Cold War Hothouses: Inventing Postwar Culture, from Cockpit to Playboy* (New Jersey: Princeton Architectural Press, 2004), 169.

<sup>21</sup> May, 6.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Nonetheless, these tourists consumed Big Hole's Cold War message and took it home with them.

<sup>24</sup> Newspaper Article, "Museum Relics, Accounts Relate Story of Battle 79 Years Ago," n.n., 1956. Ravalli County Historical Society.

<sup>25</sup> Wayne Erbsen, *Log Cabin Pioneers: Stories, Songs, and Sayings* (Pacific, Missouri: Mel Bay Publications Inc., 2002), 14.

<sup>26</sup> "Diamond Bar Inn, Jackson, Montana" (Missoula, Montana: Mountain Press, n.d.). FF: No. 8-10: Subject: Big Hole – Research (hereafter FF No. 8-10, Box No. 8: Speeches and Writings: Avalanches – Big Sky (hereafter Box 8), Collection Number 66: Edmund Christopherson Papers (hereafter Collection 66), K. Ross Toole Archive, Mansfield Library, University of Montana, Missoula (hereafter K. Ross Toole Archive, University of Montana).

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Big Hole Development Ass'n, Jackson, Montana, "The Big Hole" (Mountain press, Missoula, n.d.). FF 8-10, Box 8, Collection 66, K. Ross Toole Archive, University of Montana.

<sup>29</sup> Edmund Christopherson, "The Big Hole: Haymaker's Heaven." FF 8-14, Subject: Speeches and Writings, "The Big Hole: Haymaker's Heaven" (hereafter FF 8-14), Box 8, Collection 66, K. Ross Toole Archive, University of Montana.

<sup>30</sup> Letter, Edmund Christopherson to Mr. Nicholson. June 9, 1952, p. 2. FF 8-10, Box 8, Collection 66, K. Ross Toole Archive, University of Montana.

<sup>31</sup> Letter, Arnold Nicholson to Edmund Christopherson. July 9, 1952. FF 8-10, Box 8, Collection 66, K. Ross Toole Archive, University of Montana.

<sup>32</sup> Christopherson, "The Big Hole: Haymaker's Heaven," 3.

<sup>33</sup> Christopherson, "The Big Hole: Haymaker's Heaven," 4.

<sup>34</sup> Pat Scott, "Thain White Admits Putting Monument at Big Hole Battlefield, Reporter Says," *The Flathead Courier*, August 17, 1961; FF: No. 4-4 "Newspaper Clippings, 9-4-55 – 8/11/68 (hereafter FF 4-4), Box. No. 4, Collection No. Mss 137, Thain White Papers (hereafter Collection 137), K. Ross Toole Archive, University of Montana. See also: Box No. 1, Series VIII: Photos, #1 - #118, Collection No. 137, K. Ross Toole Archive, University of Montana, Missoula.

<sup>35</sup> Scott.

<sup>36</sup> As of 2010, Thain White's monument plaque is preserved by the park's collections manager. At that time, it was available for viewing in the visitor center museum.

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<sup>37</sup> Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 352 – 364.

<sup>38</sup> By 1961, on the 84<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Big Hole Battle, White's monumental actions were publicly acknowledged by a United Press International article written by reporter Pat Scott. "Thain White Admits Putting Monument at Big Hole Battlefield, Reporter Says."

<sup>39</sup> Aubrey L. Haines, Park Naturalist, Yellowstone National Park. "Historical Research Management Plan for Big Hole National Battlefield," November 1967, 5. FF H22: Archeological & Historic Preservation, 1968, Box H29, NPS, AMR, Yellowstone.

<sup>40</sup> Memorandum. From: Acting Chief, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation. To: Regional Director, Midwest Region. Subject: Big Hole National Battlefield, Historical Research Management Plan. September 20, 1968. FF H22, 1968, Box H29, NPS, AMR, Yellowstone.

<sup>41</sup> Haines, "Historical Research Management Plan for Big Hole National Battlefield."

<sup>42</sup> Memorandum, September 20, 1968.

<sup>43</sup> Haines, "Historical Research Management Plan for Big Hole National Battlefield."

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> "85<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Big Hole Battle This Year, Draws Record Crowds." *The Western News* (Hamilton, Montana), August 8, 1962, p. 5. Ravalli County Historical Society.

<sup>47</sup> "Anniversary of Indian Battle Noted," *The Missoulan* (Missoula, Montana), Sunday, August 12, 1962, p. 12. Ravalli County Historical Society.

<sup>48</sup> "Traveling to the Big Hole – 1904," n.n, n.d. Ravalli County Historical Society.

<sup>49</sup> Initially comprised of sites in Idaho, the park was intended to commemorate "the total history of the Nez Perce tribe" and present "the broad story of the Nez Perce country as a whole." At this point in time, Big Hole was not a part of the Nez Perce National Historic Park (NEPE). In fact, Big Hole lay outside of Nez Perce Country and NEPE believed that "Big Hole Battlefield National Monument in Montana preserves the scene of one of the later, and perhaps not crucial engagements of the Nez Perce War. Probably the White Bird Battle and the Battle of Clearwater, the locations of which are proposed for inclusion in the Nez Perce National Historic Sites, were more important in the history of that war than was the Battle of Big Hole." U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Western Region, *Nez Perce Country: National Historic Sites, Idaho, a Feasibility Report* (Department of the Interior, October 1963), 3, 56; File L58 – "Nez Perce Country," 1963 (hereafter FF L58), Box 2060 - L58 to L58 (hereafter Box 2060), Entry P11, RG 79, NARA II.

<sup>50</sup> National Park Service, *Interpretive Prospectus for Big Hole National Battlefield, 1964*, "Part I – the Museum Story," 15; FF: Big Hole National Battlefield (hereafter FF BIHO), Box 22 – Big Bend National Park, Texas to Big Hole National Battlefield (hereafter Box 22), Entry P417 – Division of Interpretive Planning: Records of Public Input Documenting Interpretive Planning Activities, 1955-1999 (hereafter Entry P417), RG 79, NARA II. See also: Catton and Huber, 78. In 1964, noted historian of the west, Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. Published *Chief Joseph's People and their War* for the battlefield park. Alvin M. Josephy,

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Jr., *Chief Joseph's People and their War* (Yellowstone Library and Museum of Association, 1964). FF BIHO, Box 22, Entry P417, RG 69, NARA II.

<sup>51</sup> Slotkin, 367.

<sup>52</sup> Slotkin, 367-68.

<sup>53</sup> Clyde A. Maxey, Yellowstone National Park. "The Means of Interpretation" in *Interpretive Prospectus for Big Hole National Battlefield* (1964), 12. FF BIHO, Box 22, Entry P417, RG 79, NARA II. Mission 66 was a NPS plan nationwide to modernize the park system during the Cold War. Publicly introduced in 1956, the goal of the Mission 66 program was to increase visitor services and thus, visitorship to the parks, by the NPS's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1966. For the history of the Mission 66 program, see: Ethan Carr, *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma* (University of Massachusetts Press, 2007).

<sup>54</sup> Drawing: "Preliminary Drawing" (8-66), FF BIHO, Box 22, Entry P417, RG 79, NARA II. "Dedication program: Big Hole National Battlefield Visitor Center, September 14, 1968" (Bozeman, Montana: Union Label, 1968", Ravalli County Historical Society.

<sup>55</sup> Haines to Davis. January 7, 1966.

<sup>56</sup> The slide script, for instance, began with the cry, "'Fight for women and children!...Now is our time! Fight!' That clarion call, ripped with agony from Chief White Bird's throat in the bloody dawn of an August day, still hangs here in Big Hole valley." "Big Hole National Battlefield, Battle of the Big Hole (Sound/Slide Program Script)," Folder #13: "Series-1: D62, AV Exhibits – Scripts [1968-1973]" (hereafter FF 13), Box #1, Acc#269/Col#3571, Collection: Big Hole N.B. Resource Management Records Collection (hereafter Collection 3571), Nez Perce National Historical Park Archives (Lapwai, Idaho) (hereafter NEPE).

<sup>57</sup> Letter, From Gilber R. Wenger, Staff Curator to Mr. Joel F. Overholser, Fort Benton Museum. September 14, 1966. FF H18: Biographical Data 1966 GF, Box H28, NPS, AMR, Yellowstone.

<sup>58</sup> Memorandum, From Chief, Western Museum Laboratory to Superintendent, Yellowstone. July 18, 1966. FF H22, 1966, Box H32, NPS, AMR, Yellowstone.

<sup>59</sup> Memorandum, From: Chief, Western Museum Laboratory to Superintendent, Big Hole Battlefield. November 16, 1967. FF H22, 1967, Box H32, NPS, AMR, Yellowstone.

<sup>60</sup> This is not to say that the Nez Perce were not heard at all. After all, L.V. McWorther's book, *Yellow Wolf: His Own Story*, was a staple among park historians. However, Yellow Wolf's words appeared to be more useful on the battlefield than in the museum. L.V. McWorther, *Yellow Wolf: His Own Story* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Press, 1940).

<sup>61</sup> Memorandum, To: Chief, Western Museum laboratory, From: Acting Assistant Regional Director, Midwest Region, Subject: Preliminary Exhibit Proposals for Big Hole National Battlefield Visitor Center, December 5, 1966; Folder #1: Series 1: Visitor Center Displays: General File, 1966-1974, Box #2 (Folders 1 thru 22), Acc#269/Col#3571, NEPE. As late as 1973, the staff was still receiving complaints about its narratives. One reviewer argued that the narratives offered up too much emphasis on the Nez Perce women and children who were killed in the attack. Although he understood that "Indian groups [were] keeping a close eye on the National Park Service interpretation concerning Indian-white encounters," he believed the Park Service had always presented an unbiased interpretation of the Big Hole battle. Memorandum, To: Bob Haraden, To: Stan Canter, Subject: Big Hole Audio Scripts, October 3, 1973, FF #13, Box #1, Acc#269/Col#3571, NEPE.



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<sup>62</sup> “Audio Text: Front Door Station (Summer Season),” FF #13, Box #1, Acc#269/Col#3571, NEPE.

<sup>63</sup> Letter, Aubrey L. Haines, Park Historian to Mr. Neil Fullerton, August 12, 1966. FF H22, 1966, Box H32, NPS, AMR, Yellowstone.

<sup>64</sup> Memorandum. Aubrey L. Haines, Acting Management Assistant, Big Hole to Superintendent, Navajo. Subject: information on museum artifacts, March 25, 1966. FF H22, 1966, Box H32, NPS, AMR, Yellowstone.

<sup>65</sup> Memorandum, from Acting Management Assistant, Big Hole, to Superintendent, Yellowstone. Subject: monthly narrative report for May 1966. June 1, 1966. FF A6435, 1966, Box A-180, NPS, AMR, Yellowstone.

<sup>66</sup> Memorandum, “From Acting Chief, Western Museum Laboratory to Management Assistant, Big Hole Battlefield. November 14, 1967, Subject: specimens for Big Hole exhibits,” FF H22, 1967, Box H32, NPS, AMR, Yellowstone. In addition to Chief Joseph, Yellow Wolf was another important figure featured in the exhibit space (via the display of his headdress). However, Chief Joseph remained the focus of interpretation. Nonetheless, Park Service personnel were not the first or only ones to emphasize Chief Joseph as a representative of the Nez Perce and the Big Hole Battle. In 1928, native activist L.V. McWhorter and a group of Nez Perce placed a monument on the battlefield marking it as a stop along the Nez Perce retreat. The bust of Chief Joseph rested on top of a memorial shaft with a plaque that read “To the everlasting memory of the brave warriors Chief Joseph’s band who fought on these grounds in the Nez Perce War of 1877...Erected by Nez Perce Indians and the Chief Joseph Memorial Association...” The monument’s presence in the Siege Area indicated the strength of Chief Joseph’s legacy among both Anglo and Native peoples. Catton and Bruce, “Forest Service.”

<sup>67</sup> Dr. Stanley Davidson, “Professor of Western Montana College says legend of Chief Joseph is myth,” *Butte Montana Standard*, August 21, 1967. Vertical File: “News Clippings, Dates: 8/67 – 1/95,” Big Hole National Battlefield, Wisdom, Montana (hereafter BIHO).

<sup>68</sup> Jane Totman Lord, “Return to Big Hole battle site is hard for survivor.” *The Montana Standard*, p. 15, Sunday, August 27, 1967.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Memorandum, “From: Chief, Western Museum Laboratory to Superintendent, Yellowstone. November 24, 1967”; Letter, “From Elroy W. Bohlin to Mr. Frank A. Shaw, August 11, 1967”; FF H22, Box H32, NPS, AMR, Yellowstone.

<sup>72</sup> Memorandum, “From: Superintendent, Yellowstone, To: Chief, Western Museum Laboratory. Subject: shovel used for ground-breaking BIHO. November 20, 1967,” FF H22, 1967, Box H32, NPS, AMR, Yellowstone.

<sup>73</sup> Memorandum, “From Chief, Western Museum Laboratory to Superintendent, Yellowstone. Subject: Ground-breaking shovel, Big Hole Visitor Center. January 15, 1968,” H22, 1968, Box H29: History and Archeological Records, NPS, AMR, Yellowstone.

<sup>74</sup> Letter, “From Mr. Frank A. Shaw to Walter L. Bailey. August 8, 1967,” H22, 1967, Box H32, NPS, AMR, Yellowstone.

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<sup>75</sup> Catton and Huber, 74. Interestingly, during that same time period, the Nez Perce were actively engaged with the establishment and interpretation of Nez Perce National Historical Site. See: *Nez Perce Country: National Historic Sites, Idaho, a Feasibility Report*.

<sup>76</sup> “Dedication Program: Big Hole National Battlefield Visitor Center, September 14, 1968.” Memorandum, from Acting Management Assistant, NHNB to Superintendent, Nez Perce National Historical Park. January 7, 1965. FF A6435, 1965, Box A-180, NPS, AMR, Yellowstone. Note: the NEPE letter was not available during research. This material is based on Aubrey Haines’s response to NEPE.

<sup>77</sup> In 1925, Assistant Forester Will C. Barnes visited Big Hole Battlefield, sparking an interest in recovering and rehabilitating the mountain howitzer for battlefield display. According to local information, a party from nearby Deer Lodge recovered the howitzer a short time after the battle, repaired it, and put it in front of the State Penitentiary where it sat until its return to the battlefield. Catton and Bruce, “Forest Service.”

<sup>78</sup> Memorandum, To: Management Assistant, Big Hole, From: West District Naturalist, Yellowstone, Subject: New Visitor Center at Big Hole, August 13, 1968. FF #1: Visitor Center Displays: General File 1966-1974, Box #2, Acc. # 269, Cat. # 3571, NEPE.

<sup>79</sup> It should be noted that attempts were made to introduce native artifacts that were battle-specific. For example, one artifact found on the battlefield—an iron arrowhead—was reportedly used in the battle. Haines argued that “Yellow Wolf is quite positive that only one Indian – ‘Five Frogs’ – used a bow, and he was killed at the south end of the village.” Although he wanted to keep an open mind regarding the artifact, he found “no accounts coupling use of bow and arrows with the fight at the Siege Area.” Ironically, the curatorial staff had no trouble displaying Joseph’s items though their provenance could not be guaranteed either. Memorandum. From Acting Management Assistant, Big Hole to Superintendent, Navajo. Subject: Photographs for NPS badge exhibit. February 18, 1966. FF H22, 1966, Box H32, NPS, AMR, Yellowstone.

<sup>80</sup> NEPE actually indicates that the Civil Rights Movement was having a positive impact on the NPS. Established in 1965, NEPE, in theory, helped empower the Nez Perce people in the present by sharing their history and culture with a national audience.

<sup>81</sup> Letter. “From Gilber R. Wenger to Mrs. F.A. Hyke. January 9, 1967,” FF H22, 1967, Box H32, NPS, AMR, Yellowstone.

<sup>82</sup> Letter, “Mrs. F.A. Hyke to Gilber R. Wenger. December 14, 1966,” H22, 1966, Box H32, NPS, AMR, Yellowstone.

<sup>83</sup> Jane Totman Lord, “Ground is broken for visitor center at Big Hole Battlefield,” *Butte Montana Standard*, August 27, 1967. Vertical File: “News Clippings, Dates: 8/67 – 1/95,” BIHO.

<sup>84</sup> National Park Service, “Big Hole National Battlefield Statement for Management,” January 28, 1977, p. SFM -3. FF A6435, 1977, Box A102, NPS, AMR, Yellowstone.

<sup>85</sup> Charles Wilkinson, *Blood Struggle: The Rise of Modern Indian Nations* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2005). See also: George Pierre Castile, *To Show Heart: Native American Self-Determination and Federal Indian Policy, 1960-1975* (University of Arizona Press, 1998).

<sup>86</sup> “Big Hole National Battlefield Statement for Management, 1977,” SFM – 7. As part of Public Law 88-24, the battlefield was enlarged from 200 acres (including the siege area) to 666 acres to incorporate the Indian camp, the twin trees, and the howitzer site. “Public Law 88-24, 17 May 1963” in *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. VI (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office). Available online

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[http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol6/html\\_files/v6p0990c.html](http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol6/html_files/v6p0990c.html); Internet; accessed 27 November 2012.

<sup>87</sup> “Big Hole National Battlefield Statement for Management, 1977,” SFM—5.

<sup>88</sup> Memorandum, “To: Acting Superintendent, Big Hole Battlefield National Monument, From: Park Historian, Yellowstone; Subject: discovery of a Blacksmith Shop Site in the Indian Encampment; July 26, 1961.” Folder No. 1-9, Speeches and Writings, Relics from the Bighole Battlefield Aug. 9-10, 1877, Box No. 1, Collection 137, K. Ross Toole Archive, University of Montana.

<sup>89</sup> Mark Clemow had stopped on-site mapping by the Park Service in the past and was not favorable to trespassers—official or otherwise—on his property. Memorandum. From Aubrey Haines, Acting Management Assistant, Big Hole National Battlefield to Superintendent, Navaho National Monument. Subject: Big Hole Artifact Map and Appendices A and B. FF H22, 1966, Box H32, NPS, AMR, Yellowstone.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> “Big Hole National Battlefield Statement for Management,” January 28, 1977, SFM—3. FF A6435, 1977, Box A102, NPS, AMR, Yellowstone.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid. 4, 9.

<sup>93</sup> Memorandum, “To: Superintendent, Yellowstone National Park, From: Superintendent, Big Hole National Battlefield, May 9, 1973, Subject: “Marking the Indian Village Site.” File Folder #2: Series – 1: D62 Museum & Exhibit Activities [1945 – 1986] [2 of 2], Box #1, ACC 269, CAT 3571, NEPE.

<sup>94</sup> Memorandum, “To: Superintendent, Yellowstone National Park, From: Superintendent, Big Hole National Battlefield, May 9, 1973.” FF #2, Series – 1, D26, Box #1, ACC 269, CAT.3571, NEPE. Whereas functional teepees required twenty to forty poles, only four to eight poles were used to keep maintenance minimal.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Jeremy FiveCrows, “Introduction” in Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., *Nez Perce Country* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), xvi.

<sup>98</sup> Philip Joseph Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1998).

<sup>99</sup> George B. Hatley, Jim Mischel, and Anne Mischel, *Riding the Nez Perce War Trail Twice from 1965 to 1990* (G.B. Hatley, 2004), 58.

<sup>100</sup> Photograph, “Proud Participant,” n.d. no newspaper title. Ravalli County Historical Society. Tony Hadley also noted a lone teepee constructed near the Visitor Center intended to “honor ... the Nez Perce’s past existence.” Tony Hadley, “Celebration Notes Centennial of Big Hole Battle,” newspaper unknown. Folder #7, Series-4: K18 BIHO Centennial year-articles, publicity [1977], Box #5, ACC269/Cat3571, NEPE.

<sup>101</sup> “Big Hole battle recounted by participants,” *Ravalli Recorder*, August 4, 1977. Ravalli County Historical Society.

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<sup>102</sup> “Big Hole centennial scheduled August 9,” *Ravalli Recorder*, August 3, 1977. Ravalli County Historical Society.

<sup>103</sup> At the centennial events, however, only the military—who paved the way for and protected Anglo settlement—were represented. Although the unit’s interpretation and the public acknowledged the significance of the Anglo settlers in their own right, they remained absent from the ceremonies, living history exhibits, and interpretive programming—perhaps a reflection of the soured relationship between the federal government and local valley population. “Officials plan August celebration for Big Hole Battle Centennial,” *The Ravalli Recorder*, July 26, 1977. Ravalli County Historical Society.

<sup>104</sup> “Officials plan August celebration for Big Hole Battle Centennial.”

<sup>105</sup> Pat Zeiler, “Big Hole Centennial Planned,” *The Ravalli Republic*, June 17, 1977. Ravalli County Historical Society.

<sup>106</sup> West, 397 and Schofield.

<sup>107</sup> Lorna Thackeray, “Big Hole Digs Yield Exciting Finds,” *Billings Gazette*, September 9, 1991, p. 1.

<sup>108</sup> Dianne Pettit, “The tribe reburies one lost long ago,” *Lewiston Morning Tribune*, June 18, 1992. “NPS honors country singer,” *Ravalli Republic*, November 27, 1992. Vertical File – News Clippings 8/67 – 1/95, BIHO.

<sup>109</sup> Jock Whitworth, unit manager, Big Hole National Battlefield, “Burial: Archeological dig reveals past” in Vignettes, *Dillon Tribune*, Wednesday, April 8, 1992, p. A-2; Chris Baker, “Big Hole yields its secrets” *Bitterroot View*, February 8, 1992; Thackeray, “Big Hole Digs Yield.” Vertical File – News Clippings 8/67 – 1/95, BIHO.

<sup>110</sup> Chris Baker, “Big Hole yields its secrets.”

<sup>111</sup> David Lamb, “Survey makes Nez Perce skirmish lines reappear,” *Star Tribune*, September 21, 1991, p. 4a. Vertical File – News Clippings 8/67 – 1/95, BIHO.

<sup>112</sup> Lamb, “Survey.”

<sup>113</sup> Thackeray, “Big Hole Digs Yield Exciting Finds.”

<sup>114</sup> 101<sup>st</sup> Congress, “Public Law 101-601: Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (16 November 1990). Available online <http://www.nps.gov/nagpra/mandates/25usc3001etseq.htm>; Internet; accessed 27 November 2012.

<sup>115</sup> Dianne Pettit, “The tribe reburies.”

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Carlotta Grandstaff, “War teaches lesson,” *Ravalli Republic*, May 25, 1990, p. 4. Vertical File – News Clippings 8/67 – 1/95, BIHO. That same year, Kevin Peters, a Nez Perce artist, presented demonstrations

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on Nez Perce tipi-pitching, hide tanning, beadwork and quillwork. Peters articulated that although the blending of two cultures led to the clash at Big Hole in 1877, it also created some beauty; European glass beads were incorporated into the Nez Perce's intricate beadwork.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Karen McGrath Sullivan, "History about to be undug at Battle of the Big Hole," *Great Falls Tribune*, August 26, 1991. Vertical Files – News Clippings 8/67 – 1/95, BIHO.

<sup>122</sup> John Barrows, "The way it was..." *Dillon Tribune*, September 20, 1992, p. A-2. Vertical Files – News Clippings 8/67 – 1/95, BIHO.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Lamb, "Survey makes Nez Perce skirmish lines reappear."

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> Note: The article focusing on Halfmoon has two discrepancies. The author refers to him as "Alfred Half Moon" (rather than Otis) and states that he was the great grandson of Five Wolves. According to Sally-Jo Bowman, Halfmoon was the great-grandson of Five Wounds. Candace Burns, "Grandson of Nez Perce tells story of Big Hole battle," *The Montana Standard*, Butte, Sunday, March 8, 1992, pg. 26. Sally-Jo Bowman, "From Where the Sun Now Stands: Nez Perce National Historical Park shows how a war nobody wanted changed a people's long history forever," *National Parks*, Vol. 73, No. 1-2 (January/February 1999), 31. Another article notes Halfmoon as "Wilford" Halfmoon. However, the Nez Perce elder is sometimes noted as W. Otis Halfmoon. David Lamb, "Survey makes Nez Perce skirmish lines reappear." Vertical Files – News Clippings 8/67 – 1/95, BIHO.

<sup>129</sup> Lamb, "Survey makes Nez Perce skirmish lines appear."

<sup>130</sup> Sullivan, "History about to be undug at Battle of the Big Hole."

<sup>131</sup> Duncan Adams, "Battle of Big Hole Memorial Set," *Montana Standard*, August 4, 1990, p. 3. Vertical Files – News Clippings 8/67 – 1/95, BIHO.

<sup>132</sup> See numerous references to the Nez Perce participants at the centennial events in File Folder #14, Series – 2: A82 Special Events: Cultural Contrast, August 6, 1989 [3 of 3], Box #4, Acc#269/Col#3571, NEPE. Despite the intentions of both the Park Service and their Nez Perce supporters, at least one spectator noted the way in which some native participants reacted to the military living history programs. David Beckman, of the *Idaho Falls Post Register*, noted that the military reenactment "seemed to me a little like playing a raucous neighborhood football game in a cemetery...I looked around for some of the Nez Perce dignitaries there, watching their faces. I saw, or perhaps felt, barely noticeable signs of discomfort mixed with sadness as they watched the motions of war on the hallowed ground." David Beckman, "They Open Their Hearts," *Idaho Falls Post Register*, September 10, 1989, F-1. in File Folder #14, Series – 2: A82 Special Events: Cultural Contrast, August 6, 1989 [3 of 3], Box #4, Acc#269/Col#3571, NEPE.

<sup>133</sup> Adams, "Battle of Big Hole Memorial Set."

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> “‘Battle’ to be observed Friday,” n.n., n.d.. Vertical Files – News Clippings 8/67 – 1/95, BIHO.

<sup>136</sup> Tim MacDonald, “Battlefield memorial to be held on Aug. 10,” *Dillon Tribune*, July 31, 1991, p. 7. Vertical Files – News Clippings 8/67 – 1/95, BIHO. Interestingly, press releases presented the battle anniversary in different lights, reminding the Park Service and Nez Perce that despite the growing presence of native-led education and memorialization through the battlefield, Big Hole’s narrative was still not set in stone. Some accounts relied on the battlefield’s past Cold War presentation. Though perhaps unintentionally, an article by Tim MacDonald failed to acknowledge that the “many Indian casualties” at the Battle of the Big Hole included women and children—a fact then well accepted. Additionally, MacDonald referenced the battle site as Big Hole Battlefield National Monument—a designation changed almost thirty years prior. On the other hand, another press release on the anniversary program—entitled “‘Battle’ to be observed Friday”—suggested a critical analysis of the battle anniversary despite the inroads the Park Service and Nez Perce made over the past decades. ‘Battle’ suggested—though did not outright proclaim—that the author of the release questioned whether Big Hole should even be categorized as a battle or perhaps something else—a massacre. The artifactual evidence and human remains recently uncovered at the battlefield as a result of the archaeological survey may have contributed to this line of subtle, yet critical, questioning.

<sup>137</sup> “Senate: Nez Perce National Historical Park,” in *Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the 102d Congress, Second Session*. VOL. 138. No. 144. (Printed in the *Tribal Tribune* 30 November 1992). Vertical Files – News Clippings 8/67 – 1/95, BIHO.

<sup>138</sup> NEPE’s 1997 *General Management Plan* explains that “Nez Perce National Historical Park offers for all Americans an important perspective about our history as a people. It is not the view from the Gateway Arch looking west; it is a view from a homeland looking out, witnessing the march of history and change, yet continuing today and tomorrow to commemorate and celebrate Nez Perce culture and traditions. It is a park about a people, for all people.” United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *General Management Plan: Nez Perce National Historical Park and Big Hole National Battlefield* (September 1997), File Folder: Nez Perce NHP, Box 195 – Nez Perce National Historical Park to Ninety Six National Historical Park, Entry P417, Entry 79, NARA II.

<sup>139</sup> “Senate: Nez Perce National Historical Park.”

<sup>140</sup> Ibid. The construction of the bill was not a simple task, and it required not only cooperation between the federal government and the Nez Perce band in Idaho but the Nez Perce band in Nespelem on the Colville reservation. This multi-layered effort of cooperation only highlighted even further the culture and peoples the federal government fractured when it dispossessed the Nez Perce people. While the original sites of the Nez Perce National Historical Park were under the control of the Nez Perce tribe of Idaho, the Joseph Band of Nez Perce would participate in the interpretation of the additional sites located in Oregon, Montana, and Idaho. Only those sites located on the Nez Perce Reservation would be maintained and interpreted solely by the Idaho tribe. Likewise, those sites located within the boundaries of the Colville Reservation would be under the complete control of the Chief Joseph Band of Nez Perce. If the Chief Joseph Band chose to remove the Washington State sites from the park system, the Nez Perce in Idaho would support such a decision.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

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<sup>143</sup> “Bush approves expansion of Nez Perce national park,” n.n., n.d. Vertical Files – News Clippings 8/67 – 1/95, BIHO.

<sup>144</sup> “Historic battle site preserved,” *Dillon Tribute*, November 4, 1992, p. A-9. Vertical Files – News Clippings 8/67 – 1/95, BIHO.

## Chapter 4

### “THE TRAGEDIES THAT AFFECT OUR NATIONAL CONCIIOUSNESS”: SAND CREEK MASSACRE NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE (1864 – 2007)

#### Preserving the Land: the Physical Reminder of Past Wrongs

On April 28, 2007, National Park Service Director Mary Bomar, Colorado Governor Bill Ritter, and former Colorado Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell gathered on the plains of Kiowa County, Colorado to dedicate the establishment of the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site (**Figure 6.1**). Leaders of the Northern and Southern Cheyenne and the Arapaho tribes addressed the gathering as well.<sup>1</sup> These notable individuals and groups came together to officially commemorate and remember the massacre of more than one hundred Cheyenne and Arapaho people at Sand Creek by Colonel John Chivington and his Colorado Volunteers.<sup>2</sup> Newspapers all over the United States acknowledged the event. *The Denver Post* wrote that Senator Campbell addressed the audience by announcing the Colorado Volunteers believed the natives were the “savages” and “sub-human” (**Figure 6.2**)<sup>3</sup> The *Charleston Gazette* elaborated on Campbell’s remarks: “If there were any savages that day, it was not the Indian people.”<sup>4</sup> Campbell’s pronouncement served as a public and federal recognition of past wrongs committed against the native people of Colorado. For decades, Antietam, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania, and Big Hole struggled to incorporate a more complex analysis of war, its causes, and racial motivations into their site interpretations. In contrast, however, the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site was established specifically as a physical reminder of the nation’s historical legacy of racial violence. Rather than celebrate an



episode in the nation's history, it preserved a "memory stain" by bearing witness to the victims of America's westward expansion, nation-building, *and* Civil War.<sup>5</sup>



(Figure 6.1) Sand Creek Unit Entrance Sign. Photo by Susan C. Hall, July 2010.

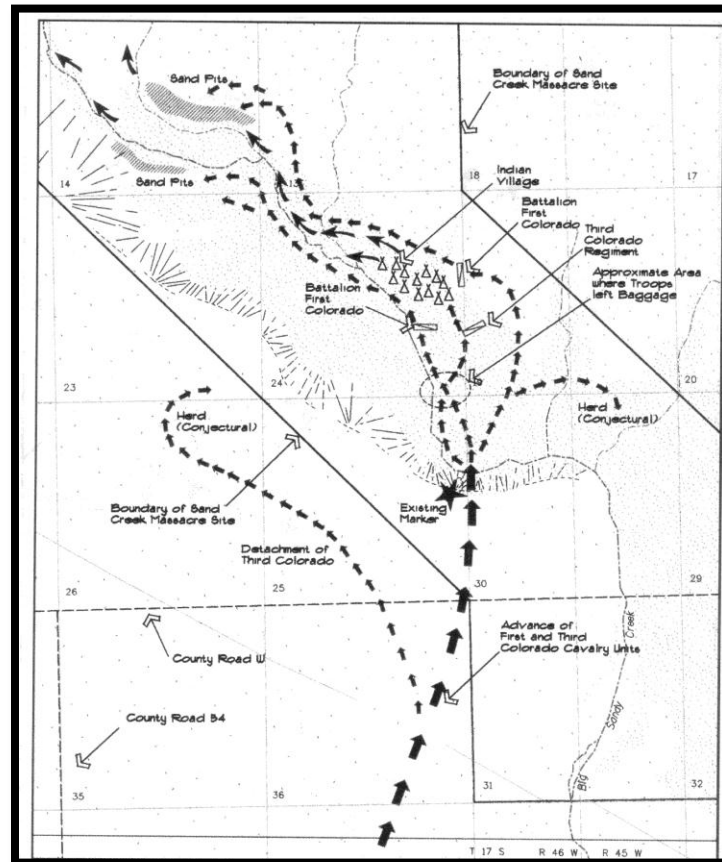


(Figure 6.2) 2007 Dedication of the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site. Former Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell speaks to the gathered crowd. Courtesy of the National Park Service.

These particular stains resulted from the events of November 29, 1864. Under the leadership of Black Kettle, White Antelope, and Chief Niwot, nearly 500 Cheyenne and Arapaho gathered along the banks of their Sand Creek reservation in the winter of 1864. From the center of camp they flew the Stars and Stripes and a white flag of peace. They wanted to live peaceably with the Anglo settlers who overran the Colorado territory after the discovery of gold at Pike's Peak in 1859. As commander of nearby Fort Lyon, Major Edward Wynkoop gave the impression that the flags symbolized a peace pact with the United States military, leaving the Cheyenne and Arapaho warriors free to search for food while the old men, women, and children settled in to their winter camp sanctioned by the military.<sup>6</sup>

To Colonel John Chivington, a Methodist minister and, ironically, an anti-slavery advocate, the flags did not distinguish those in camp from other natives still attacking territory settlers. He saw natives as a lesser, pesky people and thus, all territory natives needed to be wiped out for the land to be truly "civilized." Prior to the attack, Chivington is popularly quoted as saying, "Damn any man who sympathizes with Indians. Kill and scalp all, big and little; nits make lice."<sup>7</sup> Whether those words or others, the Colonel's speech fueled many of his militia men in the cold November dawn, as they opened fire on the camp. At the first signs of hostility, White Antelope took hold of the flags and raised them high in an effort to discourage bloodshed and protect his people. The militiamen ignored the Cheyenne chief's efforts, and they fired into the camp, killing White Antelope and scattering those around him. In the chaos, some people fled the camp, finding safety in hastily dug pits along the sandy banks of the creek—their only cover in

the vast open plains of eastern Colorado. Many Cheyenne and Arapaho did not find shelter. In the aftermath of the attack, 165 natives lay dead—nearly two thirds of them were women and children (**Figure 6.3**).



(Figure 6.3) Map of the events at Sand Creek. Courtesy of the National Park Service.

In 1998, Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell, a Republican from Colorado, introduced the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site Study Act to the Senate in an effort to preserve this site of atrocity. Campbell’s actions were sentimental in nature—driven by personal sorrow and public shame. As a member of the Northern Cheyenne tribe who lost ancestors at the massacre, Campbell wanted to personally help

memorialize Sand Creek through preservation. As a senator, Campbell's motivations were also public in nature. He not only spoke for his native nation. He spoke as a representative of the citizens of Colorado and the United States: "for the innocents who were [butchered], the time has come for *us* to face *our* past rather than hide it."<sup>8</sup> Campbell's resolution demonstrated that just like Antietam, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania, and Big Hole, the site of Sand Creek could be personal and public, private and shared, local and national. Yet, Sand Creek was also distinct, bringing the interpretation of the Civil War and Indian Wars together in a new way. Rather than reconcile with the past like its battlefield predecessors, Sand Creek wanted to acknowledge a history of social injustice and racial prejudice. It crossed new racial, cultural, and emotional boundaries unconsidered at the founding of other park units. According to Campbell, "this site will stand as a reminder that racial intolerance is a part of America's past."<sup>9</sup> The National Park Service preserved it in order to acknowledge the United States' difficult racial history of violent native dispossession (**Figure 6.4**).



(Figure 6.4) Banks of the Sand Creek where the Cheyenne and Arapaho were attacked in November of 1864. Photo by Susan C. Hall, July 2010.

Despite Campbell's and the federal government's best efforts, preserving the Sand Creek massacre site was no easy feat, because the precise location of the incident remained debatable. With a strong history of reliance on physical sites to tell its national narrative, the NPS found it essential to locate the historic land in order to establish a strong emotional attachment to it.<sup>10</sup> The National Park Service's nine-year commitment to locating, preserving, and interpreting Sand Creek emphasized the landscape's central role in the nation's changing collective memory.<sup>11</sup> Upon the formal creation of the NPS unit at Sand Creek in April 2007, Director Bomar reiterated Campbell's message: "The history of this great nation is not complete without an understanding and respect for the tragedies that affect our national consciousness."<sup>12</sup> According to Colorado Springs' *The*

*Gazette*, the preservation of the site “was an acknowledgement from the government that something terrible happened here, and the beginning of making amends.”<sup>13</sup> As a federally recognized site, the historic landscape of Sand Creek did not promote the oversimplified, sanitized, and glorified view of United States history that its predecessors did throughout much of the long twentieth century. Instead, Sand Creek officially changed the role of nationally preserved “battlefields” from sites of patriotic glory to complex spaces exposing the “complications, contradictions, and obligations [that shape] American national identity” and collective memory.<sup>14</sup> The park unit’s establishment indicated the reemergence of Sand Creek as a physical site of importance, as the federal government, Coloradans, and Cheyenne and Arapaho nations worked together to break down the racial divisions between people, place, and memory.

Importantly, these divisions were in place since the bloody conflict itself. In the wake of the violent events at Sand Creek, a barrier of sentiment emerged that divided the federal government, who viewed Sand Creek as a shameful massacre, Coloradans, who understood it as a necessary battle, and the Cheyenne and Arapaho nations, who, in either instance, found themselves losing their native homelands. Despite this division, the natives, Coloradans, and the federal government all left the banks of Sand Creek behind them. By the end of the nineteenth century, the federal government preserved other sites of conflict from the Civil War to honor the dead and promote a national—albeit Anglo-focused—community identity centered on patriotism, strength, and sacrifice. However, the physical landscape of Sand Creek was lost—literally and figuratively—to public

memory for much of its 140-year history. Instead, Sand Creek became the embodiment of western settlement: private ranch land protected by barbed wire fencing.

Despite the “loss” of massacre land and racially, geographically divisive sentiments, Sand Creek had a strong emotional impact on those directly and indirectly influenced by its outcome. Although those involved turned their back on the land in 1864, the legacy of Sand Creek continued to be preserved, challenged, and altered. In the absence of the land itself acting as a unifying principle, preservationists depended even stronger on emotions to drive the memory of Sand Creek. These emotions were presented through an ephemeral collection of landscapes dependent on alternative controlled spaces with differing sets of uniting values. Through the communicative space of spoken and written words, material sphere of objects and artifacts, and active realm of human mobility, Sand Creek remained a part of collective identity. According to Dennis Cosgrove, “landscape is a way of seeing the world.” In this particular instance, however, these alternative perspectives offered a way of experiencing Sand Creek without actually seeing it.<sup>15</sup>

Although relying on temporary acts of memory-making that crossed space and time rather than remaining geographically fixed at the massacre site, preservationists managed to maintain a relationship with Sand Creek much in the same way other preserved sites did. Through these alternative spaces, Coloradans, the federal government, and the Cheyenne and Arapaho all presented competing memories of the 1864 incident. They preserved their interpretations of the conflict by vocalizing their opinions and emotions, turning to visual objects for symbolism, and carrying out public

actions to promote awareness and empowerment. Like the battlefield lands themselves, these substitute landscapes emphasized the sentiment of death, family, and personal rights to maintain a strong attachment to the lost site. Although the NPS established Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site in an effort to reconcile racial conflict, an examination of this complex memory-making process indicates that the Sand Creek land, even in its physical absence, was used to fuel and debate racial conflict throughout the long twentieth century.

Before the massacre was even over, the Cheyenne and Arapaho, and Colorado militia already made use of these alternative landscapes. After Sand Creek, the militia returned west where they proudly moved through the streets of Denver. They heard the sounds of bells ringing, women kissing the saddles of their horses, and prayers offered up for those “brave defenders” who saved Denver and its families.<sup>16</sup> As the soldiers paraded through the settler town, happy to participate in the spectacle, they displayed the spoils of their victory in battle—bloody scalps. In addition to looting the camp before burning it, the Coloradans butchered and mutilated the natives’ bodies, cutting off fingers and ears as trophies.<sup>17</sup> For the Colorado soldiers and their supporters, native objects obtained from the “battle” site became a means of preserving their own interpretation of the bloody affair, Anglo conquest and native defeat.

In Washington, D.C., however, the federal government questioned the means by which the Colorado militia maintained a victory over the Cheyenne and Arapaho. Based on complaints filed by a handful of witnesses, they established a formal investigation into Chivington’s actions in the spring of 1865. Captain Silas Soule, the first to speak before



the congressional committee, provided signed testimony challenging Denver's cheers of triumph. Rather than displayed as objects of retribution, Soule believed the "trophy" scalps preserved the atrocious nature of the massacre, especially given innocent native children were among those scalped by the soldiers.<sup>18</sup> In addition to the testimonies in Washington D.C., the committee moved their investigation west, traveling to Colorado territory in an effort to gain further knowledge of the conflict by taking testimonies from Major Edward Wynkoop and others.<sup>19</sup> As a result of their investigation, the federal government publicly condemned Chivington's actions. In their Congressional Report, the committee argued that "wearing the uniform of the United States, which should be the emblem of justice and humanity... [Chivington] deliberately planned and executed a foul and dastardly massacre which would have disgraced the veriest savage among those who were the victims of his cruelty."<sup>20</sup> However, Chivington's military command had ended by the conclusion of the investigation, and no legal or military recourse could be taken to formally condemn the former colonel. Ashamed of the Coloradans' massacre and their contentious act of celebration, the federal government instead chose to ignore Sand Creek as a pivotal moment in the winning of the West, as well as Indian-white relations.

While Denverites felt pride and the federal government felt shame, the victims of Sand Creek experienced sadness and anger in its aftermath. Those Cheyenne and Arapaho who survived the attack at Sand Creek moved east to the safety of the Smoky Hill and Republican Rivers. There they joined with the other Cheyenne and hostile Sioux. Rather than cheers of jubilation and triumph, the camp reverberated with the sounds of mourning and rage. The Cheyenne and Arapaho grieved the loss of loved ones while

vehemently voicing their disenchantment with the federal government. The fact that the ultimate symbolic object of the United States military—a white peace flag—was ignored by Chivington and his men fueled the dispossessed further—and the Cheyenne and Arapaho contemplated future retaliation. They joined forces with the Lakota, Kiowa, and Comanche in an all-out fight against the United States military and white settlers. Years of warfare across the plains reached its peak in 1876 with the Battle of Little Bighorn. In essence, Sand Creek helped set off a wave of Indian-Anglo violence throughout the Great Plains that lasted another several decades and concluded with the settlement of the Cheyenne and Arapaho on reservations in Oklahoma, Montana, and Wyoming.<sup>21</sup>

Although no one actively and wholeheartedly embraced Sand Creek as a physical site of remembrance, the emotions fueled ephemeral landscapes that were not entirely silenced in public memory. Through these communicative-, object-, and mobility-driven spaces, both Coloradans and Native Americans expressed contemporary understandings of the nation's race relations while simultaneously exposing conflicting interpretations of Sand Creek and its significance in the settlement of the frontier west. Over the course of the long twentieth century, these other spaces helped preserve and alter the memory of Sand Creek just as battlefield preservation did elsewhere. Together, these spaces were tools used to debate the legacy of home, rights, and sovereignty in the American West and the nation.<sup>22</sup>

### **“This is Unjust”: Vocalizing One’s Familial Sentiments Over Sand Creek**

Despite—or perhaps because of—the federal government’s efforts to marginalize the Sand Creek Massacre in the national narrative of the west, both supporters and

dissenters attempted to keep the memory of November 29, 1864 alive by vocalizing their own accounts of the event. Without a physical landscape to act as an emotional foundation, words became a powerful means of preserving and altering the past. Throughout the long twentieth century, both the written and spoken word supplied a forum for articulating rival meanings of the Sand Creek Massacre. In most instances, however, these rival meanings relied on the same powerful metaphor to support its argument. The family and its place in the West—past, present, and future—stood at the heart of Sand Creek’s legacy.

Influenced by national changes in urban development and Indian policies, supporters of the attack spoke out adamantly in the last decades of the nineteenth century. These Coloradans avidly vocalized their defense of Chivington’s actions at Sand Creek in an effort to promote a positive interpretation of the conflict. They held on to a frontier settler mentality, arguing that by removing the natives from the land, cultivating its resources, and making it suitable for familial life, Coloradans helped civilize the frontier. Violent eradication of the “dangerous savage” was necessary to truly settle the West. In the 1880s, Hubert Howe Bancroft, an American historian and early ethnologist, dictated interviews gathered from a number of Colorado’s early residents. Former soldiers from the attack were among those included in the historian’s notes. Rather than focus on their involvement in Sand Creek, however, the significant Colorado event emerged as an afterthought—a mere moment in the lives of these Coloradans who witnessed its settlement and eventual statehood in 1876.

For those former militiamen who did mention Sand Creek, however, the native's aggressive disposition against Colorado's founding families became a driving force to justify Colonel John Chivington's actions. On June 25<sup>th</sup>, 1886, O.C. Coffin explained to Bancroft that during the "Indian troubles" he joined up with the cavalry in order to subdue the Indians who were "troublesome" and "committing a great many depredations" against the region's settlers. In his eyes, "the battle was the only thing that would have protected the whites" and give them undisturbed access to the land and its cultivation.<sup>23</sup> The attack ended Indian hostilities in Colorado. More specifically, the Coloradans who participated in Sand Creek defended their actions by relying on the protection, defense, and honor of their families, communities, and "personal" property.<sup>24</sup> Just before "the battle of Sand Creek," Coffin recalled a speech that Chivington gave the soldiers. He wanted them to "remember what they and their families had suffered." For Coffin, Sand Creek impacted his family personally; the first "white man killed in battle" was Henry C. Foster, Coffin's brother-in-law. Irving Howbert—from Colorado Springs—connected Sand Creek to the murder of the Hungate family outside of Denver. Howbert argued that by 1864, the "Indians were on the war path everywhere."<sup>25</sup> He believed that there were over one hundred Anglo men fighting at Sand Creek who "had had friends and relatives killed by the Indians, and several who had been robbed of every dollar they had in the world by them."<sup>26</sup> Only violent retaliation against the natives could prevent similar atrocities in the future.

Ironically, Sand Creek was seen by Bancroft's interviewees as a necessity against native actions rather than Anglo depredations against native families, their homes, and

rightful access to land. Coffin and Howbert mourned the loss of Anglo lives and property, but they did not do the same for the Cheyenne and Arapaho. Marginalizing the presence of familial units at the massacre enabled the men to view their enemy as a formidable foe. While justifying the actions of the Colorado militia, Coffin proclaimed that it “was not a massacre in any sense of the word, as the Indians fought as bravely as the soldiers.”<sup>27</sup> Howbert agreed, exclaiming that he “saw a line of Indians stand in perfect military order, and meet the charge of a company of soldiers.”<sup>28</sup> He further justified the soldiers’ actions by minimizing the presence of women and children when he recalled, “there were a large number of ponies in and around the camp, and probably two thirds of the women and children made their escape on these animals before the battle began.”<sup>29</sup> With the Indian women and children escaped unharmed, this Colorado soldier argued Sand Creek was an acceptable battle in which the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians fought as an organized, matched enemy.

In 1904, nearly twenty years after his interview with Bancroft, Coffin once again felt the need to justify his actions at Sand Creek. On the fortieth anniversary of the massacre, Coffin wrote to the *Rocky Mountain News*, fearful of the Sand Creek memory his children and grandchildren would inherit. He wanted to right the wrong committed against those Coloradans who participated in the affair, because the “battle has gone into history as the Sand Creek, or Chivington massacre. This is unjust.” Coffin spoke out for the sake of his family and his name; “I am unwilling my children’s children shall think of me as participating in a huge massacre, and what is still worse, defending same.”<sup>30</sup> Coffin’s accounts of Sand Creek not only served to recall the past but played a

particularly significant role in the future of his own familial legacy. He spoke out for the posterity of Sand Creek's legacy but his own place in his family's memory as well.

Coffin did not want to be seen as a villain by his family, the same family he believed he nobly fought for at Sand Creek.

In October 1955, scholar Lowell B. Swan presented a paper on the Sand Creek affair that attempted to remove the personal, emotional, and familial-centered recollections of those who lived through it. Before members of Denver's Ben Franklin Club, Swan offered a self-proclaimed "historical perspective" by relaying both the Coloradan and native viewpoints. While Coffin feared history would remember Sand Creek as a massacre, personally defaming his name for his children and grandchildren, Swan authoritatively claimed to set the record straight. Coffin would have been proud, however, because Swan's research clearly favored the Coloradans, precociously describing Sand Creek as a "so-called" massacre. Coloradans' fears of native attacks justified Chivington's actions. He argued, "to my mind, while [Chivington] has been one of the most controversial figures in the history of Colorado, I have felt that he deserved a more sympathetic treatment than he has usually received to date."<sup>31</sup> Simply put, Swan intended his academic speech to right the wrong committed against Chivington and the Colorado militia by the federal government's Congressional Report. Historical evidence not emotions, he asserted, indicated that Denverites acted appropriately by defending their families, themselves, and their actions. However, Swan's scholarly approach still conveyed a level of sympathy for the Coloradan families that was lacking for the Cheyenne and Arapaho, demonstrating the subjective nature of even scholarly history.

By the end of the twentieth century, the spoken and written words commemorating Sand Creek were much more complicated even for those Denverites who grew up applauding their Anglo ancestors. Nonetheless, family—past, present, and future—remained at the heart of these new, complicated interpretations. In 2001, Georgia Garnsey presented a paper to the Fortnightly Club of Denver. Like Swan, Garnsey used primary sources and historical analysis to emphasize the Anglo perceptions of the Sand Creek affair. Although less accusatory of the Cheyenne and Arapaho, Garnsey conveyed a strong connection to the pioneer families settling in Colorado in the 1860s. She gained an understanding for “the excitement of building new lives and sculpting a new country shadowed by the pressures of the Civil War, the constant threat of Indian Wars, and the feeling of isolation from the rest of the country where Western issues did not seem to be understood and respected.” Garnsey felt a new appreciation for the fears and hopes that helped shape Denver’s perceptions leading to Sand Creek. Like her predecessors, she also believed that the memory and legacy of Sand Creek was significant to future generations of Denverites. She used the occasion to profess her hopes for a brighter future: “As I finished writing the last words of this little history, I heard the music from an ice cream truck coming down my block. The happy, childish tunes made me think of my new granddaughter, my hopes for her future and so, my renewed hoped for the future of the world.”<sup>32</sup> In doing so, she explained a sentiment very much in line with the turn of the century and those pioneer settlers who wanted to procure a better future for their children.

Yet, Garnsey’s public presentation offered a different point of view from those preceding it. Rather than preserving an established memory inherited from those

Coloradans who lived through the Indian Wars, Garnsey wanted to develop a new memory and legacy to promote change and understanding. She hoped to alter memory rather than inherit it. Despite her sympathies for Colorado's settlers, she viewed Sand Creek through an entirely new lens, from a "privileged distance of a century and a half."<sup>33</sup> Instead of rationalizing Colonel Chivington's actions, Garnsey took a closer look at Edward Wansheat Wynkoop, who testified against Chivington at Sand Creek. Her analysis of Wynkoop demonstrated that not all Coloradans faithfully supported Colonel Chivington; fear and misunderstanding did not need to lead to violent catastrophe.

Though only indirectly addressed, Garnsey recognized that her "privileged distance" was deeply impacted by the momentous events of 2001. She acknowledged that those emotions, influenced most likely by the attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon, also impacted her interpretation of the Coloradans' violent reactions in the 1860s. She noted that as each generation reflected upon Sand Creek, they were affected by other atrocities familiar to them, such as the Holocaust of World War II, the Vietnam War's My Lai Massacre, and now, 9/11. In the wake of 9/11, Garnsey noted that massacres committed in the name of religion, territorial expansion, or racial hatred occurred just as frequently in the twenty-first century as they did in the past.<sup>34</sup>

Unlike Swan, Garnsey did not want to defend Sand Creek—just like she did not defend the Holocaust, the My Lai Massacre, or the 9/11 attacks. Instead, she wanted to use Sand Creek as a learning tool, helping to heal the "bitterness, mistrust, violence, and 'cost' of the...Massacre" and avoid future acts of hatred.<sup>35</sup> Teaching future generations



about the atrocities of such events would help young people “learn to understand and pinpoint the signs of intolerance and injustice in the past” so they could spot it and avert it in the future.<sup>36</sup> This knowledge could prevent such massacres all over the globe; this knowledge could have prevented 9/11 as well as many citizens’ violent reactions against Muslims. For Garnsey, Sand Creek acted as a tool of change rather than continuance—one that encouraged a new path of tolerance and understanding for future generations.

In many regards, the National Park Service hoped to prevent future atrocities with the establishment of the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site in 2007. Ashamed of the massacre, the federal officials in the nineteenth century marginalized Sand Creek, quieting lessons of intolerance and hate for much of the long twentieth century. Nonetheless, these lessons still managed to circulate long before 2007. Others spoke out against the actions taken at Sand Creek in an effort to bring attention to the plight of Native American families at the expense of the nation’s Anglo settlers.

As a vocal advocate of Indian reform, Helen Hunt Jackson used the power of the pen to bring the atrocities of Sand Creek to the forefront of the public’s attention. In 1888, Jackson published *A Century of Dishonor*—a brief history documenting the wrongdoings committed against the native peoples of North America. As part of this history, she described Sand Creek as “one of the foulest massacres which the world has seen. This camp of friendly Indians was surprised at daybreak, and men, women, and children were butchered in cold blood.”<sup>37</sup> In her introductory note, Jackson clarified that her goal was to “show our causes for national shame in the matter of our treatment of the Indians.”<sup>38</sup> They were not ruthless savages but people, men, women, and children; they

were families. She condemned Indian Affairs and its lack of action in protecting the rights and land of these families.

Jackson not only criticized the government's actions—or lack thereof—toward Native Americans but also the Coloradans' pervading memory of Sand Creek. On January 31, 1880, Jackson wrote a letter to the *New York Times* in which she deplored the Secretary of the Interior's cruel actions against the Utes—comparing his actions to those inhuman acts of Colonel Chivington.<sup>39</sup> William N. Byers, the editor of the Denver-based *Rocky Mountain News*, retaliated with a harsh response, condemning Jackson's interpretation of the Colorado people. Instead, Byers praised and glorified the actions of Colorado's soldiers.<sup>40</sup> Ashamed by the way in which the frontiersman, fifteen years after Sand Creek, still justified the attack, Jackson included her correspondence with Byer in *A Century of Dishonor*.<sup>41</sup> Her disappointment toward the nation's treatment of Native Americans extended to the public's memory of them as well. The literary landscape supported by Jackson's *A Century of Dishonor* was a means of publicly correcting what the federal government did not want to officially acknowledge. Memorial recognition of the massacre was just as significant as condemning Chivington's actions in the first place. Failing to identify the powerful memory of the massacre excused other atrocities in its aftermath.

While Jackson decried the actions and memory of Sand Creek publicly through print, the Cheyenne and Arapaho kept its memory alive through oral histories. To some Cheyenne and Arapaho, oral histories remained personal and private—shared within the

native communities and families rather than the entire nation.<sup>42</sup> At seven years of age, Clara Bushyhead's father, a descendant of Sand Creek victims, first told her about her great-great grandmother—eight months pregnant at the time of the massacre. She explained that her “father recounted how his ancestor was slashed by sabers and her child ripped from her body. As her father told the story, she said, it was the only time she saw him cry.”<sup>43</sup> By sharing Sand Creek's stories with the next generation of Cheyenne and Arapaho, the voices of the victims were always heard and protected, inscribed onto the mental landscape of native peoples and the Colorado region.

In later decades, some Cheyenne and Arapaho also made their way to the plains of southeastern Colorado to privately, solemnly listen to their ancestors. Even in its “lost” state, the physical landscape of Sand Creek spoke to some native people. In 2004, *Times* staff writer David Kelly considered Sand Creek's silence in a positive light. He explained that it was on quiet, empty mornings on the Colorado plains that the Cheyenne and Arapaho sojourners made their way to Sand Creek to listen to the screams and sobs of the victims. Laird Cometsevah (Como-see-va), who visited Sand Creek yearly, explained that “there is a small group of us who hear spirits all the time... some hear women, I hear children.” The sojourners themselves felt solace in listening to the dead but also felt that their return helped comfort them. They want to “soothe the restless souls they say still wander” there; the “Indian Pilgrims” said, “we will take care of the spirits.”<sup>44</sup>

By the twenty-first century, however, the Cheyenne and Arapaho also wanted to be heard themselves—to let the larger public know that they were still present, despite

the tragic massacre that killed so many of their ancestors. Sharing oral histories with the National Park Service and other researchers gave them this opportunity. By disclosing certain—though by no means all—histories passed down from generation to generation, the Cheyenne and Arapaho provided new insight into the massacre that eluded public memory in the past. In searching for the Sand Creek massacre location, recorded oral histories were essential to maintaining a native-focused narrative.<sup>45</sup>

### **Death and Survival: Visually Symbolic Memories of Sand Creek**

In addition to vocalizing their interpretations of Sand Creek, Coloradans and the Cheyenne and Arapaho wanted to influence public memory of the massacre through a landscape of material objects and artifacts. These items were new and old, large and small, artistically pleasing and visually grotesque. Those historic pieces claimed as artifacts presented an authentic, unmediated view of Sand Creek—much in the same way federally preserved battlefields claimed to do. However, as Tony Bennett argues in *Birth of the Museum*, artifacts, by nature, are never unmediated or authentic; the “visitor is never in a relation of direct, unmediated contact with the ‘reality of the artefact’ and hence, with the ‘real stuff’ of the past.”<sup>46</sup> Along with newly constructed objects—most notably monuments commemorating Sand Creek—Coloradans and the Cheyenne and Arapaho preserved and showcased artifacts from the conflict as a means of influencing public memories of the past. Together, this visual, symbolic landscape of artifactual and commemorative objects kept the memory of Sand Creek alive by emphasizing the significant role of death surrounding the massacre. By evoking particularly strong

emotions about death, dying, and suffering, they encouraged conflicting lessons about the past.

For many Denverites, these objects and artifacts, even in their uniqueness, highlighted many of the same emotions and ideals emphasized at other preserved battlefields from the Civil War and Indian Wars. For much of the long twentieth century, they symbolized familiar messages of Anglo superiority, heroism of its soldiers, and their willingness to sacrifice their lives for the protection of the citizenry's right to property and home. As the enemy, Denverites visually portrayed the Cheyenne and Arapaho as the aggressors, less civilized savages whose actions and emotions were childlike, vindictive, and ruthless. The objects and artifacts suggested that death, the threat of death, and the necessity of death lay at the heart of the Sand Creek affair.

Nearly seventy years after Sand Creek, Coloradan Flora Ellice Stevens reminisced about her family's experiences leading up to the November attack. The fear of death motivated her father and his friend to join up with the Colorado militia; they were told that "a band of five hundred bucks, squaws, papooses, were at Sand Creek, in Kiowa County, and would attack Denver the next night, burn the town, and leave not a soul alive."<sup>47</sup> Stevens' father set out to the plains of Colorado territory to defend his family who, according to her, already experienced many tribulations on the frontier. Stevens used two artifacts from Sand Creek to foster a memory founded on home, family, and death. In her account, she relied on two artifacts to justify the attack and its outcome.

The first artifact—supposedly put on display at the Denver Museum of Nature and Science in 1937—was the scalp of a native killed at Sand Creek.<sup>48</sup> Like Alexander Gardner’s photographs of Antietam, the native scalp served as a visual artifact of the dead, evoking strong and personal emotions. To Stevens, the scalp symbolized the defense of Denver and its citizenry; death of the native was essential for Denver’s survival. She noted that one soldier scalped the head of a native who killed his friend, Alexander McFarland. After scalping the slayer out of revenge, the man “rode back [and] held the gory trophy high, exclaiming, ‘I got the scalp of the Indian who killed him.’” In defense of the gruesome act, Stevens argued that “whites never scalped or mutilated bodies of the dead, as did the savages.” While Stevens alluded to scalping as a commonplace practice among native cultures, she justified the actions of this soldier as emotionally-driven; the “savage” made orphans out of McFarland’s two little ones left behind in Denver.<sup>49</sup> She looked down upon the native practice of scalping as uncivilized and ruthless, but she lauded the soldier’s solitary efforts as necessary. She argued that without the actions at Sand Creek, “I would not be here nearly seventy years after.”<sup>50</sup> The scalp represented the death of the Native Americans and Steven’s subsequent ability to live on the land unharmed.

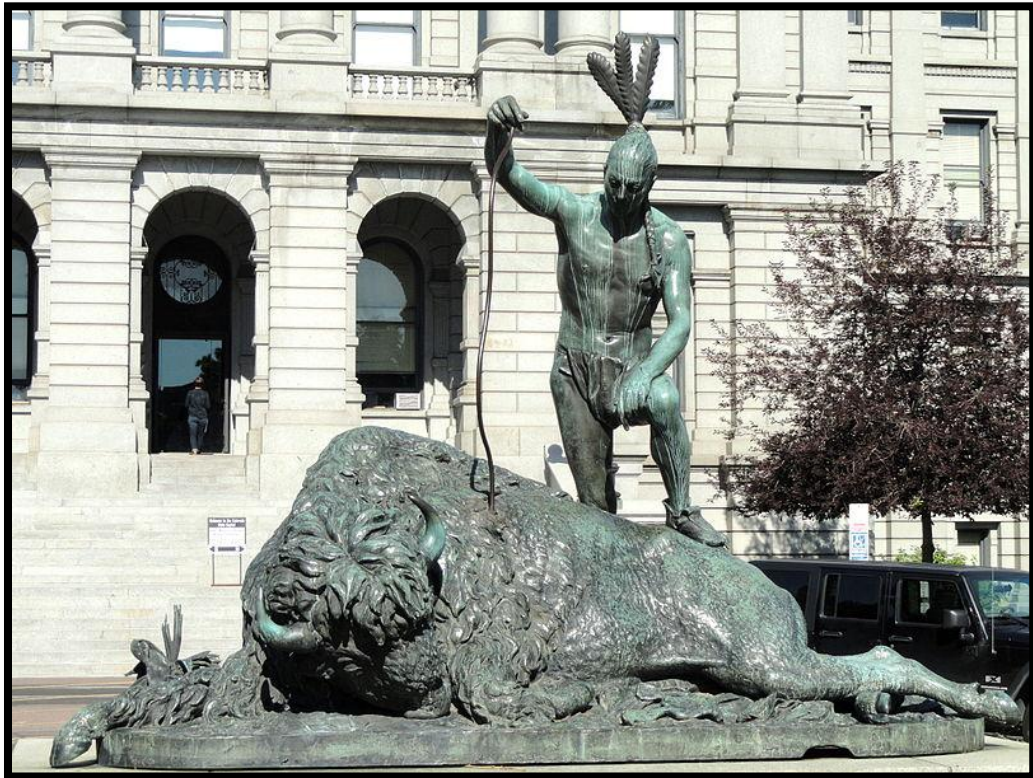
While the scalp visually documented the death of Native Americans, Flora Steven’s second artifact recorded the living. It celebrated the Anglo settlers’ civilized society and its triumph over the “uncivilized,” “savage” foe. Stevens’ second “artifact” of note was a living, breathing boy who lost his parents at the hands of the U.S. soldiers at Sand Creek. As an artifact from the battle, Stevens relied on the child to demonstrate

Anglo mercy toward the natives—civilizing those still young enough to change their ways. The three year old boy found among the dead was taken back to Denver—like the other “trophies” of war—where the Whitsetts family took him in and named him after his attacker, John Chivington. According to Stevens, the Whitsetts “civilized” him by “dress[ing] him nicely, [giving] him a pleasant home, toys and games as the whites boy,” and sending him to school and Sunday school.<sup>51</sup> She argued that “he knew after that Battle nothing but care and kindness from the whole town who were the enemies of his tribe.”<sup>52</sup> She believed the Sand Creek “battle” produced a better life for the boy, because he was more useful to society as a citizen than a “savage.” Like many of those advocates of native assimilation, “death” of the native, his culture, and traditions, meant the survival of the man.

Along with artifacts from Sand Creek, Coloradans erected monuments as a form of memorialization as early as 1909. These artistic renderings of the past honored the frontier spirit of its early settlers, those willing to sacrifice their lives to tame the wilderness. With funds provided by the Pioneers’ Association and the State of Colorado, citizens erected a monument honoring those Coloradans who served in the Civil War. Facing west, toward the hope of the future and the honor of the past, the monument complimented Preston Power’s sculpture located on the east Capitol lawn. Together, these public monuments yielded to Denver’s glorified consensus of the past. In the words of Kirk Savage, “made of imperishable stone or metal, and erected prominently in [the] shared civic space” of the capitol grounds, these two monuments “were meant to be a genuine testimonial of the people’s memory, an eternal repository of what they held most

dear.” These two monuments indicate that Denverites “mold[ed] history into its rightful pattern,” seeking historical closure through death, suffering, and symbolic new birth.<sup>53</sup>

Commissioned by the Fortnightly Club in 1893, Powers’ statue, the “Closing Era,” reflected the idealist vision of the Vanishing Indian (**Figure 6.5**). First put on display at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, the bronze sculpture depicted a Native American standing over a dying buffalo. Just as Frederick Jackson Turner’s words captured the closing of the frontier, so too did Powers’ sculpture.<sup>54</sup> Accompanied by a poem written by John Greenleaf Whittier, the memorial romanticized the “eternal rest” of the Native American and buffalo as the world changed around them.<sup>55</sup>



(Figure 6.5) Power’s “Closing Era.”



While Powers' sculpture portrayed the closing of one era, the Pioneers' Association monument honored the rise of another. The monument, like so many erected around the turn of the century, honored the manhood of the common Civil War soldier (**Figure 6.6**). The [white] Denver citizen soldier stood erect, on top of his pedestal, bravely willing to put his life on this line for the future of his homeland in Colorado. Yet, unlike Powers' statue, death was not a part of the "sculptural program." Although willing to sacrifice his life proudly, the common soldier lives—a symbol of Colorado's survival.<sup>56</sup> His body faces west—perhaps intentionally toward Lincoln Street—while his line of site looks south, toward his enemy. His prominent position in front of the state capitol's west steps highlights the importance of the Civil War in Colorado's territorial and state history. It reflects the state's connection between westward expansion on the "frontier," the Civil War out west, and Colorado's eventual statehood in 1876. One side of the monument lists the battles that Colorado civilian volunteers participated in during the Civil War. Importantly, Sand Creek is among those conflicts listed. The monument indicates that in the early half of the twentieth century, Coloradans took pride in their involvement at Sand Creek, publicly referring to it as a battle rather than a massacre. As a battle, the enemy's deaths at Sand Creek were rationalized and justified as a natural part of war.



(Figure 6.6) Civil War Soldier Monument, Denver, Colorado. Photo by Susan C. Hall, July 2010.

Nearly forty years after Coloradans erected the Civil War soldier, they still used monumental architecture to defend Sand Creek as a battle rather than an unwarranted massacre of women and children. By 1950, a handful of Coloradans ventured back to the southeastern Colorado to mark the general locale of the Sand Creek “battle.” Although the exact location of the conflict was unknown, the Colorado Historical Society organized a ceremony to mark the Sand Creek Battleground near the town appropriately named Chivington, Colorado. The event—organized by Robert J. McGrath, an historian of the region—brought together officials from Denver and the local population who now found themselves as active participants in the memory-making process. As the principal speaker, state historian Dr. LeRoy Hafen dedicated the site in the name of the Historical

Society. Those present for the ceremony included nearby residents from Eads and Lamar, as well as Levi Rutledge, the self-proclaimed owner of the property “on which the battle took place.”<sup>57</sup>

To coincide with the dedication ceremony, the historical society unveiled an historical marker one mile east of the town on US Highway 96. The marker called attention to Sand Creek—the “battlegrounds”—“located several miles to the north in a bend of Big Sandy Creek.” In addition to the highway marker, Paul Steward, a Lamar monument worker and “lifetime student of Indian lore,” carved a “special monument” (**Figure 6.7**). According to a local newspaper account, the monument marked the “actual site of the battle or massacre as it is sometimes termed.”<sup>58</sup> Resting on a cement pedestal, the monument, made of red granite, stood no more than twenty inches tall. Steward etched the profile of a Plains Indian in full headdress above the monument’s simple text that read “Sand Creek Battle Ground Nov. 29 & 30, 1864.” For decades, Steward’s monument was the only on-site object memorializing the event. Those who traveled to the Sand Creek area, though few and far between, saw barbed wire fences demarcating local property lines and the granite monument that once again defined, for perpetuity, the historic site as a battlefield, where the Colorado settlers fought for their survival.



(Figure 6.7) Steward Monument, designed in 1950. Photo by Susan C. Hall, July 2010.

The private property surrounding Steward’s monument was owned by the Dawson family, who had extensive roots in Kiowa County as cattle ranchers. While the Historical Society publicly and permanently praised the success of the Coloradan soldiers at Sand Creek through stone, Bill Dawson preserved his family’s history on the property through personal and private collections. Although only viewed by a select few, the collections harnessed the same message of [settler] perseverance and survival through and on the land. The objects he collected were preserved in a makeshift museum in his ranch house. Familial pieces—such as the clock given to his parents on their wedding day—were mixed in with other items that carried personal sentiment. In 1976, local historian Roleta Teal noted that “among the many other antique items, Bill is proud of a

musket shot that was picked up at the Chivington Battle Grounds and given to him.”<sup>59</sup>

Dawson’s reverence of the musket shot reflects what scholar Richard Slotkin defines as the myth of the gunfighter nation—an heroic engagement of the past that lauds violence for its ability to conquer native people and lead to the settlement of the frontier west.

Through his makeshift museum, Dawson praised his family as pioneer settlers; the objects defined those who “had defeated and freed [themselves] from both the ‘savage’ of the western wilderness and the metropolitan regime.”<sup>60</sup> Dawson saw himself as a benefactor of the gunfighter nation.

Yet, in reality, Dawson was not a direct benefactor of this violent landscape, because he was not settled on the land in November 1864 when the Colorado militia massacred the Cheyenne and Arapaho. His ancestors did not literally bequeath him the gunfighter nation. Instead, he inherited a myth, reclaiming a past that was not his to begin with but resulted from its outcome—the death of the Cheyenne and Arapaho. The objects were a source of pride for Dawson and his family, documenting progress over time—the history of the site prior to and including its settlement by the Dawson clan. In essence, the artifacts connected Dawson’s business with the historic land, suggesting a direct correlation between the massacre and the ranching property. The death and removal of the natives from Sand Creek, after all, helped pave the way for Anglo settlement in the area. Like the monuments publicly displayed in Denver, death and sacrifice led to “progress” and, in this instance, personal gain. Dawson hoped this relationship between Kiowa County’s historic land and his family continued when he stated that he “dreams how some day his grandson will take his brand to put on his cattle for it is his mother’s

brand that has been used on Dawson cattle for many years in the past and he hopes it will continue in the future for this is ‘home to the Dawsons.’”<sup>61</sup> Like the cattle brand, Dawson’s private collection of artifacts permanently marked the Sand Creek land as his own.

To others, the preservation of material objects did not necessarily indicate survival or one’s continued connection to the land. Even those sympathetic to the plight of the Cheyenne and Arapaho saw them as a vanished people—no longer present on the land. In the 1930s, a Works Progress Administration guidebook explained that “like the buffalo that was the mainstay of his existence, the Indian has today almost vanished from Colorado...” Although the guide stated that “the Indian has left his mark ineradicably upon the land,” it was through “relics and ruins, in historic tales and sorapes of folklore, and in places names that preserve the memory of chiefs and warriors and tribes.”<sup>62</sup> As with many mid-twentieth-century narratives, the author found it easier to romanticize the passing of the Native Americans rather than acknowledge the racial hatred that fueled brutal acts or federal policies that placed them on destitute reservations.

Although some people used “relics and ruins” to document the passing of the native people, the Cheyenne and Arapaho used material objects to mark their continued presence. They used old artifacts and new objects to contest Anglo-centered interpretations of the past. Ten years before the WPA guidebook marked “relics and ruins” as the last remnants of the natives in Colorado, a witness to the massacre, George Bent, created *new* visual documentation to challenge the narrative of American

progression and native regression. In 1920, historian George E. Hyde asked Bent—a half-Cheyenne—to recall from memory the landscape of Sand Creek and southeastern Colorado through detailed maps. Hyde believed Bent’s memory of the landscape and Sand Creek massacre to be more reliable than the region’s white ranchers whom, despite living on the land, could not locate key geographic features on a map.<sup>63</sup> Bent’s maps did not just highlight his intelligence, however. They indicated that southeastern Colorado still meant a lot to the Cheyenne people. Though they left the banks of Sand Creek behind them, they had not left their memories.

Like his adversaries, Bent used the map as a visual object documenting destroyed lives through violence. This time, however, he focused on the Cheyenne and Arapaho people rather than the Colorado militia or Denver citizenry. On one map, Bent marked the details of the native camps along the Sand Creek, pointing out where the militia shot White Antelope and killed women and children. Bent’s map geographically defined the death and destruction of native homes and lives. However, he also marked the valiant fight of the Cheyenne and Arapaho warriors. Bent marked the trails of the attacking troops and the sand pits on the west bank where native warriors made their counter assault.<sup>64</sup> On another map, Bent marked the Sand Creek on a much larger scale, following the trail of the retreating Cheyenne. His ability to recall the native place-names and river names along their retreat signified the continued importance of the Colorado landscape to the Cheyenne people. Bent’s maps illustrated Sand Creek’s significance even fifty years after the bloody conflict. Despite defeat, it was still their land. They had not been eradicated or “civilized” beyond their native culture and memory.<sup>65</sup> Through these

geographic markers, Bent made it clear that Colorado was still the Cheyenne's homeland—if only in memory.<sup>66</sup> They had not passed from the land and the land had not passed from them.

While Denverites used objects and artifacts to articulate survival of civilization and defeat of the savage, the Cheyenne and Arapaho relied on these visual, symbolic tools to express their continued presence. Beginning in the 1980s, the Cheyenne and Arapaho grew more vocal about their relationship to the Sand Creek landscape, articulating their concerns publicly about particular objects that misguided the general public. They argued that the site's memorialization through monumentalization misled the American people by glorifying and celebrating the passing of the native people. In the fall of 1985, for instance, Bob Kerr of the Associated Press wrote an article published in newspapers across the country. Descendants of the Sand Creek victims wanted Sand Creek's moniker as a "battle ground" removed from Steward's 1950 monument. As the chairwoman of the Colorado Native American Heritage Council, Cynthia Kent argued that "massacre" was the appropriate title of the 1864 incident.<sup>67</sup> The Colorado State Historical Society agreed to remove and replace the nearby highway marker, but they did not change the monument—suggesting a hesitancy to let go of its noble memory of the state's settler past and replace it with a brutal, unjust reality.<sup>68</sup>

Despite a growing vocal presence among the Cheyenne and Arapaho, the state continued to celebrate its frontier history. As late as 1992, Colorado still struggled to understand its role in the Civil War and Indian Wars. In its publication "The Pride of Our



People: The Colorado State Capitol,” the Colorado General Assembly praised the architecture and art that adorned the capitol grounds when it proclaimed that “the State Capitol building exists as a lasting monument to Colorado History.”<sup>69</sup> The publication featured the fallen buffalo and erect Civil War soldier. Yet, it failed to critique the state’s earlier interpretation of its frontier past. Instead, it upheld a glorified, romanticized, and sanitized view of its early statehood—lauding the Vanishing Indian and praising those who participated in the Sand Creek “battle.”<sup>70</sup>

Nonetheless, as the twentieth century came to a close, the nation experienced a shift in its collective memory. Colorado’s public interpretation of Sand Creek came under scrutiny from the Cheyenne, Arapaho, *and* Denver citizenry as the nation began to address the United States’ unflattering past. Steward’s monument still stood near the banks of Sand Creek. However, Denver citizens—who, by now, also viewed Sand Creek as a stain on their community—were concerned with the conflict’s “battle” status on the capitol steps. As a result, the state Congress debated whether or not to remove the place-name from the Civil War monument. In 1998, historian Tom Noel protested the possible removal of “Sand Creek” from the monument. He disapproved of the legislature’s proposed attempt at “a misguided pursuit of political correctness.”<sup>71</sup> Removing “Sand Creek,” he argued, simply promoted a message of forgetting the unflattering past. It “killed” the past rather than acknowledged it.

Instead, Noel suggested that the legislature keep the incident on the monument. He explained why: “They should not be forgotten. If each generation censors the monuments and topples the heroes of predecessor generations, history becomes

shortsighted. The story of Sand Creek, with all its various interpretations needs to be left open for public discussion and reflection...<sup>72</sup> Instead of removing “Sand Creek” from the monument, the State of Colorado decided to add an additional plaque in front of the sculpture. It reads:

The controversy surrounding this Civil War monument has become a symbol of Coloradans’ struggle to understand and take responsibility for our past...This Civil War monument...was erected on July 24, 1909 to honor all Colorado soldiers who had fought in battles of the Civil War in Colorado and elsewhere. By designating Sand Creek a battle, the monument’s designers mischaracterized the actual events. Protests led by some Sand Creek descendants and others throughout the twentieth century have since led to the widespread recognition of the tragedy as the Sand Creek Massacre.<sup>73</sup>

Rather than rewriting the past, Noel and Colorado’s Congress helped Denverites to accept and take credit for it (**Figure 6.8**).



(Figure 6.8) Plaque added to the Civil War Monument in 1999. Photo by Susan C. Hall, July 2010.

While the State of Colorado debated how to right past wrongs and contextualize the Sand Creek Massacre from the steps of the state capitol, the Denver Art Museum commissioned Edgar Heap of Birds (Hock E Aye Vi), a well-known Cheyenne artist, to create a memorial for Native Americans just a few blocks away. Located in front of the Museum, the memorial presents a different perspective—providing Native Americans with an active voice that complicates Colorado’s Indian-white relations by putting them into a larger, national and international context. The sculpture entitled “Wheel” linked the Sand Creek Massacre to other physical spaces of atrocity from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Wounded Knee and the gold rush), as well as misplaced and misguided federal policies seeking to solve the “Indian Problem” (the Dawes Act and the Bureau of Land Management). “Sand Creek” is found on a tree that also includes railroad tracks and a railroad spike—signifying the price (land and lives) of westward expansion (**Figure 6.9**).



(Figure 6.9) “Wheel” in front of the Denver Art Museum. Photo by Susan C. Hall, July 2010.

The artwork, however, also emphasizes resiliency and life, symbolized most prominently through the powerful life blood (red porcelain) featured as the backdrop of each living tree found in the circle.<sup>74</sup> The sculpture connects Native Americans with the concept of home—a controversial and difficult subject when placing native peoples in the context of westward settlement and dispossession. Despite the memorial’s disheartening messages, the “Wheel” also promotes survival and strength in the face of obstacles (Figure 6.10). The “Wheel” reiterated that these obstacles did not lead to native assimilation or the loss of cultural identity. Instead, they led to freedom and sovereignty; freedom and sovereignty led home. Against the wall is a Cheyenne phrase meaning “we are always returning back home again.”<sup>75</sup> In an interview with *Heyoka Magazine*, Heap

of Birds explained, “Indians always come back home - meaning conceptually - ...they never leave home in the[ir] minds - in their communities.”<sup>76</sup> Even with the challenges brought on Native Americans by Anglo society, the sculpture reasons that native peoples are resilient and will not be taken away from their homelands—physically or emotionally.



(Figure 6.10) The Wheel. Photo by Susan C. Hall, July 2010.

### **Human Mobility: Preserving Sand Creek through Body and Mind**

Heap of Birds’ artwork shows that material landscapes and mobile landscapes influenced Sand Creek memory. The “*Wheel*” asserted that the Cheyenne people always returned home—which was accessible through memory and memorialization if not through physical space.<sup>77</sup> It indicated that the action of human mobility (both physically

and mentally) was an essential part of remembering the Sand Creek conflict for the Cheyenne and Arapaho. In 2004, Free Press Religion writer David Crumm wrote a series of articles focused on “Anger in America.” Crumm explained that “America’s anger often is fueled by the movement of people, especially as outsiders move into settled communities. But the problem is more complex. After all, in America, who is truly a settler and who is an outsider?”<sup>78</sup> Sand Creek, in its entirety was a story about human and cultural migration. Anglo American migration into the Colorado Territory exacerbated the native-Anglo relationship and eventually led to the Sand Creek massacre. In the conflict’s aftermath, the migration of body and mind influenced the memory of Sand Creek as well, impacting how people privately perceived the land and how its story was publicly shared with others.

After 1864, Sand Creek’s landscapes of human mobility took two overlapping forms, defined here as ethnoscapes and modern, industrial movingscapes. According to anthropologist Anjun Appadurai, ethnoscapes described the landscapes of people who comprised a “shifting world”; although the customs, attributes, and memories remained with these cultures, ethnoscapes did not require people to stay within boundaries or specified territorial locations.<sup>79</sup> Mobility—either on foot or by car—gave people and cultures physical access to Sand Creek, crossing generally accepted borders to travel to and move around the site. Movingscapes, on the other hand, introduced people to a landscape that moved around them. According to Mitchell Schwarzer, people in the industrial world “made sense of themselves in landscapes that move.”<sup>80</sup> In movingscapes the “place of viewing” is severed from the objects or events remembered. Through the

internet, for example, people experienced a different connection to Sand Creek; they did not travel to Sand Creek, and instead, it travelled to them. In effect, movingscapes propelled people's emotions and mind forward in motion but "often [left] the body and its other senses where they [were]." <sup>81</sup> In its 140-history, mentally- and physically-driven mobile landscapes played a crucial role in preserving and altering Sand Creek. Human mobility of body and mind provided the freedom, access, and power to experience and control Sand Creek and its legacy.

In the fall of 1864, Sand Creek was part of an ethnoscape of war—the brutal result of two cultures competing over the power, rights, and freedom to access and use the land. At the time of the massacre, Sand Creek's mobility featured the speeding bullets of Chivington's travelling horsemen which found their target in the fleeing natives. By the twentieth century, Sand Creek was no longer a physical landscape of blood and clashing cultures. However, the land's relationship to human travel did not change; it merely transformed. These distinct communities of peoples, with their unique values, philosophies, goals, and aims, all turned to physical mobility to access Sand Creek and assert some level of control over its memory in the national narrative.

For some twentieth century scholars, in fact, human mobility was the foundation of the Cheyenne and Arapaho's defeat. In the 1930s, a Works Progress Administration project produced the "American History Manuscript," which acknowledged the significant role travel played in the Sand Creek incident. According to the author, Coloradans defended their actions, because a number of "outrages and atrocities [had

been] committed by the Indians along the lines of travel” in 1864. Those lines of travel not only impacted the Cheyenne and Arapaho in 1864; they were detrimental to their memory in its aftermath. Confined, immobile to reservations by the end of the nineteenth century, the Cheyenne and Arapaho were in no place to access the dominant means of memory-making. He explained,

The writer is aware that various and far different accounts of this massacre have appeared...The Indians do not write for the newspapers, hence their cause must [sic] wait, like truth, through ‘the eternal years of God,’ for vindication. When passion shall have given way to candid reason in the generations to come, the tragedy of Big Sandy, if not classed as a crime against civilization, will at least be denominated a mistake.<sup>82</sup>

The author believed isolation from the Anglo-dominant culture—marked notably by the newspaper—kept their voice out of the national narrative. Access to time, not space, would help change the memory of Sand Creek. Without geographic mobility, only temporal progress would reveal the incident’s true nature.

However, by the 1930s, time *and* travel already worked together to influence the meaning of the massacre land. In addition to the Cheyenne and Arapaho’s nineteenth century lines of travel, a new path of twentieth century travel forged a different ethnoscape founded on Sand Creek and its memory. At its core, this ethnoscape intended to preserve a sanitized memory of nineteenth century warfare through the automobile culture of twentieth century heritage tourism. During the Great Depression, the federal government got involved with Colorado’s moving landscapes as a means of boosting the nation’s morale by encouraging social harmony and new consumption practices. Taking to the open road of southeastern Colorado provided freedom from a constricting, militant,



stressful environment.<sup>83</sup> Through the WPA, the government hired writers to document and “sell,” among other things, the history of Colorado. As part of this program, WPA writers produced tourist guidebooks to encourage travel to the state’s natural and historic landscapes. With funds from the federal government, Sand Creek, though still “lost,” became part of this heritage-based landscape of travel. The guidebook encouraged tourist access to the state’s historic sites themselves where they could experience, firsthand, emotions of patriotism and nationalism even in the midst of a national crisis. However, a look at one of the WPA’s Colorado guidebooks indicates that tourism to Sand Creek could encourage a deeper debate about past racial conflicts and the concept of freedom rather than a simple glorification of the nation’s past.

Colorado State Guide Tour Number Eight did not endorse an entirely uplifting narrative of Colorado’s past. The tour included a stop in the town of Chivington, named after the colonel in command of U.S. troops at the “Sand Creek Massacre.” The prevalent placement of the massacre at Sand Creek in Colorado’s tourism guidebook is noteworthy for two reasons. First, the site of Sand Creek remained unmarked in the 1930s. The nearby town of Chivington only provided indirect access to the massacre site, requiring tourists to internalize an imagined landscape rather than an actual one. Secondly, the federal government more often than not chose to marginalize the massacre as a stain on American history. Therefore, it was surprising that the WPA dedicated a fair amount of text to “perhaps the most disputed incident in the history of Colorado.” When the author marked the conflict as a massacre rather than a battle, he questioned the status of the state’s frontier heroes. Although exaggerating the number of casualties—claiming that

the militia wiped out 700 to 1,000 “Indians, including women and children”—the guide publicized a new interpretation not entirely friendly to Chivington or the Coloradans. Whereas other accounts of Sand Creek emphasized the brutality of the Cheyenne and Arapaho, this WPA guide conveyed a level of sympathy. It highlighted the cruelty of the state troops who denied the natives freedom and access to the land.<sup>84</sup> Like other early critics of the Sand Creek incident, the authors of the “American History Manuscript” and the Guide Tour Number 8 were still among the minority speaking out against the Coloradans’ crime against humanity.

Despite the federal promotion of Sand Creek as a thought-provoking tourist destination in the 1930s, travelers sparsely ventured to the remote site during the mid-twentieth century. For those who did, it is unclear whether their love of military history included a deeper reflection on past acts of inhumanity against the Cheyenne and Arapaho. However, the photographic records of their travels do relay some significant underlying messages. Their journeys from Denver to Sand Creek reveal the subconscious but powerful actions of tourists at play impacting the history and memory of Sand Creek.<sup>85</sup>

On May 30, 1969, Denver restaurateur and history buff Sam Arnold and his family travelled out to the remote landscape. Described by anthropologists as a rather common touristic performance, the Arnolds drove their car out to Sand Creek and once, there, visually captured their trip on film. In one image, Sam took a shot of the massacre site itself, labeling it “Sand Ck. Battle Site.” In another slide, Carrie Arnold sat next to

Steward's 1950 monument in what Anthropologist Stephanie Hom-Cary defines as her "tourist moment"—a brief instance in which she connected "to the 'other'; moments of social intimacy during which feelings of difference are inverted into feelings of sameness."<sup>86</sup> Carrie's physical connection to the monument and Sam's focus on the landscape indicate the centrality of the site to their travels and touristic "performance." Sand Creek's landscape and monument were used as props, displaying their connection, sympathy, understanding, and interest in and with the past.<sup>87</sup> Anthropologists Mike Robinson and David Picard contend that "in encountering the 'other', tourists are provided with opportunities to recognise and confront the persons that they are themselves, which they were before, or will be in the future, or have never dared to be."<sup>88</sup> As such, Sand Creek could be a tourist destination of deeper meaning, opening the door for the Arnolds and other tourists to reconsider how past atrocities committed against the Cheyenne and Arapaho affected the world they lived in nearly one hundred years later.

Unfortunately, any detail regarding the Arnolds' intended narrative of their Sand Creek trip is unknown. Sand Creek's backdrop to the Arnold trip, however, is not neutral or passive as a result of their unknown motives.<sup>89</sup> The historic nature of the bloody site juxtaposed by the modern tourists found in and behind the camera lens tells a powerful story regarding a larger discourse of modernity, progress, and change. Even if the family held some level of sympathy for the Cheyenne and Arapaho at Sand Creek, their emotions were juxtaposed by the family's unconscious and inherited power over this historic landscape. Robinson and Picard argue that by "capturing" a scene in the lens of a camera, tourists brought order to their new, foreign environment.<sup>90</sup> Importantly, they also

brought modernity. In the nineteenth century, “photography created an essential shop window for the world and became an essential pillar of modernity...documenting discovery and on-going social and cultural changes.”<sup>91</sup> Those objects seen and unseen in the Arnolds’ photographs attest to this same argument. Though cameras were widely accessible by the 1960s, automobile tourism was still a sign of middle class leisure. The time, fuel, and energy necessary to reach Sand Creek’s remote location made the trip even more privileged and exclusive.

Robinson and Picard suggest that upon arriving at one’s tourist destination, “the distance between the spaces of everyday life and the...holiday destination decreases and ultimately disappears.”<sup>92</sup> For the Arnold family, however, this was not the case. Despite displaying a level of control over the Sand Creek landscape as camera-toting tourists, the Arnolds did not actually have full access to the Sand Creek of past or present. Sam’s landscape slide of the “battle site” captured the challenges faced by those visiting the historic site. Barbed wire fencing ran across the foreground of the photograph, indicating the purported Sand Creek site in the background was inaccessible to visitors. “Seen” from afar, Arnold’s slide actually documented something he had no direct access to. The photograph symbolically indicates that Sand Creek remained marginalized in Colorado and the nation’s memory; even if the public felt some level of sympathy for those massacred at Sand Creek, it was remote and distant.<sup>93</sup>

While barbed wire fences minimized the Arnolds’ emotional and physical connection to Sand Creek, the same was not true for Don Rickey. In 1976 he travelled to

Kiowa County as an employee of the Bureau of Land Management to visually document the “Sand Creek battle site.” Unlike Sam Arnolds’ personal interests, Rickey travelled to Sand Creek to take some professional photographs as part of his visual encyclopedia of the site.<sup>94</sup> Although the Arnolds’ family vacation was tempered by private property, Rickey’s government status, in theory, gave him additional access to the site and its history. Yet Rickey faced his own challenges documenting Sand Creek. The exact location of the attack was not known and the landscape appeared flat and nondescript in a photograph. An image alone would not establish the significance or narrative of the land. Other materials were necessary to tell Rickey’s story as a traveler.

In preparation for his trip, Rickey asked Floyd Patterson, Research Assistant for the State Historical Society of Colorado, for documentation on the Sand Creek site. Patterson’s report conveyed an ambiguous and non-committal level of blame for the attack, stating the “Battle Site marks the location of the infamous ‘massacre’ of November 29, 1864.” However, he also indicated that “historians are uncertain about the particulars of the ‘battle’ ... What is certain is that women, children, and peaceful braves were killed as well as those who had taken part in the raiding activities.”<sup>95</sup> Although he hesitated to describe Sand Creek as a massacre (perhaps due to his state employee status), Patterson’s report conveyed a committed level of sentiment and empathy for those who died at Sand Creek.

Despite the historic report, the narrative Don Rickey displayed through his visual report shares a slightly less sympathetic view of the Cheyenne and Arapaho. Rickey’s trip

to Sand Creek was part of a conference for the Council on Abandoned Military Posts – U.S.A. for the Rocky Mountain Department of the BLM. During the Fall Assembly, the BLM dedicated a day to visiting the “Sand Creek-Chivington fight” where the participants discussed the “battle.”<sup>96</sup> The conference and day tour focused on the United States military rather than the Cheyenne and Arapaho. Ten years later, Rickey’s pro-military interest in Sand Creek was solidified when he met William F. Dawson, the supposed owner of the massacre site, at a “Custer in Kansas” program.<sup>97</sup> Rickey contacted Dawson in the hopes of gaining access to the site. He wanted to once again drive to Sand Creek and spend at least one full day going over the landscape in detail.<sup>98</sup> Dawson welcomed a visit from Rickey, and he was “very anxious to just sit down and talk...about this and other events in Colorado’s history.” He even extended an invitation for Rickey to spend the night at his house—“the only house within three or four miles” of the battle site.<sup>99</sup> Rickey’s request to access the private property reiterates his recognition of the power structure in place as a result of the massacre—the same power structure noted in Sam Arnold’s photograph of the barbed wire fence. The massacre at Sand Creek, which made the land historical, simultaneously and symbolically made it private property—accessible only via permission by the property owner. The private nature of the property influenced the very way in which people physically and emotionally connected with the Sand Creek environment.

In addition to Rickey, however, Dawson allowed a number of native visitors onto his Sand Creek land. Their reasons for visiting the Dawson property were much more private than Rickey’s or the Arnolds’ interest in the land and its history. After purchasing

the property in 1964, Cheyenne and Arapaho showed up at Dawson's door, politely asking permission to look at the site where their ancestors died. Dawson explained that he "never said no to an Indian", allowing them to hold ceremonies on top of the bluff. Unlike the Arnolds' public act of photographing the site, however, the Cheyenne and Arapaho privately performed for themselves and their ancestors. Cometsevah, a Cheyenne chief whose ancestor escaped at Sand Creek, came each year on the anniversary of the massacre. In honor of the dead, he flew "colorful cloths, [held] forth a child's moccasin, [and] offer[ed] food and song." The ceremonies were private in nature and held on private property that no longer belonged to them legally. Ironically, the Cheyenne and Arapaho honored Dawson's rights to his private property—property rights denied to native nations and misappropriated by the federal government throughout the long twentieth century. Their respect for Dawson led him to respect their rights to honor the dead. He did not, however, grant access to anyone who did not recognize these boundaries or his control of the land.<sup>100</sup>

These clearly defined property boundaries made it difficult for visitors to travel to Sand Creek and did not necessarily encourage formal development of a heritage tourism program beyond the WPA guidebooks of the 1930s. After all, visitors could not see much except ranchland held in private ownership. By the turn of the twentieth century, however, when the federal government showed an interest in establishing a national park unit at Sand Creek, it was clear that the massacre site encouraged a new level of heritage tourism to southeastern Colorado. Sand Creek's connection to heritage tourism during the Depression provided employment for writers. By the end of the century, heritage tourism

offered an alternative means of employment, opportunity, and empowerment to the region's ranching residents.

In 2004, David Crumm noted irony in the federal government's decision to establish Sand Creek as a national park unit. The last big wave of immigrants to the region led to the Plains Indian Wars 140 years ago. Since then, the plains of Colorado remained physically isolated, sedentary, and focused on ranching. Federal preservation of Sand Creek inherently encouraged a new wave of migrants—tourists—into nearby Eads, Colorado. Local residents saw the benefit of this wave of human mobility. It provided them with a new economic opportunity, one focused on the land but not through ranching—hurt by a three-year drought. Chuck and Sheri Bowen started a small business offering tours of the Sand Creek site they claimed to be located on their property. The Econo Lodge—Eads' only motel—was fixed up in 2002 by Sailesh Merchant—himself an immigrant from Bombay. Sharon Pearson's husband, the head of the chamber of commerce explained, "...the one thing we don't want is visitors to the Sand Creek historical site to head down the road to some other town."<sup>101</sup> The Chamber of Commerce hoped that the renovated motel's proximity to Sand Creek would encourage local spending.

While the federal government and local population promoted the development of a tourist-driven ethnoscape to encourage new jobs and empower the local community, twentieth century ethnoscapes also supported native participation in the memory-making process of the massacre site. For much of the long twentieth century, native involvement



in Sand Creek's memorialization remained relatively absent or highly reserved. They did not engage in the public tradition of solemn but celebratory events; any ceremonies held on Dawson's property were done so in private. By the end of the twentieth century, however, the United States' tradition of celebratory commemoration incorporated events worthy of remembering but *not* celebrating. This transition enabled Native Americans to engage publicly in Sand Creek's memorialization without glorifying it. This change was evident through Heaps of Birds' sculpture, but it was apparent even earlier through the establishment of an entirely new native ethnoscape of public performance.

In 1998, the Cheyenne and Arapaho launched a memorial ceremony known as the Healing Run. The run connected what remained primarily disconnected in the memory-making process since 1864; it physically brought Denver and Sand Creek together again. By creating an event originating at the massacre site and ending in Denver, the Cheyenne and Arapaho physically reenacted the bloody path of the native dead as the Colorado soldiers took their remains back to Denver. Youthful members of the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes from Montana, Wyoming, and Oklahoma made the 170-mile trek.<sup>102</sup> In 2003, the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma began their run in Fort Reno, and other years, the Northern tribes organized their own route. However, each year, Sand Creek and Denver served as essential sites in their run across the land.<sup>103</sup>

As a physically mobile tool of symbolic reenactment, the run helped elder tribal members relay the trials and tribulations of their ancestors, but the Healing Run also served other functions. First and foremost, it helped mend and strengthen the Cheyenne and Arapaho communities. It acted as a positive influence on tribal youth disillusioned by

reservation life and the drugs and alcohol that infiltrated their environment. Although mourning the loss of their ancestors, the Healing Run did not promote native absence. Instead, it recognized their continued presence, avoiding re-victimization, and celebrating their physical and cultural strength. The event incorporated culturally significant rituals and places—old and new—in order to highlight the peoples’ rich heritage. For example, the run began with a peace pipe ceremony at sunrise on the soil of Sand Creek and, at times, culminated with a candlelight vigil at Edgar Heap of Birds’ outdoor sculpture. By involving them in the run, the youth learned about their native heritage and gained a deeper sense of pride and happiness in who they are and where they came from (**Figure 6.11**).<sup>104</sup>



(**Figure 6.11**) Healing Run – Arapaho Spiritual Ceremony. Courtesy of the National Park Service (Tom Meier).

Through their bodies in motion, the runners performed a *public* act of self-determination and native agency, demonstrating that history does not have to be written by the victors (**Figure 6.12**). The public nature of the event forced Coloradans to

acknowledge a difficult past of racial aggression and violence. Despite the native focus of the event, the Cheyenne and Arapaho opened the run up to other participants, creating a “ripple effect” that encouraged awareness among other communities.<sup>105</sup> On the tenth anniversary of the Healing Run, the organizers included a ceremony that honored Captain Silas Soule and Lieutenant Joseph A. Cramer, two witnesses of the massacre who refused to raise their weapons against the natives.<sup>106</sup> One of Soule’s descendants participated in the event by reading a letter his ancestor wrote. Detailing the atrocities of the massacre, Byron Strom stated that the letter was ““very hard to read, and even harder to hear.””<sup>107</sup> Rather than encourage feelings of hatred and animosity, Anglo participation promoted an event focused on memorialization and awareness.



(Figure 6.12) Healing Run participants conclude their run at the State Capitol in Denver. Courtesy of Sand Creek Facebook Page.

With time, the Cheyenne and Arapaho welcomed Anglo Americans as active organizers of the event as well. Coloradans were no longer just recipients of a reconceptualized history lesson. Instead, they were actively involved in a cross-cultural and cross-racial dialogue. Larger communities of people at the local, regional, state, and national level got involved as well. A list of partners and supporters of the 2008 Healing Run included the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, Northern Arapaho Tribe, and the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, as well as the community of Eads, the state historical society, the Denver Art museum, the National Park Service, and the Mayor's Agency for Human Rights and Community Relations.<sup>108</sup> That same year, a candlelight vigil coincided with the nation's first Native American Heritage Day and Colorado's Sand Creek Massacre Spiritual Healing Run Memorial Days.<sup>109</sup> Colorado's Memorial Days showed support for an incident that the state long misconstrued in history and memory.

Because of momentum gained by the Healing Run, the public event actually fostered a powerful aspiration for national recognition, land reclamation, and control over Sand Creek's memory-making. The Cheyenne and Arapaho wanted to use Sand Creek and their run to change the public's understanding of the massacre and the Cheyenne and Arapaho people. Like the monument outside of the Denver Art Museum, the run provided an emotional connection to the Colorado land—land no longer recognized as theirs by the United States.<sup>110</sup> Although they did not own the land, the Cheyenne and Arapaho still viewed it as their “home.” In 2008, Otto Braided Hair—the Northern Cheyenne organizer—explained, “the history of the Sand Creek massacre has been pushed aside-many of you don't learn about it in your schools. But we can't forget who

we are or where we came from. These are homelands of the Cheyenne and Arapaho. This is where we came from.”<sup>111</sup> Bill Tallbull, a former Southern Cheyenne organizer of the event, noted that although the past could not be changed, the Healing Run helped him move forward.<sup>112</sup> From feet to soil, the Cheyenne and Arapaho connected with their homeland—publicly reclaiming their emotional and spiritual right to the land.

In addition to native agency through memory-making, the run also acted as an outlet for native political activism. To some Cheyenne and Arapaho, state and national participation in the Healing Run alone was not enough. Acknowledging a wrongful past without taking action in the present was not enough. As indicated by the Healing Run’s logo, feelings of blame still ran strong; the Colorado militia attacked despite seeing an American flag and white peace flag flying over the camp of the Cheyenne and Arapaho (**Figure 6.13**). The visible symbols of the United States and peace had not protected the people in the past. Some argued that empty apologies, just like the empty symbols of the flags, would not protect them in the present. When the governor presented LaForce Lone Bear, a Northern Cheyenne traditional healer and descendant of White Antelope, with his 2008 proclamation, Lone Bear took the opportunity to speak out on the issue of reparations. He believed that the federal government should pay reparations to the dispossessed natives whom Coloradans violently pushed from their homelands. Although the government gave reparations to those Japanese internees from World War II, they did not offer such compensation to the Cheyenne and Arapaho.<sup>113</sup>



(Figure 6.13) Healing Run Logo. Courtesy of the Sand Creek Massacre Spiritual Healing Run/Walk Facebook Community.

While the Healing Run itself provided the Cheyenne and Arapaho with a voice, they often turned to another mobile landscape as a means of being heard. In addition to establishing a new ethnoscape, the Sand Creek Healing Run led to the formation of a new digital movingscape through the Internet. An online Facebook page dedicated to the run allows “friends” to share their feelings on the event (Figure 6.14). In reflecting upon his own participation in past healing runs, one web commentator explained that “this is a very spiritual run, and it helped alot [sic] of people in the northern arapaho tribe.”<sup>114</sup> Another stated “our young people must be taught to never forget what happened at Sand Creek through oral tradition and history books. Our ancestors were strong people to have endured the onslaught of our lands and livelihoods by white atrocities, if they were not,

there would be no survivors.”<sup>115</sup> These comments indicate that the annual event had the impact that its organizers hoped.



(Figure 6.14) Healing Run Facebook page. Courtesy of the Sand Creek Massacre Spiritual Healing Run/Walk Facebook Community.

Although the Run’s Facebook page encouraged native pride and heritage development, it also provided a virtual forum for those individuals still discontent with the United States’ lack of action and change. The web became a more powerful (and less symbolic) tool used to promote agency, awareness, and activism. One web commentator maintained that “blaming white people” or expecting reparations from the government would not actually “pay the bills.” He suggested “there needs to be real solutions for the problems of today.”<sup>116</sup> Another outspoken individual argued that

apologies will come when the united states first acknowledges that manifiest [sic] destiny did not work and that they committed genocide against the indigenous

people of american...This country has been founded on lies and greed. When we can look past the greed we can finally heal as a country.<sup>117</sup>

Much like the Healing Run itself, the online forum offered a new landscape in which people could voice their frustration. These voices indicated that a message of “healing” supported by the federal government and state of Colorado was not necessarily enough.

While some online participants focused on the need for change among the nation’s Anglo population, others complained that the Healing Run organizers themselves lost the true meaning of the event. They argued that current events muted its original meaning. In the wake of 9/11, some web commentators protested that organizers made the Healing Run too Silas Soule-focused, flag waiving, and patriotic. The War on Terror and Iraq War became the center of the event and the “actual Sand Creek Massacre, its victims and why they were killed has been forgotten...”<sup>118</sup> Another vocal poster explained that the Healing Run reflected the shock and awe tactics being used in the Iraqi War.<sup>119</sup> To some observers—and perhaps participants—the swell of patriotic support following 9/11 threatened to bury Sand Creek’s message behind a new wave of national pride.

In addition to the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and their supporters, other people vented their frustration over Sand Creek and its memory via alternative online outlets. In 2004, Kiowa County resident Sharon Pearson created her own online forum addressing county issues. People from all over the world wrote in response to the NPS’s plans to establish Sand Creek as a national site. Some topics were engaging and titillating in nature, encouraging discussions on Sand Creek’s myths, legends, and the “facts” surrounding the



discovery of Indian burial grounds and human scalps.<sup>120</sup> These seemingly harmless posts, however, encouraged a more heated debate both on and off the internet; who had a right to be mad about Sand Creek, its history, and its memory? David Crumm's article regarding this debate, "Anger in America," introduced an essential question over race, public memory, and intellectual property rights. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, who had a right to weigh in on what happened at Sand Creek and why? Who had a right to tell the Sand Creek story? "Who has a right to be angry about what happened at Sand Creek?" Famed historian Howard Zinn argued Native Americans had a right to be angry, because the federal government was intent on eradicating the Indian population of North America so that Anglo citizens could settle on the land. Sand Creek carried out a campaign of racial oppression in the west while the Union simultaneously touted freedom and racial emancipation in the east. Today, Zinn explained, we describe this process as "ethnic cleansing."<sup>121</sup>

Local residents of Eads and Kiowa County, however, argued that the European settlers got lost in the retelling of Sand Creek. Whereas the native perspective got marginalized and misrepresented in the past, local residents feared the Anglo perspective got lost in the twenty-first century. The president of the local historical society, Ruthanna Jacobs explained that "what happened at Sand Creek was a tragedy, but there were also a lot of innocent settlers who came here hoping for a new life and who were murdered by the Indians." Chuck Bowen, who owned part of the Sand Creek property, argued that "people are forgetting...that the settlers out here were living through a fear of Indian attacks that was a lot like our fear after 9/11. The settlers' fears are a part of this story,

too.”<sup>122</sup> Sheri Bowen questioned, “how do you explain what happened here? Did the troops really intend to kill those women and children? What if it was more like what our soldiers now are facing in Iraq, trying to go in after terrorist and, then, maybe some women and children are killed, too?” To Jacobs and the Bowens, Sand Creek needed to present multiple perspectives of the past, because the past was not clear-cut. They wanted to justify their right to the land.

The fear, hatred, and suspicion of the “other” reignited by 9/11 led other forum posters to encourage an Anglo-centric analysis of Sand Creek. Rather than a more complex message of racial tolerance and understanding or native agency, some posters indirectly promoted a racist-centered message of the past. In response to one individual’s negative comments regarding the militaristic actions of the federal government—past and present—another poster suggested they were “ ‘ dangerous, trying to ignite hatred. . . . I think our good people fighting in Iraq are dealing with such people over there right now.’ ”<sup>123</sup> Ironically, by pointing out the negative comments of someone else, this poster actually revealed their underlying motivation of racial and cultural insensitivity. Below the surface, the poster hinted that “such people” in the Middle East were those of different racial, ethnic, and religious backgrounds—much like the Cheyenne and Arapaho more than a century earlier.

### **Conclusion: Preserving a Unique Landscape through Traditional Means**

The contested racial component inherent in the Sand Creek narrative led to a heated public debate that other “battlefield” park units established earlier in the century did not face on such a dramatic scale.<sup>124</sup> As outsiders in an isolated locale, the federal

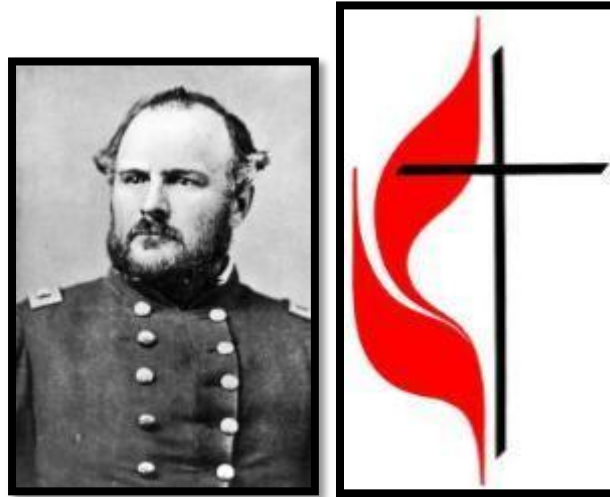
government wanted to develop a positive relationship with the local population of Kiowa County—many of whom sympathized with Colorado’s early settlers. However, the NPS also wanted to work closely with the Cheyenne and Arapaho. Officially designating the historic site as a massacre or battle opened the possibility of polarizing those directly invested in its narrative.<sup>125</sup> Yet, the federal government and Park Service argued that regardless of who fought, why, and under what conditions, Chivington’s troops attacked a sleeping village that flew the Stars and Stripes as well as a white truce flag.<sup>126</sup> Under such conditions, the NPS supported the park unit’s official designation as the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site. It was the first officially recognized massacre site preserved and interpreted by the federal government.<sup>127</sup>

Although Sand Creek’s massacre status made it unique among the Park Service’s historic sites, it still preserved a bloody landscape from a nineteenth century conflict over race, space, and national expansion. The nation marginalized the landscape itself for much of its 140 year history, but Coloradans and natives still employed the “traditional” method of sentimentality utilized at Antietam, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania, and Big Hole. Death, family, and access to power became the founding elements behind the oral and written words, material sphere of objects and artifacts, and human mobility that helped preserve and interpret the meaning of Sand Creek. When the once-bloody landscape became part of the National Park Service in 2007, the nation brought these emotion-driven means of memory-making back to the land itself—no longer kept at bay by the barbed wire fences of private property.

When the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site officially opened to the public, the nation not only saw the history of Sand Creek through the physical landscape but also heard it through its auditory space. The day of the dedication, Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell explained that with the preservation of Sand Creek, the holy place, “the restless spirits of those who died are heard today in the wind through the trees...”<sup>128</sup> The day’s events clarified that those who died were heard on the land, but it also emphasized that those who survived in spite of the massacre would now be heard by the public as well. The inclusion of traditional native songs and chants in the dedication ceremony indicated that the Cheyenne and Arapaho did not “vanish” and neither did their culture. Together, the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Park Service thought that Sand Creek’s auditory landscape of the past (1864) and present (2007) paved the way for better racial understanding and the prevention of future racially motivated violence.

Importantly, the public did begin to listen more intently to Sand Creek’s restless voices. Within a year after the site’s dedication, the public made a number of apologies for the 1864 massacre—indicating a change in the public narrative and memory. At the dedication ceremony itself, Senator Brownback, a Republican from Kansas spoke his apologies from the federal government. He lamented the “wrongs that were done and tolerated by the federal government here and across the nation. They were wrong and they were deadly. As a senator from a Plains state, I deeply apologize and I’ll work to right this wrong.”<sup>129</sup> Privately, the United Methodist Church authorized a \$50,000 contribution for Sand Creek research, recognizing that Colonel Chivington—the Sand Creek instigator—was a lay preacher for the Methodist church (**Figures 6.15 & 6.16**).<sup>130</sup>

Although the National Park Service and United Methodist Church did not accept blame for the wrongs committed in another place, time, and set of racial values, they did publicly share the shame in an effort to better serve the present and future.



(Figures 6.15 & 6.16) Colonel Chivington of the United Methodist Church. Courtesy of the National Park Service and United Methodist Church.

In addition to the national public's introduction to an auditory memory of Sand Creek, the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and National Park Service reintroduced material objects to the massacre landscape. In most instances, they used these objects to publicly, nationally reclaim their heritage, history, and voice at the park unit. A teepee was placed near the massacre site, reflecting the domestic life that coursed through the land at Sand Creek in November 1864. Through this one symbolic object, the Cheyenne and Arapaho showed that men, women, and children lost their lives at the hands of Chivington's men. Although they burned the teepees in the attack's aftermath, the structure's reconstruction on the land promoted the continued presence of the Cheyenne and Arapaho people. The Stars and Stripes and white flag of peace flown in front of the teepee reiterated the

Coloradans' unjust attack on a peaceful, sleeping camp. The white flag left no doubt that the event was a massacre and not a battle (**Figure 6.17**).



(**Figure 6.17**) Raising the flags next to the teepee. Courtesy of the National Park Service.

Although Sand Creek preserved a past full of racial hatred and misunderstandings, it also served as a new beginning in the twenty-first century. At the dedication ceremony, the Cheyenne and Arapaho gifted blankets to the National Park Service personnel in an effort to move forward, establishing a new relationship between the native peoples and the Department of the Interior. Many of the challenges Native Americans faced in the nineteenth and early twentieth century stemmed from the Department of the Interior who “protected” the land for them while simultaneously dispossessing them of it.<sup>131</sup> Although symbolic gestures could not undo past wrongs, it showed a desire on both sides to use Sand Creek as a site of positive sentiment rather than just negative feelings.

Even after the dedication ceremony in 2007, Sand Creek continued to be deployed symbolically by those wishing to prevent such atrocities in the future. This was reflected particularly through the site's mobile landscape. In September of 2010, a number of massacre descendants traveled with a busload of members from the United Methodist Commission on Christian Unity and Interreligious Concerns to Sand Creek. The committee wanted to prepare an "Act of Repentance" for its 2012 General Conference in order to help mend the Church's relationship with indigenous people. While the Healing Run moved from Sand Creek to Denver, the busload of committee members traveled from Denver to Sand Creek—following the path of Chivington and his militia volunteers. Otto Braided Hair commended the efforts of the Methodist Commission. Rather than running from the site as others did in the past, the group traveled to Sand Creek in an effort to better understand and accept the painful past. After sharing his personal memories of the massacre, Otto Braided Hair explained why he welcomed the group to Sand Creek: "you come here in a good way. You come here to seek healing."<sup>132</sup> Like the Civil War and Indian War battlefields under Park Service stewardship, Sand Creek presented a preserved landscape that hoped to achieve peace and unity for the twenty-first century—a concept differing greatly from its original act of aggressive racial violence in the nineteenth century.

Yet, Sand Creek's ultimate designation as a massacre site makes it unique among the NPS's bloody landscapes. The site does not seek to merely complicate its narrative or give agency to voices previously marginalized. Rather, it turns a number of the traditional variables in the nation's accepted collective memory on their head. Those federal

officials and native leaders who spoke at the dedication's events indicated that the preservation of Sand Creek shifted the national—federally supported—interpretation of the West.

In previous national narratives of the nineteenth century, hearty individuals and pioneer families often dominated the memory of the American frontier. Stereotyped as bloodthirsty “savages” in this narrative, natives were blamed for inhumane acts. Yet, at the dedication ceremonies, Northern Cheyenne President Eugene Little Coyote set up a different image of family, death, and inhumanity. He began:

Imagine a place where families eat, sleep, learn; a place where people share knowledge, live in peace and where children run and play; a place where flags are flown to represent protection; a place of safety and security...Now imagine this place disturbed by chaos, gunshots, cries and pleas from the innocent; peace disrupted by attacks of inhumanity.

The Coloradans committed these acts against the Cheyenne and Arapaho people at Sand Creek.<sup>133</sup> William Walks Along, the executive administrator of the Northern Cheyenne Tribe elaborated on the cruelty of the day: “The Cheyenne witnessed unimaginable acts of savagery from the volunteers that cold November day.” They still cried recalling what happened.<sup>134</sup>

Despite the tears and painful memories, the Northern Cheyenne took pride in Sand Creek's national designation as a massacre site. Tribal Councilman Jace Killsback said, “It shows that the U.S. and the state of Colorado are taking responsibility and recognizing their past acts of genocide and policies of oppression against American Indians, *as well as* working to protect and preserve this site.”<sup>135</sup> In other words, the



preservation of Sand Creek, the historic site, was a key symbol in the federal and state shift of public memory of the nineteenth century Indian Wars, westward expansion, and native dispossession.

In addition to its alternative narrative of the frontier West, Sand Creek is unique in another fundamental sense. The site preserves two types of landscapes that introduce an interpretive challenge not faced by Park Service battlefields. Traditionally, as a National Historic Site, the Park Service, Cheyenne, and Arapaho want to preserve the Sand Creek Massacre site as it was at the time of the attack on November 29, 1864. However, the Park Service also presents the site as a cultural landscape. The NPS describes its cultural landscape as

the natural environment and availability of resources has impacted the lifestyles of humans who have used the area for the past 8,000-10,000 years. The site and surrounding area have been affected by hunting, grazing, cultivation, water diversion, development, introduction of non-native species, and extirpation (local extinction) of native species such as pronghorn antelope and bison. The landscape of Sand Creek Massacre NHS is a record of human relationships with the natural environment, the contrasting values of American Indians and Euroamericans, and their competition for limited resources. The continued protection and preservation of these resources contributes to our knowledge of the changing diversity of the Plains ecosystem, its biological communities and its human stories.<sup>136</sup>

As a cultural landscape, Sand Creek can be viewed also as a changing temporal landscape, altering the relationship between nature, people, and memory. Rather than moving geographically across space, Sand Creek moves across time.

The Cheyenne and Arapaho were central players in Sand Creek's dual status as an historic site and cultural landscape, because they themselves understood Sand Creek as a cultural landscape. In an Ethnological and Ethnohistorical study conducted for the

Department of Anthropology at the University of Montana, Gregory R. Campbell described the Cheyenne and Arapaho's relationship to Sand Creek as temporally distinct. Their interviews suggested that the site was much more than an artifact of past native relations with nature; the cultural landscape of Sand Creek acted a central part of their cultural, spiritual, and physical identity in the *present*. In other words, the present merged with the past, establishing identity markers that relied on the natural resources of the land.<sup>137</sup> For example, Sand Creek's natural assets, most notably the cottonwood trees, continue to serve as traditional medicine for the Cheyenne and Arapaho people.

However, Sand Creek's value as a continuous resource for the Cheyenne and Arapaho runs deeper than its natural properties. In his analysis of J.B. Jackson's theory on landscape, Geographer Donald Meinig argues that his idea relied on the notion of landscape as a place in which one lives and works.<sup>138</sup> Sand Creek takes Jackson's theory one step further. Landscape is not just a place to live and work but also to remember. As a site of historic and sacred significance, Sand Creek remains a reserve of cultural memory, heritage, and identity. Campbell described cultural landscapes as places that "remember, bearing living traces of cultural and historical events that connect the past and present with social significance."<sup>139</sup> One such informant connected the events at Sand Creek with the condition of the Cheyenne and Arapaho. To him, the attack explained why his people are all scattered today, and the preservation of the site serves as a "living reminder of the forced changes his people and the Cheyenne had to endure into the present-day."<sup>140</sup> The NPS embraced and respected Sand Creek's centrality to the Cheyenne and Arapaho's cultural identity. Regardless of their public status, the NPS

maintained an element of privacy for the natives and their ceremonies on the Sand Creek landscape.

Despite holding certain elements dear, personal, and private, the Cheyenne and Arapaho recognize that as a cultural landscape, Sand Creek functions beyond medicinal healing and indigenous reverence and memory. As a national park, Sand Creek now serves the federal government and general public; it now influences the many nations' cultural memories and heritage. In order to merge the United States' past and present—not just the Cheyenne and Arapaho's—some natives proposed the general public have access to the site, as well. When standing where he thought the center of the main camp was, one of Campbell's informants exclaimed, “this is sort of like the center of Sand Creek right here... This is the farthest point that we should let the American Public or anybody, right here! This area right here. The walkway down that hill to help them experience what happened a long time ago.”<sup>141</sup> He recognized that a physical connection to the massacre site had the power to clarify the past, altering the nation's collective memory.

“Collective memory” entered Sand Creek's cultural landscape rhetoric within the last decade or so, when the NPS, Coloradans, and Cheyenne and Arapaho rediscovered the massacre site and preserved it for the nation(s). With the “discovery” and dedication of Sand Creek Massacre NHS, people recognized “preservation” and “memory” as new components of their relationship with the natural landscape. In reality, however, Sand Creek was never truly lost, because it always acted as an integral element of the west's

collective memory and storyscape. Preservation and memory had actually been a significant part of the landscape—physically and mentally—since 1864. Although our interpretation and memory of the past changed over time, the site itself always remained. Laird Cometsevah explained it well when he stated, ““Sand Creek means a lot to people. It will never disappear. Only the people will.””<sup>142</sup>

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#### Chapter 4 Notes

<sup>1</sup> National Park Service, Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site, “Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site: Photos and Multimedia”; available from <http://www.nps.gov/sand/photosmultimedia/index.htm>; Internet; accessed 17 February 2008.

<sup>2</sup> National Park Service, Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site, “General Management Plan,” *Newsletter 1* (Fall 2007); available from [http://www.nps.gov/sand/upload/SACRnews1\\_2007.pdf](http://www.nps.gov/sand/upload/SACRnews1_2007.pdf); Internet; accessed 17 February 2008. The troops who attacked at Sand Creek were both infantry and cavalry. However, the units were all state volunteers during the Civil War. Later, this would play an important role, because they were not regular army units.

<sup>3</sup> Jeffrey Looeib, “Hopes for Healing Given Voice at Historic Site’s Dedication,” *The Denver Post*, April 29, 2007. Accessed from Newsbank 21 April 2008.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Weller, “Site of Indian Massacre Gets Memorial,” *The Charleston Gazette*, April 29, 2007. Accessed from Newsbank 21 April 2008.

<sup>5</sup> Erika Doss, *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America* (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 254.

<sup>6</sup> It should be noted that earlier in November 1864, Wynkoop was removed from his command at Fort Lyon, leaving him unable to protect the Cheyenne and Arapaho at Sand Creek. For a detailed study of Wynkoop, see: Louis Kraft, *Ned Wynkoop and the Lonely Road from Sand Creek* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011).

<sup>7</sup> This quote purportedly made by Colonel Chivington can be found through any number of sources. Public Broadcasting System, “Who is the Savage” in *New Perspectives on the West*. Available from <http://www.pbs.org/weta/thewest/program/episodes/four/whois.htm>; Internet; accessed 3 December 2012.

<sup>8</sup> Brian Stockes, “Sand Creek historic landmark a reality,” *Indian Country Today*, November 8, 2000. Emphasis added.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Many local Kiowa County residents, as well as Cheyenne and Arapaho descendants of the victims, argued that they knew the location of the Sand Creek incident. Material addressed later in this chapter indicates that its general location was known. However, the National Park Service wanted tangible, “scientific,” archaeological evidence to establish the exact location of the massacre site. Jerome A. Greene

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and Douglass D. Scott, *Finding Sand Creek: History, Archeology, and the 1864 Massacre Site* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2004).

<sup>11</sup> *Finding Sand Creek* is a detailed record of the steps taken to relocate the massacre site.

<sup>12</sup> Press Release, Department of the Interior, "Secretary Kempthorne Creates Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site New Historic Site is the Nation's 391<sup>st</sup> National Park Unit"; available from [http://www.doi.gov/news/07\\_News\\_Releases/070424.html](http://www.doi.gov/news/07_News_Releases/070424.html); Internet; accessed 17 February 2008. A National Park Service "unit" is the designation given to each preserved landscape within the NPS system. There are more than fourteen unit types including National Park, National Battlefield, National Military Park, National Monument, and National Historic Site.

<sup>13</sup> R. Scott Rappold, "A Monument to Healing – 'One day we're going to call each other brother and sister,'" *The Gazette* (Colorado Springs, Co), April 29, 2007. Accessed from Newsbank 21 April 2008.

<sup>14</sup> Doss, 302.

<sup>15</sup> Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), 13.

<sup>16</sup> Flora Ellice Stevens, "Two Incidents in the Battle of Sand Creek in 1864," 1. File Folder M742 – Stevens Flora Ellice (Bishop) and Stevens, Arthur Ewing, Western History Collection (hereafter WHC), Denver Public Library (hereafter DPL).

<sup>17</sup> David Kelly, "Soothing the Souls at Last," *Los Angeles Times* (California), February 10, 2004.

<sup>18</sup> On December 18<sup>th</sup>, 1864, less than a month after Sand Creek, Captain Silas Soule wrote a letter to his mother. In the letter, Soule described his account of the action on November 29<sup>th</sup> which he importantly referred to as a massacre: "the day you wrote, I was present at a Massacre of three hundred Indians mostly women and Children. It was a horrible [sic] scene and I would not let my Company fire. They were friendly and some of our soldiers were in their Camp at the time trading. It looked too hard for me to see little Children on their knees begging for their lives, have their brains beat out like dogs. It was a Regiment [sic] of 100 days men who accomplished [sic] the noble deed." Letter, Silas Soule to Mother, December 18, 1864. File Folder 14 – Soule, Silas "Letters of Silas S. Soule Recounting his Experiences in the Colorado Territory 1861 – 1865 also an Account of his Death and Funeral Service" (typescript and copy), Box 1: Name: Soule, Silas, WH1690, WHC, DPL. For his public report, see: Silas Soule, "Silas S. Soule, Captain" report in *The Sand Creek Massacre*, Stan Hoig, author (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 189. Alma M. Brown, "Silas Soule – A Hero History Forgot," File Folder 15 – Soule, Silas – "Silas Soule – A Hero History Forgot," (typescript) n.d., 12, Box 1: Name: Soule, Silas, WH1690, WHC, DPL.

<sup>19</sup> Hoig, 168-169.

<sup>20</sup> United States Congress, House of Representatives, "Massacre of Cheyenne Indians," in *Report on the Conduct of the War*, 38 Cong, 2 sess. (Washington, GPO, 1865). Available in Hoig, 168.

<sup>21</sup> It is generally difficult to find quality scholarship presenting a general history of Great Plains warfare. However, these are a few relevant pieces: Andrew Langley, *Living Through the Plains Indian Wars, 1864-1890* (Chicago, Illinois: Capstone, 2012); Robert Utley, *The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846-1890* (The University of New Mexico Press, 1984); Anthony McGinnis, *Counting Coup and Cutting Horses: Intertribal Warfare on the Northern Plains* (Bison Books, 2010); Jeffery Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee* (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

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<sup>22</sup> Since completing the research for this project, a book has since been published entitled *A Misplaced Massacre: Struggling over the Memory of Sand Creek* by Ari Kelman. Kelman's book is a much more thorough analysis and narrative of the primary figures involved in Sand Creek and its memories. Although this chapter considers a number of different central memories of the massacre, it focuses on the means and themes produced and reproduced to "preserve" and change the memory of Sand Creek. In other words, this chapter emphasizes the means by which people remembered (and remember) the massacre rather than focusing on the memories themselves. Ari Kelman, *A Misplaced Massacre: Struggling over the Memory of Sand Creek* (Boston, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2013).

<sup>23</sup> "O.C. Coffin, June 25<sup>th</sup>, 1886". File Folder – Coffin, O.C. – Brief Description of Sand Creek Battle – Bancroft – 2-16, Box 2, Hubert Howe Bancroft Papers (hereafter Bancroft Papers), Special Collections, Norlin Library, University of Colorado, Boulder (hereafter Norlin).

<sup>24</sup> Ironically, it was land and property that was also claimed by the Cheyenne and Arapaho.

<sup>25</sup> "Irving Howbert, Colorado Springs, October 6<sup>th</sup>, 1886," FF 20 – Howbert, Irving – Robert E. Lee Mine – Leadville sketches of some Indian incidents – Bancroft 3-20, Box 3, Bancroft Papers, Norlin.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> "O.C. Coffin, June 25<sup>th</sup>, 1886."

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Coffin Morse, "To the R.M. News" *Rocky Mountain News*, November 30, 1904. FF Coffin Family – Coffin Morse, Box 1 – Correspondence, newspaper accounts, *Rocky Mountain News* (about Sand Creek): correspondence sent 1904, 2-3, WH1368, WHC, DPL, Denver Public Library.

<sup>31</sup> Lowell B. Swan, "The Sand Creek Massacre, October 31, 1955." FF1 – Ben Franklin Club Manuscripts – Swan, Lowell B. 1948-56, Box 5: Name: Ben Franklin Club WH1061, WHC, DPL.

<sup>32</sup> Georgia Garnsey, "Edward Wynkoop and The Sand Creek Massacre", 2001. FF 33 – D.F.C. Members: Garnsey, Georgia McCracken-Fortnightly paper (Mrs. Walter W.), "Spring Fever," "Santiago," "Edward Wynkoop & the Sand Creek Massacre" 1973, 2001, 2001, Box 8: Denver Fortnightly Club, WH741, WHC, DPL.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Helen Hunt Jackson, *A Century of Dishonor: A Sketch of the United States Government's Dealings with Some of the Indian Tribes* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 87.

<sup>38</sup> Jackson, "Author's Note," in *A Century of Dishonor*, no page.

<sup>39</sup> Jackson, 346.

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<sup>40</sup> Jackson, 348.

<sup>41</sup> Jackson, 344-358.

<sup>42</sup> Other Cheyenne and Arapaho families did not discuss the massacre. Bill Tallbull of Colorado noted that his family did not talk about Sand Creek until he was older. He did not learn about the incident until taking a Colorado History class in the 1990s. Because his grandfather did not want to talk about it, Tallbull did research on his own to learn about his family's past. Tallbull believes that for his grandparents' generation, Sand Creek caused Post Traumatic Stress for the Cheyenne and Arapaho; he said, "it's like losing a family member, you don't want to talk about it." Interview, Bill Tallbull with Susan C. Hall, 6 July 2010.

<sup>43</sup> David Melmer, "Sand Creek Returned to Rightful Owners," *Indian Country Today*, May 6, 2002.

<sup>44</sup> Kelly, "Soothing the Souls at Last."

<sup>45</sup> Brenda Norrell, "Rising from Sand Creek," *Indian Country Today* (New York, New York), December 10, 2004.

<sup>46</sup> Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London, England: Routledge, 1995), 146-147.

<sup>47</sup> Flora Ellice Stevens, "Two Incidents," 1.

<sup>48</sup> Note: this is most likely, though cannot be said for certain, the scalp put on display at the Denver Museum of Nature and Science. In 2004, after an inventory of its collections under NAGRPA, the museum determined that it did have a scalp from Sand Creek in its collections. National Park Service, "Notice of Inventory Completion: Denver Museum of Nature & Science, Denver, Colorado" (Federal Register, 25 March 2004), p. 15368-15369; available from [http://www.nps.gov/nagpra/fed\\_notices/nagpradir/nic0752.html](http://www.nps.gov/nagpra/fed_notices/nagpradir/nic0752.html); Internet; accessed 3 December 2012.

<sup>49</sup> Stevens, "Two Incidents," 3.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Stevens, "Two Incidents," 5.

<sup>52</sup> Stevens, "Two Incidents," 6.

<sup>53</sup> Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton University Press, 1997), 4-5.

<sup>54</sup> Colorado State Archives, "Colorado State Capitol Virtual Tour: Closing Era Statue"; available from <http://www.colorado.gov/dpa/doit/archives/cap/close.htm>; Internet; accessed 3 December 2012.

<sup>55</sup> Although the capitol's online tour of the grounds indicates that the poem was written by John Greenleaf Whittier, a 1992 publication on the Capitol building states that Walt Whitman wrote it. Colorado General Assembly, *The Pride of Our People: The Colorado State Capitol* (Denver, Colorado, 1992), 44.

<sup>56</sup> Savage, 163-164.

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<sup>57</sup> “Dedication Services at Sand Creek Battleground Site to be Sunday Near Chivington,” *Kiowa County*, compiled by Roleta Teal and Betty Jacob (Kiowa County Bicentennial Committee, 1976), 16. The information for this material was taken from the Kiowa County Press published in 1950, courtesy of R. Kelley Jackson. Library Headquarters, Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site, Eads, Colorado (hereafter SAND).

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Roleta Teal, “The Dawson’s History” *Kiowa County*, compiled by Roleta Teal and Betty Jacob (Kiowa County Bicentennial Committee, 1976), 77. SAND Headquarters.

<sup>60</sup> Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 11-12.

<sup>61</sup> Teal, “The Dawson’s History.”

<sup>62</sup> “Colorado State Guide Indian Life,” 1. FF23 – U.S. Work Projects Administration – Writers Project – Colorado – Native American history, Manuscripts, “Indian Folkways, “Indian Life,” “Indians” 1936-42, Box 3: Name: United States Work Projects Administration, WH427, WHC, DPL.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> FF1 – Map: Arapahoe Positions at Sand Creek (photo negative of map with original), Bent-Hyde Papers, Norlin.

<sup>65</sup> FF3 – Map: Bent’s Old Fort Sand Creek Trail and FF4-Map: Camp After Sand Creek and Trail to North Smoky Hill, to Cherry Creek, Bent-Hyde Papers, Norlin.

<sup>66</sup> They have since been used by the NPS, Cheyenne, and Arapaho to help locate the massacre site. Greene and Scott, *Finding Sand Creek*.

<sup>67</sup> Bob Kerr, “Indians Want ‘Battle Ground’ Marker Fixed,” *Harlan Daily Press Enterprise*, September 11, 1985, p. 2.

<sup>68</sup> Warren Epstein notes that part of the challenge came from property owner Bill Dawson, who fought with the Historical Society over his right to control the monumentalization on his then private property. Warren Epstein, “Long After Sand Creek, the Fight Continues: Was it a Battle or a Massacre?” *The Gazette* (Colorado Springs, Colorado), November 24, 1991.

<sup>69</sup> Colorado General Assembly, *The Pride of Our People*, 1.

<sup>70</sup> General Assembly, 42, 44.

<sup>71</sup> Tom Noel, “Leave Record Intact for Next Generation,” Special to the *Denver Post* (Denver, Colorado), July 5, 1998.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Civil War Monument plaque addition. Denver Capitol Steps.

<sup>74</sup> Interview, John LeKay with Edgar Heap of Birds, in *Heyoka Magazine* (Winter 2006). Available from <http://heyokamagazine.com/heyoka.3.sculpt.edgar.htm>; Internet; accessed December 2011.



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<sup>75</sup> Susan C. Hall visit. July 2010. Ironically, displayed on a light post in front of the “Wheel” was a banner for the visiting King Tut exhibit. In its own way, the “discovery” of King Tut’s tomb, the excavation of the tomb and its artifacts, and their display at the Denver Art Museum reintroduces a discussion about the moral and legal implications of the cultural appropriation of others and their property for the benefit of Anglo society. For further discussion of artifact appropriation, see: Melani McAlister, “King Tut, Commodity Nationalism, and the Politics of Oil, 1973-1979,” in *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East Since 1945* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2005), pp. 125-154; Bruce H. Ziff and P.V. Rao, editors, *Borrowed Power: Essays on Cultural Appropriation* (New Jersey: Rutgers University, 1997); Kate Fitz Gibbon, *Who Owns the Past? Cultural Policy, Cultural Property, and the Law* (The American Council for Cultural Policy, 2005); James O. Young, Conrad G. Brunk, editors, *The Ethics of Cultural Appropriation* (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing, 2012).

<sup>76</sup> John LeKay with Edgar Heap of Birds.

<sup>77</sup> Susan C. Hall visit, July 2010.

<sup>78</sup> David Crumm, “Anger in America Day Two” in *Detroit Free Press*, October 12, 2004.

<sup>79</sup> Victoria Razak, “From Culture Areas to Ethnoscapes: An Application to Tourism Development,” in *The Journal of Regional Analysis and Policy*, 37(3), pp. 199-212 (2007), 202. Available online from <http://jrap-journal.org/pastvolumes/2000/v37/F37-3-3.pdf>; Internet; accessed 3 December 2012. For Appadurai’s own work, see: A. Appadurai, “Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology,” *Recapturing Anthropology*, Richard Fox, editor (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1991), pp. 191-210.

<sup>80</sup> Mitchell Schwarzer, “The Moving Landscape,” *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade*, Robert S. Nelson and Margaret Olin, editors (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 83.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid*, 83-84.

<sup>82</sup> “Sand Creek Massacre,” p. 10. FF 25 – U.S. Work Projects Administration – Writers Project – Colorado – Native American History – Manuscripts: “Pueblos Indians,” “Relations with Cheyenne and Arapahoes, 1861,” “Sand Creek Massacre,” “Settlers and Indians,” “Treaty with the Comanches,” “Triumph of Trail Ridge” 1936 -42, Box 3: Name: United States Work Projects Administration, WH427, WHC, DPL.

Other tour guides and writers’ projects in the State of Colorado, however, did not even mention Sand Creek or Kiowa County, reiterating the challenge of reaching an unmarked location in one of the least populated counties in the state. Writers’ projects focused on historical events, people, and topics also failed to pay much attention to Sand Creek. “Colorado in the Civil War File #S-201” did not note Sand Creek despite mentioning the First and Third regiments—both participants in the massacre. Additionally, “Indian Depredations” by Ethem McMillan focused on the depredations committed by Native Americans rather than against them. At the same time, an “historical chronology” explained that the “barbarous wars of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians culminated in the notorious ‘Chivington Massacre’ at Sand Creek...,” suggesting that the author of the chronology believed the incident, known as—but not necessarily accepted as—a “massacre” was a result of the barbarous acts committed by the Cheyenne and Arapaho.

See the following writers’ projects at the Western History Collection, Denver Public Library: Ethem McMillan, “Indian Depredations by Ethem McMillan, Field Continuity, December 17, 1935,” FF30 – U.S. Work Projects Administration – Writers Project – Colorado History, Manuscripts: “History Early,” “History Finished,” “History of the Society of Colorado Pioneers,” “Indian Depredations,” “Jefferson

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Territory”, “Mexican Wars” 1936-42; “Historical Chronology” File #S-200, FF 35 – U.S. Works Projects Administration – Writers Project – Colorado – Colorado History – Chronological outlines of Colorado History 1936-42; “Colorado in the Civil War File #S-201,” FF40 – U.S. Work Projects Administration; Writers Project – Colorado Tour Guides (Tour 10 – 11e), Manuscripts: “La Junta – Trinidad”, “Johnson, KS – Trinidad,” Walsenburg – Durango,” Trinidad – La Veta,” “Walsenburg – Texas Creek,” “Alamos – Great Sand Dunes,” Bayfield – Ignacio”, “Cortez – Shiprock, NM” 1936-42; FF 25 – U.S. Work Projects Administration – Writers Project – Colorado History, Manuscripts: “Colorado, 1860,” “Colorado Frontiersmen,” “Colorado History,” “Colorado in the Civil War” 1936-42; and FF 26 – U.S. Work Projects Administration; Writers Project – Colorado – Colorado History (counties), manuscripts of county Histories from Adams to Yuma 1936-42; Box 2: Name: U.S. Work Projects Administration, WH427, WHC, DPL.

<sup>83</sup> Michael Berkowitz’, “A ‘New Deal’ for Leisure: Making Mass Tourism during the Great Depression” in *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America*, Shelley O. Baranowski and Ellen Furlough, editors (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), pp. 185-212.

<sup>84</sup> “Colorado State Guide Tour 8,” pp. 1-3, FF 39- U.S. Work Projects Administration; Writers Project – Colorado Tour Guides (Tour 8-9c) – Manuscripts: “Tribune, KS – Westcliffe,” “Pueblo,” “Garden City, KS – Grand Junction,” “Syracuse, KS – Grand Junction,” “Gunnison – Hotchkiss,” Sapinero – Delta” 1936-42, Box 2: Name: U.S. Work Projects Administration, WH427, WHC, DPL.

<sup>85</sup> Mike Robinson and David Picard, editors, “Moments, Magic and Memories: Photographing Tourists, Tourist Photographs and Making Worlds,” in *The Framed World: Tourism, Tourists, and Photography* (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2009), 10.

<sup>86</sup> “Slide 1: Sand Ck. Marker, Battle – Nov. 30, 1864, May 30, 1969,” FF31 Arnold Family – Sand Creek Battle Site: color slides 1969, Photo Box 2: Arnold Family Papers, WH1592, WHC, DPL. Robinson and Picard, 10.

<sup>87</sup> Robinson and Picard, 17.

<sup>88</sup> Robinson and Picard, 10.

<sup>89</sup> Robinson and Picard, 18, 20.

<sup>90</sup> Robinson and Picard, 2-3, 6.

<sup>91</sup> Robinson and Picard, 4.

<sup>92</sup> Robinson and Picard, 10.

<sup>93</sup> “Slide 2: Sand Ck. Battle Site” FF31 Arnold Family – Sand Creek Battle Site: color slides 1969, Photo Box 2: Arnold Family Papers, WH1592, WHC, DPL.

<sup>94</sup> Robinson and Picard, 4, 8.

<sup>95</sup> Letter, Floyd Patterson to Don Rickey. September 1, 1976. FF Rickey, Don – Indian Wars-Battles, Campaigns –Sand Creek massacre: correspondence sent, received; maps, notes, newspaper clippings 1976-1986, Box 5: Rickey, Don, WH986, WHC, DPL.

<sup>96</sup> Don Rickey, “Council on Abandoned Military Posts-U.S.A. Rocky Mountain Department Fall Assembly”; FF Rickey, Don – Indian Wars-Battles, Campaigns –Sand Creek massacre: correspondence sent, received; maps, notes, newspaper clippings 1976-1986, Box 5: Rickey, Don, WH986, WHC, DPL.

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<sup>97</sup> Letters, William F. Dawson to Mr. Rickey, April 14, 1986 and Don Rickey to William F. Dawson, April 29, 1986. FF Rickey, Don – Indian Wars-Battles, Campaigns –Sand Creek massacre: correspondence sent, received; maps, notes, newspaper clippings 1976-1986, Box 5: Rickey, Don, WH986, WHC, DPL.

<sup>98</sup> Letters, Don Rickey to Mr. Bill Dawson, April 8, 1986 and Don G. Rickey to Wm F. Dawson, March 20, 1986. FF Rickey, Don – Indian Wars-Battles, Campaigns –Sand Creek massacre: correspondence sent, received; maps, notes, newspaper clippings 1976-1986, Box 5: Rickey, Don, WH986, WHC, DPL.

<sup>99</sup> Letter, William Dawson to Dr. Don G. Rickey, March 24, 1986. FF Rickey, Don – Indian Wars-Battles, Campaigns –Sand Creek massacre: correspondence sent, received; maps, notes, newspaper clippings 1976-1986, Box 5: Rickey, Don, WH986, WHC, DPL.

<sup>100</sup> One newspaper account indicates that Dawson charged \$2 to trespassers and on one occasion, which sent him to court, he held a trespasser at gunpoint. These accusations eventually led to his arrest and jail time. “State Briefing,” *The Gazette* (Colorado Springs, Colorado), October 17, 1997; “Western Empire – Eastern Plains Judge Bound over For Trial,” *The Denver Post* (Denver, Colorado), May 28, 1997.

<sup>101</sup> David Crumm, “Anger in America Day Two.” In 2005, when the government announced that 1,465 acres of land on Bill Dawson’s ranch would be purchased for the site, Chuck Bowen exclaimed that “the National Historic Site will be on land about a mile to a mile and a half from the actual site of the massacre”—on part of his 13,000 acre property originally purchased by his grandfather. Having spent decades searching for remnants of the attack on their property, the Bowens have come up with approximately 3,000 artifacts; on some level, the Bowens feel as if they own a piece of history and as such, were outspoken about the federal government’s purchase of adjacent property. Bowen argued that “the land where they’re going to make the historic site is the spot from where soldiers viewed the massacre... The Indian camp was along Sand Creek about a mile to a mile and a half upstream of the bluffs near where the historic site will be. I think it’s wrong to make a park at a place where the event didn’t actually happen.” William Thompson, “Sand Creek Site Officially Dedicated,” *Lamar Daily News* (Colorado), August 4, 2005; Rich Tosches, “Theories on Recent Cattle Mutilations Sort of Alien,” *Denver Post*, May 24, 2006. Unfortunately, by my visit to Eads and Sand Creek in the summer of 2010, the Econo Lodge was no longer operating, forcing me to “drive down the road” and stay in Lamar.

<sup>102</sup> Interview, Bill Tallbull with Susan C. Hall, 6 July 2010, 6:00 PM.

<sup>103</sup> Importantly, the Sand Creek Healing Run of 1998 was the first time a native-led memorial ceremony received a fair amount of non-native attention and acknowledgement. In other words, the Healing Run was the first time that Sand Creek was publicly remembered and memorialized from the native point of view.

<sup>104</sup> Wilhelm Murg, “Thanksgiving Spirit Run for emotional cleansing,” *Indian Country Today* (New York, New York), September 18, 2003. Interview, Bill Tallbull with Susan C. Hall.

<sup>105</sup> Tallbull with Hall.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> Carol Berry, “Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribal Members Commemorate Sand Creek Ancestors,” *Indian Country Today* (New York, New York), December 16, 2008.

<sup>108</sup> Berry, “Cheyenne and Arapaho.”

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<sup>109</sup> Native American Heritage Day—set to fall on the Friday following Thanksgiving Day—is intended to emphasize the rich cultural heritage of the nation’s native peoples often overlooked on Thanksgiving. Berry.

<sup>110</sup> Although this is partially true, it should be noted that with the establishment of the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site, the property belongs to the Cheyenne and Arapaho people. However, it is under the stewardship and protection of the federal government via the National Park Service.

<sup>111</sup> Berry.

<sup>112</sup> Tallbull with Hall.

<sup>113</sup> Berry.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid. See also: Pariss Scot, “Friday, aug 28 at 5:06 PM Pariss Scot wrote...” on Sand Creek Massacre Spiritual Healing Run/Walk [Facebook]. Available online <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Sand-Creek-Massacre-Spiritual-Healing-RunWalk/152806258079243?ref=ts&fref=ts>.

<sup>115</sup> Marie Jenkins, “Thursday, Dec. 18 at 4:01 PM Marie Jenkins wrote...” on Facebook.

<sup>116</sup> Daisy, “Monday, Dec 22 at 10:00 AM Daisy wrote...” on Facebook.

<sup>117</sup> Melissa, “Wednesday, Dec 24 at 3:38 PM Melissa wrote...” on Facebook.

<sup>118</sup> Restivus, “Thursday, Dec 18 at 2:24 AM restivus wrote...” on Facebook.

<sup>119</sup> Mahago Domiutz, “Tuesday, Dec 16 at 4:29 PM mahago domiutz, lance Henson, Cheyenne headman dog soldier wrote...” on Facebook.

<sup>120</sup> Crumm, “Anger in America Day Two.”

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> It should be noted, however, that some scholars of the Battle of Big Hole argue that it too was a massacre. The National Park Service, however, has not recognized it as such. Shann Ferch, “When We Rise,” in *The International Journal of Servant Leadership* (Washington: Gonzaga University, 2007), pp. 7-12; Clifford Trafzer, Susan C. Hall oral exam discussion, June 2009.

<sup>125</sup> Chuck Bowen justified the massacre by comparing the “Indian version” and pioneer version of the attack. Bowen declared that “ ‘there is the Indian version of the story and there is the pioneers’ version of the story...when the word ‘massacre’ is used, people tend to think of everyone being killed but more than 350 Indians escaped.’ ” He implied that although “battles” tend to be interpreted as a conflict between two matched foes of adult males, “American Indian children were often warriors, so it may be misleading to say many of the children were ‘massacred.’ ” The Bowens were not alone in their uncertain view of the Sand Creek events. As late as 2006, the *Denver Post* still referred to Sand Creek as a battle site, despite their sympathetic tone toward the Cheyenne and Arapaho. Note: It cannot be said whether the article’s author thought the site was a battle site or whether he was using Chuck Bowen’s words. William Thompson, “Sand Creek Officially Dedicated.” Tosches, “Theories.”

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<sup>126</sup> Thompson.

<sup>127</sup> The Washita Battlefield National Historic Site in Oklahoma, however, debated its designation as a “battlefield” even after its establishment as an NPS unit in 1996. In November 1998, a “Washita Symposium: Past, Present, and Future” was held. On one particular panel, “Was the Action at Washita a Battle or Massacre?” scholar Edward Linenthal stated that at Washita, “cultural genocide was the aim.” However, William B. Lees of the Oklahoma Historical Society announced, “it is very important for each of us to understand what happened here at the Washita, to draw our own conclusions as far as what to call it...” *National Park Service, Washita Symposium: Past, Present, and Future* (Washita, Oklahoma) November 1998, 51. SAND Headquarters.

<sup>128</sup> Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell, “Why Preserve a Massacre Site? So the Dead May Rest,” *Preserving Western History*, Andrew Gulliford, editor (University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 190-191. On my own visit to the massacre site in the summer of 2010, I was encouraged to visit the viewing area by myself, in order to listen to the silence, the wind, and the perhaps hear the voices of the victims. Interview, Bill Tallbull with Susan C. Hall. 6 July 2010.

<sup>129</sup> Leo Killback, “Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site dedicated,” *Indian Country Today* (New York, New York), May 14, 2007.

<sup>130</sup> Carol Berry, “Sand Creek Massacre – a year after dedication,” *Indian Country Today* (New York, New York), June 15, 2008.

<sup>131</sup> See: Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Nebraska; Bison Books, 2001).

<sup>132</sup> Linda Bloom, “United Methodists Share in Sand Creek Sorrow,” September 28, 2010; available from <http://www.umc.org/site/apps/nlnet/content3.aspx?c=IwL4KnNlLtH&b=2789393&ct=8716833>; Internet; accessed 3 December 2012.

<sup>133</sup> Killback.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid. Emphasis added.

<sup>136</sup> Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site, “Humans and the Prairie” interpretive panel (Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site, Colorado), July 2010.

<sup>137</sup> Gregory R. Campbell, Department of Anthropology, University of Montana, Missoula, Mt., “An Ethnological and Ethnohistorical Assessment of Ethnobotanical and Cultural Resources at the Sand Creek National Historical Site and Bent’s Old Fort National Historical Site,” *Cultural Landscapes as Cultural Identity*, Vol. 1, 2. 14.3, (1 November 2007), 1017, 1031. SAND Headquarters.

<sup>138</sup> Cosgrove, 35.

<sup>139</sup> Campbell, 1035.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Campbell, 1033.

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<sup>142</sup> Campbell, "Why Preserve a Massacre Site?" 190-191.

## Conclusion

### SITES OF CONSCIENCE: RECONCILING WITH WHICH PAST?

#### “Corrective Lenses”: Using the Land to Come to Terms with the Nineteenth Century

In her analysis of Washington, D.C.’s World War II memorial, *Assassination Vacation* author Sarah Vowell explained, “Never underestimate the corrective lens that is sentimentality.” For much of the long twentieth century, sentimentality placed a veil over preserved battlefields documenting nineteenth-century warfare, relying on emotions to glorify death, sacrifice, and national progress. Yet Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site turned to a new lens of emotions to “correct” the past’s romanticized and sanitized interpretation of race, place, and nation. Although the newest site of bloody conflict integrated into the National Park System, Sand Creek was not the only unit presenting a critical and unflattering narrative of the past. Within the last few decades, the NPS incorporated a number of preserved landscapes specifically to address elements of the nation’s shameful history previously silenced or swept under the rug, such as Indian removal, racial containment, and segregation. Along with Sand Creek, other established sites included the inter-state unit of the Trail of Tears National Historic Trail (designated 1987) tracing two of the paths taken by the Cherokee upon their forced removal from their land in the east; Manzanar National Historic Site in California (1992), preserving the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II; and Little Rock Central High School NHS in Arkansas (1998) where nine African American teenagers enrolled in an effort to desegregate the Little Rock School District.<sup>1</sup>

These new sites reflected important changes taking place in the National Park Service at the turn of the twenty-first century. They acknowledged that race played a key role in nineteenth century *and* twentieth century conflicts. Therefore, race and race relations needed to be developed into their site narratives. These federally preserved landscapes—partly barren remains of a Japanese American internment camp, trails on which modern-day tourists follow in the footsteps of the dispossessed Cherokees, and a desegregated high school—represent just some of the more recent additions addressing the racialized past at the NPS. Ultimately, they seek to bring a multi-voiced perspective to our understanding of the nation’s history.

The NPS’s revised understanding of a racialized past, however, is not just about multiple voices. It considers how those voices interacted with one another through power struggles fought over race and space. These narratives demonstrate the complexity of interpreting, presenting, and remembering a contentious, multi-voiced past through what Dolores Hayden calls the “power of place.”<sup>2</sup> The central role race and racial conflict played on the land indicates that these historic sites—among them nineteenth century sites of bloody conflict—were in fact cultural landscapes, reflecting the nation’s evolving relationship with and reliance on the natural environment. Importantly, these developments, connecting cultural landscapes and racially disputed spaces, not only effected new park sites but all other contested landscapes preserved by the National Park Service.



By the end of the twentieth century, changes taking place at the federal level influenced these modifications in memory, narrative, and interpretation at individual park units across the nation. As early as the 1960s, the NPS considered the preservation of cultural landscapes. However, it was not until the late 1990s that the Department of the Interior established guidelines for the documentation and stewardship of these complex spaces.<sup>3</sup> In 1994, a new Preservation Brief published by the Secretary of the Interior redefined how preservationists understood the landscapes they protected. When Charles A. Birnbaum, ASLA, completed *Preservation Brief 36: Protecting Cultural Landscapes*, he introduced people to a field that took historic sites and examined them through a new “corrective” lens.<sup>4</sup> The Department of the Interior’s standards recognized battlefields as part of “historic landscapes”—one of the four types of cultural landscapes described in the Brief. The protection of these spaces, like any other historic structure, cemetery, or community park, requires restoration of the product by returning the natural landscape to its condition at the time of its historic significance.<sup>5</sup> Nineteenth-century battlefields would be returned to their war-time condition in an effort to capture what soldiers saw and convey how the natural terrain affected the battle. In other words, visitors would feel the strongest attachment to the landscape through visual restoration.

The growing prominence of cultural landscapes in the Department of the Interior’s preservation rhetoric also introduced a more complex bond between space and battlefields. Through the lens of cultural landscapes, battlefields preserved both the physical and ideological relationship between culture and nature; land played a crucial role in nineteenth-century warfare *and* cultural conflict. On a practical level, the physical

attributes of the land deeply influenced the outcomes of these bloody battles. The Sunken Road at Antietam, for instance, resulted in an exorbitant amount of death for the Confederate soldiers. On a more abstract, ideological level, the nation's nineteenth-century principles of freedom, rights, and opportunity centered on land played a crucial role in its race-driven cultural conflicts ultimately resulting in warfare. In other words, the battlefields themselves could not be separated from the cultural debates that inspired the very battles.

Six years after the publication of the Preservation Brief, Congress passed a mandate specifying a new place to acknowledge the role of race in the nation's nineteenth-century narrative of land and cultural conflict; in doing so, Congress directly introduced race to the nation's bloody battlefields. In 2000, Congressman Jesse Jackson, Jr. from Illinois, inserted language into a Department of the Interior appropriations bill requiring NPS Civil War battle sites to place their bloody landscapes into a larger historical context. More importantly, and perhaps more controversial, the bill required the Secretary of the Interior to "encourage Civil War battle sites to recognize and include in all of their public displays and multimedia educational presentations the unique role that the institution of slavery played in causing the Civil War."<sup>6</sup> The incorporation of this language drastically altered the educational aims of the battlefield, indicating that space, culture, *and* racism influenced the course of nineteenth century warfare. Together, through these changes at the federal level, the battlefields became sites of conscience—relying on space and emotion to address past wrongs and prevent future atrocities founded on racism and cultural conflict.

By recognizing battlefields as sites of conscience, the federal government agreed that on some level, the “history” of nineteenth century warfare was constructed to fit post-war aims. In this instance, the battlefields acted as a source of apology and resolution for nineteenth century racism—demonstrating that race and cultural conflict could not be separated from one another on these landscapes of war. In distinguishing battlefields as sites of conscience, the federal government accepted its role in preserving battlefields and interpreting them. At the turn of the century, then, the federal government publicly acknowledged its own influential position in determining the course of the national narrative through preserved places. In speaking before a group of National Park Service personnel at a symposium addressing Congress’s mandate, historian David Blight exclaimed, “we ought to be able to imagine new ways to enrich the story, to broaden the historical meanings we take from these sacred sites.”<sup>7</sup> Scholar Edward Linenthal followed Blight’s remarks, clarifying that the NPS was not only the steward of the nation’s historic land but its national memory as well.<sup>8</sup> In other words, the NPS battlefields did not just preserve nineteenth century race-based conflict. They also preserved post-war racial struggles—and “resolutions”—which they, themselves, participated in. By employing the preserved sites to debate these post-war challenges, the battlefields were not only cultural landscapes from the nineteenth century but the twentieth century as well. This, in fact, had always been the case but it was only recently that historians outwardly acknowledged it.

In theory, federal officials and prominent historians believed that simultaneous recognition of the nation’s twentieth-century cultural landscapes *and* memory-making

authority over nineteenth-century racial conflict would trickle down to all of the NPS battlefields from the Indian Wars and Civil War. In actuality, the involvement of local Park Service personnel, the local community, and other invested groups led to different results at Antietam, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania, Big Hole, and Sand Creek. At each site, these public, federal, and academic developments were met with resistance to or enthusiasm for change. Regardless of their individual outcomes, however, one particular element remained intact: sentimentality. Despite seeking to “correct” the past, preservationists continued to memorialize and interpret through sentimental means. Through the well-established emotional ties of rightful ownership and access, familial love and domestic imagery, spiritual sacredness, and association through suffering, these battlefields relied on sentimentality to open a public dialogue about the past—maintaining or redefining the nation’s national memory and collective identity.

### **Antietam National Battlefield: Moving Among the Living**

It was fear of loss and change that inspired a new wave of community involvement in Sharpsburg, Maryland. In the 1980s, the secluded farmland of Sharpsburg faced the threat of encroaching suburban sprawl. Ironically, the town’s residents who once lamented the loss of their own property to the battlefield now dreaded new home construction. This concern encouraged the establishment of the Save Historic Antietam Foundation, Inc. (SHAF). As far back as 1985, locally concerned historians and citizens helped preserve the famous battlefield’s built and natural landscape from development.<sup>9</sup> In 1997, on the 135<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Battle of Antietam, Dennis Frye, then President of SHAF explained, “...the American public can become the park’s best ally, the park

must let people know what its needs are.”<sup>10</sup> As one of the nation’s oldest preserved battlefields entered the twenty-first century, Sharpsburg’s local community helped Antietam reach new goals that fostered a wider understanding of the battlefield’s historical significance. With Congress’s mandate, slavery and emancipation became a bigger part of the battlefield’s freedom-focused narrative. By concentrating on the living in addition to the dead, Antietam encouraged a dialogue between the federal government and the public about race, race relations, and racial conflict. Despite these changes, Antietam National battlefield and the surrounding community of Sharpsburg struggled to acknowledge their role as memory-makers—unsure how to interpret Antietam as a Civil War landscape as well as a post-war landscape that documented the memory-making process.

When the National Park Service analyzed its on-site interpretation of Civil War battlefields, Antietam National Battlefield did not fair very well. The “Interpretation at Civil War Sites: A Report to Congress March 2000” indicated that Antietam’s exhibit space did not “address the overall causes of the Civil War and the broader social, economic, cultural and political context” “very much.” It also did not spend much time “address[ing] slavery as a cause of the Civil War.” Its wayside signs fared worse—failing to mention slavery as a cause of the war at all. Only the park’s website spent any amount of time acknowledging Antietam’s role in the Emancipation Proclamation and thus, the role of slavery in the war.<sup>11</sup> In the years following this report, Antietam’s Park Service personnel made an effort to incorporate slavery and emancipation more fully into its educational programming, establishing an emotional account of the living to further boost

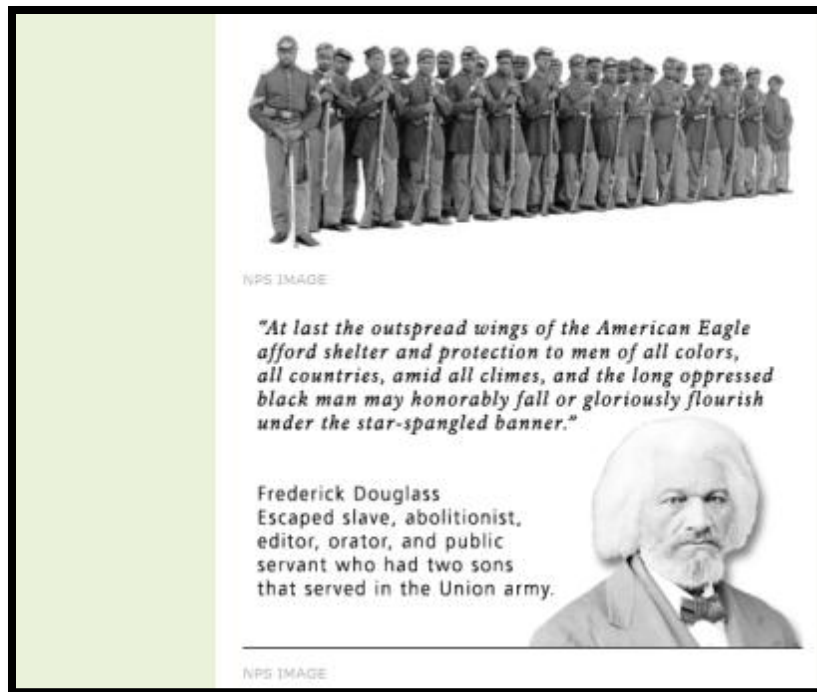
the well-established narrative of the dead. Despite this expanded interpretation of the battlefield, the park unit continued to depend on traditional tools of sentimentality to engage its readers. The website influenced the public's memory of the Civil War by developing a tactic that relied on personal, domestic, and familial imagery. Through this imagery, the United States became a literal and symbolic home of comfort and freedom.

In 2006, park personnel updated their online information regarding Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. Rather than focusing on the landscape's dead, the material emphasizes a significant group of those living affected by the battle: African Americans. While the Proclamation was a strategic political move made by Lincoln and the federal government, the website turns to the virtual visitor's emotional bond with specific individuals to demonstrate its deeper significance (**Figures 7.1 & 7.2**). The page's introductory quote establishes a sympathetic view of President Lincoln when he proclaims, "I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free."<sup>12</sup> Although Lincoln's feelings against slavery are personal, they do not necessarily impact his very livelihood as a free, white male. For Frederick Douglas, on the other hand, the Proclamation symbolized the very birth of a new nation and homeland providing safety, comfort, and shelter for him and his fellow men. Douglas's words encourage a racially inclusive vision of domestic shelter provided by the United States: "At last the outspread wings of the American Eagle afford shelter and protection to men of all colors, all countries, ...."<sup>13</sup> In its own historical analysis, the NPS website acknowledges the United States' failure to provide shelter for all of its citizens in the wake of the Civil War. The inclusion of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s 1962 centennial

speech commemorating the Emancipation Proclamation highlights the need for a post-war dialogue about racial inequalities in the United States. The civil rights leader harnessed the famous document to articulate the need for true and complete freedom and equality.<sup>14</sup>



(Figure 7.1) "Freedom at Antietam" webpage. Courtesy of Antietam National Battlefield (www.nps.gov/anti).

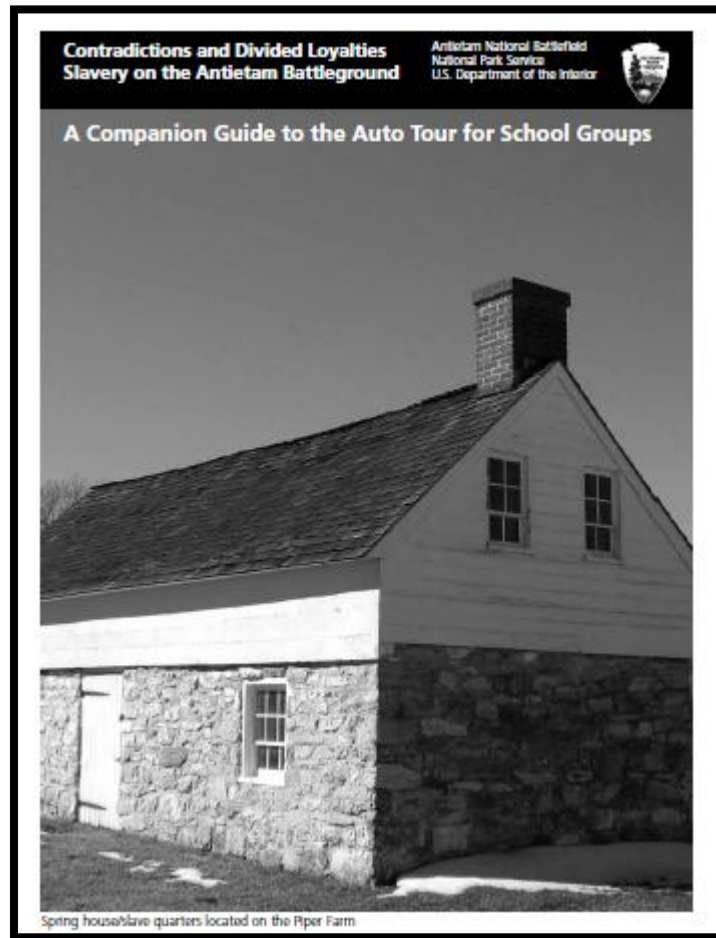


(Figure 7.2) “Freedom at Antietam, Part 2” webpage. Courtesy of Antietam National Battlefield ([www.nps.gov/anti](http://www.nps.gov/anti)).

Significantly, Antietam addresses emancipation and racial inequality not only from a national standpoint, but a local one as well; the slavery question was not just a Confederate problem but Sharpsburg’s problem. After 2003, Antietam updated its teaching materials to include a lesson on “Contradictions and Divided Loyalties: Slavery on the Antietam Battleground” (Figure 7.3).<sup>15</sup> Developed to accompany an auto tour of the battlefield, teachers and students learn that although Antietam helped free slaves in the rebelling states, it did not free those slaves in Washington County or the state of Maryland. The preserved landscape of the Antietam Battlefield, in fact, documents not only the bloody battle but Sharpsburg’s long, complicated history with slavery. One of the most prominent structures preserved on the battlefield—the Dunker Church—took an official opposition to slavery during the war. It expressed its stance against any of its



spiritual family from owning slaves: “no member, neither brother nor sister, shall purchase or sell negroes, and keep none for slaves.”<sup>16</sup> Its spiritual family was not divided along racial lines.



**(Figure 7.3)** Slave quarters on the Piper Farm, “Contradictions and Divided Loyalties: Slavery on the Antietam Battleground.” Courtesy of Antietam National Battlefield.

However, slave-owning families resided on a number of properties destroyed by the Battle of Antietam. D.R. Miller—whose Cornfield and West Woods were captured in Alexander Gardner’s photographs—owned one female slave in 1860. Despite being Union supporters, Daniel Piper owned five slaves in 1850. John Otto, who owned much

of the property on which the last phase of the battle occurred, lived with two slaves as well. While past interpretations of the Antietam Battlefield emphasized the loss of property, livelihood, and family among local farms and fallen soldiers, this educational guide highlights how the battlefield also records those individuals whose families, livelihood, and personhood were threatened by slavery. A tour of the Piper property includes the preservation and interpretation of the stone slave quarters. Guidebook materials also mark the living arrangements of John Otto's slaves who resided in the main house above the kitchen.<sup>17</sup> The material concludes, importantly, that "the slaves of the Antietam Battlefield suffered the greatest irony of the war. The freedom given to their southern counterparts by Lincoln following the battle in 1862 was denied the Maryland slaves until 1864."<sup>18</sup> The Park Service's willingness to address this irony is a significant step in the twenty-first century dialogue over race, space, and nation.

The community of Sharpsburg accepted its role in this new racially-motivated dialogue and further considered the implications of slavery and emancipation on their town. Rather than emphasizing slavery itself, however, Sharpsburg's local population expanded the race-based memory of the Civil War by preserving the town's post-war landscape. In doing so, they help promote a story of perseverance and survival. In 2009, a local Friends group received title to Tolson's Chapel—located on High Street in downtown Sharpsburg (**Figure 7.4**). In 1866, a local African American couple donated the land on which the Methodist Church built the chapel. Beginning in 1868, the structure served as a school house for the Freedman's Bureau; according to records, twelve of the eighteen students attending the school were former slaves. In the wake of the war, the

Chapel encouraged the establishment of a new community, a new home for Sharpsburg's African American residents. Preserving the chapel and school is significant, because it marks a free African American community who took pride in their independence, education, religion, and property rights.<sup>19</sup> Reverend Ralph Monroe recalled the Tolson Chapel with fondness: "I feel indebted. I have a great deal of sentiment because I was reared here," he said. "The church was about the only connection we had in town."<sup>20</sup> The Chapel preserves the freedom and opportunity that shaped Sharpsburg's post-emancipation community as a family.



**(Figure 7.4)** The Tolson Chapel prior to restoration. Photo by James W. Rosenthal, 2003. HABS MD-1202-8. Historic American Buildings Survey. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Not all of Sharpsburg's residents supported this new thought-provoking discourse about past racial conflict and post-war community development. Some believed, in fact, that the efforts of their Confederate ancestors got lost in the dialogue shift. In an attempt to promote their ancestors' ideals, however, the Antietam Battlefield still encouraged a discussion about race, racism, and racial conflict. In 2006, the Ku Klux Klan made a strong gesture by applying for a demonstration permit on the Antietam National Battlefield. One year prior, nine members of the KKK marched through the town of Sharpsburg, protesting gay marriage and "Jewish control of the government."<sup>21</sup> Sharpsburg's local Klan leader, Gordon Young, said Antietam was chosen for convenience but its Civil War status should not be overlooked. Young explained, "our forefathers are flipping in their graves, and we need to do something to stand up and fight back. Immigration, homosexuals—they didn't fight and die for that."<sup>22</sup> As the battlefield most closely linked with the Emancipation Proclamation, Antietam was a key locale to debate constitutional rights, individual liberties, and racial purity.

In May 2006, the National Park Service issued the permit to the KKK, allowing them to rally at a farmstead on the nationally preserved landscape.<sup>23</sup> Although there were a number of objections, Antietam's superintendent, John Howard, issued the permit under the KKK's First Amendment right—a citizen's right to free speech. He explained, "the First Amendment is very clear on that...the framers of the Constitution decided this for me in 1791. It applies to all, not just people we like."<sup>24</sup> Some of the general public agreed with Howard, even though they disliked the KKK. Ken Berlin argued that "even though they disgust me, they have the right to do this, as long as it's peaceful and doesn't

infringe on the rights of others.”<sup>25</sup> Although it did not agree with the KKK’s message, the National Park Service supported their right to speak out.

In June, thirty members of the KKK and other local groups gathered wearing white robes, swastikas, and other signs of white supremacist regalia. Young harnessed the spirit of the Confederacy to attack immigrants, African Americans, and other minority groups who, he claimed, stole jobs, homes, and threatened the lifestyle of white working class Americans: “As the Klan, we are the ghosts of our Confederate brothers and sisters who died here.”<sup>26</sup> The ghosts, twenty-five in number, however, were thin in comparison to the police and private guards, two hundred in total, surrounding the battlefield landscape.<sup>27</sup> In addition to the thirty counter-protestors who witnessed the rally, the Klan’s event led to a counter-demonstration spearheaded by Keedysville resident Reverend Malcolm Stranathan, a pastor of Salem United Methodist Church. Stranathan found the KKK’s rally to be “an insult.” He argued that the soldiers, North and South, “were fighting for ideals that are far beyond what the Klan is about.” The counter-demonstration took place at a nearby church on the Antietam battlefield, where the Reverend led a prayer service followed by a concert in a nearby park.<sup>28</sup> The presence of faith and family encouraged a friendly, accepting rebuttal to the KKK’s own anger-driven effort to stir up emotions.

Despite a public discussion about race and racism during the Civil War, a disconnect emerged between this historical dialogue and acknowledgement over Antietam’s changing landscape. For much of the battlefield’s post-war history, Antietam

did not encounter many racially motivated demonstrations, because Anglo-focused memories of the Civil War dominated the battlefield's historical narrative. Although Superintendent Howard denounced the opinion of the KKK, he did not openly admit that for much of its stewardship history, the federal government itself encouraged a message of Anglo superiority. At a time when such messages were more acceptable and perhaps less blatant, Antietam National Battlefield posed similar ideas to those presented by the KKK. In failing to recognize its own role in race-based memory-making, the NPS struggles to interpret the bloody battlefield as a true cultural landscape—influenced by its own post-war authority over collective memory and American identity. In the twenty-first century, the battlefield park does make an effort to reevaluate its preserved landscape; however, the NPS staff at Antietam wants to restore the battlefield to its 1862 appearance. Although its narrative changed, Antietam still wants to present themselves as passive stewards of the Civil War past when they are anything but that.

When the Antietam park unit revised its General Management Plan, it focused on “bringing the field closer to its appearance at the time of the September 1862 battle.” In other words, the battlefield's historic viewshed became the highlight of restoring, interpreting, and remembering the battlefield. The most dedicated effort to restore the battlefield's 1862 cultural landscape involves its reforestation of NPS land and an attempt to acquire more scenic easements on privately held property nearby. Upon announcing efforts to restore wood lines in 2001, Superintendent Howard explained that “progress is being marked by going backwards in time.”<sup>29</sup> Two years later, Howard made plans to recreate a large apple orchard that extended across the Piper farm land.<sup>30</sup> The NPS

wanted to purify the landscape in order to present a more complicated narrative of the Civil War past.

By preserving and restoring the natural environment of Sharpsburg's Civil War landscape, Antietam National Battlefield controls and marginalizes the battlefield's other historical landscape—most notably its monumental environment. Although Antietam embraces those turn-of-the-century shrines dotting the NPS acreage, it does not encourage the construction of new ones—arguing that they detract from the land's “natural” ability to interpret the battle. In 1991, the park “initiated a moratorium barring any new monuments” from being erected on one of the most “pristine” Civil War battlefields.<sup>31</sup> In 2004, the State of New Hampshire threatened this moratorium when a tribute honoring the upcoming Civil War Sesquicentennial was proposed. The construction of a large, General Lee equestrian statue on private property within Park Service boundaries heightened the concern over new monuments (**Figure 7.5**).<sup>32</sup> John Howard felt weary. The possibility of more monuments endangered his efforts to “restore the fields to a higher level.”<sup>33</sup> Local resident Tom Clemens articulated his dismay in the following terms: “we’re going to have vast marble forests instead of open ground to interpret the battle.”<sup>34</sup> Veterans placed most of the monuments on the battlefield themselves. However, Clemens explained, “once they were gone, most of the monuments were driven by personal or political agendas that frequently overshadow what the veterans wanted.”<sup>35</sup> He believed the General Lee statue was erected simply out of Lost Cause affection, not historical accuracy.



**(Figure 7.5)** Monument to General Robert E. Lee. Courtesy of the National Park Service. Antietam National Battlefield. The monument’s plaque notes: “Robert E. Lee was personally against secession and slavery, but decided his duty was to fight for his home and the universal right of every people to self-determination.”

Yet Clemens’ statement raises two problems inherent in Antietam’s current cultural landscape interpretation. First, the veterans themselves held agendas that led to the construction of the monuments and guided the battlefield’s memory. Accepting them at face value without putting them into an historical context or political agenda degrades their own historical significance and dilutes their original purpose. Secondly, far more “monuments” grace the landscape than Antietam and its supporters acknowledge in their debate. War Department roads, corps markers, the observation tower, and the cemetery



lodge all influence how visitors interpret the Antietam battlefield. They all had an agenda. Those opposed to monument construction, therefore, do not support a truly “pure” landscape. Instead, they embrace selective memory and a selective cultural landscape that changes the battlefield’s message regarding racial conflict but fails to acknowledge its own role in the memory-making process.



**(Figure 7.6)** A hint that Antietam staff may, on some level, be willing to recognize its own influence on the battlefield landscape. Photo by Susan C. Hall, September 2009.

### **Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park: the Stewards of Memory Granting Access to Whose and What History?**

Although Antietam National Battlefield wants to marginalize its own role in the memory-making process, Virginia’s federally-preserved sites faced just such a debate

head on in the spring of 2009. Governor of Virginia, Robert McDonnell, formally proclaimed the month of April as Confederate History Month. Such a proclamation was not new among Virginia's governors. Although some Virginians critiqued the event as a celebration of a racist past, many of the state's leaders acknowledged Confederate History Month in the last few decades. What gained national attention, however, was McDonnell's failure to mention slavery in his address. When scholars and the media questioned McDonnell's omission, he exclaimed that he merely wanted to focus on the "significant" issues in Virginia's Civil War history.<sup>36</sup>

Slavery's initial exclusion from McDonnell's remarks—and the media frenzy that ensued as a result—is important. It indicates that much of the Virginia public, much of the nation for that matter, still do not know or acknowledge that slavery was a central cause of the Civil War because of its significant place within the Antebellum south. Although his faux pas and subsequent backtracking damaged McDonnell's public image, it benefited historians and civil rights advocates—encouraging a much larger, public discussion about slavery, the Civil War, and how Americans remember the past. McDonnell's mistake led to a recognition that public figures, national and state entities, have the power to influence how the general population remembers the war. They are not only stewards of Civil War sites but the keepers of memory as well. In other words, they control public access, influencing who, how, and why people emotionally connect with this racially contentious past.

As one of Virginia's preeminent Civil War battlefield parks, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park recognizes its power to grant access to and influence the region's Civil War memory. A closer examination indicates that the town of Fredericksburg feels the same way. They want to complicate the region's narrative by addressing the significant role of race, racism, and slavery in its past. At the same time, both local town's people and the National Park Service embrace the idea that Fredericksburg is a good place to start a dialogue about the ever-changing relationship between race, place, and memory. Although acknowledging their role in the memory-making process, preservationists struggle to determine the best course of action. How should the public consume this new, complicated race-based narrative of history *and* memory-making? At its heart is the thought-provoking concern over rights and access. Preservationists want to bring to light the rights denied Fredericksburg's black population prior to the Civil War; however, they also want to give today's visitors access to the very memory-making process that continued to deny African Americans their rights after the war. Can Fredericksburg's battlefield landscape be a site of conscience, used to present both a new historical narrative of slavery and the Civil War while simultaneously recognizing the long predominant Lost Cause memory that prevailed in Virginia for more than a century?

When the battlefield park went under review in 2000, the site fared with mixed reviews in its effort to incorporate slavery as a cause of the war and a central component of the region's social, economic, and political history. The report noted that its exhibit space did "not really" address slavery as a cause of the war, and while its wayside signs

discussed civilian participation and the war's impacts frequently, they did "not really" mention slavery. The park marked the graves of those African Americans buried in the national cemetery, and it put up an interpretive plaque next to the Bernard slave cabins located along the Confederate artillery line. However, these markers were site specific and did not consider the larger historical context.<sup>37</sup> In time, the battlefield approached slavery more thoroughly through its site publications and special programming.<sup>38</sup> However, by 2009 the NPS battlefield still struggled to bring this narrative directly to the battlefield landscape and thus, public accessibility.

While the Park Service found it difficult to incorporate slavery more thoroughly into its battlefield landscape, the townscape of Fredericksburg changed significantly in an effort to give visitors access to the role of racism in the community's past. For more than a century, tourists traveled to the region to experience a romanticized vision of its colonial and Civil War history through Fredericksburg's preserved and reconstructed domestic landscape. Therefore, the town turned to other objects in the community to complicate its narrative. Wayside exhibits located throughout historic downtown not only document the town's relationship with slavery but its post-war conflicts with race as well. Through historic artifacts, educational panels, and artistry, the town of Fredericksburg helps develop sympathy for the African American community as they fought to establish their own homes, rights, and identities as slaves, freedmen, and citizens.

In 1984, the city placed a plaque at the corner of William and Charles Street, marking the slave auction block behind it (**Figure 7.7**).<sup>39</sup> The auction block cannot be

verified as the site of slave auctions, and the plaque's simplicity does not lend itself to further investigation. However, public acknowledgment of Fredericksburg's slave past is significant; in a city that glorified the homes and work spaces of its heroes and proudly announced that "Washington slept here," the symbolic preservation and interpretation of an auction block is central to a reinterpretation of its historic landscape. Slavery helped make Fredericksburg the colonial metropolis it became. The city preserves the homes and workspaces of its famous individuals such as James Monroe, Mary Washington (George Washington's mother), and Betty Washington Lewis (George Washington's sister), but the auction block garners empathy for those nameless, faceless, and anonymous lives destroyed and sold for their prosperity.



**(Figure 7.7)** Fredericksburg's Slave Auction Block. Courtesy of the National Park Service.

While the auction block encourages compassion through sadness, suffering, and loss, other Fredericksburg markers evoke an emotional connection through hope. The city acknowledges those enslaved in Fredericksburg who longed for freedom and a home of

their own when the Civil War reached the banks of the Rappahannock. As part of the county's "Trail for Freedom," one marker focuses on John Washington, a slave, who stepped across the riverbank to Union lines; "as the war continued, thousands of other African Americans left their homes, seeking their own freedom through the Union lines."<sup>40</sup> Fredericksburg's Civil War narrative was not just about shame but also perseverance.

Like Antietam, the city makes an effort to document the town's continued struggle with race and racism in the aftermath of the Civil War. At the corner of Wolfe Street and Princess Anne Street, the City of Fredericksburg erected an interpretive panel titled "a vibrant, but segregated community." The text introduces a group of free blacks and freedmen that thrived in their post-war segregated neighborhoods.<sup>41</sup> Further signage, however, indicates that Fredericksburg's African Americans were not content with their segregated communities. The "Seeking Civil Rights" marker focuses on the July 1960 sit-ins at Fredericksburg's local lunch counters, where the town's African American population voiced the hypocrisy of the nation's creed that "all men are created equal."<sup>42</sup> Fredericksburg's African Americans set out to regain their rights, completing what the Civil War and emancipation had not.

Although Fredericksburg's extensive wayside panels on the town's racial history are significant, former Governor L. Douglas Wilder's establishment of the United States National Slavery Museum denotes the most ambitious and multi-faceted effort to acknowledge slavery and racism in the nation's past. In 2001, Wilder chose

Fredericksburg as the site for his 290,000 square foot museum space set to house more than 5,000 artifacts of slavery, art galleries, as well as a replica of a slave ship.<sup>43</sup> In an effort to begin public education prior to completion of the museum building and exhibit space, Wilder opened the Spirit of Freedom Exhibit Garden in 2007 to “honor those who risked everything to be free.” Through visual imagery and interactive participation, the garden encouraged visitors to relate to the slaves and their experiences. The garden incorporated wood carvings from West Africa to honor the homeland of those enslaved, as well as a 4,700 pound “Hallelujah” sculpture symbolizing emancipation. Educational displays and replica artifacts document the heartache, fear, and suffering of slaves in the Americas but also the bravery and strength they experienced on their road to freedom.<sup>44</sup>

Despite its best intentions, the National Slavery Museum did not manage to get off the ground. The museum property faced tax difficulties and filed for bankruptcy in the fall of 2011. By then, the only physical manifestation of the museum, the sculpture garden, lay unattended and overgrown—an indicator that slavery did not reach the level of national attention Wilder hoped.<sup>45</sup> The former governor argued that fundraising stalled due to the weakened economy. However, lack of incoming donations raises a significant question, based on past historical analysis. In times of economic hardship, are people receptive to dwelling on the nation’s shameful past and the suffering of others when they themselves suffer now?

The National Slavery Museum’s failure suggests that a dialogue about the nation’s difficult histories dies in times of recession—that the general public would rather

sanitize the past than acknowledge its ability to change it.<sup>46</sup> However, efforts among individual National Park Service personnel imply that this is not always the case. Although the public may not be as receptive to addressing or funding the nation's difficult histories in times of trial and tribulation, certain staff members at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park encourage just such a discussion—even if it invites a heated debate about the Park Service's own role in remembering the past. Although the battlefield struggles to incorporate slavery into its permanent interpretation, a number of individual park rangers recognize Fredericksburg as a cultural landscape trying to face its long and layered history of racism. They acknowledge their role as active stewards of site and memory by debating public access to the memory-making process itself.

These rangers want to reconcile the preservation of Civil War battlefields with a post-war landscape presenting difficult narratives of discrimination in the memory-making process. The reconstructed stone wall at the base of Marye's Heights sits adjacent to the Fredericksburg Visitor Center. The National Park Service erected an interpretive plaque with photographs and text, noting a colored unit of the Civilian Conservation Corps reconstructed the wall. Although only a single interpretive panel, its presence on the preserved battlefield—as well as its proximity to the visitor center—is extremely important. While articulating the 1862 significance of the stone wall, the panel also notes that the architectural feature is not “original” to the Civil War landscape. The federal government constructed the wall to help visitors better visualize the 1862 battle. The plaque publicly acknowledges the Park Service's active engagement in influencing Civil



War memory. Just as importantly, it highlights the involvement of African Americans in the memory-making process (**Figures 7.8 & 7.9**).



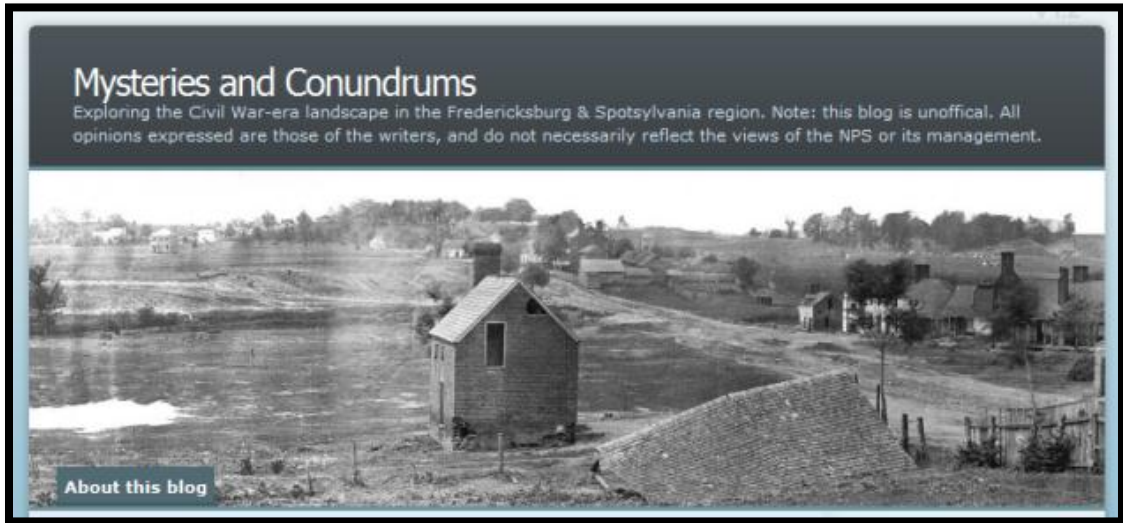
(**Figure 7.8**) “The Sunken Road” interpretive panel at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park. Photo by Susan Chase Hall, May 2010.



(Figure 7.9) The reconstructed stone wall in Fredericksburg, Virginia. Photo by Susan C. Hall, May 2010.

Although the plaques and interpretive panels hint at a changing landscape, Fredericksburg’s online blog, “Mysteries and Conundrums,” provides more direct access for the NPS, visitors, and the public to debate the place of race and racism in the challenging relationship between the battlefield’s Civil War and post-war landscapes (Figure 7.10). Under the guidance of the park’s Cultural Resource Managers, Eric Mink and Noel Harrison, and Chief Historian, John Hennessy, staff personnel make public a number of their in-house discussions. On several occasions, these blog posts address not only the history of Fredericksburg and the battlefields but the history of the park’s own role in influencing the public’s memory of the past. Although uncomfortable, the blog even turns self-reflective—considering how the Park Service itself helps control race on

the battlefield. At the heart of the blog is a difficult question: should the NPS simply change the past by rewriting its interpretation or should it provide the public with access to the many different memories it has hosted over the years?



(Figure 7.10) “Mysteries and Conundrums” Blog Header. Courtesy of the National Park Service/Fredericksburg Spotsylvania Word Press.

In the spring of 2010, Eric Mink blogged about the development of the battlefield park during the Great Depression. Rather than simply changing the past, Mink’s blog focused on the NPS’s own active engagement in maintaining southern segregation during the Jim Crow era. Mink’s post is significant, because it recognizes the battlefield’s layered past, something that Antietam and other battlefields struggle with. The history of the battlefield did not end with the Civil War in 1865, because, Mink argues, the history of Jim Crow segregation is also visible on the landscape. In other words, “some of the reminders of segregation still remain.”<sup>47</sup> Most of these physical artifacts of racial segregation originated with New Deal programs. The stone wall endures as the most

prevalent artifact of a segregated past among the park’s employees. However, other objects highlight the segregation of the battlefield’s visitors. Today, the Park Service bookstore surrounds the 1930s colored restrooms (**Figure 7.11**). Mink’s blog notes that in the Thirties, the Park Service also planned to construct a “Negro Picnic Area.” Stone steps and a small trail stand as physical reminders of this segregated visitorship.<sup>48</sup> These cultural resources indicate that racism was not just a part of the Civil War past but helped determine visitor access to Civil War memory.



(**Figure 7.11**) Fredericksburg’s bookstore (formerly the colored restrooms). Photo taken by Susan C. Hall, May 2010.

Mink’s recognition of the battlefield’s layered history is groundbreaking among NPS battlefields. However, it also puts the battlefield in a bind, stuck between two waves

of thought that cannot fully reconcile with one another. How can the Fredericksburg battlefield present itself as both an artifact of the 1860s and a cultural landscape whose influence reaches into the present? The NPS vocalizes this conundrum on their blog by narrowing in on the CCC's reconstructed stone wall. They note, "over the years...it has become apparent that the CCC reconstruction is, in terms of quality and accuracy, quite poor. It is a wall with a core-much narrower than the original, with...stones somewhat randomly placed. It does not accurately reflect what was there in 1862."<sup>49</sup> The Park Service is particularly concerned with historical accuracy along the base of Marye's Heights. After all, it allocated nearly \$600,000 in the 2002-03 Fiscal Year to restore the road's wartime appearance after the city closed the road to Fredericksburg traffic.<sup>50</sup> The poor condition of the wall raises a dilemma for the park rangers: "do we consciously preserve what amounts to a historical 'mistake'—because the 'mistake' is now historic in its own right—or do we seek to replace the CCC wall with something that faithfully reflects the dimensions, construction, and profile of what sat on the landscape in 1862?" Concern over the reconstructed wall highlights the challenge park rangers face as they stand on the precipice between two currently competing interpretations of historic preservation. After acknowledging the landscape's post-war resources of Civil War memory, what is the NPS's role in preserving and interpreting them to the public? Should the wall be a reconstruction of 1862 or should it be an artifact of the Civilian Conservation Corps?

The NPS bloggers raise a similar challenge at another site significant to post-war memorialization: the building where Stonewall Jackson died in nearby Guinea Station.

Although the structure stood during the Civil War, its official name—recognized by Park Service maps, brochures, and literature—is a post-war addition. In May of 2010, Chief Historian John Hennessy posed a question plaguing the park staff: “should the name of Jackson Shrine be changed?”<sup>51</sup> Hennessy argued that as an historic site, the building’s demarcation as a “shrine” does not explain the site’s historic significance to Jackson or the family who owned it. Rather than describing the historic site, the name reveals post-war sentiment toward Jackson, the Confederacy, and the Lost Cause. Jackson’s Shrine marks a movement that segregated African Americans and their memory in the post-war South. By changing the Shrine’s name, the NPS could clarify the site’s historic status rather than celebrate the Lost Cause for passersby. In doing so, however, it runs the risk of upsetting “tradition.” Whose and what histories should the NPS provide access to for visitors?

By posing these unanswered questions on a public blog rather than keeping them in-house, the park rangers at Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania open themselves up to debate. They positively encourage public access and dialogue but also complicate the role of the battlefield park. Rather than being seen as passive receivers of history, park rangers encourage the public to become memory makers themselves. However, posters did not necessarily offer a conclusive solution to the debate over historical Civil War “accuracy” and the preservation of post-war memorialization. Most responders found Eric Mink’s analysis of the park’s segregated markers important. One man explained,

Really thought-provoking and a far too neglected piece of our collective past. As there is a section of the original wall further down the road, I feel this

“inaccurate” section as you said, is in itself a piece of history. What surprises me is the fact that they even accounted for African-American visitors at a Civil War Battlefield in the 1930’s.<sup>52</sup>

Although posters state their interest in learning about the battlefield’s post-war history as a national park, there is no clear consensus on if or how that history should be presented to the public at a Civil War battlefield. One “occasional park visitor” wrote that the NPS reconstructed the wall in order to “increase visitors’ knowledge of events.” Thus, it should be modified as necessary in order to do the same for future generations of visitors. He noted, after all, the NPS did not intend the battlefield park to be a memorial to the Civilian Conservation Corps.<sup>53</sup> Another man argued that a portion of the CCC wall could be retained as historical while most of the wall could be reconstructed more accurately to better fit the “theme of the park.”<sup>54</sup> As the battlefield park enters the twenty-first century, however, the bloggers question whether that “theme” is enough anymore; does the battlefield have more to offer than the nineteenth century tradition of preservation?

For many of those who wrote their opinions about the Jackson Shrine, their concern is not about tradition itself. They do not necessarily feel a deep affiliation for or connection to the Lost Cause ideology that triumphs Jackson as a deity. Rather, it is about the history of the Civil War versus the history of tradition. One individual notes his own confusion and disinterest the first time he drove by the site’s signage on the freeway. He thought “there was nothing on the signage to lead me to believe it to be the tremendous and significant site it is.” Such a conclusion led the poster to suggest a new name more descriptive and historically accurate in nature: “Fairfield – The house where Jackson died.”<sup>55</sup> Despite the vagueness of the description, another poster noted the challenge of

finding a suitable replacement. “Shrine” elevates the site to religious status and Jackson to a “lesser religious figure.” Replacing the name threatens to lessen Jackson’s status among southerners in favor of historical accuracy. One such poster wanted just that. He argued, “the ‘shrine’ appellation is dated and reminiscent of the days of Lost Cause mythology.” He believed the attention given to Jackson is embarrassing and shows insight into a “deliberately obtuse mindset.” Although changing the Shrine’s name to present a more historically accurate description, some commenters fear it will encourage a “cultural cleansing”—reinterpreting the battlefields “to the extent that we no longer present sites in the mindset of the generation from which these things sprang.”<sup>56</sup> To some, understanding the memory-making process of the post-war period is just as important as understanding the war itself.

In giving her two cents on the blog, a former employee of the battlefield park explained Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania’s predicament well. She wrote, “those who first sought to preserve this site named it a shrine for a reason. Can we justify a name change to clarify its significance as the death site of Stonewall Jackson at the risk of losing the opportunity to explain [to] the public [why] we preserve sites like this one...” in the first place?<sup>57</sup> Fredericksburg stands on the edge of change today—recognizing itself as a cultural landscape with an opportunity to teach the public about the battlefields’ long, complicated, and shifting past. However, how much time, effort, and energy should be dedicated to these ends when, ultimately, the mission of the park—and what visitors expect to experience—is the preservation, restoration, and education of its 1860s landscape?



### **Big Hole National Battlefield: Reclaiming Rights to the Land and its Memory**

Although Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania hesitates in altering its narrative, Big Hole National Battlefield demonstrates that dramatic change to a site's interpretation is possible. Preservationists and memory-makers have the power to redefine battlefield landscapes despite long-standing "tradition." In the aftermath of the Nez Perce War, the non-treaty natives who surrendered to Nelson Miles were sent in to exile on to the Plains of Indian Territory. Although the Nez Perce hoped to return home to the northwest, General William T. Sherman believed other actions were necessary: "If the Nez-Perces be captured or surrender it should be without terms, their horses, arms and property...taken away. Many of their leaders executed...and what are left should be...sent to some other country; there should be extreme severity, else other tribes alike situated may imitate their example."<sup>58</sup> By May of 1885, however, Joseph used sentimental means to convince the military that exile was not the solution. He hoped "the Great Father in Washington would 'take pity upon this suffering people.'"<sup>59</sup> More and more, the public spoke out against the fate of the exiled Nez Perce, and the military no longer believed the removal of the natives to be the right course of action.<sup>60</sup> Through sympathetic relations, the public and federal government altered their opinions of past events; in doing so, they helped change interpretations of the Nez Perce War. Big Hole National Battlefield's incorporation into the Nez Perce National Historical Park in 1992 did much of the same thing. With the help of sentimental rhetoric, the federal government reevaluated an event well established as necessary and questioned the outcome of its narrative. In other words, the Park Service actively embraced its role as memory-makers

in order to redefine 1877. The NPS's active recognition of its memory-maker status in the 1990s, however, proved to be merely a stepping stone for an even more dramatic shift twenty years later.



**(Figure 7.12)** The Plaque on display in Big Hole's temporary visitor center highlights the NPS reevaluation of sentiment on the Big Hole Battlefield. Photo by Susan C. Hall, October 2010.

When the National Park Service incorporated Big Hole National Battlefield into the Nez Perce National Historical Park, it became a part of a larger network of sites presenting the Nez Perce story. Through a strong partnership with the Nez Perce people, the federal government hoped to reconcile with the tribal nations by making the Battle of the Big Hole part of their cultural heritage and history rather than that of United States westward expansion. In 2000, former Big Hole park ranger Otis Halfmoon reiterated the importance of this partnership. He explained,

We worked long and hard on developing a good rapport with the Tribe, it was not easy. ... 'Partnerships' is a key word within the National Park Service, and I believe that the Nez Perce National historical Park/Big Hole National Battlefield

is a park of ‘partnerships.’ I know I am not telling you nothing new, but with the Tribes, it is special. Especially when the story we tell is their story.<sup>61</sup>

A true partnership with the Nez Perce people would open a dialogue between races and cultures, examining a past full of racial hatred and conflict in an effort to reconcile and prevent future atrocities.

By the 125<sup>th</sup> Anniversary two years later, the Park Service relied on interpretive programs and special events to work closely with the Nez Perce and pay particular attention to their cultural heritage. The anniversary program attempted to address native and military life, but it also wanted to correct past wrongs misrepresenting the Nez Perce people. For instance, commemorative events incorporated howitzer demonstrations, which, in theory, counteracted “all of the glory” and “one sided stor[ies]” of military might from the past. In an intentional effort to make the Big Hole narrative less one sided, the Park Service relied on emotions stemming from lost love to cultivate a relationship of understanding between the visitors and victims of Big Hole. For instance, numerous times throughout the two-day event, battlefield staff “introduce[d] the culture of the Nez Perce people through the pitching of a traditional lodge.”<sup>62</sup> Although teaching visitors about their culture, the symbolic tipi also emphasized the tragic nature of Big Hole and the loss of Nez Perce women and children in 1877.

Along with accepting its responsibility to change its narrative by incorporating Nez Perce culture and history more thoroughly, the NPS embraced its role as memory-makers. They not only featured a new narrative as part of the Nez Perce Trail, but they wanted to acknowledge the changing nature of the tourist landscape itself. Although no

evidence reveals such a publication came to fruition, park staff hoped to create “125 years visiting big hole battlefield”—a compilation work documenting the battlefield’s changing landscape through the eyes of its visitors and their camera lenses. Since its founding in the nineteenth century, Big Hole Battlefield witnessed many alterations to the land. Park rangers wanted to prove that over time, the once bloody battlefield became a place of reconciliation. Those who once promoted the necessity of native defeat now intended to mediate between two surviving cultures. In the summer of 2012, however, this message of changing memories, as well as cultural understanding, was put to the test when visitors witnessed the most pervasive on-site change to the battlefield since the construction of the Visitor Center in 1968. Significantly, this new development harnessed the well-established use of emotions to completely redefine Big Hole National Battlefield and its role as a tool of history and remembrance. Rather than a reevaluation of the Nez Perce driven by the NPS, however, this narrative would be controlled by the Nez Perce themselves.

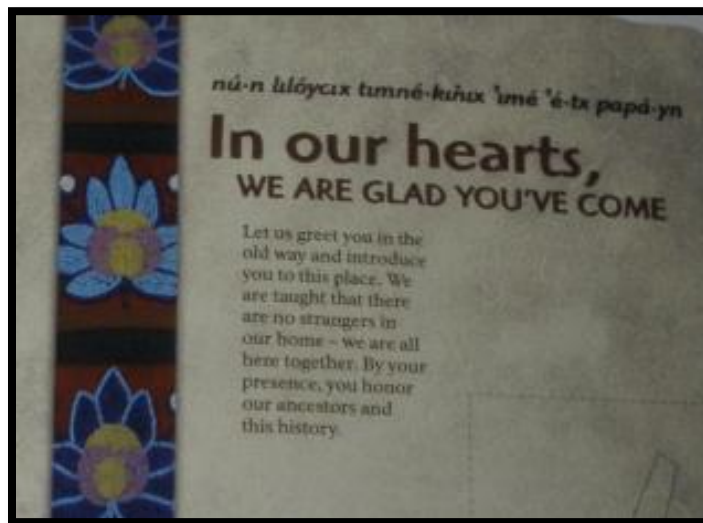
In 2010, the park unit began a major restoration project of its Visitor Center; part of the renovation included resources to redesign its exhibit space. The funding introduced big possibilities and significant change that reevaluated Big Hole as a battlefield and cultural landscape. Instead of conveying a new Nez Perce focused message through interpretive programs and special events, the battlefield will now do so through its permanent exhibit space designed by the Nez Perce people. The new museum space—which opened in the summer of 2012—is a unique and energetic effort among the Nez Perce people to publicly, persuasively reclaim their heritage and history via the Big Hole

landscape.<sup>63</sup> Ironically, the once “defeated” and “vanished” natives now make use of an Anglo-motivated tool to reassert their own agency as stewards of history and memory.

Until the last few decades, the federal government kept this preserved landscape from the natives, putting the Nez Perce people in a supporting role in the national narrative controlled by the Anglo “victors.” Some people argued that the Nez Perce too willingly accepted their secondary status in a collective memory focused on Anglo Americans and their land. In a 2002 editorial to the *Sun*, Clifford Allen of Culdesac, Idaho angrily proclaimed, “we Nez Perces had forgotten... Perhaps it would behoove the Nez Perce nation to study further the lost land of the Nez Perce. And perhaps rewrite history!”<sup>64</sup> While past narratives on the battlefield underrepresented, misrepresented, and stereotyped the Nez Perce, they now want to rewrite the history of the Big Hole Battlefield—radically altering how future visitors will remember the nineteenth century past of racial conflict and Nez Perce culture. Despite this dramatic, empowering turn of events at the preserved battlefield, the Nez Perce will maintain a sentimental approach to their story—encouraging visitor empathy by using a similar formula of emotions to drive the battlefield’s new collective memory. The power of this new, alternative memory demonstrates the true strength of sentimentalism in remembering the past.

First and foremost in this recycled formula, the exhibit space presents its new narrative from a Nez Perce point of view. They achieve this predominantly through linguistics, rhetoric, and visual support. English accompanies the Nez Perce language and culture on all of the exhibit text in the visitor center. At the entrance of the center, guests

are greeted by “nu\*n Uloycix time\*kinix ‘ime ‘e\*tx papa\*yn”—translated below as “in our hearts, we are glad you’ve come” (**Figure 7.13**). The Nez Perce, in other words, welcome visitors to their story, their history, and their culture: “by your presence, you honor our ancestors and this history.” In addition to the Nez Perce language, six patterned fabric sashes featuring Nez Perce designs frame the major text panels supplementing each exhibit. The Nez Perce present the museum exhibit as a welcoming space, a peaceful space, and a Nez Perce space. This welcoming, peaceful, native environment is just one of the ways in which the exhibit articulates Big Hole’s complete transformation. It is no longer bloody nor Anglo controlled. Rather than triumph, patriotism, and racism toward Native Americans, Big Hole presents a message of guilt, shame, and even understanding to the national narrative.



(**Figure 7.13**) “In our Hearts we are Glad You’ve Come” exhibit proposal, March 2010. Courtesy of Nez Perce National Historical Park, Big Hole Unit.

Through the emotional management of rhetoric, artistry, and artifacts, the museum space makes a number of other messages clear to its twenty-first century

audience. Perhaps the exhibit's most prevalent reliance on nineteenth century sentimentalism is its focus on personal suffering and loss of the Nez Perce people at the hands of westward expansion and the 1877 conflict. Although the exhibit points an accusatory finger at the United States, its narrative fosters a relationship between the viewer and the Nez Perce by portraying them as the suffering "Other." The text recognizes the Nez Perce as a community of different bands, but it harnesses their individuality as a tool to further deepen this connection—establishing a cross racial community of victims and visitors founded on shared knowledge of the private, personal emotions of specific people.

Photographs and images of individual Nez Perce line the walls. In addition to Young Joseph ("Chief Joseph") the exhibit turns to the words and images of White Bird, Yellow Wolf, Red Heart, Sarah, George Peopeo T'olikt, and Yellow Bull, among others, to provide first-hand reports of the battle and its aftermath. The exhibit's description of Sarah, for instance, tugs at the heartstrings of readers as they learn about her post-war experience. It notes:

On September 30, 1877, twelve-year-old kapkaponmay (Sarah) was checking the horse herd with her father, hnmato-wyalahtqit (Young Joseph). Suddenly they were under attack from Colonel Nelson Miles's troops. Joseph put her on a pony and sent her to Sitting Bull's people in Canada. In 1878 kapkaponmay returned to the United States and was placed in the Lapwai Agency School where she became known as Sarah.<sup>65</sup>

Visitors bond with these individual Nez Perce as they sympathize with their fate. A "symbolic honor roll of raised falling feathers" also encourages visitors to physically connect with those victims at Big Hole by touching the feathers representative of lost

lives (**Figure 7.14**). To solidify this relationship between the Nez Perce and museum visitor, the exhibit urges guests to “share their thoughts about what they have encountered, and the events at Big Hole.”<sup>66</sup> By taking the time to write down their own thoughts and emotions, the Nez Perce believe visitors will reflect and connect on a deeper level.



**(Figure 7.14)** “In Memory” Exhibit Proposal, March 2010. Courtesy of Nez Perce National Historical Park, Big Hole Unit.

The stories and quotes from a number of featured individuals highlight the most common pain experienced at the Big Hole battlefield: familial love and its loss during the Nez Perce War. Sarah died, for instance, in Lapwai, “never having seen her father again.” After lamenting his lonely wanderings, Yellow Wolf explained the war left him “unfriended and without a home. No where to sleep in comfort...”<sup>67</sup> Lost loved ones and the lost comfort of home permeate the exhibit. However, emotions of home do not just



mourn lost loved ones, they also grieve for the loss of land—the physical space the Nez Perce called home. To the Nez Perce people, the land was “where we were born and raised...It is our native country. It is impossible for us to leave.”<sup>68</sup> They had a birthright to the land.

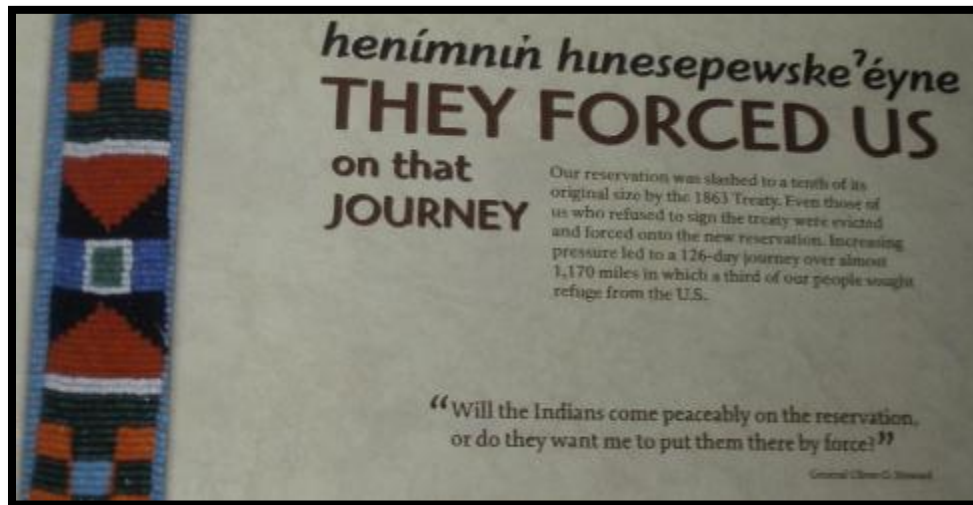
The Nez Perce connection to the land is deep and sacred; it is not a commodity to be exploited but part of them and their family. One particular text panel explains that “the Creator Gave us the Land.” Toohoolhoozote noted “the earth is part of my body...I belong to the land out of which I came. The earth is my mother.” The lobby’s welcome panel presents visitors with the most blatant link between the Nez Perce loss of land and loss of home. Planning text indicates that the “image of tipi memorial sets tone for message about *nimi\*pu\** and this place. Our people had come here since time immemorial to gather roots. We came in refuge in time of conflict, and soldiers fired on our families as they slept in their tipis.”<sup>69</sup> The museum text demarcating the aftermath of the battle and the post-war experience of the non-treaty Nez Perce—appropriately entitled “We Want to Go Home”—emphasizes the Nez Perce desire to reclaim their homeland and thus, their livelihood and culture.

Big Hole Battlefield’s sentiment presents the non-treaty bands of Nez Perce as sympathetic, peaceable people—forced to fight for their sacred homeland out of necessity. According to the text, the Nez Perce people did not choose warfare, because it threatened their familial stability. The brother of Young Joseph explained, “I have a wife and children, cattle and horses, I have eyes and a heart and I can see and understand that

if we fight, we have to leave all and go to the mountains.”<sup>70</sup> Warfare also threatened the livelihood of the Nez Perce families themselves. In the descriptive panels of the battle’s actual progression, one quote notes: “everybody was sleeping when the soldiers charged. They set fire to a few tepees. Little children were in some of those tepees...we found the bodies all burned and naked.”<sup>71</sup> Family meant so much to the Nez Perce that while a number of warriors held the military at bay, other tribal members buried their families and loved ones.

In portraying the Nez Perce as victims, the exhibit space presents the United States as the aggressor, using force against an unequal group of dispossessed families. At numerous points in the exhibit, the text describes the Big Hole incident as a massacre where women and children died, rather than a battle between two equally matched foes. The United States’ promotion of Manifest Destiny, claiming a sacred right to the continent, forced the Nez Perce into a defensive position (**Figure 7.15**). Although two world views clashed, the Nez Perce are introduced as the casualties of the United States’ vengeful, ruthless need to invade. The military oversaw “thief treaties” which continuously shrank the tribe’s land for the economic gain of U.S. citizens. To clarify this point, the text quotes General Howard as proclaiming, “twenty times over you repeat that the earth is your mother...Let us hear it no more, but come to business at once.”<sup>72</sup> The military’s severe treatment of the Nez Perce people led to feelings of hatred and sadness among survivors. The unnecessary murder of family and friends of the mother of Yellow Wolf, for instance, led her to weep “in sorrow and shed bitter tears.”<sup>73</sup> The new exhibit

space indicates that, like their ancestors, descendants of the victims at the Battle of the Big Hole carry emotions of bitterness and sorrow.



(Figure 7.15) “They Forced Us on That Journey,” Exhibit Proposal, March 2010. Courtesy of Nez Perce National Historical Park, Big Hole Unit.

However, at least one important aspect of the new exhibit space combats these hateful and hurtful emotions carried down from generation to generation and displayed poignantly in the new museum. In fact, this element reflects earlier efforts made by the National Park Service in the last reinterpretation of the battlefield: reconciliation. In the 1960s, the Park Service wanted to provide cross-cultural healing, closure, and understanding through historic education. While park rangers relied on programming, visitor center architecture, and selective native appearances to promote a message of understanding, the new exhibit space emphasizes it more permanently through the mouths of tribal members. Carefully selected quotes explain that remembering and mourning the past brings closure to both natives and non-natives: “closure requires all of us to come together, we, the descendants of all who fought here, Indian and non-Indian

alike.” After all, “we have all of us lost someone here; none of us today can stand apart from this place, these events, and that horror.” By “both remember[ing] those we lost and celebrat[ing] our own survival,” the work of healing can be completed through the Big Hole Battlefield.<sup>74</sup> As the final element of the site’s sentimental narrative, education and understanding encourage a deeper connection. Because of shared grief, an alliance is formed between former foes. Unlike the traditional formula of sentimentalism, this shared grief does not support complete reunification. Visitors and the Nez Perce do not gloriously become one, reunited under the “national project” promoted by nineteenth century sentimentalists and the NPS for much of its history. Instead, the Nez Perce redefine the concept of the national project at Big Hole, reevaluating a relationship between multiple nations rather than redefining just one.

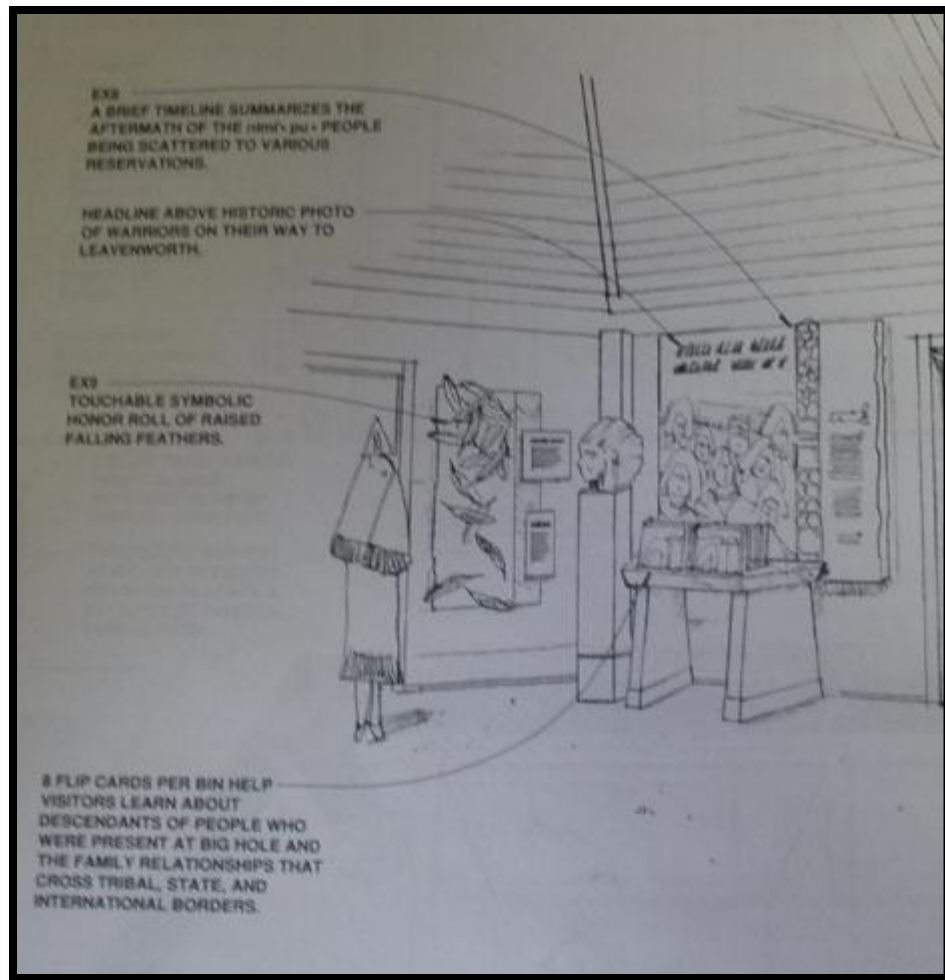
The Nez Perce adoption and alteration of sentimentalism’s themes and messages pervade other elements of the new exhibit space as well. In addition to guilt, shame, and understanding, this appropriation reveals sentimentalism’s ability to act as a form of racial agency. This Nez Perce empowerment takes shape most notably through the native control of Big Hole’s memory-making tools. Rather than vanishing Indians or a defeated people, these tools present a people of survival and strength despite loss and pain. By recycling a number of the old Visitor Center’s resources and ideas, the Nez Perce recognize Big Hole Battlefield as a powerful cultural landscape—a site not only of 1877 history but also layers of powerful post-war memory-making. By publicly acknowledging Big Hole as a cultural landscape with post-war influence, the Nez Perce not only redefine the history of the Big Hole Battle but their role in its preservation as well.

The appropriation of Big Hole artifacts, for instance, introduces a new and competing meaning of the battle under Nez Perce leadership. The museum alters its presentation of the mountain howitzer to compliment the Nez Perce memory of Big Hole. Although the cannon's narrative changed in the past, its presentation did not. Located near the entrance of the visitor center, it sat in one piece on top of a pedestal—reflecting its glorified status as a symbol of military might. In the new exhibit space, the howitzer persists as a central component of memory. This time, however, visitors are presented with a cannon that sits in pieces. Disassembled in dirt, the “new” artifact display more accurately reflects the cannon's condition *after* its destruction by the Nez Perce. In doing so, the Nez Perce intentionally break from a past that used artifacts to glorify the military and westward expansion.

In addition to using recycled artifacts to redirect visitor understanding of the battle, the Nez Perce make a conscious effort to address Big Hole's post-war memorialization to assert native agency. Like the howitzer, memorialization of the Big Hole Battle was always a critical component of the battlefield's preservation and presentation. In the past, military and settler memories came together on the landscape to form an Anglo-centered collective narrative of the conflict. Significantly, however, the Nez Perce blatantly recover memory of the Big Hole Battle through their new museum space. The “We Remember What Happened Here” exhibit presents this shift most clearly. While the disassembled howitzer captures the native point of view from the battle of the Big Hole, the exhibit displays native memory and memorialization in the battle's

aftermath. This exhibit alters perspectives—emphasizing Nez Perce memories while encouraging others to embrace a native-centered collective narrative.

In order to promote native memorialization, the exhibit reintroduces artifacts of memory to the museum. The “We Want to go Home” exhibit prominently displays Thain White’s and McWorther’s monuments to Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce women and children. The Nez Perce also present new native artifacts of memory (**Figure 7.16**). One object documents the memorial practices of Wounded Head, a survivor of Big Hole. According to museum panels, Wounded Head kept the drinking horn “on his belt during the conflict of 1877. It was painted red in memory of his using it to bathe his injured head after being shot at Big Hole. He carved dots into its surface to tally those of our people who died from the attack at Big Hole.”<sup>75</sup> One particular dot represents his young daughter. As physical documents of memorialization, these artifacts challenge those military-focused ones on the battlefield. They provide an alternative means of memory that both personalizes and helps internalize the suffering of the Nez Perce people at Big Hole.



(Figure 7.16) Native Artifacts, Exhibit Proposal, March 2010. Courtesy of Nez Perce National Historical Park, Big Hole Unit.

In addition to artifacts of memorialization, exhibit photographs display other efforts among the Nez Perce to publicly, solemnly remember the Battle of the Big Hole. Images show visitors at a horse parade on the Colville Reservation in 1901, a riderless horse ceremony at the Big Hole Battlefield, the post-war meeting of Chief Joseph and Colonel John Gibbon, pipe ceremonies, and Josiah Red Wolf's groundbreaking of the visitor center. According to one note, visitors are invited to "listen to contemporary tribal leaders and family members share how they honor the memories of Big Hole through

annual commemoration, keeping traditions alive in their contemporary life.”<sup>76</sup> Text panels clarify that ceremonial commemoration serves as a form of healing and catharsis for those lives changed by the events at Big Hole. The new museum exhibit itself offers the most recent effort of commemoration. It explains, “after this [museum] memorial we move on, fully rejoining our relatives in celebrating life. Those who survived the deaths in 1877 weren’t allowed to heal and find closure. For some of their descendants, that work continues.”<sup>77</sup> By guiding the narrative of the Big Hole Battle and altering how the public understands its post-war significance, the Nez Perce indicate that this new museum space will help their people find closure (**Figure 7.17**).



(**Figure 7.17**) “View of Exhibit 11, - We Honor the Memory,” Exhibit Proposal, March 2010. Courtesy of Nez Perce National Historical Park, Big Hole Unit.



Despite the transformation of the Big Hole Visitor Center and the empowerment of the Nez Perce people, the exhibit space does not really suggest their ability or desire to “move on.” The Nez Perce-focused museum exhibit is significant in the history of the Big Hole battlefield. It demonstrates a clear shift in both the cultural and racial components of the site’s history. It also highlights the importance of memorialization and Nez Perce collective memory at the site—an element of post-war preservation struggling for recognition on other battlefields. Nonetheless, these dramatic shifts in the racial narrative and the site’s memorialization process do not bring reconciliation, true catharsis, or closure to the events of 1877. The anger and pain of the Nez Perce, most certainly justified, is still visible in the museum when examined closely. In presenting only the native memorialization of Big Hole, the Nez Perce do not recognize the battlefield as a true post-war landscape of racial conflict. In an effort to change past memories of the battle, the museum exhibit threatens to erase them. The battlefield silences twentieth-century inconsistencies and inaccuracies presented by the military veterans, War Department, and NPS. For instance, it does not acknowledge the howitzer’s status as a war-icon of military might or recognize the battlefield’s role in the romanticized memorialization of westward expansion. By muting the Anglo-dominant post-war past rather than using it for a cross-cultural dialogue, Big Hole Battlefield runs the risk of perpetuating the same racial conflict and misunderstanding they hope to undo.

### **Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site: The “Habitat of Our Heritage” in Defining a New Type of Cultural Landscape**

Unfortunately, in spite of Big Hole’s powerful reinterpretation of nineteenth-century racial conflict, the traditional memory of the frontier west remains pervasive for many in the twenty-first century. In 2004, *Times* Staff Writer David Kelly solemnly, poetically noted that “life has changed...[in Kiowa County, Colorado] a place once teeming with cowboys and Indians has just cowboys now, and they’re fading fast. The buffalo are gone, the saloons nearly gone, and of course, the Indians are gone.”<sup>78</sup> The Indians, however, were not gone. Sand Creek Massacre NHS intended to demonstrate this just as Big Hole did. However, while Big Hole National Battlefield altered the place of race and national shame in its interpretation within the last few decades, the NPS established Sand Creek National Historic Site with that narrative specifically in mind. Its goal was to create an open environment of understanding and awareness through a cross-cultural dialogue. By relying on tools of sentimentality to promote a message of mutual emotional access to Sand Creek and its history, the site conveys a message of shame to encourage civic engagement, address issues of social injustice, and raise consciousness.<sup>79</sup> Sand Creek is neither the Cheyenne and Arapaho’s history nor the United States’ history. It presents a complex narrative of the victims and the perpetrators, rewriting a collective memory and historical identity that can be shared, not separated; it is “our” history.<sup>80</sup>

As the newest site of nineteenth century conflict added to the National Park System, Sand Creek exemplifies the Park Service’s efforts to preserve and present sites of racial conscience rather than glorified westward expansion. In defining Sand Creek’s

national significance, the National Park Service explained that, “it possesses exceptional value in illustrating and interpreting the history of U.S.-Indian relations during the mid-to-late nineteenth century in the trans-Mississippi West.”<sup>81</sup> Its public recognition as an historic site *and* cultural landscape is also significant—indicating the NPS’s desire to make the two seemingly unique landscapes of nature and bloody racial conflict more compatible with one another. Sand Creek’s dual purpose is evident in its site designation. Although a national memorial could lend itself well to a site of consciousness, the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and park personnel involved with Sand Creek’s preservation chose to conserve the landscape as a national historic site instead. They wanted to protect not only the incident’s memory but the land’s resources as well.<sup>82</sup> The land’s value, after all, led to the massacre of 1864, but it could also serve as a shared space in the twenty-first century, bringing the two cultures back together. In other words, it is the land and its resources that makes Sand Creek a shared space between Anglo Americans and the Cheyenne and Arapaho, between the nineteenth century past and the twenty-first century present.

As a newly established site, Sand Creek provides a unique opportunity to approach the contentious topic of nineteenth century racial conflict. Defining themselves as the first preservationists of the land, the NPS and their native supporters get to forge a new path of memory, “unimpeded,” in theory, by past interpretations on the land. They want to present multiple perspectives in order to highlight the violent racial clashes of years gone by.<sup>83</sup> In order to counteract the West’s long-dominant Anglo-centered narrative, the site pays particular attention to tribal history, tribal continuation, and a

reanalysis of the Sand Creek event. Park rangers embrace the NPS's role in shaping public memory by addressing how the place of race has changed in the Sand Creek narrative. In her talk to visitors in July of 2010, Park Ranger Eunice compared an 1864 interpretation of the Arapaho Chief (Niwot) Left Hand with his legacy today. In 1864, Eunice explained, society portrayed Left Hand—a survivor of the Sand Creek Massacre—as dangerous and ruthless. Today, however, “because we’ve grown so much”, we call him an ambassador.<sup>84</sup> The preservation of Sand Creek presents the massacre site as a nineteenth century space of cultural conflict and shameful history *but* also a twenty-first century space of reconciliation and healing between the federal government, Coloradans, and Cheyenne and Arapaho. Despite the one hundred and fifty year gap between the nineteenth century conflict and twenty-first century healing, the continued use of sentimentality—most notably in the form of familial inheritance and sacred space—brings them seamlessly together for visitors.

Through ancestral ties, park personnel and park management at the National Historic Site help visitors establish a personal connection to the nineteenth century site and the native victims of racial conflict. Members of the Plains tribes are among those who work as Park Rangers at Sand Creek. In addition to presenting today's historically accepted narrative of the Sand Creek Massacre, these rangers serve as unique mediators between twenty-first century visitors and the nineteenth century landscape. As part Southern Cheyenne, Eunice discloses her own relationship to Sand Creek in order to gain deeper sympathy and support from those listening to her ranger talk. Ashamed of the massacre, her grandparents shared their stories of the atrocity only under the cover of

night. Eunice's uncle told her that the monarch butterflies flying around Sand Creek were actually their ancestors visiting this place of unrest.<sup>85</sup> In addition to establishing a personal relationship with the massacre site, Eunice's ranger talk articulates a deeper, more spiritual connection to the land.

Park management supports this relationship and officially acknowledges the Sand Creek landscape as historical *and* sacred. Interestingly, recent developments at the park unit demonstrate Sand Creek's sacred status to an otherwise unlikely group: the United Methodist Church. In February of 2011, the United Methodist Church donated \$50,000—matched by the NPS—for the construction and development of the Sand Creek Massacre Learning Center. The center aims to invite visitors and researchers “to study the causes and consequences of this tragedy and its relevance to contemporary events in the hope of preventing similar occurrences in the future.” By conceding the Church's past wrongs in the massacre and the site's sacred relevance to the Methodist Church today, church leaders want to encourage racial and religious tolerance in the future.<sup>86</sup> As a national site of sacred significance, NPS interpreters offer visitors the opportunity to think more broadly about the implications of the site vis a vis human rights and spiritualism.

Although the learning center wants to encourage the message of a shared heritage, the Park Service recognizes the Cheyenne and Arapaho's unique relationship to the sacred land. Some things are not meant to be shared. In an effort to respect and honor those who lost their lives at Sand Creek, the Park Service established a Cemetery or “Repatriation Site” as part of its 2006 interim plan. This site is used to re-inter massacre

remains reaccessioned as a result of NAGPRA.<sup>87</sup> In order to honor the sacred nature of the space, the NPS restricts non-native access to the repatriation site. Although the NPS preserves the historic site for the entire nation, this restriction articulates a respect for the Cheyenne and Arapaho that was not present on the land in 1864.

This controlled access recognizes the Cheyenne and Arapaho's own distinct relationship to the land. Although the site now belongs to the nation, it is simultaneously special to the native people. The NPS's respect is relayed to visitors through an interpretive panel located just outside the boundaries of the demarcated space; it communicates its significance and sacred status by describing the first burial at the site. On June 2, 2008, "the first burial of human remains from the Sand Creek Massacre occurred in this area. It is anticipated additional remains and objects from the massacre will be interred here in the future" (**Figure 7.18**). Importantly, the panel reiterates that the Cheyenne and Arapaho share a special bond with the land. The native peoples did not just lose 150 of their ancestors to racial and religious intolerance at Sand Creek. They lost their *home*. Written in English, Arapaho, and Cheyenne, the panel takes the native's point of view, explaining that "Many years have passed. The land is still here. We lived here, our clans lived here. The land here is our home – we have come back home." Although Sand Creek supports cross-cultural healing, it simultaneously acts as an important means of empowerment for the Cheyenne and Arapaho. Through Sand Creek, they publicly reclaim their home, their history, and their culture.<sup>88</sup>



(Figure 7.18) “Remains,” Interpretive Panel, Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site. Photograph by Susan C. Hall, July 2010.

The establishment of the repatriation site shows that, just as in 1864, Sand Creek is a cultural landscape—a natural environment utilized by the federal government and Cheyenne and Arapaho to serve a particular function. This time, rather than two competing cultures clashing on the land, they are working together to recognize its contemporary significance. In 2008, the *Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribal Tribune* noted the collaboration of the solemn event. A police escort led the remains—returned from the Colorado Historical Society, Denver Museum of Science and Nature, the University of Nebraska—and funeral procession a total of sixty-four miles. They made their way from Bent’s Old Fort National Historic Site—where the NPS cared for the remains until their

return—to the sacred space of Sand Creek. In a ceremony attended by approximately sixty people, the commemoration of repatriation included both patriotic and native songs, prayers and ceremonial drumming, the raising of the United States flag and a white flag of peace, and the reading of a letter written by Captain Silas Soule describing the atrocities of the massacre. The National Park Service, Kiowa County, town of Eads, and the Cheyenne and Arapaho people worked together to honor the dead and properly bury their remains.<sup>89</sup> Sand Creek, in other words, is still a landscape preserving U.S.-Indian relations; this time, however, it is a cooperative use of the land rather than a clashing one. Sand Creek was once a site of cultural and racial conflict but is now intended to be a site of cultural understanding.

This joint relationship with and to the land is displayed most prominently in an interpretive panel entitled “Habitat of our Heritage.” The NPS articulates that the natural landscape of Sand Creek is a central element in “our heritage”—both native and non-native. In an effort to preserve the historic site for future generations of all Americans and nations, the NPS encourages visitors to respect nature by quoting an Indian Proverb regarding land ownership: “Treat the Earth well: it was not given to you by your parents, it was loaned to you by your children. We do not inherit the Earth from our Ancestors, we borrow it from our Children.”<sup>90</sup> As Sand Creek’s on-site interpretation develops, it makes a visible effort to define not only Sand Creek’s historical importance—based on its November 1864 massacre—but *why* the massacre occurred in the first place: the prairie’s significance to the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Coloradans. Sand Creeks’ on-site interpretation explains, “the natural environment and availability of resources has



impacted the lifestyles of humans who have used the area for the past 8,000-10,000 years... The landscape of Sand Creek Massacre NHS is a record of...competition for limited resources.”<sup>91</sup> Thus, the historic site preserves both the natural and cultural resources associated with the massacre. It preserves the cultural landscape of the massacre site through the restoration of the area’s natural resources.

Interpretive panels emphasize the joint-effort of the NPS, Cheyenne and Arapaho, university community, and local community of affected land owners as they document, preserve, and manage the site’s grasslands. From an ecological standpoint, the prairie restoration of Sand Creek protects a Great Plains ecosystem degraded by crop growth, exotic vegetation, and local irrigation systems. The panels feature the area’s animals such as prairie dogs and monarch butterflies, as well as its plants such as cottonwood trees. At the same time, its restoration serves an historical function—“returning” the land to its nineteenth century appearance for the benefit of visitors. Through the protection, preservation, and restoration of Sand Creek’s natural resources, the National Park Service educates the nation about the Plains ecosystem, its “biological communities,” and the nineteenth century human stories that thrived and clashed in the region as a result.

In an effort to preserve Sand Creek as a nineteenth century site of cultural conflict and a twenty-first century site of positive cultural, racial, and civic dialogue, the National Park Service fails to recognize that the Sand Creek landscape *continued* hosting competing cultural forces well into the twentieth century. These forces used the land for

its natural resources as well as historical ones. The NPS themselves became active agents in the landscape's unbroken process of natural and historical manipulation. While the NPS acts as an energetic mediator of a nineteenth-century cultural landscape, they themselves now attempt to control the space and its message. The role of cultural landscape studies at NPS sites of specific historic significance is still new and unclear, and Sand Creek serves as a case study for the challenges faced by such a multi-faceted site. While promoting itself as a cultural landscape of the Indian Wars and Westward Expansion, the Park Service struggles to interpret Sand Creek's post-war landscape and the many voices that comprise it.

Sand Creek's interpretation notes the Cheyenne and Arapaho's continued relationship with and use of the land *after* 1864. Their sustained union with Sand Creek influences the Park Service's understanding of the site's "cultural landscape"—leading to the preservation and restoration of a post-war space significant to the natives, their culture, and their memory of the massacre. For example, the Park Service notes that the cottonwood trees located in the massacre site "date to the mid-1900s, though it is possible a few trees were present during the massacre as seedlings or saplings." Despite their post-war relationship to the land, the NPS preserves these trees, because they have an important "cultural and spiritual" importance for the Cheyenne and Arapaho. During severe winters, the natives fed cottonwood to their horses as a source of survival.<sup>92</sup> More recently, Cheyenne and Arapaho visitors highlighted the trees' crucial role in communing with the dead; according to Senator Campbell, the Cheyenne and Arapaho heard the voices of the massacre victims through the trees.<sup>93</sup>

While the NPS acknowledges the spiritual significance of Sand Creek's post-war landscape to the Cheyenne and Arapaho, it minimizes the continued presence of Anglo habitation on the land. In doing so, the Park Service marginalizes the land's extensive history as private property.<sup>94</sup> Ranching and Anglo settlement played a crucial role in the dislocation of Native Americans from their homelands. By tearing down Bill Dawson's ranch house, the NPS removed a key symbol of the land's post-massacre history. Although the revitalization of the landscape's prairie vegetation benefits the environment and local ecosystem, doing so also suppresses evidence of the site's change over time. Sand Creek selectively determines whose use of the land fits with their narrative and thus, will be acknowledged on the landscape.

Although the National Park Service attempts to remove blatant symbols of twentieth century Anglo settlements that interfere with their narrative of a nineteenth century conflict and twenty-first century understanding, evidence does remain. These symbols of a post-war cultural landscape defy the Park Service and, on some level, impede their efforts to restore a purely "native" place. Just beyond the park boundaries lies a cattle ranch. The barbed wire fences marking nearby properties and isolated windmills located on the plains both serve as additional markers of the land's ranching past (and present). Other significant indicators of westward settlement include railroad tracks, railroad signs, and telephone wires crossing the landscape (**Figures 7.19 & 7.20**). Hints of this post-war culture clash are visible on the NPS property, as well. However, acknowledgment by the Park Service remains relatively absent.



**(Figure 7.19)** Eastern Colorado cow and barbed wire fence. Photograph by Susan C. Hall, July 2010.



**(Figure 7.20)** Signs of ranching and Anglo settlement. Photo by Susan C. Hall, July 2010.

In addition to visible remnants of the landscape's post-war settlement, the presence of Anglo memorialization is also discernible at Sand Creek. Steward's 1951 Sand Creek Battle Ground monument still rests in a prominent place on the preserved acreage. As visitors look out onto the massacre site and the dry creek bed below, they stand next to the mid-century monument. Unlike Denver's Civil War monument, the NPS does not provide the context of Sand Creek's "battle ground" description to viewers.<sup>95</sup> Despite prominent visible evidence, they do not address the monument's appropriation by Native Americans and other mourners either. Powerful mementos and symbols of mourning, grieving, and remembrance cover the top of the monument and the ground around it. Their presence indicates a transition for the monument and the landscape—from a site of Anglo celebration over western settlement to one of grief at the death of the Cheyenne and Arapaho (**Figure 7.21**). To unknowing visitors introduced to Sand Creek as a site of shame, however, its past as a site of celebratory memory-making and successful western settlement is left unexplained.<sup>96</sup>



(**Figure 7.21**) Signs of native appropriation of the Steward Monument. Photo by Susan C. Hall, July 2010.

To better maintain the “integrity” of Sand Creek’s 1864 landscape, the National Historic Site also minimizes its own presence on the land by “blending in” with the plains surroundings. By preserving the site “as is,” however, the National Park Service denies its own control over the land as twenty-first century participants in the ever-changing cultural landscape of Sand Creek. According to Laura Watt, NPS sites are anything but naturally preserved; they adhere to a certain level of beliefs central to the mission of the Park Service. Rather than a natural landscape or a cultural landscape, Sand Creek is what Watt defines as a “National Park-Scape”—“a standardized...[space] with visitor centers, picnic tables, and other elements that are designed to comply with national standards and public expectations” (**Figures 7.22 & 7.23**).<sup>97</sup> On the rolling plains of eastern Colorado, the NPS cannot hide its presence—and their tendencies to cater to visitors. A double-wide portable displaying the National Park Service emblem serves as the Visitor Center.<sup>98</sup> Park maintenance focuses on both the massacre land’s “natural” elements as well as the site’s visitor-friendly features. They include a nearby picnic area, mowed prairie grass for parking and clearer views of the surrounding landscape. Wood fences demarcate NPS property and corral visitors within specific areas of the massacre site. At the picnic area and trailhead, the interpretive signs are encased in wooden poles tied together with rope and strengthened with thick iron clamps, reflecting the lodge poles from tipis and the iron of the region’s railroads. The Park Service construction and logo are so commonplace to visitors who regularly make their way to NPS sites that they themselves become an accepted part of the landscape. Although “unnatural” to the land, tourism is an essential component of Sand Creek’s twenty-first century message; without

tourists, in other words, there would be no point in acknowledging the events that happened in 1864.



(Figure 7.22) Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site, NPS entrance sign. Photo by Susan C. Hall, July 2010.



(Figure 7.23) NPS Interpretive Panels. Photo by Susan C. Hall, July 2010.

Although the Park Service intends these features to blend in with their surroundings, they actually indicate the NPS's powerful influence over the public's experience at Sand Creek. Preservation of this Colorado land reflects a larger, national function. Intended to separate property boundaries, the fences actually symbolize NPS ownership and thus, public, national property. In theory, the NPS welcomes all to these public spaces, and the signs found at key locations emphasize their goal of public education. Yet, the NPS presents a controlled narrative based on sympathetic relations. Signs ask visitors to respect the site to "assure that those who follow during the coming generations will have the same opportunities, as us, to experience the solitude, power, and value of America's National Parks."<sup>99</sup> Despite their shared ownership in the property, visitors are effectively guided in their understanding and memory of Sand Creek. As the natural "authority" on the subject matter, the NPS chooses what to relay to visitors and how—attempting to establish a personal memory of Sand Creek that coincides with today's national, collective memory of the massacre. Whereas Coloradans acted as the primary interpreters of Sand Creek (from afar) in the nineteenth and twentieth century, the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and federal government now control the course of the Sand Creek narrative. Without acknowledging it, the NPS has become perhaps the most powerful player in Sand Creek's cultural landscape of historical memory-making.

Historically, the NPS contextualizes the massacre site by emphasizing that land competition led to "inevitable" conflict between the Cheyenne and Arapaho and the Coloradans. Interpretive panels explain that violence was inflicted upon both the natives and Anglo settlers as overland routes, Indian camps, and isolated ranches collided with



one another. Because he wanted statehood for the territory, Governor Evans receives prominent placement in the panel narrative. Colorado's citizens needed protection in order for statehood to be successful. Thus, Evans agreed to the removal of the "friendly" Cheyenne and Arapaho. The Colorado Militia would pursue, kill, and destroy those hostile Indians who refused to cooperate. With a prominent photograph accompanying his statements, the territorial governor serves as the face of Colorado's hostility to the natives, who, according to NPS interpretation, wanted to make peace with the whites and "take good tidings home to our people, that they may sleep in peace."<sup>100</sup> In essence, Evans becomes the aggressor against the peaceful natives and their families.

This, however, was not always the case. Although Evans did describe the "hostile Indians" like bugs who "infested the Plains," historical narratives do not normally see him as the villain of Sand Creek. Instead, they most often define Colonel Chivington as the primary antagonist of the massacre. Initially, the Park Service recognized Chivington's role in the affair by including him in the interpretive panels. However, graffiti constantly covered his image, reflecting a strong hatred toward the Methodist minister. As a result, the NPS made a conscious decision to remove Chivington's image from the on-site interpretation. By replacing Chivington's graffitied image with Governor Evans', the NPS purposely altered the memory of the Sand Creek massacre (**Figure 7.24**).<sup>101</sup>



(Figure 7.24) Governor Evans, Sand Creek’s antagonist. Photo by Susan C. Hall, July 2010.

In an attempt to preserve a nineteenth century site of shame to promote twenty-first century cross-cultural healing, Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site marginalizes evidence that complicates and destabilizes its goals. Although it successfully embraces and preserves native rights to the landscape, the NPS simultaneously dismisses those who previously took a similar claim in the post-war period—even the NPS itself. Those post-war claims, however, help define the landscape today. Evidence of previous narratives should not be overlooked, because they are an integral part of how we—as individuals, as Americans, as Native Americans, as a nation, as nations—understand the past even to this day. In 2007, a native informant explained that “there are many, many stories that Sand Creek, that the Cheyenne and Arapaho, that

our ancestors, have told us that this site is quite a battlefield... We just do not know what to do right now, but go ahead and try to preserve everything that was left so that we can maintain it.”<sup>102</sup> The ease with which this Arapaho informant described Sand Creek as a battlefield indicates the prevailing power of the nineteenth century rhetoric—even to those who contest it. His use of the term demonstrates that cultural landscapes not only connect the past (1864) with the present (2007), but everything in between.

Revitalizing the nineteenth-century landscape as a means of apology to the Cheyenne and Arapaho does not right past wrongs. Nor can the twentieth century’s misguided interpretations of Sand Creek be ignored simply because they are inaccurate. They are an integral part of the site’s long and complex history as a cultural landscape of memory-making; they are proof that the land influenced—and continues to influence—the relationship between race, space, and nation long after the massacre ended. In acknowledging the continued influence of Sand Creek’s cultural landscape, the site will better meet its goals to establish a long-lasting dialogue preventing future atrocities based on race, space, and conflicting identity.

### **Conclusion: Historic Evolution is Never Past Tense**

In the twenty-first century, developments in the fields of memory studies, social history, and ethnic studies led the National Park Service to publicly recognize the role of race in the national narrative. Likewise, the NPS took steps toward acknowledging the land’s significance in nineteenth century racial conflict and warfare. Today, battlefields and massacre sites are not just historic sites; they are also historic cultural landscapes

where competing groups of agents attempt to gain or maintain control of the land and its legacy.

Despite only recent recognition by the National Park Service, these bloody spaces were *always* cultural landscapes—defined most heavily by different cultures, races, and their competing relationships to the land. In fact, this closer analysis of Antietam, Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania, Big Hole, and Sand Creek demonstrates that race and race relations maintained a central component of battlefield preservation and interpretation throughout the long twentieth century. These “battlefields” continued to serve as spaces of culture clashes in the post-war period—this time defined by monuments, memorials, and interpretive programming rather than guns and blood. While the National Park Service, local residents, and other invested groups embrace battlefields as cultural landscapes, they have yet to fully understand that they, too, are active, public agents in the landscape’s layering process. Although changing the nineteenth century’s national narrative to be more accurate, critical, and inclusive, these groups often erase, ignore, or marginalize things in between. They struggle to acknowledge that the place of race in the post-war period influenced our memory of the war just as much as the war itself. As Fredericksburg’s blog indicates, those who do recognize the battlefields’ significance beyond the nineteenth century face an uphill battle from an American public wishing to experience a purified, preserved war-torn past rather than a post-war environment just as contentious.

In other words, public historians are not quite sure how to reconcile two different ways of seeing preserved battlefields; the “traditional” interpretation of nineteenth century warfare and culture often clashes with the interpretation of a post war culture of memory-making. In their work “Preserving Cultural Landscapes: a Cross Cultural Analysis,” Priya Jain and Goody Clancy suggest that this disconnect between the past, present, and everything in between is due to the Department of the Interior’s narrow definition of cultural landscapes. According to the Secretary of the Interior’s standards, battlefields are defined as historic landscapes, “composed of a number of character-defining features which, individually or collectively, contribute to the landscape’s physical appearance” at the time of its historical event.<sup>103</sup> By relying on a set of narrowly-defined concepts—historical integrity and historical significance—preservationists believe that the battlefield’s “golden age” of importance remains in the nineteenth century past. Jain and Clancy explain that “An undesirable result of this retrospective approach is a severing of our ties with the immediate past, which is considered insignificant when compared to the more distant ‘period of significance.’ Moreover, the process does not allow for changes in the meaning of ‘the past’ with passing time.”<sup>104</sup> Under such constraints, the battlefields from the Civil War and Indian Wars remain just that: battlefields. They offer no real room to examine the landscape’s post-war significance as memory-making tools.

However, UNESCO’s own standards and definitions challenge these constraints on the preservation and interpretation of the United States’ cultural landscapes. The global preservation organization introduces a new type of cultural landscape unexplored

by the NPS: a continuing landscape. According to UNESCO, “A continuing landscape is one which retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with a traditional way of life. It is continuing to evolve while, at the same time, it exhibits significant material evidence of its historic evolution.”<sup>105</sup> Continuing landscapes far better define the nation’s preserved battlefields. As this dissertation demonstrates, the nation’s nineteenth century battlefields do, in fact, retain the important social function of memory-making that relies on racial conflict and reconciliation to help determine its course. The landscape does not capture a nineteenth century past. Rather, it documents the nation’s evolutionary interpretation of the past. In order to help introduce continuing landscapes to the nation’s preservation rhetoric, public historians and preservationists, and perhaps most importantly, the National Park Service need to reconceptualize these bloody spaces as lived phenomena rather than studied artifacts. These sites are never past tense but always serving the present.

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### Conclusion Notes

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<sup>2</sup> Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1995).

<sup>3</sup> Priya Jain and Goody Clancy, “Preserving Cultural Landscapes: A Cross-Cultural Analysis,” in *Exploring the Boundaries of Historic Landscape Preservation, Proceedings from the Twenty-ninth Annual Meeting*, Cari Goetcheus and Eric MacDonald, editors (The Alliance for Historic Landscape Preservation, 2007), 17.

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<sup>4</sup> Charles A. Birnbaum, ASLA, “Preservation Brief 36 - Protecting Cultural Landscapes: Planning, Treatment and Management of Historic Landscapes”; available from <http://www.nps.gov/hps/tps/briefs/brief36.htm>; Internet; accessed 4 December 2012.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Bruce Babbitt, Secretary of the Interior, “Forward,” *Rally on the High Ground: The National Park Service Symposium on the Civil War*, ed. Robert K. Sutton (Eastern National Press, 2001), v.

<sup>7</sup> David W. Blight, “Healing, Heritage and History: ‘Healing and History: Battlefields and the Problem of Civil War Memory,’” *Rally on the High Ground: The National Park Service Symposium on the Civil War*, ed. Robert K. Sutton (Eastern National Press, 2001); available from [http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online\\_books/rthg/chap3a.htm](http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/rthg/chap3a.htm); Internet; accessed 4 December 2012.

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<sup>9</sup> Tom Clemens, “Success at Antietam,” in *Civil War News: the Monthly Current Events Newspaper* (December 2009); available from [http://www.civilwarnews.com/preservation/2009pres/antietam\\_clemens\\_p120901.htm](http://www.civilwarnews.com/preservation/2009pres/antietam_clemens_p120901.htm); Internet; accessed 4 December 2012.

<sup>10</sup> “Civil War Battlefield Could Encounter Tourist Onslaught,” in *Reading Eagle* (Reading, Pennsylvania), September 24, 1997, A13.

<sup>11</sup> National Park Service, “Review of Current Conditions,” *Interpretation at Civil War Sites: A Report to Congress* (March 2000); available from [http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online\\_books/icws/icws\\_review.htm](http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/icws/icws_review.htm); Internet; accessed 4 December 2012.

<sup>12</sup> Clemens, “Success at Antietam.”

<sup>13</sup> Antietam National Battlefield, “Freedom at Antietam, part 2,” available from <http://www.nps.gov/anti/historyculture/freedom2.htm>; Internet; accessed 4 December 2012.

<sup>14</sup> Antietam National Battlefield, “Dr. Martin Luther King on the Emancipation Proclamation,” available from <http://www.nps.gov/anti/historyculture/mlk-ep.htm>; Internet; accessed 4 December 2012.

<sup>15</sup> Antietam National Battlefield, “Contradictions and Divided Loyalties, Slavery on the Antietam Battleground – a Companion Guide to the Auto Tour for School Groups,” available from <http://www.nps.gov/anti/forteachers/upload/Contradictions-and-Divided-Loyalties.pdf>; Internet; accessed 4 December 2012.

<sup>16</sup> “Divided Loyalties,” 5.

<sup>17</sup> “Divided Loyalties,” 9.

<sup>18</sup> “Divided Loyalties,” 10.

<sup>19</sup> Friends of Tolson Chapel, “Tolson’s Chapel, Sharpsburg, Maryland,” available from [http://tolsonschapel.org/?page\\_id=10](http://tolsonschapel.org/?page_id=10); Internet; accessed 4 December 2012. See also: David Dishneau,

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Lauren LaRocca, “Most Support KKK’s Right to Demonstrate at Antietam,” *Frederick News Post* (Frederick, Maryland), June 14, 2006; available from <http://www.fredericknewspost.com/sections/news/display.htm?storyid=49758>; Internet; accessed 4 December 2012.

<sup>26</sup> Harry Mount (The Daily Telegraph), “Klansmen Preach Racial Hatred on Antietam Battlefield,” *The Sun* (New York, New York), June 12, 2006; available from <http://www.nysun.com/national/klansmen-preach-racial-hatred-on-antietam/34256/>; Internet; accessed 4 December 2012. Pamela Rigaux, “Klan Members, Protestors Exchange Barbs,” *Frederick News Post* (Frederick, Maryland), June 11, 2006; available from <http://www.fredericknewspost.com/sections/news/display.htm?storyid=49693>; internet, accessed 4 December 2012.

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<sup>28</sup> Moore.

<sup>29</sup> “What’s Old is New Again at Antietam National Battlefield,” *Point Pleasant Register* (Mason County, West Virginia), November 26, 2001, A2.

<sup>30</sup> Deborah Fitts, “Antietam Battlefield is Recreating Piper Orchard,” *The Civil War News* (Tunbridge, Vermont) February/March 2003; available from [http://www.civilwarnews.com/archive/articles/piper\\_orchard.htm](http://www.civilwarnews.com/archive/articles/piper_orchard.htm); Internet; accessed 4 December 2012.

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<sup>35</sup> Fitts, "Antietam Park Position."

<sup>36</sup> Howard Kurtz, "McDonnell's Civil War Blunder," *The Washington Post*, April 9, 2010; available online at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/04/09/AR2010040901749.html>; Internet; accessed 30 May 2010. Jonathan Capehart, "Gov. McDonnell (R-Va.): Slave to the Confederacy," *The Washington Post*, April 7, 2010; available from [http://voices.washingtonpost.com/postpartisan/2010/04/gov\\_mcdonnell\\_r-va\\_slave\\_to\\_th.html](http://voices.washingtonpost.com/postpartisan/2010/04/gov_mcdonnell_r-va_slave_to_th.html); Internet; accessed 4 December 2012. Anita Kumar, "Virginia Governor Amends Confederate History Proclamation to Include Slavery," *The Washington Post*, April 8, 2010; available from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/04/07/AR2010040705100.html>; Internet; accessed 4 December 2012.

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<sup>38</sup> National Park Service, "Review of Current Conditions."

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<sup>41</sup> City of Fredericksburg, Virginia, "A Vibrant, But Segregated Community," (Virginia); available from <http://www.hmdb.org/marker.asp?marker=733>; Internet; accessed 4 December 2012.

<sup>42</sup> City of Fredericksburg, "Seeking Civil Rights," (Fredericksburg, Virginia); available from <http://www.hmdb.org/marker.asp?marker=1059>; accessed 4 December 2012.

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<sup>46</sup> My analysis of memory-making on the Fredericksburg/Spotsylvania Battlefields during the Great Depression supports this suggestion.

<sup>47</sup> Eric Mink, "Park Development: FRSP's Segregated Past," on *Mysteries and Conundrums* (Fredericksburg, Virginia), April 14, 2010; available from <http://npsfrsp.wordpress.com/2010/04/14/park-development-frsp%E2%80%99s-segregated-past/>; Internet; accessed 4 December 2012.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> The Staff, "A Conundrum: Managing Layers of Historic Resources," on *Mysteries and Conundrums* (Fredericksburg, Virginia), April 15 2010; available from <http://npsfrsp.wordpress.com/2010/04/15/a-conundrum/>; Internet; accessed 4 December 2010.

<sup>50</sup> Deborah Fitts, "Fredericksburg Agrees to Close Sunken Road," *Civil War News*, 2004; available from [http://www.civilwarnews.com/archive/articles/sunken\\_road.htm](http://www.civilwarnews.com/archive/articles/sunken_road.htm); Internet; accessed 4 December 2012.

<sup>51</sup> John Hennessy, "A Theoretical Conundrum: Should the Name of Jackson Shrine be Changed?" on *Mysteries and Conundrums* (Fredericksburg, Virginia), May 14, 2010; available from <http://npsfrsp.wordpress.com/2010/05/14/a-theoretical-conundrum-should-the-name-of-jackson-shrine-be-changed/>; Internet; accessed 4 December 2012.

<sup>52</sup> Michael Aubrecht, "Park Development: FRSP's Segregated Past" (posted 18 April 2010).

<sup>53</sup> Sam Snead, "A Conundrum: Managing Layers of Historic Resources" (posted 16 April 2010).

<sup>54</sup> Jim Rosebrock, "A Conundrum: Managing Layers of Historic Resources" (posted 18 April 2010).

<sup>55</sup> Glen Milton, "A Theoretical Conundrum," (posted 15 May 2010).

<sup>56</sup> John Cummings, "A Theoretical Conundrum," (posted 17 May 2010).

<sup>57</sup> Kati, "A Theoretical Conundrum," (posted 20 May 2010).

<sup>58</sup> Formations, "Big Hole Proposed Exhibit Panel text," *Big Hole National Battlefield Visitor Center: Final Production Documents* (Portland, Oregon: Formations: Exhibits, Graphics, Technology, March 30, 2010). BIHO. Accessed October 2010.

<sup>59</sup> Elliott West, *The Last Indian War: The Nez Perce Story* (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 208.

<sup>60</sup> In leading the Nez Perce to their exile on the Plains, Colonel Nelson Miles got to know Chief Joseph and the other Nez Perce well, becoming one of their primary advocates by favoring their return home. In 1879, Chief Joseph's account of his people's trials and tribulations were published in *the North American Review*, stirring the emotions of the American public. By 1883, the Nez Perce plight was a national issue; telegrams and appeals for the exiled people came in to Washington, and by 1885, all of the Nez Perce who surrendered in Montana were returned to the northwest under the watchful eye of the Department of the Interior. See: Alvin Joseph, "Chief Joseph – An Epilogue," in *The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest*.

<sup>61</sup> Email, Otis Halfmoon to Jon G. James at NP-BIHO, Timothy Fisher at NP-BIHO, Doug Eury, Marie Marek at NPS, Subject: M. Penney, January 26, 2000. Vertical File: Commemoration Info Request, BIHO. October 2010.

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<sup>62</sup> Big Hole National Battlefield, “125<sup>th</sup> Commemoration Schedule of Events,” (Wisdom, Colorado, August 9-11, 2002), 2. Vertical File: 125<sup>th</sup> Commemorative, BIHO. Accessed October 2010.

<sup>63</sup> This new museum space creates its own challenges as well. The Nez Perce are not a single, united people. Rather, they are comprised of different bands, who, for decades, have lived semi-autonomous lives with a shared heritage and culture. The intended exhibit space acknowledges these different bands by displaying the flags of the different entities who participated in the center’s redevelopment: the Nez Perce Tribe (Lapwai, Idaho), the Colville Confederate Tribes (Northeast Washington), and the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation (Pendleton, Oregon). Mandi Wick, Big Hole Park Ranger, noted that not all Nez Perce agreed on exhibit displays. For instance, she noted that some Nez Perce did not want the Army represented through quotes (though, in the end, it was decided they would be). Formations, *Big Hole National Battlefield Visitor Center: Final Production Documents*. Interview, Mandi Wick, Big Hole Park Ranger with Susan C. Hall, 4 October 2010.

<sup>64</sup> Clifford Allen, “Local history,” *The Sun* (Montana), February 17, 2002. Vertical File: 125<sup>th</sup> Commemorative, BIHO. Accessed October 2010.

<sup>65</sup> Formations, “kapkapongmay/Sarah - We Want to Go Home” in *Big Hole National Battlefield Visitor Center: Final Production Document*.

<sup>66</sup> Formations, “Exhibits EX8, EX9 & EX13: We Want to go Home, We Want to Go Home, & Visitor Comments” in *Big Hole National Battlefield Visitor Center: Final Production Documents*.

<sup>67</sup> Formations, “We Want to Go Home” in *Big Hole National Battlefield Visitor Center: Final Production Documents*

<sup>68</sup> Quote, Brother of Young Joseph in “The Creator Gave us the Land,” in Formations, *Big Hole National Battlefield Visitor Center: Final Production Documents*.

<sup>69</sup> Formations, “Exhibit Ex1: Welcome Exhibits: Iskumtselalik Pah” in *Big Hole National Battlefield Visitor Center: Final Production Documents*.

<sup>70</sup> Formations, “No Returning” in *Big Hole National Battlefield Visitor Center: Final Production Documents*.

<sup>71</sup> Formations, “At this Place” in *Big Hole National Battlefield Visitor Center: Final Production Documents*.

<sup>72</sup> Formations, “No Returning” in *Big Hole National Battlefield Visitor Center: Final Production Documents*.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Formations, “We Remember What Happened Here” in *Big Hole National Battlefield Visitor Center: Final Production Documents*.

<sup>75</sup> “Wounded Head’s Drinking Horn,” Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Formations, “Exhibit EX11: We Remember What Happened Here” in *Big Hole National Battlefield Visitor Center: Final Production Documents*.

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<sup>77</sup> Formations, “We Remember What Happened Here” in *Big Hole National Battlefield Visitor Center: Final Production Documents*.

<sup>78</sup> David Kelly, “Soothing the Souls at Last,” *Los Angeles Times* (California), February 10, 2004.

<sup>79</sup> Doss, 258.

<sup>80</sup> Doss, 300.

<sup>81</sup> National Park Service, Intermountain Region, *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume 2: Special Resource Study (SRS) and Environmental Assessment (EA)* (Denver: National Park Service Intermountain Region, 2000), 45.

<sup>82</sup> *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume 2*, 86.

<sup>83</sup> *Sand Creek Massacre Project, Volume 2*, 78.

<sup>84</sup> Visitor Talk, Ranger Eunice, given July 14, 2010.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> Carol Berry, “Church Funds Sand Creek Massacre Learning Center,” *Indian Country Today* (New York, New York) 22 February 2011; available from <http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2011/02/22/church-helps-fund-sand-creek-massacre-learning-center-18968>; Internet; accessed 4 December 2012.

<sup>87</sup> Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site, *Interim Site Management Plan/Environmental Assessment, April 2006* (Eads, Colorado), 49; available from <http://www.nps.gov/sand/parkmgmt/upload/EA%20for%20Public%20Review.pdf>; Internet; accessed 29 January 2013. In March of 2004, the NPS published a “Notice of Inventory Completion: Denver Museum of Nature & Science, Denver, CO” on native remains determined to be from the Sand Creek Massacre. A similar notice was issued back in July of 1998. National Park Service, National NAGPRA, “Notice of Inventory Completion for Native American Human Remains from Sand Creek, CO in the Possession of the Colorado Historical Society, Denver, CO”; available from [http://www.nps.gov/history/nagpra/fed\\_notices/nagpradir/nic0215.html](http://www.nps.gov/history/nagpra/fed_notices/nagpradir/nic0215.html); Internet; accessed 9 June 2008. National Park Service, National NAGPRA, “Notice of Inventory Completion: Denver Museum of Nature & Science, Denver, CO”; available from [http://www.nps.gov/history/nagpra/fed\\_notices/nagpradir/nic0752.html](http://www.nps.gov/history/nagpra/fed_notices/nagpradir/nic0752.html); Internet; accessed 9 June 2008.

<sup>88</sup> Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site, “Remains,” Interpretive Panel, accessed July 2010.

<sup>89</sup> “Repatriation Held at Sand Creek,” *Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribal Tribune* (Concho, Oklahoma), August 1, 2008. See also: Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site, “Remains” interpretive panel. July 2010.

<sup>90</sup> Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site, “Habitat of Our Heritage” interpretive panel (Sand Creek, Colorado). July 2010.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site, “Humans and the Prairie” interpretive panel (Sand Creek, Colorado) July 2010.

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<sup>93</sup> Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell, “Why Preserve?” 190-191.

<sup>94</sup> Interview, Bruce Hallman, Park Ranger with Susan C. Hall, 14 July 2010.

<sup>95</sup> Though it should be noted that in my ranger talk at the overlook, Eunice did make note that some people today still call the event a battle rather than a massacre. Visitor Talk, Ranger Eunice, given 14 July 2010.

<sup>96</sup> Interestingly, while ignoring the landscape’s recent past in its interpretation, the trailhead sign does warn visitors to be careful while out on the trail, because the “site was most recently an active cattle ranch” with “uneven ground, barbed wire, and downed fence posts.” Sand Creek Massacre NHS, “Welcome to the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site,” trailhead sign (Sand Creek, Colorado). July 2010. All of this analysis is based on my own, personal visit to Sand Creek. This is not to say that since my visit, interpretive talks or panels have changed.

<sup>97</sup> Jain, 19. See also: Laura A. Watt, *Managing cultural landscapes: Reconciling local preservation and institutional ideology in the National Park Service*, Ph.D. dissertation (University of California-Berkeley, 2001), 55.

<sup>98</sup> This is all based on my visit to the site in July 2010. Site features may have changed by now.

<sup>99</sup> Sand Creek Massacre NHS, “Welcome to the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site” trailhead sign.

<sup>100</sup> Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site, “Pleas for Peace” interpretive panel (Sand Creek, Colorado) July 2010.

<sup>101</sup> Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site, “Why?” interpretive panel (Sand Creek, Colorado) July 2010.

<sup>102</sup> Gregory R. Campbell, 1035. Emphasis added.

<sup>103</sup> Birnbaum.

<sup>104</sup> Jain, 19.

<sup>105</sup> Jain, 21.

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