

**Of Plantations and Monuments: The Influence of the United Daughters of the Confederacy
on Southern United States History and Memorialization**

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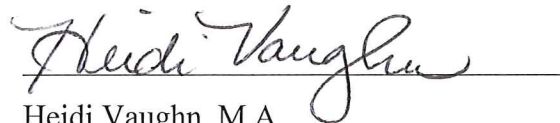
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THESIS APPROVAL

Of Plantations and Monuments: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and Their Influence
over Southern History and Memorialization

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Abstract

This thesis evaluates the United Daughters of the Confederacy's (UDC) interpretation of Southern history through the mediums of textbooks, youth groups, and Confederate monuments in public spaces and how this interpretation affects the way historical plantations present antebellum history today in Louisiana.

Many plantation sites along the River Road in Louisiana either annihilate or trivialize the history of enslavement. Instead they focus on landscape, architecture, or the slave-owning family. My research discusses why the slave narrative is absent or used in a trivializing manner and how the UDC influenced these outlooks. Many of the sites mirror aspects of the Lost Cause theory which the Daughters perpetuated throughout the southeast United States. This thesis also evaluates the meaning and appropriateness of Confederate memorials sponsored by the UDC in public spaces.

This thesis is structured in four main chapters following an introduction. The first chapter explores the present literature on the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the unwavering devotion some American citizens have for the former Confederate nation. The chapter explains the Lost Cause theory, the idea that the Confederacy was destined to lose the Civil War due to a lack of resources, yet gallant and brave white men went to war anyways to defend their freedoms. The theory also includes the idea of happy slaves who were content with a life of bondage and supported the Confederacy.

The second chapter assesses the early efforts made by the UDC and the legacy they nurtured in young children. It discusses the creation of the apolitical group and their role as memory keepers for the deceased and defeated. The chapter also explores the actions taken by

the Daughters to promote the Lost Cause theory and their ideas and values to children through textbook reform and youth groups.

The third chapter evaluates the way some plantation museums along the River Road in Louisiana interpret antebellum and slave history. It compares historical sites that are publicly owned versus sites that are privately owned, either for profit or nonprofit. The distinction is necessary because publicly owned sites have a moral responsibility to the tax payers to provide an inclusive history.

The final chapter discusses the meaning and placement of Confederate memorials in public spaces such as court houses, schools, and parks. The UDC sponsored many of the monuments. The chapter looks at the era they were established, the location, and the meaning behind the inscription to prove the UDC erected the monuments to further their white supremacist and Confederate agenda.

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Introduction

The first preservation group recognized in the United States, the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, formed in the 1850s. Appalled by the potential development of Mount Vernon, the home of President George Washington, the women of Mount Vernon Ladies' Association bought and restored it for historical purposes.¹ This soon became a popular trend. The wealthy class purchased homes they considered to have historical significance and opened them to the public as a method of philanthropy. These private sites in the early twentieth century commonly interpreted historical topics that appealed to owners or local preservation societies. This gave patrons only a partial view of history.

Since the early twentieth century, people recognize museums as authorities of knowledge regarding their subject material. Patrons of museums tend to take the information at face value and trust they are receiving the most significant information. After all, museums "tell us about people, places, and events that they think we should note."² Most sites seek to present an identity which people can relate to, as well as, a cultural memory. What is the identity of a plantation? Most plantation sites have a focus on the slave-owning family who resided there with an emphasis on the time period which corresponded to the family in focus. Many will emphasize the architecture, the landscape, or the antiques. A majority of historical plantations either ignore or trivialize the sensitive subject of slavery.

My interest in this subject first started during my internship at the Edmond Historical Society and Museum (EHSM) in Edmond, Oklahoma. It is a private non-profit organization and depends on community support to remain open. The museum was excited for the traveling

¹ Christopher D. Geist, "Historic Sites," in *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Volume 3: History*, ed. Wilson Charles Reagan (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 122.

² Eichstedt and Small, *Representations of Slavery: Race and Ideology in Southern Plantation Museums* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002), 6.

exhibit *The Power of Children*. The exhibit focused on three children and the adversities they overcame at a young age. EHSM added their own narratives that correlated with the stories shared. The first child was Anne Frank. Her display was set up to resemble the annex in which she and her family hid for two years during WWII. The second child was Ryan White. Born a hemophiliac, he contracted HIV/AIDS from a contaminated blood treatment in 1984. During this time, the public was largely uneducated about the disease and Ryan's school asked him not to return.

The third child was Ruby Bridges. In 1960, she and five other black children, were the first to integrate the white school system in New Orleans. At only six years old she faced death threats and a screaming mob because of her skin color. Federal agents escorted her to school and classes for her protection. EHSM's narrative did not focus on any one individual but instead it discussed the way Edmond, Oklahoma remained a white-dominant area for so long. Edmond was a sundown town. The town did not let minorities in the area after sunset. There was no official law banning people from town, but authorities used loitering laws and intimidation to maintain a white-hegemonic district. The museum displayed artifacts from the 1950s such as one that boasts "Edmond: A Great Place to Live. 5,000 Live Citizens, No Negroes." One of these documents was an official city government paper.

The staff at EHSM seemed nervous about the potential backlash of displaying these incriminating artifacts to a predominantly white city. This and the contents from the *Power of Children* exhibit made me ask myself: how do historical sites interpret history with difficult subject matter? What do these sites commonly share with their patrons in place of the sensitive material?

Upon investigating how plantations interpret slavery, I asked myself another question. Why do historical plantation sites provide a *Gone With the Wind* atmosphere over a realistic history? In my *Nationalism & Modernity* class I researched a highly organized, self-proclaimed apolitical group of women called the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC). The women formed as a memorial group in 1894 to pay tribute to Confederate soldiers. They went beyond memorialization and perpetuated aspects of the Lost Cause theory into their agenda. Through the mediums of text books, youth groups, and Confederate monuments, the Daughters raised future generations of white supremacists who believed in the characteristics and ideals of the Lost Cause. These future generations promoted these ideals at historic sites. While literature on Southern plantations might reference the Daughters, they do not make a connection between the organization's values and goals and why some sites either annihilate or trivialize slavery. This thesis assesses the influence of the United Daughters of the Confederacy's (UDC) interpretation of Southern history through the mediums of text books, youth groups, and Confederate monuments in public spaces and how that interpretation affects the way historical plantations present antebellum history of the South today in Louisiana.

The first chapter explores literature on the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the unwavering devotion that some American citizens have for the former Confederate nation. It also evaluates the issues and concerns that arise when historical plantation sites interpret slavery and antebellum life. It begins by explaining the "Lost Cause" theory, coined by Edward A. Pollard, and how themes from this theory are found at historical plantations today. These white supremacist³ themes display a romanticized version of the antebellum South and include faithful and content slaves, benevolent slave-owners, and economic harmony. It also attempts to

³ For this thesis, the term *white supremacist* refers to the basic concept claiming the white race to be the superior race.

understand the fascination some American citizens have for the former Confederate nation and the United Daughters of the Confederacy, one of the primary groups associated with promoting the Lost Cause theory.

The second chapter centers around the methods used by the UDC to share the “true history” of the South.⁴ What made their “true history” different from general United States history? It starts by defining the cause of the Civil War and what ideals soldiers fought for. Pro-Confederates claim their ancestors fought for their rights and liberties against an overbearing federal government.⁵ The rest of the population, however, understands Southern “rights and liberties” included the freedom to own slaves, whether it is directly stated or not.

The UDC formed in 1894 to commemorate the older generation who fought for the Confederate States of America. They went beyond memorialization to create their own narrative of the Civil War. This included honorable Southern gentlemen and slaves who were content with a life of bondage and economic harmony.⁶ Their actions vindicated Confederate values they believed shaped the idyllic life before the war. The apolitical group had both local and national agendas bringing their interpretation of “true history” to life. The chapter evaluates how the Daughters expanded their audience to promote their ideals to children.

The women entered the field of education reform and created public youth groups to raise future generations of white supremacists. White Southerners feared Northern resources in their schools taught their children to be ashamed of their heritage. “Sectional history inspired by prejudice and hate, were[sic] forced in our [Southern] schools, and our children were taught

⁴ Mildred Lewis Rutherford, the historian for the UDC and one of the most notable members, commonly used the term “true history.”

⁵ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Convention* (Richmond: Richmond Press, Inc., 1918), 6.

⁶ “Love and Rebellion,” *Confederate Veteran* 1, no. 6 (June, 1893), 186; “Not a Confederate,” *Confederate Veteran* 3, no. 12 (December 1895).

lessons that misrepresented these[sic] heroes, the Southland, its social customs and conditions, and our children have a wrong conception of the cause for which they fought and died.”⁷ The Daughters contributed to local libraries and schools. In return, many of these institutions memorialized Confederate soldiers through monuments or naming buildings after them.

The third chapter examines plantation homes along the River Road in Louisiana and how they interpret antebellum history, as well as, African American history. Southerners who lived in the post-war era suffered an economic depression and faced issues of social inequality they never imagined. Many developed a sense of nostalgia for a life they never lived through the UDC’s façade which glorified antebellum life. They began to incorporate aspects of that era into their own time. The plantations chosen lie along or near the seventy-mile stretch of land which encompasses the Mississippi River between Baton Rouge and New Orleans. I chose this region because of its infamous history with slavery and plantations. It contains some of the most extravagant plantation homes in the United States. The *New York Times* claimed the region provided an “authentic early American atmosphere.”⁸

This chapter also compares the differences between the way public, private for-profit, and private nonprofit sites operate and illuminate their history to their patrons. I have found distinct differences between the ways in which the three different types of organizations interpret antebellum history. The majority of my research for this section comes from their websites, reviews, news articles, email and phone calls made over the last two years.

The fourth chapter returns to discussing the United Daughters of the Confederacy and their efforts to spread white supremacist values. Members of the UDC were only a generation or two away from their ancestors who either fought in the war or lived in the antebellum era. When

⁷ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Convention*, 326.

⁸ Eleanor N. Knowles, “Glimpses of Old Plantation Life,” *New York Times*, January 12, 1947, X15.

their fathers and grandfathers began to die of old age the Daughters sought to immortalize them. They also wanted to commemorate the values and ideas for which they believed formed the Confederate States of America (CSA). Memorial groups, including the UDC, erected a multitude of monuments over the last one-hundred years. However, memorialization was no longer the intention behind these structures during the twentieth century. Instead, builders intended for the memorials to play an intimidating role to the black community and vindicate their Confederate values.⁹

Through researching these monuments, it is clear that time, location and inscription on the monuments demonstrate the white supremacist mindset which constructed these statues. A disturbing correlation emerges between spikes in the construction of the memorials and times when the United States faced issues regarding race relations. There were three major construction spikes in Confederate memorials over time. The first, and largest spike, was after *Plessy vs. Ferguson* ruled “separate but equal” as lawful. The ruling allowed Southern states to uphold their strict regulations based on race. Many states in the South already had prejudicial laws known as “Jim Crow Laws” which restricted freedoms for African Americans. The second spike came after the Great War when the United States faced moments of intense racial division like the Red Summer race riots and the destruction of the prominent black community Greenwood in Tulsa, Oklahoma, in the 1920s. The third spike emerged when *Brown v Board of Education* overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson* desegregating schools at the beginning of the Civil Rights movement.

Another difference between memorials built before and memorials built during the twentieth century is the inscription found on the monument. A theme among early statues was

⁹ Karen Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 1.

remembrance and honor for the ones who died. New tributes not only honor the fallen soldiers, but the Confederate nation as well. The United Daughters of the Confederacy used patriotic rhetoric to defend the rebellious actions, comparing Confederate soldiers to the Patriots of the American Revolution.¹⁰

The switch between erecting monuments for memory and erecting them for intimidation purposes can be seen not only by the age or inscription, but by the location of the memorials. In 2017, a special report delivered by the Southern Poverty Law Center revealed that over fifteen hundred symbols of the Confederacy exist in public areas. In the early years of production, memorials were commonly found at cemeteries in the form of an obelisk or a fountain. Many of the early projects by memorial associations involved grave markers, cemetery maintenance, and borders around the area. Now a majority of these memorials can be found in public spaces including schools, courthouses, and parks. These monuments were no longer about remembering the past but instead about creating a white supremacist future.

There is nothing wrong with patrons wishing to experience the grandeur of a plantation. Many of the sites promote a historical purpose but rarely do they cover the atrocities of slavery which happened on the property. They overshadow it with antiques, gardens, and architecture. It is my hope that people who read this thesis will better understand the methodology used at plantations and how it commonly trivializes the atrocities of slavery and know what organization persuaded this façade.

¹⁰ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Fourteenth Annual Convention* (Opelika, Alabama: Post Publishing Company, 1908), 223.

Chapter 1: Historiography

Through the mediums of movies and literature, the widespread and unquestionable fascination with the antebellum South took form in the early twentieth century. People tend to first think of Margaret Mitchell's 1936 novel *Gone with the Wind*, and its movie adaptation premiering in 1939, when discussing life before the Civil War. The best-selling, yet controversial, book immersed readers in a romantic story of picturesque plantations, the undeniable determination of the strident heroine, and the destruction of Atlanta by the Union army. Most books discussing plantation life, whether in critique or praise, reference the effects *Gone with the Wind* has had on historical sites today. Patrons find this romanticized idea at plantations, historic houses, and some museums throughout the United States. However attractive or scenic a site may be, various locations depend on the sentimentalized aspect of an ethereal setting to solely represent the site. For visitors, this conceals the dark history looming just below the surface.

Some historic institutions devote most of their resources to the objects or subjects they believe characterize the glorified image of the south. This typically includes a focus on architecture, antiques, landscape, or a family, one who is white and wealthy. These features provide a distorted sense of reality when tour guides who dress like "Southern belles" "point out the original artwork and antiques" allowing visitors to have the "chance to experience the lifestyle of the wealthy Sugar Barons of the 1800's [sic]."¹¹ But these are not the only stories about plantation life that could be or need to be shared.

¹¹ "Choose Your Tour," Houmas House, <https://houmashouse.com/tours/>.

To better understand the issues and concerns formed when discussing antebellum life, including slavery and other aspects at historical sites, this historiography will be divided into two main categories. The first section attempts to comprehend the fascination and devotion to the former Confederacy found across the Southeast United States. It will evaluate literature regarding the rise in Confederate appreciation and the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), one of the primary groups associated with promoting the Lost Cause theory. The second section evaluates diverse interpretations of historical sites including museums, plantations, and historic houses. While many authors recognized and criticized the way historical sites present slavery and African American history, not all provided detailed solutions to combat the issues. Other scholars believed that failure in interpreting the sensitive subject matter is directly related to how employees interacted with visitors. Some of the literature regarding historical plantations mentions the UDC but they do not go into detail regarding the possibility of the organization playing a larger role in the way Southern history is presented at these sites.

What caused the rise in the fascination with the Civil War? The Civil War grew into the deadliest war in United States history; the death toll reached over 600,000 citizens (both Confederate and Union). Winston Churchill famously said: "History is written by the victors." In reality historians documented and recorded history from all sides. There were instances when the conquered have tried to rewrite their narrative to cover up their indecencies or attempted to gain respect previously lost. The former Confederate States of America (CSA) is one of the few societies or nations that has done this successfully through their interpretation of the Lost Cause theory. Edward A. Pollard introduced the public to the term "Lost Cause" in his publication *The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates* two years after the war. The Lost Cause did not become a solidified movement until a couple decades later when respected

southerners published various articles about the subject, including one by the former president of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis.¹² The Lost Cause theory portrayed the citizens of the unionized southern states to be fair and genteel beings who only wanted to defend their individual freedoms against government interference.

Union forces greatly outnumbered the Confederate troops. They had more than twice the men fighting for their region. In addition, the North had a manufacturing economy which provided them with weapons and ammunition significantly more quickly than the South received with their agricultural economy. Despite the massive odds against them, the CSA political and military leaders launched their men, both free and enslaved, into a war on April 12, 1861 at Fort Sumter. What may have seemed like a senseless gambit actually propelled these politicians and generals into heroes. Even when the rebel forces lost four years later, the men earned respect from their people who considered them as an honorable David against the Goliath-like Union. The Confederacy seemed destined to fail but men and boys continued to fight for their newly established country in an effort to maintain their personal rights and slave ownership. It was not known if the soldiers knew they fought for a losing side, but Confederate military leaders had an inkling of their potential defeat after the Battle of Vicksburg in 1863 when Union forces seized the only remaining Confederate stronghold along the Mississippi River. At the same time, Union forces conquered General Robert E. Lee's army of Northern Virginia at the Battle of Gettysburg, intensifying the South's humiliation.¹³ Throughout the next century and up to today states in the southern region of the United States remained adamant about their southern culture and

¹² For more information on early references to the Lost Cause check out Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1912), originally published in 1881; Charles C. Osborne, *Jubal: The Life and Times of General Jubal A. Early, C.S.A.* (Chapel Hill: Algonquin Books, 1992).

¹³ Ronald K. Kyle Jr, "Grant, Meade, and Clausewitz: The Application of War as an Extension of Policy During the Vicksburg and Gettysburg Campaigns," *Army History* 28 (Fall 1993), 21-27.

remembered their forefathers for their valiant efforts fighting for freedom. These celebratory efforts stayed visible throughout the former Confederacy through memorials and monuments, not just to a fallen hero, but to the antebellum south as a whole unit.

Institutions and historical sites which annihilate and trivialize African American history and culture commonly, and sometimes unintentionally, present the Lost Cause theme. Museum patrons, for the most part, trust and believe that historical sites offer an encompassing narrative and do not omit anything important. If visitors are only introduced to the beauty of the landscape and told about the hard work the slave-owning family put into building their empire, patrons then leave with a sense of nostalgia developing into a sense of pity because the war destroyed this image. The second section of this chapter will discuss the subjects many historical sites focus on if they ignore slavery.

Robert Cook claims in his 2002 article “(Un)Furl That Banner: The Response of White Southerners to the Civil War Centennial of 1961-1965,” white people from both the north and the South “participated unwittingly in a mutual act of historical amnesia. . .when [they] thought about the Civil War in the mid-twentieth century.”¹⁴ In 1957 Congress passed legislation initiating the U.S. Civil War Centennial Commission, an agency within the Department of the Interior, to coordinate commemorative events with federal funds in alliance with state and local governments.¹⁵ This act helped unify the country once again as citizens from both the North and South changed their view of the deadliest war in American history to a scuffle between brothers which ultimately produced positive results in our nation’s development. States had the ability to not only create their own teams for designing events and memorials for the next four years, they

¹⁴ Robert Cook, “(Un)Furl That Banner: The Response of White Southerners to the Civil War Centennial of 1961-1965,” *The Journal of Southern History* 68, no. 4 (November 2002): 882.

¹⁵ Cook, 882.

could also tell their story how they see fit. States commonly selected a narrative that mimicked the romanticized aspects the Civil War and the antebellum South, commonly found in media, literature, and primary school resources. As a result, many states ignored the issue of slavery and the role it played in the war. Southerners and organizers commonly disregarded the aspects of history that demeaned the South. The concluding ceremony on April 9, 1965 at Appomattox Courthouse National Historical Park focused on the dedication of the reconstructed courthouse rather than the surrender of Robert E. Lee and the ending of the Civil War as well as the ending of the Confederacy.¹⁶

Cook also analyzes the political and social actions taken during the centennial. The commemoration coincided with the peak of the Civil Rights Movement. Leading up to that time, Jim Crow laws, segregation, abuse, and fear filled the African American community, most of it taking place in states below the Mason Dixon line. Nearly ninety years after Congress ratified the 13th and 14th amendments, abolishing slavery and granting citizenship to those born or naturalized in the country, including former slaves, the Supreme Court ruled schools segregated by race to be unconstitutional. States in the former Confederacy already had local laws legalizing segregation in schools. This alleged overstep by the federal government reminded white citizens who felt a sense of superiority based on their skin color why their grandparents fought to defend their state's rights.

Lori Holyfield and Clifford Beacham echo Cook's remark about the post-Civil War era serving as a reminder to the former Confederacy of their humiliating defeat. Along with racism and resentment, "the result was a creation of an entire generation of powerful memory brokers

¹⁶ Dwight T. Pitcaithley, "Public Education and the National Park Service: Interpreting the Civil War", (November 2007) Historian.org.

who privileged whiteness in commemoration of the Civil War.”¹⁷ This appears evident across America when researchers study various battlefields and memorials. The Civil War does not encompass one memory or one history; therefore, communities built multiple sites to commemorate the event. Each site has its own story to convey, but if the collective story is ignored, the various histories become fragmented and destroy the conceivable social solidarity. The two authors criticize the Centennial Commission for allowing “site specific” interpretations at points of interest. This can be seen at battlefields which focus primarily on military history and community impact, while they ignore the cause of the war and the role played by African American (and other minorities including Hispanic and Native) soldiers.

Memorial groups like the Sons of Confederate Veterans and the United Daughters of the Confederacy perpetuated the Lost Cause myth in the early 19th century. Karen Cox credits white and wealthy women for their actions allowing the Lost Cause principles to survive through the 20th century and up to today.¹⁸ The academic community has long ignored the UDC’s success at erecting monuments, organizing memorial parades, and education reform. Cox focuses on the role gender played from 1894 to 1919 in her book *Dixie’s Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture*. During this era women did not have the right to vote nor were they allowed in the public or political sphere. Politicians and male family members, including husbands, viewed women as feeble beings incapable of holding a political opinion.¹⁹ If only the men knew it would be the women who would win the war to vindicate the Confederacy.

¹⁷ Lori Holyfield and Clifford Beacham, “Memory Brokers, Shameful Pasts, and Civil War Commemoration,” *Journal of Black Studies* 42, no. 3 (April 2011), 442.

¹⁸ Karen Cox, *Burying the Dead but Not the Past: Ladies’ Memorial Associations & the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 2.

¹⁹ H.R. Rep. No. 66-1, at 1 (1919).

Amy Lynn Heyse focuses her article “The Rhetoric of Memory-Making: Lessons from the UDC’s Catechisms for Children” on the strategies used by the Daughters to assemble and present their collective memories of the Civil War. At the start of her article Heyse clarifies the difference between the “four southern myths:” Solid South, New South, Old South, and Lost Cause.²⁰ She notes the United Daughters of the Confederacy favored the Old South and Lost Cause myth because the two provided a positive image of the South. The most significant impact the women had on southern life came about through education reform and their use of catechisms in their specialized youth group, Children of the Confederacy (C. of C.). They used a series of oversimplified questions and answers concerning the Civil War and Reconstruction which allowed children to memorize the two-sentence answers quickly. These women educated the next generation of proud southerners who shared their ideas of the “true” history of the Confederacy. These kids consequently educated their children through the UDC’s mediums and so on. By 1919 (the year the organization incorporated), membership reached one hundred thousand across the southeast United States.²¹

While this thesis does not discuss the interpretation of African American history at NPS battlefields, the arguments against reinterpretation at these sites echo the arguments against reinterpreting Confederate monuments in public spaces. Battlefields became sites of remembrance and honor not only for the victors but for the defeated as well through the

²⁰ Anne Lynn Heyse, “The Rhetoric of Memory-Making: Lessons from the UDC’s Catechisms for Children,” *Rhetoric Society Scholarly* 38, no 4 (Fall 2008), 412-4115. The Solid South myth is most similar to white supremacy; advocates wanted the South to stand strong against post-war threats like carpetbaggers, free blacks, and military occupation. The New South had three themes: reconciliation, progress, and Southerners as a chosen people; advocates were more likely to work with Northerners in an attempt to resolve pre-war issues. The Old South myth is most synonymous with *Gone With the Wind*, characterized by manners, romance, and aristocracy. Heyse characterizes the Lost Cause myth with themes of arguments for states’ rights, claiming slavery was not a cause of the war, and the Confederate loss was due to lack of resources.

²¹ David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 272.

appearance of Confederate memorials in public spaces. However, when people confer honor to Confederate soldiers for their valor and sacrifice, it separates the Southern militaries from their primary corrupt reason for the war: slavery.

Dwight T. Pitcaithley, a chief historian of the National Park Service (NPS) from 1995 to 2005, has published many articles discussing the role and responsibility the NPS had in presenting slavery and other difficult histories to the public. In his article “A Cosmic Threat: The National Park Service Addresses the Causes of the American Civil War,” found in Horton and Horton’s *Slavery in Public History*, Pitcaithley discusses the public’s reaction to the decision made by the NPS in 1998 to include causes of the Civil War in their exhibits.²² A firestorm erupted after the meeting of battlefield superintendents and the NPS received over twenty-four hundred cards and letters expressing concern from the Sons of the Confederate Veterans, members of Civil War Roundtables, and the general public.²³ Concerns about replacing military history with “politically correct” history arose primarily among people in the South content with the current displays which did not acknowledge slavery as a cause of the war.

Pitcaithley makes three generalizations about the public reaction to the Civil War interpretation based on the responses received after the 1998 meeting of superintendents. (1) The backlash largely came from individual Confederate sympathizers or organizations which refer to the Civil War as the War of Northern Aggression and were socially unaware of their ancestors’ decision to fight in favor of slavery. Pitcaithley noticed proud heritage groups like the Sons of Confederate Veterans and League of the South found the connection of slavery, secession, and

²² This decision did not necessarily mean a dictum claiming slavery as a cause for the war would be at every site; sometimes interpreters wedged “slavery” in under “property rights” as a reason.

²³ Dwight T. Pitcaithley, “A Cosmic Threat: The National Park Service Addresses the Causes of the Civil War,” in *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*, ed. James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 170.

the Civil War to be insulting and slandering.²⁴ A small percentage of the Confederate Army owned slaves, so many descendants today can proudly boast about their ancestors fighting for state or individual rights and not for the slaves their kind did not own. (2) Pro-Confederate groups considered incorporating new scholarship into military park programs to be speculative and theoretical. Critics felt it unfair to take away from the military history of a particular site for a subjective social history.²⁵ (3) Civil War enthusiasts believed not every battlefield needed to explain the causes of the war and battlefield exhibits should primarily discuss the military progression and tactics.

Romanticizing the antebellum South along with the Lost Cause theory had directly affected the way historical sites like plantations and battlefields interpret their history, including slavery. This brought to the table a new set of questions for historical sites considering reinterpreting their subjects to have a more inclusive narrative. Museum board members and employees reevaluated their responsibilities as historical institutions and reevaluated their audience to better understand the needs of the community and the role they play. This did not always happen smoothly or at all in some cases. Most people were hesitant to change due to their comfort level; nevertheless, most of society, as a whole, seemed ready to make changes at these sites and to learn more about slavery and the effects it had in the region. It is time for these stories to stop hiding behind the architecture, art, and landscape and be shared.

Literature and theater shows began portraying romanticized versions of the Confederate South long before Margaret Mitchell's infamous *Gone with the Wind* novel. Historian Francis Gaines compares these early depictions of plantation life with the realities of living on a

²⁴ Pitcaithley, "A Cosmic Threat," 176.

²⁵ Correspondence to Representative Frank Wolf, January 17, 2000, Front Royal, VA, in "Civil War General-2" file, Park History Subject Files, National Park Service, Washington, DC in Pitcaithley, "A Cosmic Threat," 177.

plantation in his 1924 work *The Southern Plantation: A Study in the Development and the Accuracy of a Tradition*. He argues the “popular conception of the old plantation” does not include the daily struggles, which both white and black southerners faced, creating a false narrative.²⁶ The silent voices of the middle class proved the most notable discrepancy for the scholar. Gaines refers to this as the quantitative exaggeration, or making the rare and exceptional stories seem like an everyday occurrence.²⁷ He notes the grandeur of plantation life portrayed is accurate, for the wealthy and white slave-owners, but this grandeur does not extend to the majority of people who lived in the south. Gaines concludes his work with the notion that the traditional view of antebellum life proved just that, a tradition; it is neither history nor sociology. Today people across the United States still hold the traditional view of a romanticized antebellum South which upholds an aristocratic social configuration.

Jennifer L. Eichstedt and Stephen Small evaluate how historical sites, largely plantations, interpret slavery in *Representations of Slavery: Race and Ideology in Southern Plantation Museums*. Eichstedt and Small investigate over one hundred and twenty plantation museums in three states: Georgia, Louisiana, and Virginia. Scholars who study historical interpretations of slavery commonly turn to this 2002 publication as an important resource. The two co-authors participate in group and personal tours and investigate separately to spot any differences in the tour provided. Eichstedt, a white woman from California, and Small, a black man from the United Kingdom, discover the tour guides responded differently and sometimes modified their tour upon learning about visitors’ backgrounds.²⁸ Their ideas and content are thorough, but they

²⁶ Francis Gaines, *The Southern Plantation: A Study in the Development and the Accuracy of a Tradition*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1924) vii.

²⁷ Gaines, ix.

²⁸ Jennifer L. Eichstedt and Stephen Small, *Representations of Slavery: Race and Ideology in Southern Plantation Museums* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002) 19.

miss one important aspect. The co-authors do not investigate whether the plantation museums changed their programs or displays regarding the slave narrative over time.

Eichstedt and Small identify four strategies historical sites commonly employ to discuss slavery in their presentations. They recognize symbolic annihilation as the first strategy and acknowledge the difficulties defining a term with a broad reach. Believing in the phrase “out of sight, out of mind,” many plantation sites they studied did not mention slavery at all in their programs; other locations used the slave narrative as a controlled variable they included when and how they wanted. Museum staff members did not provide stories of the slaves except when asked, but most patrons did not know the possible questions that could be posed.

The second strategy is trivialization. Eichstedt and Small characterize it as predominantly white institutions presenting information in order to deflect attention away from the suffering of slaves, and instead interpret white southerners, or the south in general, as the victims.²⁹ Plantation museums which employed this strategy use stereotypes about African Americans to downplay the slaves’ agency and experience at the location. For example, a site may boast about how well the white slave owners treated their slaves, compared to other locations that mistreated their slaves. They praised their white subjects for not being as horrible people as their neighbor. Not wanting to follow suit of the institutions they studied, Eichstedt and Small make it clear that all slave owners should be acknowledged as such. They do not attempt to distract from the subject at hand by calling the landowners “politicians” or “businessmen.” They refer to them as “slave-owners” solely.

The two authors claim segregated knowledge, or marginalization, is the third strategy which southern plantation historical sites employ in order to avoid making their visitors

²⁹ Eichstedt and Small, 13.

uncomfortable when they discuss slavery. Typically, this involves having a separate area or tour focusing on the life of the enslaved, away from the Big House. Visitors and scholars alike view the information and artifacts presented to be valuable material which expands their knowledge on the subject; however, it is not incorporated into the larger narrative, making it easily avoidable if a visitor wishes to ignore a specific part of history. Rather, visitors tour the grounds and focus on the achievements of the slave-owning family. Eichstedt and Small point out segregated knowledge is commonly incorporated into material practices which regulate the learning of “Blackness.”³⁰ The authors continue to criticize the western world for focusing on black history only one month out of the entire year, or for having separate bodies of literature (black or ethnic studies) segregated from general education.³¹

The authors identify relative incorporation as the fourth strategy. This falls in between the other three strategies and an institution which successfully included the slavery narrative. Relative incorporation is for the southern plantations attempting to be better than their brethren when it comes to presenting sensitive material, like slavery. Unfortunately, the sites still resort to stereotypical imagery, absent information, or educational tours excluding the black narrative. Eichstedt and Small use the Destrehan Plantation in Louisiana as an example of a historical site with relative incorporation representation of slavery. Tour guides not only talked about how slaves built the entire plantation and kept it running for generations, but they also called the slaves by their names, giving them an identity commonly lost at other sites. The two authors remarked that tours, and the site itself, did not illuminate the “economic importance of slavery nor construction as hardworking, ingenious, and generally noble.”³²

³⁰ Eichstedt and Small, 13.

³¹ Eichstedt and Small, 170-202.

³² Eichstedt and Small, 210.

In the early 2000s, Julia Rose uses her experience as a former curator of education to evaluate how and why museums increasingly incorporate slaves' narratives. In her 2004 article "Collective Memories and the Changing Representations of American Slavery," the author states her belief that the Civil Rights Movement served as the catalyst of the growing interest in African American studies and history.³³ The influx of scholars who have searched for evidence and documents related to enslaved Africans constructed new programs at universities and historical sites that reinterpreted the telling of slaves' narratives. Rose believes the rise in historical projects, especially related to slavery, like the National Underground Railroad Freedom Center found in Ohio, and the National Museum of African American History and Culture in Washington, D.C., (the museum had not yet opened when Rose published her article) prompted smaller or regional institutions to reevaluate their presentations about African American history.

Expanding upon Eichstedt's and Small's *Representations of Slavery*, Rose focuses her study on the Oakley Plantation in Louisiana. The site opened in 1952 during segregation and it solely featured the slave-owning families. Oakley Plantation fell under the annihilation strategy laid out in *Representations of Slavery*; the site manager even tore down the original slave cabins in the first decade.³⁴ Nearly three decades later the site brought in two slave cabins but did not incorporate them into the tour or provide much interpretation. The staff at Oakley have attempted to include the missing narratives throughout the decades. They had more success after they furnished the cabins and made them a permanent exhibit; however, Julia Rose does not believe the site fully integrated. When the former curator explored the location multiple times in the

³³ Julia Rose, "Collective Memories and the Changing Representation of American Slavery," *The Journal of Museum Education* 29, no. 2/3 (spring/summer-fall 2004), 27.

³⁴ Rose, 28.

early 2000s, she found Oakley still segregated most of their presentations. They presented the white elite narrative in the big house and the slaves' narrative in the cabin. The two stories did not integrate very much causing the interpretation to fall under the marginalization category presented by Eichstedt and Small. Rose suggested museum professionals go beyond incorporating new identities and include the voice and the life experiences of slaves, as well as, the best-constructed genealogy possible to explore evidence of kinship.³⁵

In his article "Slavery in American History: An Uncomfortable National Dialogue," James Oliver Horton addresses the concerns of ignorance the overall population has about slavery. Few people remember that indentured servants arrived on the first ship at Jamestown or that by 1860 the four million black slaves in the United States accumulated more worth as property than all the railroads. Horton suggests four key points public historians need to acknowledge about slavery before devising an exhibit: diversity, longevity, complexity, and centrality. If visitors leave a historical site thinking that slavery only existed in the South or that it started around the time of the American Revolution, the institution is doing something wrong.

Aggravated by the way grade school history books skim over the subject of slavery and black history, especially in states of the former Confederacy, Horton notes that popular media in the mid- to late-20th century had a new impact on white Americans. It presented them with a more realistic view of race relations. Unfortunately, this progress sometimes stopped at the entry gates of predominately white-governed institutions. Horton evaluates the controversial slave auction held at Williamsburg, Virginia, not in 1774, but in 1994. Hundreds of onlookers gawked at the two male and two female actors portraying slaves.³⁶ The site claimed that education was

³⁵ Rose, 29.

³⁶ James Oliver Horton, "Slavery in American History: An Uncomfortable National Dialogue," in *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*, ed. James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 52.

the sole purpose for the event.³⁷ Critics accused Williamsburg of trivializing the subject matter in order to put on a sensationalized show.³⁸ The event caused a national outcry and citizens questioned the line between education and entertainment.

James Horton's essay "Slavery in American History" can be found among a collection of essays in a book edited by himself and his partner Lois Horton titled *Slavery in Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*. The husband and wife duo immediately point out the hypocrisy of America's founding fathers who demanded independence while enslaving others.³⁹ The authors suggest the initial attempts to cover up the hypocrisy resulted in the difficult discussions we face today in regards to race and slavery.

While Horton and Horton accuse the American public of making slave interpretation difficult today, Benjamin Filene takes a different approach and addresses the issues within the site, more particularly with the employees. In his 2012 article "Passionate Histories: 'Outsider' History-Makers and What They Teach Us," Filene separates museum professionals into two categories: the "insiders" and the "outsiders."⁴⁰ He considers the employees with formal training and education to be insiders, and he believes their professional duty includes serving the public by presenting narratives that attract patrons. The outsiders are the employees who love history and approach it from different angles; they may be genealogists, re-enactors, collectors, or even possess a personal connection to the subject material. The author believes the outsiders have little formal training, therefore they remain "unbound by professional affiliation or, often, training, [and] can break the rules about disciplinary rigor, form, and footnotes."⁴¹ The outsiders

³⁷ Michael Janofsky, "Mock Auction of Slaves: Education or Outrage?," *New York Times*, October 8, 1994.

³⁸ Dan Eggen, "In Williamsburg, the Painful Reality of Slavery," *Washington Post*, July 7, 1999, A1.

³⁹ James Oliver Horton and Louis E. Horton, ed. *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), vii.

⁴⁰ Benjamin Filene, "Passionate Histories: 'Outside' History-Makers and What They Teach Us," *The Public Historian* 34, no. 1 (Winter 2012), 12.

⁴¹ Filene, 12.

are no less capable of running a historical institution than the insiders. However, they tend to work on projects satisfying to them and not necessarily significant to the community. Eichstedt and Small also share this notion in *Representations of Slavery*.⁴² The outsiders can largely be found at plantations and historical houses, providing one possible explanation for the romanticized zeal and *Gone With the Wind* setting at these historic sites.

Derrick R. Brooms takes a different approach in his 2012 article “Lest We Forget: Exhibiting (and Remembering) Slavery in African American Museums.” Brooms evaluates African American museums and the successful way they portray sensitive subjects like slavery. He starts his research by studying the emergence of African American museums and exhibits or presentations which focus on black history at traditional sites. Brooms acknowledges that by the end of the 1970s, public and private institutions began including, or already had included, the African American narrative previously left out of history.⁴³ Small institutions emerged with the mission to tell the stories which had been ignored for so long. The first museum dedicated exclusively to African American history and culture did not open until 2016.

Just like plantations and other historical sites that have four main strategies to interpret slavery, as suggested by Eichstedt and Small, Brooms focuses on the four key themes black-centered sites employ to counteract the racialized institutions using symbolic annihilation or trivialization. The first theme presented at black-centered exhibits revealed the hardships endured during slavery. Exposing the true stories about what happened to slaves instead of hiding them, whether out of censorship or disinterest, is a concept that has yet to be fully developed at American historical institutions. The second tactic they deployed identified slaves as humans.

⁴² Eichstedt and Small, 66.

⁴³ Derrick R. Brooms, “Lest We Forget: Exhibiting (and Remembering) Slavery in African American Museums,” *Journal of African American Studies* 15, no. 4 (December 2012), 511.

Before 1864, the nation viewed slaves as property who did not have any rights bestowed upon them. The third theme identified the various groups and individuals who worked against slavery or had a large impact on African American history or civil rights. The final theme exhibited customs and lifestyles generated or maintained after slavery in order to give a voice to the cultural achievements of African Americans.⁴⁴ Picking out key characters or customs allowed visitors a chance to identify with the subject matter in a way they had not before.

Interpreting a historical site for public view requires not only an understanding of the history of a particular object or area but understanding the visitors as well. Patrons visit museums and other historical venues for a variety of reasons. A tour guide may have a knowledgeable patron familiar with the topic, a curious tourist learning something they have never heard of before, and an uninterested adolescent who would rather be anywhere else, on the same day. How do public history sites operate to provide all types of audiences an educational interpretation? William T. Alderson and Shirley Payne Low suggest in *Interpretation of Historic Sites* that the focus should be on why visitors come to a particular site and that more popular and well-known sites do not need as much interpretation.

Their 1976 theory suggesting well-known sites do not need as much interpretation is well-intended but partially inaccurate. Despite the popularity and common knowledge of a site, opportunities to add or alter current interpretations present themselves. The examples Alderson and Low use include the USS Arizona at Pearl Harbor and Mt. Vernon in Virginia. Visitors, aware of the initial importance of these two popular sites, do not need to be reminded of what country attacked the navy fleet or that George Washington was the first man elected president of the United States. However, other aspects allow for interpretation at these sites. The possibilities

⁴⁴ Brooms, 513.

are infinite and should not be overlooked because of what one deems “common knowledge.” The authors make a point of understanding visitors and their reasons for coming to the site, whether it be for education or respect.

Alderson and Low suggests interpreting historical sites is relatively new (in 1976) and the process remains imperfect. During the beginning of the preservation movement in the 19th century, historical sites and monuments on a county or state level related to the community they represented, sometimes on a personal level. Following Alderson and Low’s belief that a known location or entity needed little interpretation, members of a community did not need clarification or analysis of a site because they knew the stories from school or oral history through family members. The authors argue that visitors are different now. Visitors are more cultured, because they are “widely traveled” and have experienced other successfully-interpreted sites, yet they are less-informed because the subject matter does not always relate to them personally, so they require an explanation or understanding of the topic.⁴⁵ Alderson and Low continue to explain the steps involved with interpretation and conclude with the idea that site employees had more duties than just supervision. These employees gave the “less informed” the information they needed to complete the subordinate narratives of the site.

Approaching from a different perspective of history and theater arts, Scott Magelssen focuses his study on the performance of museum interpreters. In his 2006 article “Making History in the Second Person: Post-Touristic Consideration for Living Historical Interpretation,” Magelssen suggests historical sites should incorporate second-person interpretation into their programs. He explains that it “allows visitors to pretend to be a part of the past and offers possibilities of co-creating the trajectory of the historiographical narrative with the staff, rather

⁴⁵ William T. Alderson and Shirley Payne Low, *Interpretation of Historic Sites* (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1976), 6.

than merely passively consuming it.”⁴⁶ Very popular with young visitors, they assume the role of a character from the past and believe their experience portrays the everyday life of the past. Second-person interpretation sites allow young patrons an opportunity to make candles or play old-fashioned lawn games. There are two main problems with this theory when it comes to plantations. First, who is going to play the role of the slave? Second-person interpretation commonly avoids any questions about social inequality or other unpleasantness from the time period presented. This leads to the second problem of second-person interpretation at plantations: the nonchalant ambiance and programs mixed with what would most likely be a bright, sunny day contribute to the defective nostalgia of *Gone With the Wind*.

In the early 2000’s, Jennifer Pustz began her research of servant representation at historical house museums and sent three hundred and fifty-eight surveys through the mail to various institutions. Her 2010 work, *Voices from the Back Stairs: Interpreting Servants’ Lives at Historic House Museums*, presents her findings and possible solutions to the misrepresentations of domestic workers, not only from the mail surveys but through case studies, literature, and her experience as an interpreter. It is important to consider the era of Pustz’s research and evaluation. The author decides to narrow down her time period from 1870 to 1920, focusing on the second Industrial Revolution and the rise of urbanization. The title of her book uses the word “servants” to describe the workers because the nation abolished slavery in 1864. The domestic servants Pustz refers to are typically women or immigrants hired by their masters and not abducted, sold, and forced to work for society’s elite. Pustz believes her methodology could work for different time periods of American history;⁴⁷ however, there is an incredible difference between a servant

⁴⁶ Scott Magelssen, “Making History in the Second Person: Post-touristic Consideration for Living Historical Interpretation,” *Theater Journal* 58, no. 2 (May 2006), 298.

⁴⁷ Jennifer Pustz, *Voices From the Back Stairs: Interpreting Servants’ Lives at Historic House Museums*, (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2010), 8-9.

and a slave that a museum professional must address before continuing with Pustz's recommendations. Historical sites and professional organizations which trivialize slavery and African American history have a habit of calling slaves by names which sound less abusive like farmhand, cook, or servant.

Pustz discovers nearly three-fourths of the institutions that responded to her mail survey engage in the history of domestic servants. Just a few of these historical sites address the racial, gender, or class antagonism separating the domestic worker from the elite they served. Even though Pustz focuses on a time period after the Civil War, the avoidance of the working-class narrative and focus on the white elites who owned the property is not any different than plantation sites in the south embracing a *Gone With the Wind* environment. Pustz argues that museum interpretation programs that idealize the relationship between servants and employee diminish the opportunity for interpreters to "connect with the personal experiences of their audience members."⁴⁸ Pustz suggests house museum stewards engage social history themes and use idea driven exhibitions to address the histories of domestic workers. They would not only expand the histories they told to include those of women and minorities but they would also help the historic sites meet the needs and interests of modern visitors.

Slavery in the south is a broad topic approached in an unlimited number of ways. John Michael Vlach provides readers with a different vantage point when he specifically studies the architecture of slave structures in his 1993 book *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery*. These structures include the living quarters, smokehouse, barn, summer kitchen, and anywhere else a slave worked on a plantation, which is essentially all buildings. The

⁴⁸ Pustz, 136.

author argues while white farmers owned the land and buildings, the slaves modified and maintained the landscape, thereby, giving them a sense of community.⁴⁹

Vlach does not just collect stories and photographs, but he pieces together a puzzle for *Back of the Big House*. He listens to slave interviews recorded during the Federal Writers' Project in the late 1930s as part of the Works Progress Administration and attempts to pair them with specific sites with the assistance of the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS). The interviews do not provide enough information for Vlach to be satisfied with his research. The author seeks out old diaries, travel ledgers, and planters' correspondence, believing a complete description of all the people who lived there is needed to make a complete story of plantation architecture. His actions identify the members of the community as human beings with contributions rather than as the property of the slave-owner, illuminating Broom's second theme of successful African American museums.

Plantations by the River: Watercolor Paintings from St. Charles Parish, Louisiana by Father Joseph M. Paret, 1859 edited by Marcel Boyer and Jay D. Edwards, allows readers to have a visual source of southern landscape and architecture that is no longer present. While a book of artwork from an unknown artist may not seem like a valuable source, Father Paret's paintings provides a bird's eye view of plantation estates, as well as, a peek into the inside of these homes. Therefore, his paintings "constitute the single most valuable visual source for documenting the nineteenth-century plantation landscape in the lower Mississippi region."⁵⁰

Similar to Vlach in 1993, Boyer and Edwards believe they need a complete picture to truly

⁴⁹ John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993) xi-xiv.

⁵⁰ Marcel Boyer and Jay D. Edwards, eds., *Plantations by the River: Watercolor Paintings from St. Charles Parish, Louisiana, by Father Joseph M. Paret, 1859* (Baton Rouge: Geoscience Publications, 2001) 10.

understand plantation life. The authors come to a similar conclusion too; a plantation was not just the “big house” but the community of slaves who made it their own.

The bucolic imagery provided at many historical plantation sites stands at the forefront of plantation tourism. This thesis does not attempt to criticize the tourists who love to visit these sites, but instead it evaluates why and how slavery is commonly overlooked or trivialized for tours. The next chapter discusses the UDC and their role as an apolitical group of white women who carry on the Lost Cause theory.

Chapter 2

The Daughters of Dixie: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and Their Influence over Southern Memory

After the Confederate States of America (CSA) surrendered in 1864, the Union wanted the defeated to swear their allegiance to the United States in order to be accepted back into the federation. President Andrew Johnson took a more lenient approach when it came to readmit the former nation. He pardoned the majority of the Southern people who directly or indirectly participated in the rebellion and allowed the states to govern themselves during this era.⁵¹ This permitted former Confederate leaders to once again hold political power and produce laws restricting freed slaves’ liberty known as the Black Codes. President Johnson also returned the land seized by the Union to those who swore their allegiance and upheld the 13th, 14th, and 15th

⁵¹ “President Johnson’s Amnesty Proclamation,; Restoration to Rights of Property Except Slaves, An Oat of Loyalty as a Condition Precedent. Legality of Confiscation Proceedings Recognized. Exception of Certain Offenders from this Amnesty. By These Special Applications for Pardon May be Made. Reorganization in North Carolina. Appointment of a Proconsular Governor. A State Convention to be Chosen by Loyal Citizens. The Machinery of the Federal Government to be Put in Operation. AMNESTY PROCLAMTION,” *New York Times*, May 30, 1865.

amendments. Despite these leniencies the South still suffered the consequences of a post-war era leading their region into an economic depression. Their pride as a once independent nation began to diminish.

One organization that emerged amidst times of political and social conflict to revive the Southern spirit was the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC). Their goals and actions vindicated Confederate values which they believed shaped the idyllic life before the Civil War. They honored and celebrated men who fought for the Confederate nation and invoked white supremacists' ideals and imagery. White women from the antebellum South objected to the federal government's authority over the state's jurisdiction as much as the men, especially when it came to the issue of slavery. However, unlike men, women could not fight in the war; they needed to find other ways to express their opposition to the North. Through the mediums of religion, textbooks, libraries, and monuments the Daughters influenced future generations to admire and practice the antebellum values. Their actions over one hundred years ago hindered the healing of social and political wounds from the Civil War and slavery.

This chapter examines the early efforts of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Lost Cause theory that the women nurtured and perpetuated. The Daughters had both a local and national agenda that brought their interpretation of history, or what white southerners referred to as the "true" history, to life.⁵² This chapter will first discuss the creation of the UDC and their role as memory keepers for the deceased and defeated. Next, the chapter evaluates the actions taken by the UDC to spread their ideas. Knowing the future relied on the children, the women entered the field of education reform and created public youth groups, not affiliated with public schools, to raise future generations of white supremacists. The Daughters contributed to

⁵² Mildred Lewis Rutherford, the historian for the UDC and one of the most notable members, commonly used the term "true history."

the local public schools and institutions in the area, but not without a favor for their Lost Cause reinterpretation. The women used religious and patriotic rhetoric to explain the war to young children and made excuses for their soldiers' inhuman and traitorous actions against the Union. While this happened, the Daughters erected a multitude of monuments that served not only as memorials to the dead but as a reminder to people in the South that their pre-war values and ideals still stood and would be forever defended as discussed in chapter four. The consequences of these actions and the effects they have had at historical sites will be discussed in chapter three and chapter four.

Historian David Blight maintains that three entities propelled the Lost Cause narrative and continued admiration for the South: the United Confederate Veterans (UCV), the magazine *Confederate Veteran*, and the United Daughters of the Confederacy.⁵³ These three associations rewrote history to obtain a narrative which claimed southern white men were heroes with honorable intentions who fought against the overbearing federal government to protect their individual rights. The narrative argued that content and happy slaves lived better off in bondage than with a life of freedom. This chronicle lasted more than one hundred and fifty years due to the efforts principally made by the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Their influence can be witnessed at some historical sites and over one-thousand public spaces which exhibit symbols of the Confederacy.⁵⁴ During the time of their formation in 1894, women did not have the universal right to vote and their boundless projects in the public sphere made men anxious about the all-

⁵³ David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001) 272.

⁵⁴ Booth Gunter, Jamie Kizzire, "Whose Heritage?: Public Symbols of the Confederacy," special issue, *Southern Poverty Law Center* (2017): 10, https://www.splcenter.org/sites/default/files/com_whose_heritage.pdf.

female group. To be clear, this all-female group was comprised of “Southern Ladies”—a loaded term in the South referring to a specific archetype of woman: white and wealthy.⁵⁵

Keepers of Memory

After the war, the stench of animal and human carcasses on battlefields not collected and buried at the time of their death, concerned the country (both North and South). The secretary of war, Simon Cameron, issued General Order no. 75 giving the responsibility of identifying and providing a proper burial for deceased soldiers—Union soldiers—to the Quartermaster General of the army in September 1861.⁵⁶ Generals and other military leaders found it nearly impossible to retrieve and claim their dead during the war, even after a battle. After General Lee surrendered at Appomattox Court House, Quartermaster General Montgomery Meigs ordered his department to embark on an ambitious program of search and recover for Union soldiers, not only at battle sites but also at hospitals, prisons, and entrenchment sites. Interestingly enough, General Meigs suggested burials be performed at Arlington, the house of his former comrade General Lee. The burial of Union soldiers and the creation of Freedman’s Village at Arlington served as an insult to the traitors.⁵⁷

Congress passed the first National Cemetery Act in early 1867 (Congress established the first fourteen national cemeteries in 1862). It provided nearly \$750,000 for national cemeteries to have superintendents, perimeter walls, and proper headstones to honor the soldiers.⁵⁸ As mentioned above, the federal initiative only included Union soldiers, although sometimes people

⁵⁵ Janney E. Caroline, *Burying the Dead but Not the Past: Ladies’ Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 121.

⁵⁶ United States War Department, *General Orders of the War Department, embracing the years 1861, 1862 & 1863* vol. 1, (New York: Derby & Miller, 1864) 158.

⁵⁷ J.M. Ellis, “A Visit to the Freedmen,” *Friends’ Intelligencer* 22, no. 20. Philadelphia: Emmor Comly. Publishing Agent: July 22, 1865, 313. The Freedman’s Village was established in 1863 and laid on the grounds of Arlington. Newly freed people—referred to as contraband by the federal government—lived in the village and made it a prosperous black community with schools, a hospital, and churches.

⁵⁸ National Cemetery Act of 1867, 39th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1867)

found it difficult to tell the difference when the bodies showed signs of decay or when scavengers devoured the corpse. Outraged by the neglect of their own fallen soldiers, white southerners, mainly women, set out to accomplish the same mission for the deceased the federal government ignored. Thus, the emergence of local Ladies Memorial Associations (LMAs) functioned as a precursor to the United Daughters of the Confederacy. These organizations first appeared in the various states in the South and then came together in Nashville, Tennessee to create a united front against Northern influence.⁵⁹

Memorial groups did not want to be associated with just retrieving bodies and performing proper burials for the rebel soldiers; indeed, the white southern ladies wanted to make a statement. The women, not yet ready to let their former nation disappear, wanted their neighbors and their communities to remember the ones who died for the Confederate cause. One of the first LMAs in Richmond, Virginia envisioned their cemetery as the “Mecca” of the South with the purpose of “making this sacred spot, more and more attractive, each succeeding year, worthy of being the deposit of our hearts’ love, honour [sic] and gratitude.”⁶⁰ The women intended for children, widows, and friends alike to visit the cemetery with a sense of pride as well as a longing for the antebellum way of life. Men easily acknowledged women as memory keepers and appreciated their actions in assisting with cemeteries and veterans. However, creating a Confederate cemetery would not be enough to bring the former nation back to life. The women knew they needed to reach out into the larger public sphere to achieve the success they intended. Soon these women found their way to the public sphere and their activities reached out to the entire nation as the country expanded westward on a mission of manifest destiny.

⁵⁹ Marjorie Anne Reeves, *A Chapter in Pacific Northwest History: United Daughters of the Confederacy*, Robert E. Lee Chapter #885, Seattle, Washington (Seattle: Tommie Press, 2006), xiii.

⁶⁰ Caroline E. Janney, “Ladies’ Memorial Associations,” *Encyclopedia Virginia*. Virginia Foundations for the Humanities, (March 2012), http://www.EncyclopediaVirginia.org/Ladies_Memorial_Associations.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy deployed three key strategies to strengthen their influence over the masses, because, in 1894, men proved to be the largest obstacle for a woman's association to reach incorporation, both in politics and in the local community. The women knew how to reach the throngs of people in order to recreate the Confederate narrative so Southerners did not need to be ashamed or humiliated about their past and their dismantled nation. First, they claimed not to have formed under the guise of a political party and have no intention of involving themselves with politics. The women included this declaration in their constitution at their initial gathering in 1894.⁶¹ At the time, women did not have a place in politics or even the right to suffrage. Politicians did not believe women could hold a political opinion or have the mental stability to be active in affairs of the state.⁶² Their growing numbers and emergence into the public sphere raised eyebrows, especially during the rise of first-wave feminism. The association did their best to reiterate their group's dedication to the commemoration of the "old south" and echoed their absence in politics. Instead, the Daughters turned their attention to sponsoring parades, caring for Confederate widows and orphans, raising funds for Confederate monuments, maintaining Confederate museums, and education reform in the South.

The second and third strategies emerged as a means to appease men and assure them their patriarchal ideals remained in the forefront. To do so, the women found it imperative to maintain their feminine and motherly ways by caring for the children and uplifting and honoring their fallen men. Viewed by the public as sentimental and sensitive, the women justified their

⁶¹ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the First Annual Convention* (Nashville: Press of Foster and Webb, 1894), 2.

⁶² Elizabeth Gillespie McRae, "Caretakers of Southern Civilization: Georgia Women and the Anti-Suffrage Campaign, 1914-1920," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 82, no. 4 (Winter 1998), 805.

membership in the UDC by answering the “call” to commemorate and honor.⁶³ Memorial projects required a certain amount of sentiment which southern men believed women to possess. It seemed only natural for women to pave the way for Confederate memory. The UDC set out on education reform for children, taking on the tender and protective attitudes of a matriarchal figure. Most Southerners feared northern agitators writing undesirably about the Confederacy and influencing their young children to be ashamed of their heritage. They wanted their children to take pride in the Civil War and view it in the same light as their forefathers had done. With this in mind, the Daughters commissioned their own textbooks with southern authors.⁶⁴

The third strategy employed by the United Daughters of the Confederacy attempted to justify their public existence through visible devotion to the preservation of the southern gentleman and manhood itself. The rise of first wave feminism and prominent suffragettes like Susan B. Anthony and Alice Paul made southern men uneasy about women joining an association which organized public events and gained political consciousness, despite being apolitical. The Daughters assured the men that they held public memorials or ceremonies to preserve and honor the men who fought for the Confederacy and their actions did not provide a threat to the popular “genteel southern lady” archetype.

Patriotic and Religious Rhetoric

Despite preserving the Lost Cause myth, the United Daughters of the Confederacy rarely communicated those words, in addition to avoiding the words “rebels” and “traitors.” The women, along with other proponents of the theory, did not want these terms to distract from the “correct” histories of the former nation. As expressed in the *Confederate Veteran* “we want no

⁶³ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Nashville: Press of Foster and Webb, 1897), 4.

⁶⁴ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Convention* (Richmond: Richmond Press, Inc., 1918), 409.

word. . .to separate us from the South of our fathers. . .The ‘Lost Cause’ is an expression of despair that is inconsistent with the spirit of the Southern people.”⁶⁵ The author then goes on to claim the principle of the Confederate nation was peace. The UDC argued against terms like “rebel” and “traitor,” claiming it their right as individual states to leave the Union. Secessionists claimed the North saw the country as a whole entity with a federally governed voice while the South saw themselves as sovereign states under the “compact” of the constitution.⁶⁶

If the Daughters did utilize the term “rebellion,” they did so out of praise and within historical context. They drew comparisons from George Washington and the forefathers as inspiration given that the men rebelled against their former power because of government overreach.⁶⁷ With this in mind, ex-Confederates could consider themselves patriots of the former nation and defend themselves as “rebels” if ever called one. Former Confederates and the UDC used similar comparisons to their forefathers to justify their cause. The Constitution for the Confederate States of America does not differ much from the original United States Constitution established in 1787.⁶⁸ White Southerners claimed their devotion to the patriots of the Revolution and their initial causes for rebelling against Great Britain produced similarities in the constitution. Critics of the former nation ignore the possibility of the CSA governing body having little time to produce their instrument of government and using the original constitution as a parameter for their own.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy employed religious rhetoric as much as they exhausted patriotic symbolism to further their cause. The women commonly employed quasi-

⁶⁵ J.W. Sandell, “New South and Lost Cause,” *Confederate Veteran* vol. 20, December 1912, 573.

⁶⁶ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Sixth Annual Meeting* (Nashville: Press of Foster & Webb, 1900) 173.

⁶⁷ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Sixth Annual Meeting*, 74.

⁶⁸ Ann E. Synder, *The Civil War from A Southern Standpoint* (Nashville: Publishing House of the M.E. Church South, 1890) 24.

religious undertones in their memorials, speeches, pamphlets, and educational resources. The Daughters claimed God sanctioned their war and social efforts. This justification minimized the guilt ex-Confederates and future generations faced as they continued on with their white supremacy objective.⁶⁹ The following copy of a prayer composed by Bishop Ellison and recited at the Missouri Division of the UDC:

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, we adore thy love and providence, in the history of our country and especially would we thank Thee for our Confederate history. We thank Thee for its pure record of virtue, valor and sacrifice; and for the inspiring reflection that despite its bitter disappointments and sorrows, it proclaims for us, to all the world, that we came through its years of trial and struggle with our battered shields pure, our character as a patriotic and courageous people untarnished, and nothing to regret in our defense of the rights and the honor of our Southland.⁷⁰

White Southerners could defend themselves against the North's criticism under the belief that God favored the Confederates because they remained "untarnished" after "years of trial and struggle." The prayer also diminishes the loss the southern nation faced since they retained their "pure record of virtue, valor and sacrifice." In Southern Christian religious culture, people took the word of God as truth and they viewed Abraham from the book of Genesis as a father of Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. The *Confederate Veteran* magazine used Abraham as an example of God's love for slavery in a piece titled "Does the Bible Condemn Slavery?;" the *Confederate* answered "no, it does not."⁷¹ God never dictated holding someone in bondage as a sin, therefore slave-owners saw it as their Christian duty to own slaves and to let them be "the happiest set of people on the face of the globe, free from care or thought of food, clothes, home,

⁶⁹ W. B. Prichard, "Work and Spirit of the United Daughters," *Confederate Veteran* vol. 21 (1913), 17.

⁷⁰ United Daughter of the Confederacy, *Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Convention of the Missouri Division* (Richmond: Richmond Grey's Chapter Hostess, 1908) 130.

⁷¹ "Does the Bible Condemn Slavery?," *Confederate Veteran Magazine* 23, no 10, Nashville: Confederate Veteran Company (October, 1915), 444.

or religious privileges.”⁷² God also instructed Abraham to sacrifice his son Isaac to prove his devotion to God, but that must have been overlooked since there are no records of this type of sacrifice in the Confederate South. The UDC’s campaign claimed God chose the white southerners to be his people, evident in their preamble.⁷³ This furthered their ideas that centered around the Lost Cause theory: white superiority and happy slaves.

Tales of persecution against white southerners continued throughout the Daughter’s mediums. Comparisons to Jesus and other religious figures placed the Confederates in a holy light. Southern leaders like Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis transformed into Christlike figures. Southerners viewed these men as morally correct and betrayed by the sins of their fellow men (the North), ignoring the fact Robert E. Lee abandoned the United States Army to assist in the creation of the Confederate nation. Confederate Generals suffered at the hands of the Union army and federal government but still persevered for their “honorable” cause. Just as Jesus faced a lost cause of dissuading the Romans of his execution, white southerners faced the same against the “vicious” North. These men symbolically faced the punishment for their perceived indiscretions against the North. This heroic tale deserved to be told throughout the centuries, or so the UDC believed.⁷⁴

Education Reform

The Daughters knew extreme measures needed to be taken to revive the Southern spirit and recreate the antebellum life they once enjoyed. They made it their mission to educate all the populace about the “true” history of the “War Between the States” and the “true” history of the

⁷² “Does the Bible Condemn Slavery?,” 444.

⁷³ The Confederate States of America’s preamble reads: “. . . in order to form a permanent federal government, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity invoking the favor and guidance of Almighty God. . .”.

⁷⁴ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Fourteenth Annual Convention* (Opelika, Alabama: Post Publishing Company, 1908), 223.

South as its own nation ruled by the superior white race.⁷⁵ The white community (both North and South) continuously feared the potential rise of “negro rule:” the fear of their former slaves and other black citizens gaining political power.⁷⁶ Rebecca Latimer Felton, a Daughter from a chapter in Georgia wrote in her book about the heartbreak she experienced when she met a former female slave able to read Greek with the intentions of going to summer school, while four white women in tattered clothes worked on a cotton field with black men nearby. These “unwholesome conditions” fueled her desire for education reform to reach out to white girls in rural areas for the reason that they “will make or mar the future of this [white] people.”⁷⁷ Less than half of the children in rural areas attended school full time; many did not have the luxury of skipping a day on the farm to spend a day at the one-room schoolhouse in their area. The emergence of urbanization during the second Industrial Revolution combined with the Daughters efforts offered rural children an opportunity to escape the mundane farm life and pursue other interests.

In the decades following the Civil War, many of the South’s resources and supplies, including school books, arrived from Northern companies. Confederate heritage groups feared the North wanted to brainwash southern children into believing their ancestors fought for slavery, Jefferson Davis was the devil, and Southern chivalry was a fairytale.⁷⁸ Southern elites argued an unbiased history would be too much to expect from publishers in the North.⁷⁹ Seeing this as a problem, the United Daughters of the Confederacy embarked on the task of textbook

⁷⁵ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Convention*, 195.

⁷⁶ Lewis Harvie Blair, *Prosperity of the South Dependent Upon the Elevation of the Negro* (Richmond: Everett Waddey, 1889), 81.

⁷⁷ Rebecca Latimer Felton, *Country Life in Georgia in the Days of My Youth: Also Addresses Before Georgia Legislature Woman’s Clubs, Women’s Organizations and other Noted Occasions* (Atlanta: Index Printing Company, 1919) 189-190.m ,

⁷⁸ “Southern Soldiers,” *Confederate Veteran* 4, no. 3, Nashville: Confederate Veteran Co., (March 1896), 79.

⁷⁹ Hunter McGuire, “School Histories in the South,” *Confederate Veteran* 7, no. 11 (November 1899): 503

reform. The well-organized women reached out to state-level groups and politicians to persuade them to change primary, secondary, and college-level class texts to include a more “inclusive” history of the United States, including an “untarnished” history of the South that vindicated the Lost Cause narrative.⁸⁰ Ironically, the textbooks approved by the United Daughters of the Confederacy had their own aspects of brainwashing they feared from Northern literature. The texts gave southern children a sense of pride in their region and disdain for the federal government. Within the first decade of the new century, the Daughters claimed victory and credit for every state of the former Confederacy adopting “sound histories.”⁸¹

These “sound histories” placed emphasis on the bucolic plantation life that provided harmony to everyone, including those in bondage. How can school books claim slaves lived a fulfilling life in chains? Authors found it easy when their textbook intentionally left out major details about Southern life. They wanted to influence a future generation of Confederate sympathizers. The UDC focused their educational efforts on promoting white elite Southerners and demoralizing black citizens as evident in their choice of approved textbooks. Members of the elite Southern class commissioned or wrote their own history books. They approached slavery in different ways; but the texts always deemed the black population as inferior. History books that did include a slave narrative commonly sought to justify its existence using blame and rhetoric. Rarely did a text incorporate the economic and agricultural productivity of slavery as a justification. Many authors started their discussions about slavery by placing blame on Europeans for bringing Africans to America. In Mary Tucker Magill’s textbook *History of Virginia for the Use of Schools*, Magill proclaimed the state of Virginia did not want the slaves

⁸⁰ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Convention*, 195.

⁸¹ “Report of the Historical Committees, U.D.C.,” *Confederate Veteran* 12, no. 2 (February 1904): 63.

and “made an earnest remonstrance against [their] importation.”⁸² Magill made white colonist the victims of the Triangular Trade, while William R. Garrett made them the heroes who bought slaves who “hailed their entrance into slavery with joy, perhaps more keen than their descendants subsequently hailed their emancipation” in his textbook.⁸³ Garrett emphasized the excitement of the new arrivals compared to their successors suggesting Africans knew a better life awaited them in bondage. Blame then went from Europe to the North which did not have slaves after the 1840s. Authors like Anne E. Snyder and J. H. Reynolds believed the North resented the idea that they threw away a financial opportunity: “But so soon as they were rid of this apparently useless feature of their civilization it was discovered that slavery is a curse and slave-holding a crime, and therefore the logical conclusion. . . was that all Southern people were criminals.”⁸⁴

White students read about the visual beauty and productive efficiency of the plantation system. Reynolds shared his disappointment that the present and future generations did not get to see the plantation system “as it used to be” in his schoolbook *Makers of Arkansas History*.⁸⁵ He described an ethereal setting, during Christmas, of not just the plantation but the land it included (attended by slaves) and claimed it as “the product of civilization that gave us brave and true men and pure and noble women, who loved their land.”⁸⁶ The inclusion of an unspecified Christmas proved unnecessary and did not serve an educational purpose. However, the presence of one of the most celebrated days in the country was employed to spark a sense of nostalgia in the students, even if they did not spend the holiday on a plantation.

⁸² Mary Tucker Magill, William Spenser Currell, *History of Virginia for the Use of Schools* (Richmond: J.P. Bell Company, 1914), 242.

⁸³ William R. Garrett, Albert V. Goodpasture, *History of Tennessee* (Nashville: Brandon Company Publishers, 1903), 44.

⁸⁴ John Hugh Reynolds, *Makers of Arkansas History* (New York: Silver, Burdett and Company, 1904), 256-57; Ann E Snyder, *The Civil War: From a Southern Stand-Point* (Nashville: Publishing House of the M.E. Church, 1890), 18.

⁸⁵ John Hugh Reynolds, 178.

⁸⁶ John Hugh Reynolds, 181-182.

Educators told the children about happy slaves having a better life before the war. These same kids grew up in the post-war years when the South experienced economic turmoil and initiated Jim Crow laws producing a large racial divide. In their lives, they endured the opposite of the past they read about. The Daughters urged the children to long for the fairy tale antebellum life portrayed in textbooks. The students grew up with an education that told them black citizens existed as inferior beings and society needed the white race to survive. Their schooling led them to believe life would be idyllic again if the South could return to an economic system based on slavery.

In addition to learning the basics of arithmetic, grammar, and geography, students in the former Confederacy learned of the South's political and military leaders whom authors incorporated into their daily lessons. While a UDC-approved textbook may ask children to calculate the number of slaves a particular slave-owner possessed using arithmetic skills, rarely did they include the horrors and reality of slavery in their curriculum. On top of that, textbooks claimed these "servants" seemed happy because they "did not have to worry about losing their job."⁸⁷ This same textbook does not call the Civil War by any name, instead it had a chapter titled "Defense Against Invasion, 1861-1865."⁸⁸ The addition to schoolbooks of false narratives including happy slaves and gallant heroes who worked in God's favor furthered the ideas centered around white nationalism.

In the twentieth century, schools in the South appreciated the UDC and Sons of Confederate Veterans for their contributions and textbook reform. Schools showed their appreciation by hanging a portrait of Jefferson Davis, a notable general, or another Confederate

⁸⁷ William Edwin Hemphill, *Cavalier Commonwealth: History and Government of Virginia* (NYC: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1957), 120.

⁸⁸ Hemphill, *Cavalier Commonwealth*, 296.

figure local to the area, in public spaces of the school.⁸⁹ The Daughters provided portraits with a goal to fill every educational institution, both public and private, with these men so children would have someone to aspire to regarding patriotism and “honorable citizenship.”⁹⁰ If graduates of these schools went on to pursue higher education, they most likely had the same ideologies in their college text or stayed in a dormitory sponsored and named by the UDC. Of course, these dorms only housed the “purest Anglo-Saxon blood” and were commonly gifted to universities seeking an endowment.⁹¹

The rising educational opportunities for the African American community had created an imagined threat to the southern white people. The white population could not shake the fear of “negro rule” from their minds. Looking back, it seems almost delusional to consider a minority group surpassing the dominant white elite in terms of power due to the efforts taken by white supremacists. They not only tried to advance their own race but also set out to hinder the minority communities from progressing. Southern whites, jealous of the new opportunities available for black children, saw it as their right to receive the same, if not better, value of resources and education.⁹² Frances M. Anderson, the ex-secretary of the Industrial Educational League of the South based in Richmond, Virginia, expected that every chapter of the UDC in the United States would donate a third of their monetary assets so their own chapter could buy a school building. Anderson expressed it as a dire situation because the building could be sold as a separate school for African Americans.⁹³ Separate schools came about as a black educational system based on the idea that the quality of education remained “separate but equal.”

⁸⁹ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Fourteenth Annual Convention*, 371-372.

⁹⁰ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Fourteenth Annual Convention*, 85.

⁹¹ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Fourteenth Annual Convention*, 255.

⁹² United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Fourteenth Annual Convention*, 315.

⁹³ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Fourteenth Annual Convention*, 353.

Children of the Confederacy

One of the most important creations of the UDC and their continuation of education reform prevailed through their subgroup the Children of the Confederacy (C. of C.). The juvenile group formed two years after the UDC in 1896 by the Mary Curtis Lee Chapter in Alexandria, Virginia.⁹⁴ Despite the Daughters' various reasons for creating the youth group, they intended to raise white supremacists in the hope that they would continue on with the ideals and values of the Confederate nation.⁹⁵ The various chapters are still active today; journalist Tony Horwitz embarked on a Confederate pilgrimage in attempts to better understand the notion of "southern culture" in the 1990s. He attended different meetings of southern organizations, including the C. of C. in Raleigh, North Carolina. He pointed out the blatant hypocrisy when the group started the meeting by saying the pledge of allegiance and then recited a pledge to the Confederate flag: "I salute the Confederate flag with affection, reverence and undying devotion to the Cause for which it stands;" excitement and/or indoctrination for the Confederacy caused children to forget they just pledged "one nation, under God, indivisible" moments before.⁹⁶

The UDC's creation of 2 hisms proved the most influential in the C. of C. groups: a summary of their principles followed a question and answer format, typically associated with religion. The Daughters created both the questions and answers. Their format did not permit the reader to deter from the chosen narrative. For example, the children at the meeting in Raleigh which Horowitz attended were given a catechism pamphlet from 1954, the year *Brown vs. The Board of Education* desegregated schools:

Q: What causes led to the War Between the States, from 1861 to 1865?

⁹⁴ "United Daughters in Virginia," *Confederate Veteran* 4 Nashville: Confederate Veteran Company (May 1896), 141.

⁹⁵ S.E.F. Rose, *The Ku Klux Klan or Invisible Empire* (New Orleans: L. Graham Co., 1914), 14.

⁹⁶ Tony Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches from the Unfinished Civil War* (New York: Vintage Books, 1998), 24.

A: The disregard of those in power for the rights of the Southern States.

Q: What was the feeling of the slaves to their masters?

A: They were faithful and devoted and were always ready and willing to serve them.⁹⁷

The idea of happy slaves better off in captivity and the fight for states' rights presented a fantasy that glorified the antebellum life, just a couple of aspects of the Lost Cause theory. The C. of C. continued with their "education" and recited answers about important moments during the war:

Q: Why [is Gettysburg considered to be the decisive battle of the war]?

A: Because it was conclusive evidence to an unbiased mind that the Federal supplies and forces greatly outweighed and outnumbered the Confederate forces.⁹⁸

The Daughters made it a game for their children to memorize these catechisms. The women quizzed them at meetings and gave points or rewards to students who knew all the answers "word-for-word." The UDC intended for the catechisms to explain most aspects of the war, as long as the subject followed the pattern of glorifying the CSA and diminishing its guilt. In a sense, it turned the children of the C. of C. into soldiers by giving them the resources (memorized answers) to defeat whomever criticized the former nation and its people.

Modern-Day Influence

Including aspects of the glorified antebellum South that ignored the atrocities of slavery into school subjects other than history or social studies did not just happen in the past. In 2015, outraged parents called out McGraw-Hill (the same textbook company mentioned above which called slaves "servants") for saying that "the Atlantic Slave Trade. . .brought millions of workers

⁹⁷ Horowitz, 37.

⁹⁸ Horowitz, 37.

from Africa to the southern United States,” in a section titled “Patterns of Immigration.”⁹⁹ The education company issued an apology on the social media platform Facebook acknowledging their mistakes and promised to make changes “in the digital version of the program immediately [that] will be included in the program’s next print run.”¹⁰⁰ A nice gesture on the company’s part, however, many school districts are unable to afford new textbooks regularly and they will be forced to continue with incomplete information and narratives. In 2012, a third-grade teacher from Beaver Ridge Elementary school in Norcross, Georgia assigned his students a mathematic word problem for homework that tested their ability to multiply and divide. The assignment asked the students to figure out how many oranges “would each slave pick,” if the slave-owner possessed eight slaves and fifty-six oranges.¹⁰¹ Another question asked how many beatings a slave named Fredrick would receive in a week if his owner whipped him twice a day.¹⁰² This homework assignment diminished the cruelties of American history by casually asking questions about the victim in bondage without providing subtext allowing children to understand these questions will not face them in the future. If slavery no longer existed in the United States, then why did the teacher and textbook company find it relevant to ask how many unprovoked beatings Fredrick received in a week?

The Lost Cause theory and the actions of the United Daughters of the Confederacy allowed ex-Confederates to feel better regarding themselves and their actions against the United States by reconstructing their collective memories. Their movements in education and textbook

⁹⁹ Melonyce McAfee, “McGraw-Hill to Rewrite Textbook After Mom’s Complaint,” CNN (October 5, 2015), accessed May 16, 2018, <https://www.cnn.com/2015/10/04/living/mcgraw-hill-slavery-textbook-mom-complaint-feat/index.html>

¹⁰⁰ McGraw-Hill Education’s Facebook Page, October 2, 2015. <https://www.facebook.com/McGrawHillEducation/posts/1056963857671901>.

¹⁰¹ Kerry Kavanaugh, “Parents Outraged Over Math Problems Referring to Slavery, Beating,” WSBTV (January 6, 2012), accessed: May 8, 2018, <https://www.wsbtv.com/news/parents-outraged-after-homework-assignment-refers-/242628916>

¹⁰² Kavanaugh, “Parents Outraged Over Math Problems Referring to Slavery, Beating.”

reform provided an environment with a white supremacist perspective to grow up in for future generations. The Daughters accomplished their goal. Today, after more than one-hundred and fifty years, people still defend the Confederacy with ideologies of the Lost Cause theory. In a 1989 publication of the *UDC Magazine* an article claimed Northern sympathizers exaggerated the details of the Middle Passage. They alleged historians exaggerated the horrendous details of the journey because “the sixteen inches of deck space allotted each slave is not all that smaller than the eighteen inches the Royal Navy allowed for each sailor's hammock and the slaves rapidly had more room due to the much higher death rate.”¹⁰³ The defense of these ideologies had a negative impact on the country’s education system as evident by the “Teaching Hard History” report by the Southern Poverty Law Center. It claimed only eight percent of high school seniors can recognize slavery as the leading cause of the Civil War. Most students did not answer with states’ rights as many presumed but nearly half the students believed tax protests caused the war.¹⁰⁴ The report also revealed teachers find it uncomfortable to discuss slavery in the classroom, even when they acknowledge the importance of the subject to American history.¹⁰⁵ In the last couple of decades, American citizens have begun to rethink the Lost Cause narrative and what the Confederate values stand for, especially when it comes to their children’s education. The United Daughters of the Confederacy have not made it easy on current educators or institutions to teach the reality of slavery and the Civil War due to their efforts targeting education reform and their work with the Children of the Confederacy.

¹⁰³ Walter W. Lee III, “The African Slave Trade,” *The United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine* vol. 52-53, 1989, 70.

¹⁰⁴ “Teaching Hard History,” Southern Poverty Law Center, January 31, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/20180131/teaching-hard-history>.

¹⁰⁵ “Teaching Hard History.”

The UDC's argument regarding an allegedly idyllic antebellum lifestyle has lasted over a century and is most evident at historical plantation sites. These sites boast that their authenticity allows visitors to step back in time to experience the wealth and grandeur of the planter class. Nonetheless, many of these historical plantation sites miss an important historical aspect. Many of them either annihilate or trivialize the subject of enslavement and the effects it had on Southern economy. The next chapter discusses a few historical plantations in Louisiana, what these sites present to their visitors, and how, and if, their presentation of history coincides with the "true history" narrative presented by the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

Chapter 3

Gone With the Plantation:

How Historical Plantations in Louisiana Interpret Antebellum History

Since their creation in 1894 the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) set out to vindicate the South as its own entity. This façade glorified the antebellum South and gave white southerners a sense of nostalgia for a life they never lived. Future generations fantasized about this exalted lifestyle while they lived in the economic and social distresses of the post-war era. The Daughters' position as elite white women granted them influence and authority over memory. They formed a new memory of the South and used the mediums of education reform and their subgroup, Children of the Confederacy (C. of C.), to create an idyllic past close to perfection. Philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche referred to this phenomenon as "monumental history." He explained it as "the cloak under which their hatred of present power and greatness

masquerades as an extreme admiration of the past.”¹⁰⁶ It allowed people of authority to pick and choose parts of the past fitted to a narrative they wished to present, comparable to when the UDC sponsored specific textbooks that told the “true history” of the South. Southern heritage groups created a “kaleidoscope composite of plantation life, a romantic fantasy clear to southerners: the white columned mansions, acres of snowy cotton, the coquettish belle, the genteel master, the crooning mammy, singing field hands, young gallants and a native chivalry.”¹⁰⁷ These groups created a sense of nationalism among white individuals from the South who still claim they’re passionate for “heritage, not hate.”¹⁰⁸

For generations, white southerners grew up with an idyllic image of the South as described previously. An image that represented wealth, prosperity, and autonomy. When the C. of C. grew up and no longer turned to school text books, they faced the reality of race in America. The southern region of the United States became more progressive through advancements in technology and industry and it started to mirror Northern aspects of living. People of the South searched for new ways to express their proud heritage and traditional lifestyle in the twentieth century. Historian James Cobb argues that Southerners recreated their identity through the magazine *Southern Living*.¹⁰⁹ The magazine emerged in Birmingham, Alabama, soon after the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and promoted a “New-South vision of progress and promise.”¹¹⁰ The publication set out to unify the South as one entity apart from the North.

¹⁰⁶ Friedrich Nietzsche *The Use and Abuse of History* (New York: Cosimo, Inc., 2010), 17.

¹⁰⁷ Waldo Braden, *The Oral Tradition of the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983), 70.

¹⁰⁸ P. Charles Lunsford, the head of the Sons of Confederate Veterans’ Heritage Defense coined the term in the 1990s. The phrase emerged when the state of Georgia questioned removing the Confederate symbol from their state flag. People today ornate their clothing or vehicles with the popular phrase which intended to enforce a benign image of the SCV and other Southern heritage groups. Southern Poverty Law Center, “Sons of Confederate Veterans In Its Own Civil War,” *Intelligence Report* 2002 Spring Issue (March 5, 2002), <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2002/sons-confederate-veterans-its-own-civil-war>.

¹⁰⁹ James Cobb, *Away Down South: A History of Southern Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 223.

¹¹⁰ Tracy Lauder, “Southern Identity in *Southern Living* Magazine,” *Journal of Geography* 111, no. 1 (2012), 27-38.

Similar to the methods used by the United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Southern Living* ignored issues of race and violence and focused on the elite of the South. It was an incredible feat if one considered when and from where the magazine originated from. The focus on gardens, recipes, architecture, and traditions of the South allowed white southerners to live vicariously through the wealthy lifestyle featured in the magazine. The UDC and *Southern Living* magazine ingrained the idea of elitism as a key aspect of Southern heritage in the minds of the public.

The grandeur of the antebellum South portrayed by the UDC and *Southern Living* can be easily found at historical plantations across the southeast United States, especially in the state of Louisiana along the River Road. These sites allow visitors to believe they stepped back in time by taking in the beautiful architecture, pristine landscape, and gallant narratives.¹¹¹ Most people associate this imagery with the early setting of Margaret Mitchell's *Gone With the Wind*. Attempting to animate the bucolic life from before the war allowed white southerners to heal psychologically from the wounds of defeat for generations to come. The imagery reminded people of the ideals and values for which their ancestors fought. Confederate soldiers fought to keep the planter-class wealthy and to maintain the institution of slavery; however, their descendants may say they fought for states' rights.

Most historical locations strive to present an identity that people relate to, as well as, a cultural memory. So, what is the identity of a plantation? The term *plantation* is historically defined as an "agricultural unit with twenty or more enslaved people."¹¹² The abundance of slaves allowed the slave-owner freedom from working the fields and greatly increased his

¹¹¹ Almost all operating plantation sites advertise the façade of "stepping back in time." If this phrase is not present in their material, it is also commonly found in reviews on their websites or other travel and review websites.

¹¹² Jennifer L. Eichstedt and Stephen Small, *Representations of Slavery: Race and Ideology in Southern Plantation Museums*, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002), 60.

wealth, raising his status to a planter. This difference separates plantation sites from farm sites. Interpretation at most plantation museums focuses on the slave-owning family who resided there with an emphasis on the corresponding time period. An inclusive history which includes the institution of slavery is often disregarded, substituted, or interpreted from the white family's perspective. These historical locations typically promote white southern values and ideals from the antebellum South with special attention dedicated to the genteel Southern gentleman, his Southern-belle wife, and their proud accomplished children. When people visit plantations, they commonly put themselves in the place of the slave-owners. Visitors rarely imagine themselves as the slaves or any position lower than the elite. The sites' focus on the grandeur and beauty of the physical location plays a major role in how they present history. The collections of antique furniture, silver utensils, and the beauty of the architecture and gardens distracts visitors from remembering the atrocities of slavery.

Today there are private plantations and public plantations. This chapter will compare the way plantations with different governing boards (public versus private) interpret antebellum history, especially slavery, and how that interpretation mimics aspects of the Lost Cause theory perpetuated by the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Public historical institutions receive the majority of their funding from the city, state, or federal region in which they operate. Most employees are considered government employees. Because their funding comes from taxes, public sites have an ethical responsibility to the people they serve to provide an inclusive history and understanding of the location.

Private plantations are commonly owned by a single entity and can be for-profit or nonprofit. Distinct differences exist between the two that affect the way historical sites operate. For-profit sites function as private businesses; their primary goal includes generating

revenue to return to the proprietor or shareholders. They are owned by one person or one entity and they have the power to decide what information is presented to the public. Nonprofit historical sites function to benefit the community through educational purposes. If the state or federal government recognizes their mission or purpose, nonprofit foundations have the privilege of tax exemption. Nonprofits use grant funds and money earned commonly through sales or donations to source their operations. Any surplus of income is recycled back into business expenses.

River Road

The River Road lies along the Mississippi River between Baton Rouge and New Orleans, Louisiana. The seventy-mile stretch of land most notably contains extravagant plantation homes that exemplify the “Old South.” Large Greek Revival mansions with hundreds, if not thousands, of acreage have attracted tourists to experience the grandeur of the antebellum South for years. A 1947 *New York Times* article claimed the area provided an “authentic early American atmosphere.”¹¹³ What do people consider to be “early American?” With research, it appears that the “early American” era for this region did not start until 1803 when the United States acquired the Louisiana Territory. The province prospered as a region for sugar cane cultivation. The National Park Service claims the region is full of cultural resources, yet their website only details the history of the mansions and sugar cane production.¹¹⁴ The webpage largely ignores the Native American and Creole cultures present before the United States obtained the land.

¹¹³ Eleanor N. Knowles, “Glimpses of Old Plantation Life,” *New York Times*, January 12, 1947, X15.

¹¹⁴ Louisiana Division of Historic Preservation, “The River Road,” National Park Service, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/louisiana/riverroad.htm>, accessed July 1, 2018.

Wealthy planters arrived in the new area after 1803 and built extravagant homes that mimicked the popular Greek Revival style. This design included large pillars in the front of the house, porches which wrapped around the sides to provide shaded sitting areas, large windows, and grand entrances. Creole styled mansions, constructed by the French, Spanish, Africans, and Natives, existed in the region before American planters arrived. “The entire River Road was once Creole, but one by one these early buildings were either modified or replaced.”¹¹⁵ Many of the plantations today are privately owned and offer tours to visitors.

Information presented during tours at most of these sites depends on who leads the discussion and their personal interest and knowledge in the subject. At most historical plantations, caucasian women typically direct the groups and conversation. As mentioned in chapter two, white females took on the role of memory keepers in efforts to preserve their history and honor those they deemed worthy. Jessica Adams proposes in her book *Wounds of Returning: Race, Memory, and Property on the Postslavery Plantation* that this occurrence of white female-dominated historical institutions started with the historic house movement, begun by women.¹¹⁶ As mentioned in chapter one, these ladies tend to be “outside” the realm of academia and formal training. They may be genealogists, re-enactors, collectors, or even possess a personal connection to the subject material which drives their love of history.

Private For-Profit Plantations

As mentioned above, private for-profit plantations do not necessarily have a responsibility to the public they serve. They operate as a business; therefore, they are capitalistic institutions. They supply for the demand and many people do not demand to hear stories of the

¹¹⁵ Louisiana Division of Historic Preservation, “The River Road,” National Park Service, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/louisiana/riverroad.htm>, accessed July 1, 2018.

¹¹⁶ Jessica Adams, *Wounds of Returning: Race, Memory, and Property on the Postslavery Plantation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 92.

enslaved. Eichstedt and Small note from their 2002 study that all for-profit plantations employed symbolic annihilation or trivialization of slavery and black history.¹¹⁷ Through research and reviews, it seems their claim remains true today regarding for-profit sites.

The first plantation discussed is the Houmas House in Darrow, Louisiana. Builders constructed a cottage on location in 1803 and twenty-six years later, owner Wade Hampton enlarged the structure into the mansion that exists today. The history section of the Houmas House website mentions that Native Americans first inhabited the land and a 1700s French House stood there before Hampton bought the property.¹¹⁸ It did not mention anything more than that on those two subjects. A businessman from New Orleans, Kevin Kelly, purchased the property in 2003. He currently resides there and allows tours of the thirty-eight-acre property that features three restaurants and a gift shop.¹¹⁹ The historical plantation also operates as a venue for various functions including weddings. This is important to note due to the pressure of running a private business. In western culture the wedding day is said to be the happiest day of a person's life. Is it possible for a private for-profit historical site to act as a wedding venue while providing an accurate history? Horror stories of slavery or reminders that it even existed could potentially ruin the wedding day, in turn, corrupting the location as a wedding venue.

The history section on the Houmas House website provides an extensive history of the owners of the property. It only mentions slaves once, as part of a list of possessions by owner John Burnside, who purchased the house from the Hampton family in 1858. In a 2006 brochure, Houmas House again used the possession of slaves as an attribute of previous owners.¹²⁰ Their

¹¹⁷ Eichstedt and Small, *Representations of Slavery*, 65.

¹¹⁸ History, Houmas House, <https://houmashouse.com/history/>.

¹¹⁹ Houmas House Mansion and Gardens Tours," Houmas House, <https://houmashouse.com/activities/houmas-house-tour/>.

¹²⁰ "Houmas House Plantation and Gardens," brochure, 2006.

website also diverted the stain of slavery from their history by referring to house slaves as servants. This diversion suggests the previous owners employed workers who had the right to leave rather than owning humans who were either abducted or raised in captivity. In a response to a negative review from a visitor regarding the subject of enslavement, the owner reiterated “our story is not about slavery, and our guide did not mention anything about slavery.”¹²¹ He recommended that the tourists visit the Whitney Plantation (discussed later) if they are interested in that subject. Upon further research, the history section fails to mention anything about the Civil War. There exists a gap from 1858 to 1881.¹²² According to their website, this was when the owner “collected great furnishings and great works of art.”¹²³ Houmas House provides tourists a white-washed atmosphere that not only annihilates the narratives of over five hundred and fifty slaves on site¹²⁴ but also annihilates the Civil War and Reconstruction eras and the effects they had on plantation life in the South.

The tours, led by a docent dressed in antebellum clothing, cover “the best features from various periods to showcase a legacy of each family in the mansion” as well as the expansive garden.¹²⁵ Jennifer Eichstedt and Stephen Small shared their experience in *Representations of Slavery*. They asked their tour guide about slave cabins on the property. An 1860 census revealed that Burnside possessed one-hundred and ninety-two slave cabins, however the guide did not know this and immediately claimed that “Burnside was a good owner” and he did not “want to

¹²¹ Rebecca A., “Pretty, but Racist Tour Guide,” review of Houmas House Plantation and Gardens, March 25, 2016, Tripadvisor.com, https://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUsers-g40102-d258967-r358514742-Houmas_House_Plantation_and_Gardens-Darrow_Louisiana.html.

¹²² During this time, John Burnside acquired 9 more sugar plantations and possessed over two-thousand slaves by the beginning of the Civil War. “John Burnside 7/5/1881, of New Orleans, LA,” *Monroe Watchman Obituary*, <http://files.usgwarchives.net/wv/monroe/obituaries/burnside.txt>.

¹²³ History, Houmas House, <https://houmashouse.com/history/>.

¹²⁴ History, Houmas House, <https://houmashouse.com/history/>.

¹²⁵ History, Houmas House, <https://houmashouse.com/history/>.

oppress anyone” because of his Irish heritage.¹²⁶ The tour guide trivialized the atrocities of slavery when she shared the “good owner” narrative. The only thing the tour guide told her group regarding slavery was that Burnside provided them with healthy daily rations and an allowance.¹²⁷ Instead she used aspects of the Lost Cause narrative, similar to the United Daughters of the Confederacy, including happy slaves and benevolent slave-owners, to share a romanticized history of Houmas House.

The majority, if not all, private plantations, whether for-profit or nonprofit, provide a gift shop so patrons can pick out souvenirs and trinkets to remember their visit. Many of the historical sites offer Confederate memorabilia through the mediums of imitation money, Confederate-themed books, and rebel army uniforms. Chapter four discusses the appropriateness of Confederate symbols in public spaces; but these institutions are private and can choose what they wish to sell. The plantations are in the former Confederate territory and it makes sense that they possess rebel trinkets for visitors. The issue at private sites is when these souvenirs and memorabilia embrace African American stereotypes, the most infamous being the mammy.

White southerners, especially women, favored the mammy character because they did not have to fear her. The mammy archetype represented a large, asexual, non-threatening being who loved the white family she served more than her own family. One only needs to reference Nancy Green who portrayed the popular Aunt Jemima character for Quaker Oats or Hattie McDaniel who won an Oscar for her performance as Mammy in *Gone With the Wind*.¹²⁸ Southern white women admired the character (rather than an individual); they wished to immortalize her. Senate

¹²⁶ Joseph Karl Menn, *The Large Slaveholders of Louisiana-1860*, (Gretna, LA; Pelican Publishing Company, 1998), appendix B; Eichstedt and Small, *Representations of Slavery*, 164; John Burnside owned the plantation house from 1858 until his death in 1881.

¹²⁷ Eichstedt and Small, *Representations of Slavery*, 164.

¹²⁸ “Nancy Green, The Original ‘Aunt Jemima,’” African American Registry, <https://aaregistry.org/story/nancy-green-the-original-aunt-jemima/>.

Bill S. 4119, submitted in 1922, granted the United Daughters of the Confederacy permission to construct a “Monument to Faithful Colored Mammies of the South.”¹²⁹ A fundraising pamphlet claimed the monument would be “representative and worthy of the ideals and traditions of the ‘Great South.’”¹³⁰ Thanks to African American activists led by W.E.B. DuBois, the bill failed to gain enough support to pass. This did not stop the UDC from using mammy characters in their parade floats.¹³¹

Haunted Tourism at Private For-Profit Sites

The United Daughters of the Confederacy was not one for telling ghost stories while they romanticized the antebellum South. Nonetheless, haunted tourism is its own industry that attracts many tourists to picturesque plantations and can coincide with the ideals and characteristics of the Lost Cause narrative perpetuated by the UDC. Most notably, tales of ghosts appear at the Myrtles Plantation along the River Road in Louisiana. The plantation which operates as a bed and breakfast claims to be “one of America’s most haunted homes” and offers evening mystery tours to visitors wishing to have a supernatural encounter.¹³²

Plantation tours generally hype the architecture, landscape, and material artifacts. Institutions which boast about hauntings claim a deeper connection to the past through the supposed ghosts who dwell there. Historical locations can introduce ghosts into their narrative in a variety of ways. One possibility regards ghosts as their own entities who still make the plantation their home and can interact with the living. The Loyd Hall Plantation, which sits along

¹²⁹ S. 4119, 67th Cong. (December 8, 1922).

¹³⁰ “Monumental Industrial Institute in Memory of ‘The Old Black Mammy’ of the South,” in James O. Patton, J. Strickland, and E.J. Crawford, “Moonlight and Magnolias in Southern Education: The Black Mammy Memorial Institute,” *The Journal of Negro History* 65, no. 2 (Spring 1980), 153.

¹³¹ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Annual Convention* (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Printing Company, 1921), 199.

¹³² History of Myrtles Plantation, Myrtles Plantation, <https://www.myrtlesplantation.com/history-and-hauntings/history-of-myrtles-plantation>.

the River Road, offers an example of this possibility. Literature regarding hauntings in Louisiana point to a ghost named Sally Boston, a former slave nanny and cook who died mysteriously, possibly by poison. The guidebook *Louisiana's Haunted Plantations* claims “an overwhelming feeling of comfort and an aroma of food cooking” emerges when tourists gather a glimpse of a fleeting woman in a white dress.¹³³ A guide assured visitors that the ghosts would not harm them because the spirits remained to watch over the house and protect it. Interestingly enough, the guide made this comment after he or she claimed that “people died violently” on the premises and did not have peace.¹³⁴ Another possibility allows tourists to see ghosts as fictitious, fun or spooky spirits who are metaphors for actual historical events or people. This phenomenon is common at sites that boast about their hauntings and commonly incorporate them into their tours, as is done at the Myrtles Plantation.

The Myrtles Plantation Home in St. Francisville, Louisiana is an example of a for-profit private site that created its own narrative to lure not just visitors, but large networks like the Discovery Channel, National Geographic, the Travel Channel and more.¹³⁵ It has offered ghost tours since the mid-twentieth century. The owners discontinued the haunted tours, weekend murder mystery parties, and tours on Halloween in the late 1980s in an attempt to distance the house from the haunting reputation.¹³⁶ Current owners embrace the haunted aspect and offer five tours a day.

¹³³ Jill Pascoe, *Louisiana's Haunted Plantations* (Baton Rouge: Irongate Press, 2004), 45, 47-48.

¹³⁴ Eichstedt and Small, *Representations of Slavery*, 94.

¹³⁵ Jeff Belanger, “The Myrtles Plantation,” *Ghost Adventures*, season 8, episode 4, aired February 22, 2014 on Travel Channel, <https://www.travelchannel.com/shows/ghost-adventures/episodes/the-myrtles-plantation#episode-tunein>; “St. Francisville, LA: The Myrtles Plantation,” *Ghost Hunters*, season 2, episode 1, aired on July 27, 2005 on Syfy.

¹³⁶ Anne Butler Hamilton, “THE MYRTLES***Come to dinner—no ghosts invited,” *Baton Rouge Morning Advocate*. October 5, 1989.

Built in 1796, by slaves, for General David “Whiskey Dave” Bradford, the privately-owned plantation home is currently a bed and breakfast. The website invites visitors to “experience antebellum splendor” while they sit on the “125-foot veranda. . .surrounded by centuries-old live oak trees” that will give them a “a complete sense of peace and tranquility.”¹³⁷ Visitors can “relax and unwind” in one of twelve accommodations which range in price from \$175 to \$400 per night.¹³⁸ Of course, to relax, guests must ignore the supposed ghosts on site. Myrtles Plantation does not function as a museum but, they offer tours of the grounds with an antebellum focus. They provide daily “mystery tours” specializing in a haunted history of the location. They then challenge visitors to take the excursion in the evening, if they prove brave enough to face the potential ghosts.¹³⁹ Myrtles Plantation serves as one of the few plantations with a narrative focused around a slave. Recent guests suggest the haunted tour is the primary way to learn about slave life at this plantation.

The haunted tale follows a thirteen or fourteen-year-old slave girl named Chloe. Plantation owners Judge Clark Woodruff and his wife Sarah Woodruff forced her to work as a house and sex slave. Judge Woodruff caught her eavesdropping on a private conversation and disfigured her by cutting off her left ear. The slave-owner moved Chloe out of the big house and into the kitchen where she made a birthday cake containing the poisonous oleander flower for the owner’s daughter. Sarah Woodruff and two of her daughters died from the poisoning. Chloe was hanged for her treason by her fellow slaves and is said to still walk the halls of the big house today according to Eichstedt and Small.¹⁴⁰ The two authors failed to acknowledge four main issues with this haunted tale.

¹³⁷ Myrtles Plantation, <https://www.myrtlesplantation.com/>.

¹³⁸ Bed and Breakfast, Myrtles Plantation, accessed June 5, 2018, <https://www.myrtlesplantation.com/bed-breakfast>.

¹³⁹ Tours, Myrtles Plantation, accessed June 5, 2018, <https://www.myrtlesplantation.com/tour>.

¹⁴⁰ Eichstedt and Small, *Representations of Slavery*, 94.

The first issue surrounding this tale is the lack of evidence. The owners conceived a narrative with little proof of documentation or reality. No records suggest the slave-owning family actually possessed a slave with the name Chloe. This explains why various sources spell her name differently and refer to her as Cleo.¹⁴¹ The Myrtles Plantation website displays multiple photos depicting a shadowy figure (Chloe) in antebellum garb. Viewers favor these pictures and take part in tours to have their own supernatural experience. Popular television ghost hunters Jason Hawes and Grant Wilson claim the owners embellished the photos because of added shadows not present in the original picture.¹⁴² In addition to the owners' lack of records proving Chloe existed, no documentation suggests Sarah Woodruff and two of her children died of poison either. Instead, researchers argue Woodruff's wife and kids died of yellow fever.¹⁴³

The second issue with this haunted tale is the small degree of variation in the stories told. Cheryl H. White and W. Ryan Smith believe if Chloe did exist, she poisoned the birthday cake to make the family ill but not to kill them.¹⁴⁴ Joe Nickell also believes this tale and suggests Chloe's aims included nursing the family back to health so she could be in their good graces again.¹⁴⁵ Jill Pascoe's guidebook, *Louisiana's Haunted Plantations*, proposes that Chloe baked the poisonous cake for Woodruff as revenge because he chose a new "mistress." A previous owner, Frances Karmeen, states the Woodruffs moved Chloe to the kitchen because Mrs. Woodruff caught the slave with her husband. Her version asserts Chloe's previous owners cut off her ear before she

¹⁴¹ Dennis W. Hauck, *Haunted Places: The National Directory* (New York: Penguin Books, 2002), n.p.

¹⁴² Jason Hawes, Grant Wilson, and Michael Friedman, *Ghost Hunting: True Stories of Unexplained Phenomena from the Atlantic Paranormal Society* (New York: Pocket Books, 2007), 141.

¹⁴³ Tiya Miles, *Tales from the Haunted South: Dark Tourism and Memories of Slavery from the Civil War Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 87; Collin Dickey, *Ghostland: An American History in Haunted Places* (New York: Penguin Books, 2016), 39; Joe Nickell, "Haunted Plantation," *The Skeptical Inquirer* 27, no. 5 (September/October 2003): 12-15; Cheryl H. White and W. Ryan Smith, *A Haunted History of Louisiana Plantations* (n.p.: Haunted America, 2017), 95.

¹⁴⁴ Cheryl H. White and W. Ryan Smith, *A Haunted History of Louisiana Plantations* (n.p.: Haunted America, 2017), 94.

¹⁴⁵ Joe Nickell, "Haunted Plantation," *The Skeptical Inquirer* 27, no. 5 (September/October 2003): 12-15.

arrived at Myrtles Plantation.¹⁴⁶ However, if no record proves her existence, then no record would exist of her intentions to poison the family. Another discrepancy in the story is the question of who ordered Chloe's death. Some people believe Judge Woodruff ordered his other slaves to hang her, while others suppose the slaves lynched her of their own accord out of fear of Woodruff's wrath.¹⁴⁷ Either way, creators of the legend base their stories on assumptions.

The third issue with the Myrtles Plantation portrayal of Chloe was how the slave girl fit into the romanticized antebellum narrative despite it being a tale of murder. Reportedly, many ghosts haunt the plantation including Judge Woodruff and two of his children.^{148,149} The owners use a teenage girl's story of rape, humiliation, and murder to attract visitors and increase profits. While very few sources mentioned rape in their tales, Chloe's title of "mistress" attempted to hide the horrid details female slaves faced. The term mistress implies authority and agency over one's situation, neither of which enslaved black women possessed. Plantations and historical institutions alike commonly make this error of title. They trivialize the burden of enslavement when they refer to slaves as "mistresses," "servants," or "field hands" among many others.

Mistresses normally receive gifts of appreciation or admiration from men. Chloe's legend suggests Judge Woodruff rewarded her by making her a house slave rather than performing outside labor. People believe a strict dichotomy existed between a house slave and a field slave. Historical accounts suggest slaves who worked in the house had better privileges and a better life compared to their brethren.¹⁵⁰ These people do not consider the vast amounts of physical labor

¹⁴⁶ Frances Kermeen, *The Myrtles Plantation: The True Story of America's Most Haunted House* (New York: Warner Books, 2005), n.p.

¹⁴⁷ Joe Nickell, "Haunted Plantation," *The Skeptical Inquirer* 27, no 5 (September/October 2003): 12-15.

¹⁴⁸ Hawes, Wilson, and Friedman, *Ghost Hunting*, 140.

¹⁴⁹ The ghosts include, two little blond girls, a lady dressed in black, a Confederate soldier, Chloe, a "Voodoo Queen", a baby, and an overseer. Kermeen, *The Myrtles Plantation*: n.p.

¹⁵⁰ Fredrick Law Olmstead wrote "it is. . . a punishment to a neglectful house-servant, to banish him to the field-gangs," in Fredrick Law Olmstead, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States, with Remarks on Their Economy* (New York: Mason Brothers, 1861), 241.

placed on house slaves and the continuous hazard of rape and constant observation by the enslaver. Despite the numerous accounts of death at the plantation house, history only recorded one murder there in 1871. An assailant shot a man named William Winters on the front porch by the entryway.¹⁵¹ Tour guides do not emphasize his story or potential ghosts for that matter. Chloe's legend remains at the forefront of the tours.¹⁵²

The final issue surrounding Chloe's narrative arises when supposedly a group of slaves killed her out of revenge for Woodruff's family. The scenario displaces the violence from the white, slave-owning man and places it on a community of slaves who lynched one of their own. White men performed the majority of lynchings against black males in the United States in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Typically, the African American man was falsely accused of sexual assault against a white woman. The legend of Chloe approaches this narrative differently. It was a black adolescent accused of murder, against a white woman, who faced a mob of vengeful slaves. They in turn, lynched her. Members of the slave-owning family are portrayed as victims and it appears that any violence perpetrated stems from black people.

The narrative presented at the Myrtles Plantation does not stray far from the white-dominant themes commonly presented at other plantations. Happy slaves did not exist there, and Judge Woodruff was not a benevolent slave-owner who respected the sanctity of marriage. Previous owner Kermeen claimed female guests who stayed in the former nursery, the supposed room where Woodruff raped his slaves, alleged his ghost "raped or seduced" them.¹⁵³ Instead, it drew people in to experience the uneasy atmosphere portrayed, especially in regard to the racial and sexual relationship between Chloe and Woodruff. The supposed ghosts who haunt the

¹⁵¹ Kermeen, *The Myrtles Plantation*, n.p.

¹⁵² Miles, *Tales from the Haunted South*, 87.

¹⁵³ Kermeen, *The Myrtles Plantation*, 210, 214; No other sources besides Kermeen's book suggest that Judge Woodruff's ghost assaulted female guests.

plantation experienced lust, jealousy, revenge, adultery, violence and murder. These plot points excited visitors who were anxious to experience the supernatural through the apparitions of past dwellers. The site not only told fictitious accounts of past dwellers to make visitors anxious, but it also used the story to portray the double-edged sword of owning a human being.

Similar to any private business, the Myrtles Plantation functioned to produce profits and remain open for future endeavors. It would be unlikely for them to exclude the legend of Chloe just because no historical records existed in relation to the slave girl. Stories of hauntings and apparitions not only reside at the Myrtles Plantation. Other plantations claim to have ghosts and supernatural happenings to attract visitors. This includes the Loyd Hall Plantation, as mentioned above, in Cheneyville, Louisiana. Its website does not tell of ghosts or a haunted history; however, if asked, some tour guides tell the story of the owner hanged by Union troops or a kind slave nanny who appears in white.¹⁵⁴ Visitors sought after these frightening tales of ghosts, but, every plantation has its own stories of horror through enslavement.

Private nonprofit

Another key difference between private for-profit sites and private nonprofit institutions comes down to who operates the establishment. As mentioned above, for-profit sites typically have one owner who is allowed final say on subjects and materials presented to visitors. Nonprofits operate differently. An elected board or employees agree upon what is presented to the public and what history is shared.¹⁵⁵ Subject materials are commonly discussed before exhibited to the public. This does not necessarily mean they provide an inclusive history which

¹⁵⁴ Eichstedt and Small, *Representations of Slavery*, 94.

¹⁵⁵ Peter B. Manzo and Alice Espey, *Get Ready, Get Set: What You Need to Know Before Starting a Nonprofit* (Los Angeles: Center for Nonprofit Management, 2004), 1-28.

counteracts the glorified antebellum façade the UDC perpetuated. Sometimes these plantations trivialize the establishment and horrors of slavery as well.

Like Myrtles Plantation, the lore of a haunted history brings tourist, eager to have a ghostly encounter, to the Destrehan Plantation. The site is a private nonprofit organization. Past literature suggests the staff and administration involved themselves in appealing to the haunted tourism industry. *The Ghostly Register*, a tour book from 1986, claims that “the current proprietors of the mansion go so far as to issue a flyer telling of recent sightings of apparitions, titled, *Ghost Sightings at Destrehan Plantation? You Be the Judge.*”¹⁵⁶ The appeal of haunted tourism at Destrehan is apparent by the 1991 book, *Past Masters: The History and Hauntings of Destrehan Plantation* by Madeline Levatino. Many guidebooks that specialize in haunted tourism mention Destrehan and commonly incorporate *Past Masters* into their text.¹⁵⁷ This book, written by a former tour guide, provides a template for tours which took place in the 1980s and 1990s. The work, similar to many site-specific works, has a white-dominant narrative glorifying “noble” families and exalts their position as successful planters.

The first half of the book shares the history of the slave-owning men who owned the property that Destrehan sits on. The author makes them the protagonists and focuses on their notable accomplishments including marriage, children, and business. This section rarely mentions slaves. Levatino objectifies the enslaved population by occasionally mentioning them when discussing purchases and transfer of ownership. This theme of glorifying the slave-owner and diminishing the narrative of the slave even appears in a chapter regarding an 1811 slave revolt that ended with a trial and mass execution on Destrehan Plantation. Levatino described the

¹⁵⁶ Arthur Myers, *The Ghostly Register* (New York: McGraw-Hill Education, 1986), 135.

¹⁵⁷ These include *The Ghostly Register*; *Haunted Plantations*; *The Haunting of Louisiana*; *Haunted Places: The National Directory*; *Haunted Historic America*; *Ghosts and Vampires of New Orleans*; *Haunted City*.

slaves who participated in the uprising against their own enslavement as a “murderous group. . .looting and burning.”¹⁵⁸ When slaves of Destrehan were not objectified as murderers, the author refers to them as “loyal. . .servants.”¹⁵⁹ The idea of “loyal” slaves coincides with the façade of happy and content slaves provided by the United Daughters of the Confederacy to romanticize the antebellum South. Instead of sharing what a revolt meant to the enslaved community, *Past Masters* communicates the story of the uprising from the perspective of slave-owning white men who feared for their lives.

In 1787, Robin deLogny began construction on the Creole-designed mansion with the guidance of master builder and slave Charles Paquet. deLogny’s daughter and son-in-law upgraded the mansion in 1840 to the popular Greek Revival style.¹⁶⁰ *Southern Living* online states the mansion is the oldest plantation documented in the area.¹⁶¹ The non-profit River Road Historical Society has operated the Destrehan Plantation since 1971, after the location operated as a manufacturing company and then an oil refinery. The society made it their goal to save the home from destruction and restore it for education and enjoyment.¹⁶² They commissioned an investigation in search of discovering the slave quarters.¹⁶³ An inventory from 1792 listed the property contained nineteen cabins for its “Negro Camp,” amidst a multitude of other buildings.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁸ Madeline Levatino, *Past Masters: The History & Hauntings of Destrehan Plantation* (Destrehan, LA: Levatino & Barraco, 1991), 20.

¹⁵⁹ Levatino, *Past Masters*, 20.

¹⁶⁰ The Building of a Plantation, Destrehan Plantation, <http://www.destrehanplantation.org/the-building-of-a-plantation.html>.

¹⁶¹ “River Road Plantations,” *Southern Living* online, <https://www.southernliving.com/travel/south-east/river-road-plantations>.

¹⁶² Rediscovery and New Growth, Destrehan Plantation, <http://www.destrehanplantation.org/rediscovery-and-new-growth.html>

¹⁶³ Jill-karen Yakubik, *Archaeological Investigation at Destrehan Planation, St. Charles Parish, Louisiana* (New Orleans: Earth Search Inc., 1993), n.p.

¹⁶⁴ Inventory of the Estate of Antoine Robert Robin deLogny, December 14, 1792, in Samuel Wilson, *The Architecture of Colonial Louisiana* (Lafayette: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1987), 371.

Their website includes four files containing slave registries from various sales or inventories of the plantation from 1782 to 1838. It also has a section dedicated to the history of the enslaved people in Louisiana, specifically the Destrehan Plantation, as the region switched from French to Spanish to American rule. The property operated under a Creole management style which evolved from the Code Noir, during American rule.¹⁶⁵ During the Civil War, Union troops seized the property and turned it into a Home Colony for newly freed slaves in 1866.

Today the plantation separates itself from the haunted tourism industry. They no longer offer haunted tours and visitors will find no mention of ghosts on their website. Destrehan now incorporates a more inclusive history which shares narratives from the enslaved in their exhibit spaces and online. Nonetheless, the historical site still appeals to the *Gone With the Wind* façade by having their tour guides dress in antebellum garb with large hoop skirts and parasols. They also act as a popular wedding venue and private event center which provides “southern charm and a vintage elegance.”¹⁶⁶

Oak Alley—Private nonprofit

One of the most famous plantations in Louisiana due to its appearance in a multitude of movies, including *Interview With a Vampire*, is located in Vacherie, just sixty miles north of New Orleans. It was one of the first homes, in 1925) along the River Road restored with the objective of illuminating antebellum life.¹⁶⁷ Nearly fifty years later, the surviving owner created the non-profit Oak Alley Foundation with the intention of remaining open for the public. Its mission statement online claims it operates “exclusively for charitable, literary and educational purposes.”¹⁶⁸ The historical plantation offers tours, dining, and cottages for overnight

¹⁶⁵ The Enslaved, Destrehan Plantation,

¹⁶⁶ Weddings, Destrehan Plantation, <http://www.destrehanplantation.org/weddings.html>.

¹⁶⁷ The Foundation, Oak Alley Plantation, <https://oakalleyplantation.org/about/foundation>.

¹⁶⁸ The Foundation, Oak Alley Plantation.

guests. Similar to Myrtles Plantation, Oak Alley attempts to lure visitors through haunted tourism. Their website has a section dedicated to “The Shadows of Oak Alley.” It does not necessarily admit to ghosts residing on the property, but instead it lists experiences shared by its staff which suggest the location is haunted. Famous ghost hunters Jason Hawes and Grant Wilson from the Trans-Atlantic Paranormal Society conducted an investigation in 2014 and found no conclusive findings to deem the site haunted.

In a 1999 phone interview with the *Los Angeles Times* Oak Alley’s administrative director, Zeb Mayhew¹⁶⁹ admitted they operate with a *Gone With the Wind* atmosphere. He alleged “we don’t dwell on slavery. We hear too much about the ugly story of slavery. Slavery was a fact of life then.” Mayhew silenced the voices of nearly one hundred and fifteen slaves who worked at Oak Alley. Thankfully this changed in 2011 when the staff at Oak Alley Plantation embarked on a two-year endeavor to create a permanent slavery exhibit. Today its website claims that “it has always been our goal to share the history of slavery.”¹⁷⁰

During the two-year project Oak Alley Plantation reconstructed six different slave cabins after conducting an archeological survey. Crews built the new structures where a few of the original slave cabins stood. A couple of them were constructed around the original hearth that stood the test of time. Vince Yargas, Director of Research and Interpretation, claims this helps balance the “strong physical presences of the Big House and. . .convey a sense of human activity and life.”¹⁷¹ Four of the six cabins depict a variety of dwellings depending on the time period and position of the slave. There is a dwelling for a field slave, a house slave, a sick house, and a

¹⁶⁹ Mr. Zeb Mayhew is a descendant of the owner who created the non-profit organization and he is still the Executive Director today.

¹⁷⁰ Educational Podcast: Slavery at Oak Alley—a New Exhibit, Oak Alley Plantation, <https://www.oakalleyplantation.org/new-exhibit-slavery-at-oak-alley>.

¹⁷¹ “Podcast: ‘Slavery at Oak Alley’ Exhibit,” YouTube video, 2:36, posted by “Oakalleyplantation,” July 3, 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=70&v=7Gq7vRyvJos.

residence for newly freed slaves after emancipation. Staff at the historical location converted the two other cabins into exhibit spaces which focus on the daily lives of slaves. Slavery does not appear to be discussed on tours at the Big House. Oak Alley Plantation tours continues to romanticize slavery and ignore the atrocities which happened on site.¹⁷²

Laura Plantation—Private nonprofit

In 1992, St. James Sugar Cooperative purchased the Laura Plantation property, located in Vacherie, Louisiana, at auction when the previous plan to destroy the house in order to construct a bridge over the Mississippi River did not materialize. The historic property sits on an earthquake fault and a bridge for vehicles appeared too great a risk. A year later the Laura Plantation Company acquired the home. Even though it is a private enterprise and operate as a private nonprofit, its focus relies heavily on restoration and creating a public Creole cultural center. In 1994 the Laura Plantation opened its doors to the public as one of the first historic tourist attractions in Louisiana to include slave narratives in their tour.¹⁷³ The restoration included slave cabins which remained over time. It is important to bear in mind that other institutions which did interpret slavery did not necessarily include it in their tours.

French naval veteran, Guillaume Duparc bought the property in 1804 and began construction on the twenty-four thousand square foot house. Not only does the Laura Plantation's website admit "the work was executed by highly-skilled slaves," but tour guides emphasize that slaves, rather than enslavers, grew sugar cane and kept the business functioning.¹⁷⁴ The mansion took on a Creole design despite being constructed at the turn of the century, most likely due to

¹⁷² Imaani E, "Extremely Racist Tour," Review of Oak Alley Plantation, March 11, 2017, Tripadvisor.com, https://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g40470-d105805-r466372028-Oak_Alley_Plantation-Vacherie_Louisiana.html.

¹⁷³ Museum Exhibit, Laura Plantation, <https://www.lauraplantation.com/discover/museum-exhibit>.

¹⁷⁴ The Creole Plantation, Laura Plantation, <https://www.lauraplantation.com/discover/the-plantation>; Eichstedt and Small, *Representations of Slavery*, 227.

Duparc’s French heritage. Other websites fail to mention that slaves constructed the property which visitors come to see, rather than builders. This information can be found in a permanent exhibit titled “From the Big House to the Quarters: Slavery on Laura Plantation,” which opened in 2017. It showcases the real-life stories of slaves who worked the property. The display even discusses the sexual relations between slave-owners and slaves that resulted in descendants.

The history on the Laura Plantation’s website does not shy away from sharing histories of the marginalized communities that the Europeans conquered. It shares the story of nomadic Native Americans who inhabited the area almost three millennia ago and the slaves abducted for their “agricultural and construction skills.” It reveals that in 1830 the owner of the house, Elisabeth Locoul (daughter of Guillaume Duparc), purchased thirty adolescent female slaves to impregnate them for a future generation of slaves. The plantation went from seven slaves in 1805 to one-hundred and eighty-six by the 1861.¹⁷⁵ Curators at the historical location also use the plantation’s namesake, Laura Locoul’s (granddaughter of Elisabeth Locoul) diaries to interpret events and names of the enslaved. This allows them to incorporate a “good owner” versus “bad owner” narrative that Laura expressed in her memoirs. Elisabeth Locoul sold a thirty-year-old mother named Anna and her three-year-old daughter to two different bidders, potentially separating them forever. Her son, to whom she referred as a “negro spoiler,” repurchased the two at double the price to bring them back together. He effectively ruined the relationship with his mother over this issue.¹⁷⁶ Ironically, Laura penned her memoirs in 1936, the same year Margaret Mitchell published *Gone With The Wind*.

Whitney Plantation—Private Nonprofit

¹⁷⁵ 5 Centuries of Habitation, Laura Plantation, <https://www.lauraplantation.com/the-life-of-laura-locoul/5-centuries-of-habitation>.

¹⁷⁶ Laura Locoul Gore, Norman Mamillion, Sand Mamillion, *Memories of the Old Plantation Home: A Creole Family Album* (The Zoe Company, 2000), 32.

Many of the private nonprofit plantations mention slavery in their exhibits. Some include the subject into their main exhibits and tours while other sites keep the stories of slavery segregated from the white-dominant narrative. No matter their presentation, these sites tend to exhibit characteristics of the Lost Cause theory which coincide with the UDC's narrative of Southern history. Nonetheless, there is one privately owned plantation which approaches antebellum history from a completely different perspective. The Whitney Plantation, located in Wallace, Louisiana, is the first plantation site to focus solely on the enslaved community.

In 1999, a white attorney from New Orleans, John Cummings, purchased the old sugar cane plantation and surrounding land. He immersed himself in the property's historical documents as well as resources regarding nearby locations where slaves labored. He wanted to share the stories other sites did not commonly disclose along the River Road. Cummings invested his own \$8.6 million to create the first slavery museum in the United States which opened December 2014.¹⁷⁷ The trial lawyer is commonly asked why he created a museum dedicated to slavery when he is a Caucasian Female. His response: "Well don't you remember? It was a white man that caused all of this."¹⁷⁸ The UDC's influence is not present at Whitney. There were no slave-owning heroes who treated their slaves kindly and no slaves who were grateful to be in servitude.

Upon arrival visitors encounter large oak trees and period antiques in the large restored "big house." This ends the glorified antebellum aspects commonly found at traditional plantations. Visitor will not find narratives of gallant white heroes or see tour guides dressed as Southern belles at Whitney. Neither will they find a focus on antique furniture or the

¹⁷⁷ Takehiko Kambayashi, "A Retired Lawyer Opens First US Slavery Museum with \$8.6 Million of His Money," *Christian Science Monitor* (March 24, 2016).

¹⁷⁸ "Whitney Plantation Museum Confronts Painful History of Slavery," Youtube Video 7:22, posted by CBS this Morning, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JfC8X2Os2z4>.

architecture. Instead they are given a lanyard with a name and story of a past slave collected by the Federal Writers' Project during the Great Depression.

The Welcome Center of the Whitney Plantation features a display on the Middle Passage and provides information on the major regions in Africa from which the majority of Louisiana slaves originated from. This commonly overlooked information is further discussed in *Bouki Fait Gombo: A History of the Slave Community of Habitation Haydel Louisiana, 1750-1860*, a book written by the establishment's Director of Research, Dr. Ibrahima Seck. Docents then lead visitors on a ninety-minute tour starting at the first black church, post-Emancipation, in the parish, Antioch Baptist Church. The majority of the tour takes place outside with the infamous Louisiana heat and humidity.¹⁷⁹ It is done this way to remind visitors that slaves were forced to work in unsavory conditions under the merciless sun. The original slave cabins and a slave jail reside on the property and are incorporated into the tour.

The plantation includes a Wall of Honor with close to 107,000 Louisiana slaves memorialized.¹⁸⁰ The monument includes quotes from the enslaved which humanizes them. Slave Josephine Howard's words can be found on the wall. She pointed out the hypocrisy of slave-owners who punished their slaves for stealing, when white men were the ones to seize her ancestors.¹⁸¹ The Wall of Honor gives recognition to thousands of slaves who did not acquire acknowledgement when they were alive. It also distances the slaves from the narrative set forth by the UDC that claimed Africans were ignorant beings who were better off in bondage. Another emotional memorial found at the Whitney Plantation is the Field of Angels. A statue of an angel

¹⁷⁹ Elaine Mcardle, "The Past is Alive at Whitney Plantation," *Magazine of the Unitarian Universalist Association* 30, no. 4 (Winter 2016), 39.

¹⁸⁰ "Memorial to 107,000 Slaves—Whitney Plantation on American Artifacts," Youtube Video 4:20, posted by C-SPAN, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xfvUOmMRJS8>.

¹⁸¹ "Memorial to 107,000 Slaves."

sits in the middle of a courtyard prepared to take a dead baby to heaven. The area is dedicated to the 2,200 slave children who never made it to their third birthday.¹⁸²

Very little information is discussed regarding the Haydel family who owned the property prior to the Civil War. The plantation was originally known as “Habitation Haydel.” The name change further segregates the purpose of the slave museum from the previous white slave-owners. The employees at Whitney pride themselves upon their institution and website as valuable resources for scholars and educators who were upset by the absent or incorrect slave representation at other plantations.

Public Plantation Sites

This section will evaluate two publicly operated plantations along the River Road. The Oakley Plantation in St. Francisville and the Magnolia Mound Plantation in Baton Rouge are two of the few public historical plantations along the River Road. The Oakley is located within the Audubon State Historic Site, associated with the Louisiana Office of State Parks. Magnolia Mound is operated by the Recreation and Park Commission for the Parish of East Baton Rouge (BREC).

As mentioned in chapter 1, the Oakley Plantation opened in 1952 when Louisiana still had laws which enforced segregation. The state took over operations of the former cotton plantation in 1947. The white owners no longer resided there but African Americans occupied the property as sharecroppers until 1949 when the state removed them.¹⁸³ The state then tore down the remaining slave dwellings which housed over two hundred slaves according to the

¹⁸² “Were Slaves Really ‘Well-Fed’? Tour the Whitney Plantation and Find Out,” Youtube Video, 5:32, Posted by Essence, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ArljJFUX8YE>.

¹⁸³ Laurie Wilkie, “‘Never Leave me Alone’: An Archaeological Study of African American Ethnicity, Race Relations and Community at Oakley Plantation” (PhD diss, University of California, 1994), 26, <https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/304109412?pq-origsite=primo>.

1840 census. Three decades later, it brought in two cabins from a neighboring plantation to add to its collection. Oakley placed them to the west of the west of the original Big House, even though a land survey proved that no structure ever stood there.¹⁸⁴ The location offers daily tours of the Big House daily, yet these tours ignore the slave cabins, barn, and kitchen. It keeps the sensitive material segregated from the tours. Visitors are allowed to explore these areas on their own if they wish to do so.

The state-run website offers very little information to researchers. Their history section shares a partial story of John James Audubon, an artist who stayed for four months at the plantation and information about the Big House, built in 1801. It avoids the subject of slavery completely even when the 1820 census revealed that owner James Pirrie possessed over one hundred slaves.

Like the Oakley and the Oak Alley Plantations, many of the sites discussed do not possess the original slave cabins which resided there prior to the Civil War and Reconstruction. The Magnolia Mound Plantation is another example of an institution that either reconstructed or salvaged slave dwellings from another source.¹⁸⁵ Destruction or neglect of artifacts associated with African American history was common in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. White Americans did not generally view items from enslavement as valuable or keepsakes which needed to be preserved. This explains one reason why the slave narrative is often ignored or trivialized at historical sites.

The Magnolia Mound offers education programs to school aged children which normally involves a tour of the historic Big House. It operates with intentions to “illustrate and interpret

¹⁸⁴ Wilkie, 132.

¹⁸⁵ Julia Rose, “Collective Memories and the Changing Representations of American Slavery,” *The Journal of Museum Education* 29, no. 2/3 (Spring/Summer-Fall 2004), 27.

the lifestyle of the French Creoles.”¹⁸⁶ The site offers seven more educational opportunities for school groups, one of which is “Life in the Enslaved Community” and the “activities are designed to introduce students to the realities of human bondage and daily life.”¹⁸⁷ As of yet, neither public site has yet to respond to an interview request.

There are distinct and subtle differences between the various governances at plantations along the River Road in Louisiana. They all interpret antebellum history and slave history differently. Private institutions can portray slavery how they see fit, especially the for-profit sites. These governance systems typically portray slavery in a narrative that fits their goal to accumulate profit to return to shareholders or the owner. As previously mentioned, these sites ignore the atrocities of slavery by focusing on a white-dominant narrative and trivializing the subject of enslavement. These same aspects are seen in the Lost Cause theory perpetrated by the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Of the sites studied, Whitney stands as the most innovative due to its new perspective regarding slavery and antebellum history and the distance it develops away from the UDC. Will this be the future standard for plantation museums? It seems doubtful that other historical sites would abandon their method of interpreting history which includes the grandeur and wealthy aspects portrayed by the UDC; but, the Whitney Plantation can bring inspiration to other historical sites as a successfully operated institution which focuses on the marginalized histories.

¹⁸⁶ Magnolia Mound, BREC website, <http://www.brec.org/index.cfm/park/MagnoliaMoundPlantation>; The Enslaved, Destrehan Plantation, <http://www.destrehanplantation.org/the-enslaved.html>; Understanding Louisiana Creole Culture and Lifestyle, Laura Plantation, <https://www.lauraplantation.com/creole-history/what-is-creole>; The French Creoles resided in the area prior to the Louisiana Purchases in 1803. They had different values and styles compared to the Anglo-Saxons, but they still owned slaves. Three groups culturally influenced the Creole nation. Western Europeans, mainly French and Spanish, western Africans, and Native Americans combined in a melting pot to intermingle architecture, music, religion, values, and family. The French Creole culture that governed the region believed it their duty to bring slaves to Catholicism and allowed slaves to have Sunday to themselves. They allowed women to own property and allowed slaves who felt their owners treated them too harshly, to petition the church to mediate. The social hierarchy of the Creole region based itself on class and not race.

¹⁸⁷ Magnolia Mound Plantation, *Learning Expeditions* (Baton Rouge: n.p., n.p.d.).

Chapter 4

Of Monuments:

Why We Find Confederate Memorials in Public Spaces

The United Daughters of the Confederacy's (UDC) work in education reform, discussed in chapter 2, played a key role in how historical sites today struggle to discuss difficult subjects like slavery. Their educational agenda coincided with their white supremacist agenda to produce future generations of Confederate-faithful Southerners who would, in turn, raise their children with the same values. The Daughters' had a second component in their interpretation of the Lost Cause theory that like their education platform, valorized white men who fought for the Confederacy above all through religious and patriotic rhetoric and demoralized black citizens as inferior creatures. The women set out to immortalize Confederate leaders through the creation of monuments and memorials for future generations to admire. In their effort to revive the Confederate spirit of white supremacy and bravery when facing a great enemy, and not just for memorialization, memorials continued to be created for more than one hundred and fifty years after the war's end in 1865.

The members of the UDC and Ladies Memorial Associations (LMA) were only a generation or two away from their ancestors who either fought in the war or lived through that era. Many members shared stories of growing up in the antebellum South and described an idyllic and prosperous life that not many people experienced in the post-war years.¹⁸⁸ The imagery gave the listening audience a sense of nostalgia and a desire for this former way of life.

¹⁸⁸Rebecca Latimer Felton, *Country Life in Georgia in the Days of My Youth: Also Addresses Before Georgia Legislature Woman's Clubs, Women's Organizations and other Noted Occasions* (Atlanta: Index Printing Company, 1919) 189-190.

Much like the UDC-approved textbooks mentioned in chapter 2, these narratives included “happy slaves” who served the slave-owner faithfully and rejoiced at the success of the person who put them in bondage.¹⁸⁹ The Confederate soldiers and wealthy slave-owners who survived started dying of old age and their chance of being known or acknowledged by the public diminished. That was until their daughters and granddaughters began creating memorials for the Confederate veterans so that the men they knew and considered “heroes” would not be forgotten. But what about the people decades later who never knew a Civil War veteran? What would be their reason for remembering or honoring subjects that are obsolete?

A disturbing correlation emerges between spikes in the construction of the memorials corresponding to times when the United States faced issues regarding race relations. White Southerners no longer used memorialization as the driving force for erecting monuments, but instead, they viewed themselves as having a righteous cause and intended for the memorials to play an intimidating role to the black community by vindicating their Confederate values.¹⁹⁰ No official records of the UDC or Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) dictate these themes as the leading goal behind their creations. However, if one evaluates the monument itself by discovering when it was created, it’s location, and the meaning in the inscription, then one can comprehend the white supremacist mindset that lay behind the construction of these statues.

Age

The majority of the Confederate memorials were built or established during the first twenty-five years of the United Daughters’ founding, which also happened to be soon after

¹⁸⁹ Select Joint Comm. On Reconstruction, H.R. Rep. No. 30, pt. 5, at 16 (1866) (Inaugural Address of the Hon. D. S. Walker, Governor Elect, Delivered Before the General Assembly of the State of Florida, at Tallahassee, December 20, 1865).

¹⁹⁰ Karen Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 1.

Plessy vs. Ferguson ruled that “separate but equal” was lawful. The Supreme Court ruling allowed for southern states to uphold their strict regulations on the basis of race for almost all institutions. During this time many of the monuments were placed on courthouse grounds. White southerners were not ready to call their former slaves their equals, nor did they treat them as such. The ruling forced schools, community centers, and public places to be segregated. Many states already had laws known as “Jim Crow Laws” that restricted African American freedoms. Jim Crow lasted from the end of the Civil War to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This era did not just keep black people and white people segregated, but it also limited African Americans’ rights and privileges. States established laws that kept black citizens from voting or taking office. States also underfunded black schools and libraries, limiting the resources available to achieve an equal education.¹⁹¹

After the incorporation of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in 1919 the United States experienced two more spikes in Confederate memorial construction. The first occurred during moments of intense racial divide like the Red Summer race riots in 1919 followed by the destruction of the prominent black community Greenwood in Tulsa, Oklahoma, in 1921. In the years following the Great War, black citizens faced lynching and other scare tactics that resulted in hundreds of deaths. White supremacists wanted to remind black citizens returning from the war, that even though African Americans fought to defend America, the white population still viewed them as second-class citizens.

The next spike in construction happened from 1954, the year that *Brown vs. the Board of Education* overturned the Supreme Court’s ruling on *Plessy vs. Ferguson* desegregating schools, to the early 1970s. Many of the monuments for Confederate leaders arose in the form of schools

¹⁹¹ Leslie V. Tischauser, *Jim Crow Laws* (Denver: Abc-Cuo, LLC., 2012), 73, 193.

with their names. The Civil Rights movement was in full swing during the era and black citizens had a larger and more aggressive voice in social and political matters. Obviously, the founding members of the United Daughters of the Confederacy or other “memorial” groups did not erect these monuments. Their children and their grandchildren, born and molded by extremist white nationalist and supremacist groups honoring men they never met and a country to which they had never belonged, were responsible for their construction. CNN produced a chart showing the creation of the memorials from the beginning of the Civil War up to 2016 (see Appendix).

Inscriptions

Another difference commonly overlooked between memorials built before the twentieth century and memorials built afterwards is that of inscriptions found on the monuments. A frequent theme among early statues was remembrance and honor for those who died. In newer monuments, one may notice that they not only honor the fallen soldiers, but also the Confederate nation as well. Some monuments and memorials even defend the actions of rebel soldiers and leaders using the rhetorical memory of their forefathers and their fight for independence as mentioned earlier. Confederate obelisks or monuments typically read “These Men Died in Defense of the Principles of the Declaration of Independence,” “We Fought an Honest Fight. We Kept the Southron’s[sic] Faith. . . We Died for the Land We Loved,” or “Faithful Unto Death, They are Crowned with Immortal Glory.”¹⁹² Many monuments would have specific inscriptions dedicated to their State and would glorify their statesmen above other statesmen.¹⁹³ The fight to recognize states’ rights individually over a federalized government continued to develop into the twentieth century. The incredible number of monuments and their various inscriptions on these

¹⁹² Inscriptions on Civil War Monuments. Discussion in “Battlefield Preservation,” Civil War Talk (June 2013), <https://civilwartalk.com/threads/inscriptions-on-confederate-monuments.85120/>.

¹⁹³ Inscriptions on Civil War Monuments. Discussion in “Battlefield Preservation,” Civil War Talk (June 2013).

Confederate Memorials across the South follow a pattern of defense and patriotism disguised in the form of duty and service.

The Bartow County Confederate Memorial lies in Cartersville, Georgia. The United Daughters of the Confederacy erected it in 1908. It honors the men who served and the men who died from that county; in addition, the sandstone obelisk has a message at the bottom for future visitors:

Let Georgia, remember that the state taught them how to live and how to die; and that from her broken fortunes, she has preserved for her children, the priceless treasure of her memories, teaching all who may claim the same birth-right. that truth, virtue and patriotism endure forever.¹⁹⁴

The message then becomes personal when the engraving lists off a multitude of vicious actions taken by the Union army in Georgia and uses the singular pronoun “my”:

“[The Union] also murdered numerous of my Georgia ancestors along the way, leaving the survivors homeless and destitute.”¹⁹⁵

Yet, the statue was constructed to represent all who died and not one particular individual. The gallant narrative of white Southern men fighting for their rights and for the state they love so much permitted the Lost Cause myth to extend itself to the smaller communities that were devastated by the war. Bartow County, known as Cass County in 1860 (but the name was changed when the county’s namesake supported abolitionists) resided beside the Western and Atlantic Railroad that Confederates used at the beginning of the war as a supply line and was destroyed in 1864 by General William Sherman during his March to the Sea campaign.¹⁹⁶ The destruction to the town and surrounding areas, combined with the emancipation of twenty-five

¹⁹⁴ Bartow County Confederate Monument, Cartersville, Georgia, Smithsonian Art Inventory Sculptures (January 2015),

http://www.waymarking.com/waymarks/WMN8X6_Bartow_County_Confederate_Monument_Cartersville_GA.

¹⁹⁵ Bartow County Confederate Monument, Cartersville, Georgia.

¹⁹⁶ T. Conn Bryan, *Confederate Georgia* (Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 2009), 116.

percent of their population after the war, put Bartow County in economic distress that would take decades to repair. With few resources left, small areas like Bartow County depended on the generosity of LMAs for assistance with collecting and respectfully burying the dead. The women assisted veterans, widows, and orphans in these communities in the immediate years after the war.¹⁹⁷ As a consequence, when they requested to erect a memorial to the Confederates who died, they were met with little public interference from the small communities.

Location

The switch between erecting monuments for memory and erecting monuments for intimidation can be seen not only by the age, but also by the location of the memorials. In a 2017 special report produced by the Southern Poverty Law Center, it was revealed that over seven hundred Confederate monuments and memorials stand on *public* property spread throughout mostly the southeast region of the United States and over fifteen-hundred symbols of the Confederacy are observed on public lands, including flags, monuments, and days of remembrance.¹⁹⁸ More than half of the states in the country have a public memorial to the Confederacy including New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, all of which fought for the Union. They can also be found in states that did not yet exist at the time of the Civil War like New Mexico and Washington. How did these memorials make it to states outside the Confederacy and why are they on public lands? What was the argument behind them being erected on what would have been classified as “enemy territory”?

The North tolerated the South’s need to memorialize Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee and allowed southerners to pay homage to their leaders even in northern states. By doing so,

¹⁹⁷ Unite Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Seventh Annual Meeting* (Nashville: Press of Foster & Webb, Printers, 1901), 84.

¹⁹⁸ Booth Gunter and Jamie Kizzire, “Whose Heritage?: Public Symbols of the Confederacy,” special issue, *Southern Poverty Law Center* (2017): 10, https://www.splcenter.org/sites/default/files/com_whose_heritage.pdf.

Southerners assumed that people from the North were just as devastated by “negro domination” as they were. They believed Northerners wanted to demonstrate their “highest ethical principles” to further the supremacist cause by honoring the Confederate heroes.¹⁹⁹ There are close to one hundred tributes to former Confederate General Lee through the mediums of schools, monuments, roads, parks and government buildings. Interestingly enough, in 1866 Lee wrote a letter to another former General declaring that although the intentions behind building memorials to honor the men who fought was honorable, “the attempt in the present condition of the country, would have the effect of retarding, instead of accelerating its accomplishment; & of continuing, if not adding to, the difficulties under which the Southern people labour [sic].”²⁰⁰ Even one of the top leaders of the former Confederate nation knew the true motivations of erecting memorials in favor of the losing side. Erecting a statue of him in his honor in New York, Washington D.C., or along border states was an insult not just to the black community, but to the soldiers who fought against the Confederacy from both North and South. Men risked their lives in the country’s deadliest war fighting to preserve the Union and after their valiant efforts barely kept them alive, U.S. veterans were forced to allow the memorialization of their enemy to loom over them.

In the early post-war period, monuments and memorials were designed out of grief and commonly found in cemeteries. These structures remained simple and modest with the intention of commemorating the fallen soldiers.²⁰¹ The monuments came in different shapes and sizes, possibly taking form as a fountain, obelisk, arch, or an anonymous soldier. Local Ladies

¹⁹⁹ “Address by Seymour Stewart, Commander in Chief S.C.V., at Unveiling of the St. Louis Monument,” *Confederate Veteran* 23, no. 1 Nashville: Confederate Veteran Company (January 1915), 35-36.

²⁰⁰ Robert E. Lee to Thomas L. Rosser, December 1866. Lee Papers, University of Virginia Archives.

²⁰¹ F. Sheffield Hale, “Finding Meaning in Monuments: Atlanta History Center Enters Dialogue on Confederate Symbols,” *History News* 71, no 4 (Autumn 2016), 20.

Memorial Associations funded many of the projects, starting with grave markers and borders around the cemetery.²⁰²

Statues constructed after the turn of the century took on a different character. The newer monuments inclined to have a celebratory nature with a person deemed noteworthy to the Confederacy like CSA President Jefferson Davis or a famous war general sitting on top of a horse ready to ride into battle. They started making appearances on public lands. They could be found at courthouses, city parks, and institutions of higher knowledge. The above-mentioned Bartow County Confederate Memorial in Georgia can be found standing tall on the local courthouse grounds with its inscription that condemns the U.S. military and praises the state above federal authority. This theme is found among some of the seven hundred plus memorials and is not a uniform characteristic. The United Daughters of the Confederacy continued their cemetery beautification projects and placed headstones at unmarked graves and erected memorials in cemeteries that paled in comparison to the size of their public counterparts.²⁰³ Communities across the country praised the women for their kind and nurturing acts at cemeteries and for veterans, solidifying their position as memory keepers of the “War Between the States.”

The issue with putting Confederate memorials in public spaces was that not everyone wanted to remember the harsh and bitter times of the war, especially veterans who fought for the Union and the newly freed black community. Why then are there so many monuments in the public sphere? The answer depends on the perspective of the viewer. A white Southerners might say putting monuments in public would increase visibility and allow more people to appreciate

²⁰² Marielou Armstrong Cory, ed., *The Ladies' Memorial Association of Montgomery Alabama: Its Origins and Organization 1860-1870* (Montgomery: Alabama Printing Co., 1902), 41.

²⁰³ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Fourteenth Annual Convention* (Opelika, Alabama: Post Publishing Company, 1908), 307, 332.

the heroism of their ancestors and the ideals of the Confederacy. Another person might say a monument is on public grounds to increase visibility and spread the ideals of the South, including white supremacy. Not only are these statues on public grounds but they are on courthouse grounds. A courthouse serves as a place of justice that upholds the constitution for all American citizens. It is an institution designed for a speedy and public trial by impartial peers to determine if a citizen is innocent or guilty. One might expect to find a figure of Lady Justice on site holding a scale while blindfolded; but, many courthouses in the South are hosts to Confederate monuments constructed by the white elite to claim dominance over the justice system.

The UDC made it their goal to fill nearly every county in the South with a monument. States were erecting multiple memorials every year in the early 20th century with the goal of immortalizing their war heroes.²⁰⁴ These monuments were no longer about remembering the past but instead about creating a white supremacist future as evident by the graph found in Appendix. A surge of memorials was constructed after the Second World War and up to the 1980s, even though hundreds of Confederate memorials already existed. These newer monuments in the public served as a reminder to African Americans returning from the war that they were still second-class citizens as far as the white elite were concerned. They also were a reminder to federal legislatures and the President who passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that rights and privileges are issues for the state and were a minute reminder of what could happen if there is federal overreach. Monuments continued to be erected in the 21st century. The Southern Poverty Law Center's special report on public symbols of the Confederacy noted over seven-hundred statues and over one thousand and five hundred Confederate symbols on public grounds today.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁴ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Fourteenth Annual Convention*, 324.

²⁰⁵ Gunter and Kizzire, "Whose Heritage?: Public Symbols of the Confederacy."

Current Affairs

Throughout the century some citizens have cried out against symbols of the Confederacy in public spaces. Issues that arose tended to stay local. It was not until this decade when the debate reached national levels and forced many people to choose a side in favor of or against the monuments. On June 17th, 2015, white supremacist Dylann Roof killed nine African Americans during their Bible study at Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina, with the intentions of starting a race war.²⁰⁶ A multitude of pictures of Roof emerged in the media of the young man with Confederate memorabilia and guns. He also wore patches on his jacket of flags from Apartheid-era South Africa and Rhodesia. Typically, an act of terrorism unites the country in mourning; yet, there seems to be a different outcome when the victims are black. Instead of grieving, Americans began the heated discussion of whether Confederate symbols belonged in public spaces or not. Large corporations including Walmart, Amazon, eBay, and Sears pulled Confederate battle flags from their stores. This sparked outrage among pro-Confederate groups and white Southerners who again claimed that the symbols represented “heritage, not hate.”

Two years later in August 2017, a group made up of white nationalist, pro-Confederates, and Southern heritage groups protested the removal of a Robert E. Lee statue in Charlottesville, Virginia. Their weekend event called “Unite the Right” resulted in three deaths, one of which involved an act of terrorism when a white supremacist plowed his car into a group of counter-protesters injuring thirty-four others.²⁰⁷ The lack of an authoritative response from political leaders including President Donald Trump, who claimed that both sides were responsible for the

²⁰⁶ Wanda Parham-Payne, *The Intersection of Race and Gender in National Politics* (New York: Lexington Books, 2017), 122.

²⁰⁷ Peter Bergen, “Charlottesville Killing was an Act of Domestic Terrorism,” CNN (August 13, 2017), <https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/13/opinions/charlottesville-act-of-domestic-terrorism-bergen/index.html>.

outcomes, sparked a nationwide discussion on race relations and symbols of the Confederacy in public spaces.²⁰⁸ These two acts of terrorism plus the countless heinous and unprovoked crimes against the African American community ignited a political and moral debate about Confederate memorabilia that split the country in half. Unbeknownst to Dylann Roof, his actions did not cause a race war but instead his actions propelled “a grassroots movement to remove the [Confederate] flag from public spaces.”²⁰⁹

Confederate statues began to fall. A change was igniting. Sometimes legislative acts were required for these symbols to come down because of laws in place which protected the effigies. For example, South Carolina had enacted the S.C. Heritage Act of 2000 that protects the rebel flag and similar monuments on state grounds, requiring a two-thirds majority vote by the state legislature to allow any changes, even if it only involves removing a flag.²¹⁰ Thankfully the outcry and backlash over Roof’s terrible crime put South Carolina legislators to work and within one month they removed the Confederate flag from the state Capitol grounds after a majority vote from the Senate and Congress.²¹¹ This progressive moment ended a fifteen-year economic boycott placed on the state by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) that began when the Confederate flag was placed on top of the dome at the state capitol in 2000.²¹² Former NAACP President Cornell William Brooks applauded South Carolina legislators for finally removing the flag, but it was not enough. Current President Derrick Johnson declared that “theremnants[sic] of the Confederacy will continue to evoke hatred and

²⁰⁸ “President Trump News Conference,” *C-Span* video clip, 3:27, August 15, 2017, <https://www.c-span.org/video/?432633-1/president-trump-there-blame-sides-violence-charlottesville>.

²⁰⁹ Gunter and Kizzire, “Whose Heritage?: Public Symbols of the Confederacy.”

²¹⁰ South Carolina Heritage Act of 2000, GB 4895, 113th Sess, (2000).

²¹¹ Meghan Keneally, “SC Confederate Flag Taken Down From State Capitol in South Carolina,” *ABC NEWS* online (July 10, 2015), <https://abcnews.go.com/US/confederate-flag-state-capitol-south-carolina/story?id=32354059>.

²¹² “NAACP Votes to End its 15-year Economic Boycott of South Carolina,” *Jacksonville Free Press* (Jacksonville, Florida), July 16, 2005.

inspire domestic terrorism until they are removed.”²¹³ Local chapters of the NAACP continue to fight for the removal of Confederate symbols. Their website lists the current efforts being taken and encourages readers to join the movement by linking their social media accounts and spreading the messages.²¹⁴

States like North Carolina and Alabama actually passed laws protecting Confederate symbols *after* the Charleston church massacre. Power to remove a statue or flag (which were considered works of art) was in the hands of the state’s General Assembly and no longer in the power of local governance.²¹⁵ These protection laws did not stop a group of protesters from pulling down a Confederate statue with a rope in Durham, North Carolina, days after the terrorist attack in Charlottesville. The statue was erected in 1924 on courthouse grounds and organized by the United Daughters of the Confederacy.²¹⁶ Despite breaking the law, the district attorney dropped all charges of vandalism after a judge dismissed two cases and found one not guilty.²¹⁷ According to records, the city did not have enough evidence to prosecute the many people involved. With the tense political climate surrounding Confederate memorials and Durham in the national spotlight, it is a possibility that the judge let the vandals off because it was past time for the monument to come down.

Other cities and states took a different approach, acting before the public could make a media spectacle. For example, Catherine Pugh, the mayor of Baltimore, Maryland, took matters into her own hands and ordered the removal of four statues in her city. It happened suddenly

²¹³ Derrick Johnson, “Symbols of Hatred and Racism Should Not be Venerated,” NAACP, accessed May 31, 2018, <http://www.naacp.org/latest/symbols-hatred-racism-not-venerated/>.

²¹⁴ “When ‘Heritage’ Means Hate,” NAACP, accessed May 31, 2018, <http://www.naacp.org/field-resources/confederate-symbols/>.

²¹⁵ Approval and Protection of Monuments, Memorials, Works of Art, etc., N.C. G.S. §100-2.1 (2015).

²¹⁶ Graham, “How the Activists who Tore Down Durham’s Confederate Statue Got Away With It.”

²¹⁷ Alfred Charles, “Durham DA Drops all Charges in Confederate Monument Toppling Case,” WRAL video 2:25, posted by WRAL on February 22, 2018, <https://www.wral.com/durham-da-drops-charges-in-confederate-monument-toppling-case/17357447/>.

without public notice and in the middle of the night.²¹⁸ Nevertheless, the mayor needed approval from Maryland Historical Trust, a state agency, to remove the Robert E. Lee statue due to a 1984 contract that allowed monument decisions to be made by the trust. Given the history of vandalism against their own monuments and the recent attack at Charlottesville, Pugh believed it was her duty and right to protect her people by having the statues removed immediately.²¹⁹ “Rats run at night” was the UDC’s response made by Carolyn Billups, a former president of the Maryland chapter.²²⁰ Taking the monuments down in the middle of the night with no notice infuriated the former president who considered chaining herself up to one of the memorials.

The statues from Baltimore and Durham are currently held in temporary storage with only ideas and suggestions for their future.²²¹ The city of Baltimore wished to put them in the local Reginald F. Lewis Museum. Museum director Wanda Draper declared that they could not accept them due to limited space.²²² There may be another reason for denying the pieces. The Reginald F. Lewis Museum in Baltimore was dedicated to African American history and culture and their mission focused on contributions made by the black community in Maryland.²²³ Accepting the large Confederate memorial could have been a violation of the ethics code set in place by the American Alliance of Museums. Items collected should support a museum’s mission and policies as well as support the public it serves.²²⁴ The internal issues of whether or

²¹⁸ Fenit Nirappil, “Baltimore Hauls Away Four Confederate Monuments after Overnight Removal,” *Washington Post* (August 16, 2017), https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/md-politics/baltimore-begins-taking-down-confederate-statues/2017/08/16/f32aa26e-8265-11e7-b359-15a3617c767b_story.html?utm_term=.6052ddc14413.

²¹⁹ Nirappil, “Baltimore Hauls Away Four Confederate Monuments after Overnight Removal.”

²²⁰ Tim Prudente, “Former Daughters of the Confederacy Leader on Baltimore Monument Removal: ‘Rats run at Night,’” *Baltimore Sun* (August 16, 2017), <http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-confederacy-reaction-20170816-story.html>.

²²¹ Ian Duncan, “Baltimore Lacked Authority to Take Down Confederate Statues, and State Says it could — But won’t — Order them Restored,” *Baltimore Sun* (October 26, 2017).

²²² Duncan, “Baltimore Lacked Authority to Take Down Confederate Statues.”

²²³ Mission, Vision, & Values, Reginald F. Lewis Museum (accessed May 25, 2018), <http://www.lewismuseum.org/about/mission>.

²²⁴ Core Standards for Museums, American Alliance of Museums (accessed May 25, 2018), <https://www.aam-us.org/programs/ethics-standards-and-professional-practices/core-standards-for-museums/>.

not an artifact belongs at a museum and supports the mission plagues many cities and institutions.

Despite taking them down, city officials want to keep the memorials for various reasons as they try to work with their local museums. However, local history museums tend to be small in size and are already filled with artifacts leaving them unable to accept a large item that requires a tractor or crane to move. Baltimore and Durham were two of nearly thirty cities that removed or proposed removal of Confederate monuments after the riot in Charlottesville.²²⁵

Cities have asked universities to consider accepting the displaced statues but institutions of higher learning are reconsidering they way they portray history. There is a multitude of Confederate iconography at southern schools that takes the form of statues, permanent works of art like stained glass windows, and buildings named in honor of the Confederacy or a Confederate.

Chapter 2 discussed education reform by the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Their records show that their efforts extend past primary and secondary schools. The UDC held Confederate Essay contests that offered multiple scholarships worth thousands of dollars to the winners who wrote about the “true” history and culture of the South.²²⁶ The women filled public and university libraries with books like *The Ku Klux Klan* and “fifty-four volumes of Southern History and Literature.”²²⁷ They believed it helped students from the North better understand the “facts of Southern history” that they did not already learn from the “wonderful picture, ‘The Birth Of a Nation.’”²²⁸ They also set up endowment funds for scholarships, building projects,

²²⁵ Matthey Block, Morrigan McCarthy, Liam Stack, and Wilson Andrews, “Confederate Monuments are Coming Down Across the Unites States. Here’s a List,” *New York Times* online (August 28, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/08/16/us/confederate-monuments-removed.html>

²²⁶ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Convention* (Richmond: Richmond Press, 1918), 68.

²²⁷ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Convention*, 394, 506.

²²⁸ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Convention*, 394, 506.

and educational programs so that schools had better resources to accept more students.²²⁹

Incoming students had the option to stay in dormitories that were created or sponsored by the UDC in the early twentieth century.²³⁰ As a consequence, when wealthy donor groups like the UDC wished to erect a memorial to commemorate aspects of the Confederacy on public grounds, they met minimal resistance in the early 20th century. Today, any potential discussion or action taken by universities regarding these memorials is hindered by school politics because of the contributions made by elite white Southerners.

About twenty miles away from the dismantled Confederate statue in Durham, North Carolina, is the University of North Carolina (UNC) in Chapel Hill. This prominent university is one of the oldest public colleges in the country and is home to yet another Confederate statue funded by the United Daughters of the Confederacy and university alumni. Silent Sam (he was silent because no cartridge box was included in the construction so he could not shoot his weapon) was erected in 1913 and still stands in the upper quadrant of campus.²³¹ Students through the years have cried out against the meaning and symbolism of the statue since not all the soldiers from the school fought for the Confederacy and the controversial dedication speech made by Julian Carr still makes people uneasy. Carr, an alumnus and Confederate veteran, credited Confederate soldiers with saving the white race and criticized the current (1913) generation for not fully understanding that concept, hence the reason for the statue.²³² In his next statement, he bragged that he had “horse-whipped a negro wench until her skirts hung in shreds” just a few meters away from the location of the figure. He called this deed a “pleasing duty” and

²²⁹ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Convention*, 282.

²³⁰ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Fourteenth Annual Convention* (Opelika, Alabama: Post Publishing Company, 1908), 12.

²³¹ Julian S. Carr, “Unveiling of Confederate Monument at University. June 2, 1913” in the Julian Shakespeare Carr Papers #141, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

²³² Carr, “Unveiling of Confederate Monument at University.”

pardoned himself for it in his speech.²³³ The statue has stood for over a century but not without new controversies.

The University of North Carolina had to question if protecting Silent Sam from frequent acts of vandalism was worth the cost. UNC and other universities also have to wonder if punishing students for actions that are largely supported by their peers and community is worth the hassle. These problems are prevalent at institutions that have not taken action yet. The Division I school consistently works with city police for security at sporting and social events, paying the county tens of thousands of dollars. Chapel Hill police Chief Chris Blue went on record saying that “we do not have any responsibility for or to Silent Sam,” suggesting that the police wish to stay out of university social matters.²³⁴ Nonetheless, UNC paid nearly fifteen thousand dollars to the Sheriff’s Office for help with a Silent Sam protest in November 2017, not to mention their security detail at events include preventing and stopping acts of vandalism.²³⁵ It is important to note that members of the faculty, administration, and student body wish to take down the monument, but North Carolina law prevents them from doing so without permission from the General Assembly.²³⁶ Remember that North Carolina passed a law protecting “works of art” like Confederate memorials after the massacre by Dylann Roof in 2015.²³⁷

The Daughters have mostly remained silent regarding the removal or potential removal of their Confederate memorials, largely thanks to states’ legislation that requires intensive reviews and a majority consensus before actions can be taken. The response from the Daughters to sites that intend to remove monuments have been mixed. A chapter in Gainesville, Florida, did not

²³³ Carr, “Unveiling of Confederate Monument at University.”

²³⁴ Tammy Grubb, “Should Chapel Hill End Police Partnerships with UNC until Silent Sam is Removed?,” *Herald Sun* (May 14, 2008).

²³⁵ Grubb, “Should Chapel Hill End Police Partnerships with UNC until Silent Sam is Removed?.”

²³⁶ Ana Irizarry, “Folt to Ask Gov. Cooper to petition for Removal of Silent Sam, says anonymous Faculty Group,” *Daily Tar Heel* (February 27, 2018).

²³⁷ Approval and Protection of Monuments, Memorials, Works of Art, etc., G.S. § 100-2.1 (2015).

protest or fight the removal of a Confederate statue nicknamed “Old Joe.” Workers hired by the Daughters removed it on August 14, 2017, just days after the incident in Charlottesville.²³⁸ The decision to remove the statue was made before the occurrence and the UDC responded to the removal with a six-worded letter to the city: “We accept the Confederate Soldier Statue.”²³⁹ The Daughters realized the monument would come down eventually. Rather than an angry mob tearing down and breaking apart the memorial, the women removed it themselves so that they would remain owners of the piece.

Other chapters have acted more aggressively towards cities or institutions they believe have wronged them. The UDC sued Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee, after the school wished to change the name of a building. In 1933 the UDC raised and donated \$50,000 to the school for a new dormitory to be built where female descendants of Confederate soldiers could stay rent-free.²⁴⁰ The donation came with the stipulation that the Daughters owned the naming rights calling the dorm, Confederate Memorial Hall and inscribing the title across the large entryway. Chancellor Nicholas S. Zeppos took issue with the structure and its meaning upon his arrival at Vanderbilt as a law professor in 1987.²⁴¹ The Chancellor stated that the Confederate Memorial Hall “spoke to a past of racial segregation, [and] slavery,” and did not coincide with their mission “to find union and healing after the bloodshed of the Civil War.”²⁴²

The Daughters claimed the building and inscription on the dorm was “not a symbol of racial

²³⁸ Andrew Caplan, “Confederate Statue Removed from Downtown Gainesville,” *Gainesville Sun* online, (August 14, 2017), <http://www.gainesville.com/news/20170814/confederate-statue-removed-from-downtown-gainesville>.

²³⁹ Nancy Markham Miller to Board of County Commissioners, July 12, 2017, <http://www.gainesville.com/assets/pdf/gainesville/LK1320721.PDF>.

²⁴⁰ Tennessee Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy v. Vanderbilt University, 173 S.W.3d 98 (Tenn. Ct. App. 2005).

²⁴¹ Elizabeth Latt, “Vanderbilt to Remove ‘Confederate’ Inscription from Residence Hall,” on *Vanderbilt News* online (August 15, 2016), <https://news.vanderbilt.edu/2016/08/15/vanderbilt-will-remove-confederate-inscription-from-residence-hall/>.

²⁴² Latt, “Vanderbilt to Remove ‘Confederate’ Inscription from Residence Hall.”

intolerance. . .and Vanderbilt’s decision to remove it is nothing less than an attempt to rewrite history in a manner that demeans its members’ ancestors.”²⁴³ The chair of the Board of Trust, Shirley Collado, responded, “While we recognize and study our past, the considerations of our present and our future must guide our decision making.”²⁴⁴

In 2002, Vanderbilt University attempted to rename the dormitory Memorial Hall in recognition of all those who lost their lives fighting for the United States. The Tennessee Division of the UDC sued the school for breaching its contract made seventy years earlier. The Daughters claimed they kept up their end of the deal (raising and donating the initial funds), and the University needed to do the same. Early on, the court ruled that forcing Vanderbilt to honor the agreement was “impractical and unduly burdensome” and granted the university’s motion to change the name.²⁴⁵ The Daughters appealed. After years of trial and appeal, a 2005 Tennessee Court of Appeals allowed the school to change the name and inscription if it returned the “gift” given by the UDC with consideration to inflation. It increased the \$50,000 gift in 1933 to \$700,000 in 2005.²⁴⁶

The school refused to pay the United Daughters of the Confederacy out of their own funds. Vanderbilt already invested \$2.5 million in renovations for the dormitory in the late 1980s, without any assistance from the UDC.²⁴⁷ Refusing to pay required the University to maintain the name “Confederate Memorial Hall.” The school found ways around it by simply

²⁴³ Tennessee Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy v. Vanderbilt University, 173 S.W.3d 98 (Tenn. Ct. App. 2005).

²⁴⁴ Latt, “Vanderbilt to Remove ‘Confederate’ Inscription from Residence Hall.”

²⁴⁵ Tennessee Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy v. Vanderbilt University, 173 S.W.3d 98 (Tenn. Ct. App. 2005).

²⁴⁶ W.A. Drennan, “Conspicuous Philanthropy: Reconciling Contract and Tax Laws,” *American University Review* 66, no 6 (2017), 1323-1382.

²⁴⁷ Drennan, “Conspicuous Philanthropy: Reconciling Contract and Tax Laws.”

referring to the dorm as Memorial Hall on pamphlets and in speech.²⁴⁸ That is until 2016 when anonymous donations were made to the University for the purpose of removing “Confederate” from the name. The eleven years between 2005 and 2016 increased the gift’s value to \$1.2 million.²⁴⁹ The massacre in Charleston and the debate it sparked about Confederate flags and symbols in public space most likely inspired the generous donation. In May 2017, Vanderbilt University finally removed the inscription “Confederate” from its dormitory. Chancellor Zeppos knew that more needed to be done to bring these issues of race and location to light. He initiated an annual conference centered around “race, reconciliation, and reunion,” beginning in 2018 in the hopes of continuing racial reconciliation for the nation.²⁵⁰

Relocation

This chapter mentioned that local history museums tend to be small in size and are unable to accommodate large structures like statues that weigh hundreds to thousands of pounds. But what about larger museums? One must not be fooled by size because a museum’s size does not always equate to available storage space. One museum may have five thousand more square feet available to them, but most likely, they also have a thousand more artifacts that need storage or placement. For every one artifact on display, there could be twenty to one hundred hidden behind the curtain in the storage vaults. Museums are held to certain standards, preferably the ones set by the American Alliance of Museums. Collecting items that support the museum’s mission is not the only obstacle that stands in the way of institutions accepting large memorials. There is also a facilities and risk management code of standards that asks museums

²⁴⁸ Mia Hall, “Vanderbilt Returns Donation, Axes ‘Confederate’ From Residence Hall Name,” *NBC News* online (August 16, 2016), <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/vanderbilt-returns-donation-axes-confederate-hall-name-n631861>.

²⁴⁹ N. Orttung, “Vanderbilt to remove ‘Confederate’ from Name of Dorm: Why now?,” *Christian Science Monitor* (August 16, 2016).

²⁵⁰ Hall, “Vanderbilt Returns Donation, Axes ‘Confederate’ From Residence Hall Name.”

to make sure they are using their space responsibly and safely.²⁵¹ Many of the outlandish statues funded by the UDC could pose a safety risk at smaller institutions. This begs the question: what should a museum accept and should they display objects that people do not wish to see in public? The answer depends on the mission of the museum and the people they serve.

Museums receive donations on a regular basis. Many people donate what they inherited or the belongings of an older relative that is no longer with them. They believe their museum needs another hundred-year-old tea set and are sometimes disappointed or upset when it is not on display the next month.²⁵² Essentially, they are using a museum as a way to preserve their personal history so they do not have to store it themselves. The Smithsonian is trying to change this view, as well as other museums operating in the twenty-first century. Institutions are “striving hard to expand their reach, shift their focus and repair their popular perception as public warehouses primarily in the cold storage business for art and artifacts.”²⁵³ With this in mind, some museums turn away Confederate statues like the African American History and Culture museum in Baltimore and the Smithsonian that claimed they have enough artifacts in their collections to properly portray the Civil War, the civil rights movement, and the times in between.²⁵⁴ Other institutions strategize to create a narrative or interpretation that fits their mission and the needs of the public.

One museum that successfully accepted and interpreted a statue of Jefferson Davis was the Dolph Briscoe Center for American History at the University of Texas in Austin.

²⁵¹ Core Standards for Museums, American Alliance of Museums.

²⁵² Azmina Jasani, “The Art of Deaccessioning by Museums,” *Trusts & Estates* (March 2018), A15, Retrieved from <http://vortex3.uco.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.vortex3.uco.edu/docview/2021246961?accountid=14516.a>

²⁵³ Janeen Bryant, Benjamin Filene, Louis Nelson, Jennifer Scot, and Suzanne Seriff, “Are Museums the Right Home for Confederate Monuments?,” *Smithsonian Magazine* online (May 7, 2008), <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/are-museums-right-home-confederate-monuments-180968969/>.

²⁵⁴ Max Kutner, “As Confederate Statues Fall, the Group Behind Most of Them Stays Quiet,” *Newsweek* August 8, 2017.

The Davis statue and other Confederate statues have overlooked the campus since 1933, after being commissioned in 1919.²⁵⁵ In 2015, after the Charleston massacre, the one-ton Davis statue was removed but the Confederate statues of General Robert E. Lee, General Albert Sidney Johnston, and the Postmaster General John H. Reagan still stand on campus. Viewing the eight-and-a-half-foot-tall figure of Davis as a piece of art, the center’s executive director, Don Carleton gladly accepted the piece.²⁵⁶

Considering all the controversy that surrounds Confederate monuments, the center needed to create a universal educational experience without the overwhelming sense of honoring a traitor. The Dolph Briscoe Center revealed their new permanent exhibit in early 2017 titled “From Commemoration to Education.”²⁵⁷ The exhibit uses artifacts found in the collections like letters, diaries, and original sketches to tell the creation of the monument and why the campus decided to move it. The surrounding artifacts reveal that controversy surrounded these monuments before they were even erected. A professor wrote in 1921 “How can a group composed of men from only one section stand for a united nation?”²⁵⁸ People still ask this question today when they find Confederate memorials on public or federal grounds. The monument to Jefferson Davis technically still stands on campus for the pleasure—and education—of the public. Adding context focusing on the creation and removal of the statue attempts to help the populace understand the issues and accept its presence.

What if a statue cannot be moved to a museum? Can you bring the museum to the statue?

Architectural history professor Louis Nelson believes in creating open-air museums with

²⁵⁵ Anusha Lalani, “Jefferson Davis Statue Reaches Briscoe Center,” *Daily Texan* online (April 9, 2017), <http://www.dailytexanonline.com/2017/04/09/jefferson-davis-statue-reaches-briscoe-center>.

²⁵⁶ Rick Jervis, “When a Bronze Confederate needed to Retire, University of Texas found a Home,” *USA Today* online (August 19, 2017), <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/2017/08/18/confederate-statue-retirement-home/580041001/>.

²⁵⁷ Lalani, “Jefferson Davis Statue Reaches Briscoe Center.”

²⁵⁸ Lalani, “Jefferson Davis Statue Reaches Briscoe Center.”

architects, landscape architects, and public historians working together.²⁵⁹ The premise sounds like a fair compromise in the debate surrounding these controversial monuments. It then begs the question: what information will be shared to the public about the memorial? Nelson stated the narrative should reveal that these monuments built after the late eighteenth century are Jim Crow monuments and not Civil War monuments. “The conversation should not be about Robert E. Lee’s virtues or failures, but about the social and political environment of the 1910s that saw fit to erect monuments in the first place.”²⁶⁰ It is doubtful that pro-Confederate heritage groups and individuals would accept this concept. Proudful Southerners already believe that their Confederate ancestors are already disrespected when people say that the CSA fought to maintain slavery. Providing context claiming that the next generation built memorials for racial dominance instead of memorialization would most likely not appeal to pro-Confederates that want the memorials to remain in public.

Whatever solution a city decides for its monuments, evidence shows that they must clearly think it through and make a plan for what happens to the monument after it is taken down. City officials in New Orleans announced that displaced Confederate memorials would be securely stored in city warehouses until a proposal from an outside party seeking them is accepted. They removed four Confederate statues, including one of Gen. Robert E. Lee, in May 2017. Hours after the city took them down, two of the four remains were found in a stock yard next to scrap metal.²⁶¹ People passing by could clearly see one of the statues and were able to

²⁵⁹ Louis Nelson, interview by the *International Coalition of Sites of Conscience* online, May 2017, <https://www.sitesofconscience.org/en/2017/05/the-end-of-an-era-on-history-context-and-confederate-monuments/>.

²⁶⁰ Nelson, interview, May 2017.

²⁶¹ Jeff Adelson, “New Orleans Confederate Monuments: Mitch Landrieu reveals Plans for Statues’ Future, Replacements, More,” *New Orleans Advocate* online (May 18, 2017), http://www.theadvocate.com/new_orleans/news/article_5a907a62-3c40-11e7-82b4-6343fdf146a6.html.

access the yard freely through the unlocked gate.²⁶² This sparked a fire storm on social media platforms criticizing New Orleans mayor Mitch Landrieu and calling for a boycott of the city by tourists.²⁶³

Conclusion

The United Daughters of the Confederacy established an extensive strategy to revive, commemorate, and vindicate white Southern ideals for future generations. It seems fair to say that they were successful because people today are still debating the representation and symbolism of Confederate symbols in the public arena. The Daughters perpetuated the Lost Cause narrative through their work in education reform for white students and their sponsorship of public memorials. They claimed the memorials were to represent their ancestors who honorably fought for the Confederate States of America.²⁶⁴ Factors like the age and location of a monument, as well as, the inscription on it suggest that honor was not the intention behind building the memorials. Many of the monuments were built after the turn of the twentieth century during times of intense racial divide like the era of Jim Crow and the civil rights movement. These monuments can largely be found on public grounds, including court houses, where they loom over African American citizens who wish to seek justice in a fair trial.

American citizens had begun to rethink the Lost Cause narrative and what Confederate memorials represented before the two incidents in Charlottesville and Charleston. Members of the American Civil Liberties Union recognized that “Confederate monuments were built to commemorate the institution of slavery and its ongoing legacies of white supremacy and racism,

²⁶² Greg LaRose, “P.G.T. Beauregard Statue in Plain View After Removal.” *Times-Picayune* online (May 17, 2017), http://www.nola.com/politics/index.ssf/2017/05/pgt_beauregard_statue_in_plain.html

²⁶³ Confederate Facebook Page, accessed May 31, 2018, <https://www.facebook.com/confederateCSA/photos/a.1466972686950077.1073741826.1466972643616748/1791979944449348/?type=3>.

²⁶⁴ United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division, *Minutes of the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting* (Gastonia, N.C.: Brumley-Walters Printing Co., 1921), 63.

and have no place being glorified in our public spaces.”²⁶⁵ Potential removal of statues had sparked outrage among the children who grew up with UDC approved textbooks and argued that monuments represent the heroes who fought for their rights. The Daughters have successfully created the next generation of Confederate sympathizers who argue that removing memorials is an attempt to rewrite or erase history.²⁶⁶ In reality, statues are not a form of documentation and reexamining history is not rewriting history. If a city removes a statue or another Confederate symbol, the dominant narrative of white supremacy during the Civil War would remain the same. People who cry out against the monuments are not trying to create a new history, but instead, they acknowledge that there are additional narratives that can disprove how honorable a Confederate soldier was.

How have the United Daughters of the Confederacy responded to the recent public outcry and desire to take down Confederate monuments? Hesitantly. Leaders from various UDC chapters remained silent in the weeks following the Charlottesville terrorist attack claiming that they do not have a media spokesperson to speak on their behalf.²⁶⁷ Nine days later the President General of the UDC, Patricia M. Bryson released a statement on behalf of current and past members:

We are grieved that certain hate groups have taken the Confederate flag and other symbols as their own. We are the descendants of Confederate soldiers, sailors, and patriots. Our members are the ones who have spent 123 years honoring their memory by various activities in the fields of education, history and charity, promoting patriotism and good citizenship. Our members are the ones who, like our statues, have stayed quietly in the background, never engaging in public controversy.

²⁶⁵ Marjorie R. Esman, “ACLU of Louisiana Praises Caddo Parish Committee for Voting to Remove Confederate Monument,” ALCU of Louisiana, accessed May 31, 2018, <https://www.laclu.org/en/news/aclu-louisiana-praises-caddo-parish-committee-voting-remove-confederate-monument>.

²⁶⁶ Jesse Holland, “Rally Accelerates Removal Of Confederate Statues,” *Chronicle-Herald* (Halifax, N.S.), August 16, 2017, A10.

²⁶⁷ Peter Galuszka, “The Women who Erected Confederate Statues are Stunningly Silent,” *Washington Post*, October 13, 2017.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy totally denounces any individual or group that promotes racial divisiveness or white supremacy. And we call on these people to cease using Confederate symbols for their abhorrent and reprehensible purposes.

We are saddened that some people find anything connected with the Confederacy to be offensive. Our Confederate ancestors were and are Americans. . . Join us in denouncing hate groups and affirming that Confederate memorial statues and monuments are part of our shared American history and should remain in place.²⁶⁸

There was no mention or condolences shared for the lives lost at both the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal massacre in Charleston, South Carolina, and the attack on counter-protestors in Charlottesville, Virginia. The above statement contradicts the many pro-white statements made by UDC members found in their records mentioned in chapter two. The Confederate flag used by the UDC is the same one used by white supremacist groups which the Daughters supposedly denounce. The women ought to be specific on when they condemned these hate groups because in 1926 a chapter in North Carolina erected a memorial to the Ku Klux Klan.²⁶⁹ The UDC itself is not listed as a hate group. Their position as white and wealthy women who took on a maternal role and their lack of violent acts excuses them from being considered a hate group despite their prejudice and white supremacist views. The Daughters' memberships have been decreasing throughout the century. Historian Karen Cox attributes this occurrence to women furthering their education and entering the workforce. Also, the growing distance between current members and their ancestors who fought in the Civil War is another factor for

²⁶⁸ Patricia M. Bryson, "Statement from the President General, 08-21-2017," accessed May 22, 2018, <https://www.hqudc.org>.

²⁶⁹ Greg Huffman, "The Group Behind Confederate Monuments Also Built a Memorial to the Klan," *Facing South*, <https://www.facingsouth.org/2018/06/group-behind-confederate-monuments-also-built-memorial-klan>.

the diminishing association.²⁷⁰ The UDC refused to give information about their current membership numbers when requested.

Conclusion

The United Daughters of the Confederacy had an indirect effect on the way historical plantation sites along the River Road in Louisiana present antebellum history today. They also had a direct influence regarding Confederate memorials in public spaces and arguments used to defend the monuments today.

The women believed God called upon them to commemorate and honor the Southerners who fought in the Civil War.²⁷¹ While doing so, they created their own narrative of history which mimicked aspects of the Lost Cause theory. To reiterate, the theory suggests the South was destined to lose to the North because the Union had access to more resources including weapons and soldiers. Nonetheless, southern gentleman went to war against the federal government in order to protect their rights and property, which included their right to own slaves. Although, only a small percentage of the Confederate Army soldiers possessed slaves. The majority believed the enslaved preferred bondage and were content with their lives.

The Daughters used religious and patriotic rhetoric to explain the war and the issue of slavery to white children in the South. The UDC led their descendants to believe rebelling against an overbearing government was patriotic and God did not condemn slavery.²⁷² They put

²⁷⁰ Max Kutner, "As Confederate Statues Fall, the Group Behind Most of Them Stays Quiet," *Newsweek* (August 25, 2017), <http://www.newsweek.com/united-daughters-confederacy-statues-monuments-udc-653103>.

²⁷¹ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Nashville: Press of Foster and Webb, 1897), 4.

²⁷² United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Sixth Annual Meeting* (Nashville: Press of Foster & Webb, 1900) 74; "Does the Bible Condemn Slavery?," *Confederate Veteran Magazine* 23, no 10, Nashville: Confederate Veteran Company (October, 1915), 444.

these notions into school text books in order to share the “true” history of the South and its people.²⁷³ The self-pro-claimed apolitical group reached out to politicians and state-level groups to persuade them into believing Southern children needed a more “inclusive” and “untarnished” history of their region.²⁷⁴ These new textbooks emphasized the bucolic plantation life where people subsisted in harmony, even the enslaved, before the war. Their educational efforts promoted white supremacist beliefs and demoralized black citizens and former slaves.

These same aspects which the Daughters promoted of the antebellum South can be found at many plantation sites today. The sites incline to present an ethereal setting with a magnificent Big House, beautiful landscape, and a focus on the slave-owning family. While there is nothing wrong with a historical site depicting beauty and grandeur in order to bring in patrons, the lack of acknowledgment for the enslaved community is troublesome. This is practiced at approximately all the private for-profit plantations along the River Road in Louisiana and a few of the private non-profit and public historical institutions.

These private plantations like the Houmas House and the Myrtles Plantation are owned by a single owner who decided to open the property to the public so others might enjoy its wonders. They operate as businesses which offer venue spaces, lodging, and tours. For-profit sites do not typically have museum quality exhibits. As mentioned in chapter three all for-profit plantation sites employed symbolic annihilation or trivialization of slavery and black history according to Eichstedt and Small’s 2002 study.²⁷⁵ While exhibits might have changed over time and new information may have been discovered, my research suggests Eichstedt and Small’s

²⁷³ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Convention* (Richmond: Richmond Press, Inc., 1918), 223.

²⁷⁴ United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Convention*, 195.

²⁷⁵ Jennifer Eichstedt and Stephen Small, *Representations of Slavery: Race and Ideology in Southern Plantation Museums* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 2002), 65.

statement remains accurate. Private for-profit plantations implement an injustice to the hundreds of slaves who labored on site and the thousands of slaves who toiled in Louisiana by enticing tourists through ghost stories which disregard the atrocities of slavery.

Private nonprofit plantations attempt to interpret slavery in various ways. Some sites have success while others mimic the capitalistic style of for-profit plantations. For example, the San Francisco Plantation in Garyville, Louisiana, invites guests to “relive the glory days of the Sugar Barons,” and experience the “splendor of a bygone era.”²⁷⁶ They also operate as a popular venue for weddings and portrait photography. Nonetheless, they do provide an inclusive history on their tours and website, including a slave registry.

A key difference which separates the different types of plantations is the presence of a mission statement. The private for-profit sites researched do not have a mission statement. This includes Nottaway Plantation, Houmas House, Poche Plantation, St. Joseph Plantation, Evergreen Plantation, and Ormond Plantation, all along the River Road. Nonprofit sites, on the other hand typically have a mission statement asserting their historical and community purpose. A statement of purpose is required by the IRS in order to reach tax-exempt status. Oak Alley has theirs posted on their website, while San Francisco Plantation, Destrehan Plantation, Laura Plantation, and Whitney Plantation do not reveal their mission statements online. The two public sites studied are part of a larger operation. The Louisiana Office of State Parks manages the Oakley Plantation and the Recreation and Park Commission for East Baton Rouge Parish (BREC) operates the Magnolia Mound Plantation. These organizations’ mission statements encompass all they manage, not just the plantation property.

²⁷⁶ Visiting San Francisco Plantation: A Return to Elegance, San Francisco Plantation, <http://www.sanfranciscoplantation.org/san-francisco-plantation-tours/>.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy's influence over memory and history is not just present at historical plantation sites. The women sponsored a multitude of Confederate memorials throughout the century. Ladies Memorial Associations started honoring the fallen soldiers by clearing grave sites, providing head stones, and placing a monument in the form of an obelisk or fountain in the cemetery. When the Daughters emerged thirty years later, they entered the public sphere and began positioning memorials on public grounds.

A public memorial sounds harmless. However, the intentions behind these monuments has a more malevolent meaning. Confederate memorials sponsored by the UDC played an intimidating role to the African American community and vindicated their own Confederate values. Many of the statues consist of a nameless soldier in uniform and were cheaply made from bronze or zinc. This makes it easy for protesters to topple a monument, like the one in Durham, North Carolina, compared to one made of marble or granite. The use of a generic Confederate soldier allowed many white Southerners, whose ancestors fought for the CSA, to feel personally connected to the statue and honored by its presence.

I believe my research could benefit those who study Southern history and public history. It provides a base of knowledge for interpreting Confederate memorials through evaluating their age, location, and inscription. This thesis also examines the United Daughters of the Confederacy and their efforts which nurtured white supremacist values in children. These children, therefore, grew up to promote these ideals through historic preservation at plantations in Louisiana. Similar white-dominant narratives of gallant heroes, economic harmony, and happy slaves which coincide with characteristics of the Lost Cause theory are present throughout both plantations and the UDC's educational agenda.

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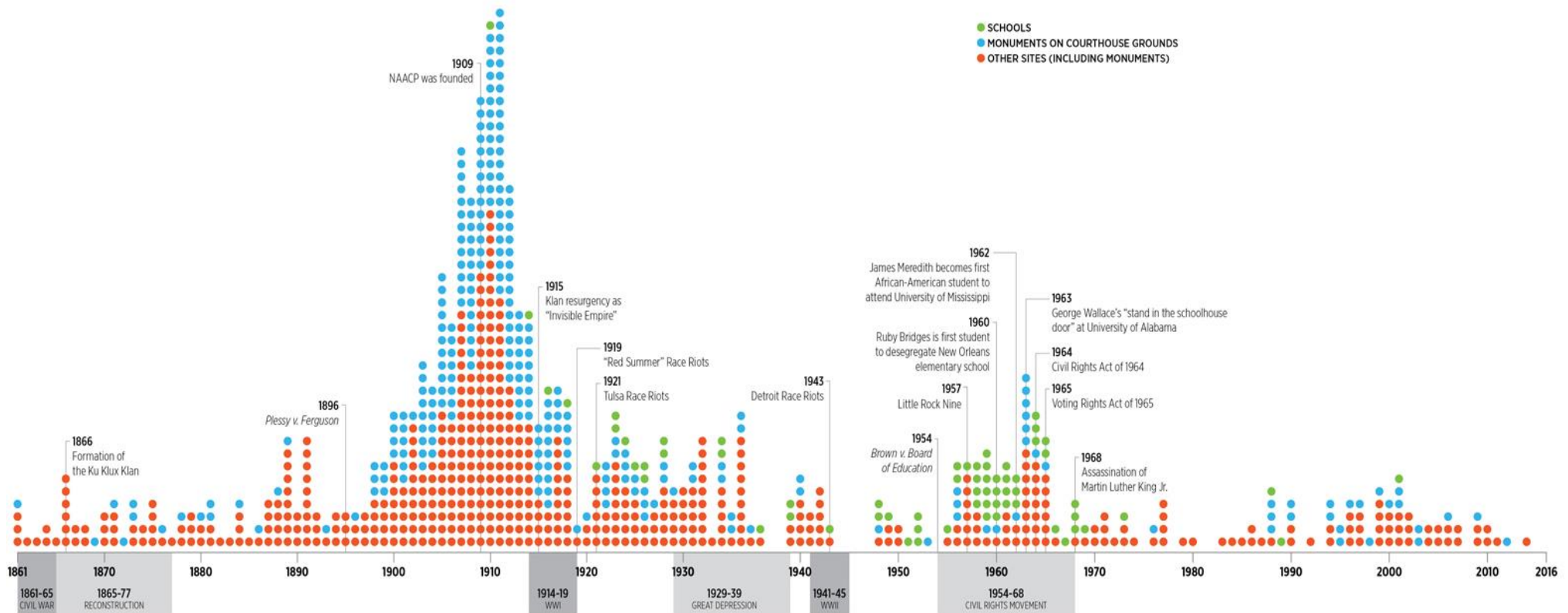
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Appendix

Graph of Confederate Memorial Construction



Source: Saeed Ahmed, "There are Certain Moments in US History when Confederate Monuments Go Up," CNN (August 16, 2017), <https://www.cnn.com/2017/08/16/us/confederte-monuments-backlash-chart-trnd/index.html>