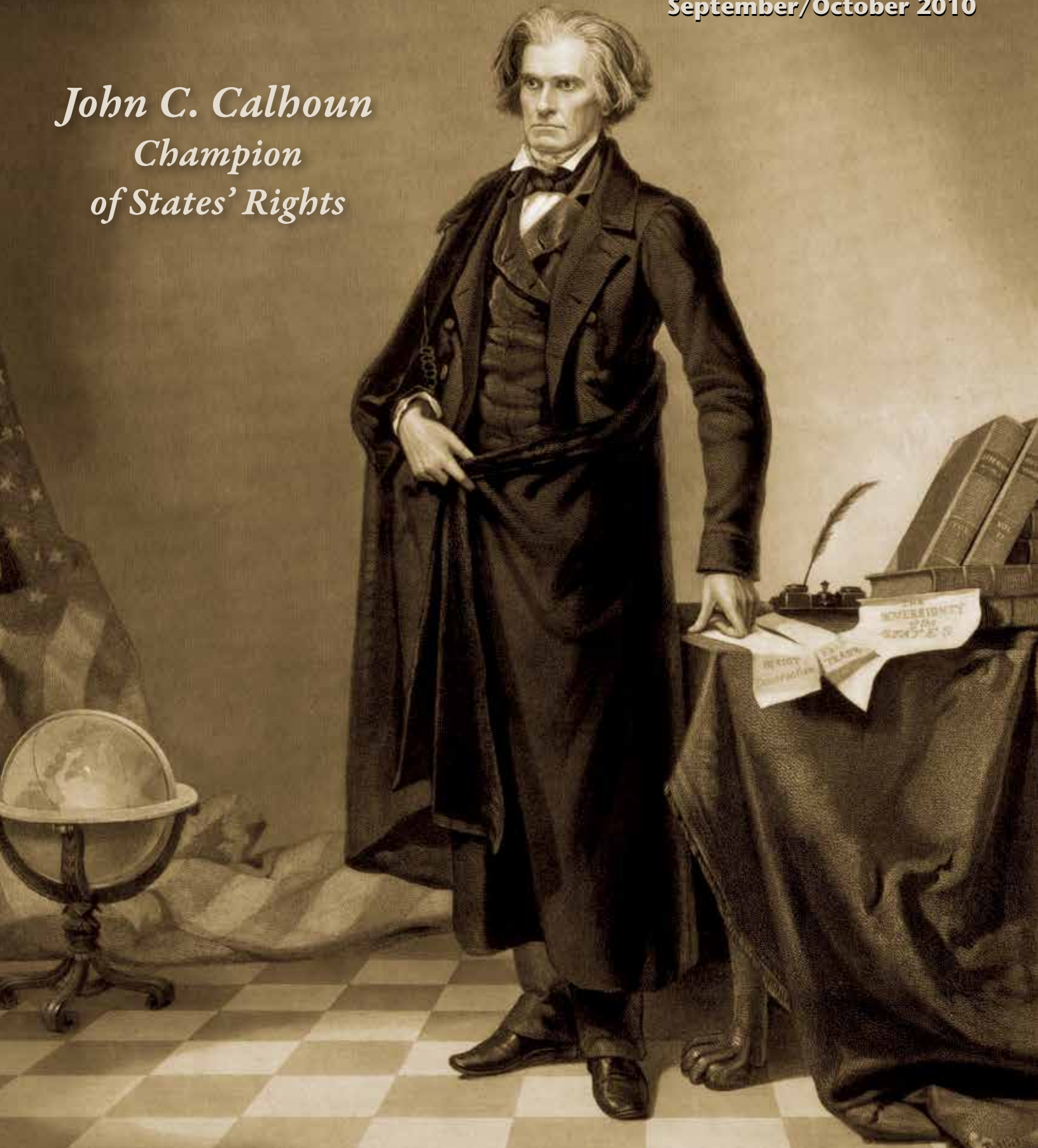


Confederate Veteran.

September/October 2010

*John C. Calhoun
Champion
of States' Rights*



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THE INTEREST OF CONFEDERATE
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S. A. Cunningham

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Official Journal of the
Sons of Confederate Veterans

*Though men deserve, they may not win, success;
The brave will honor the brave, vanquished none the less.*

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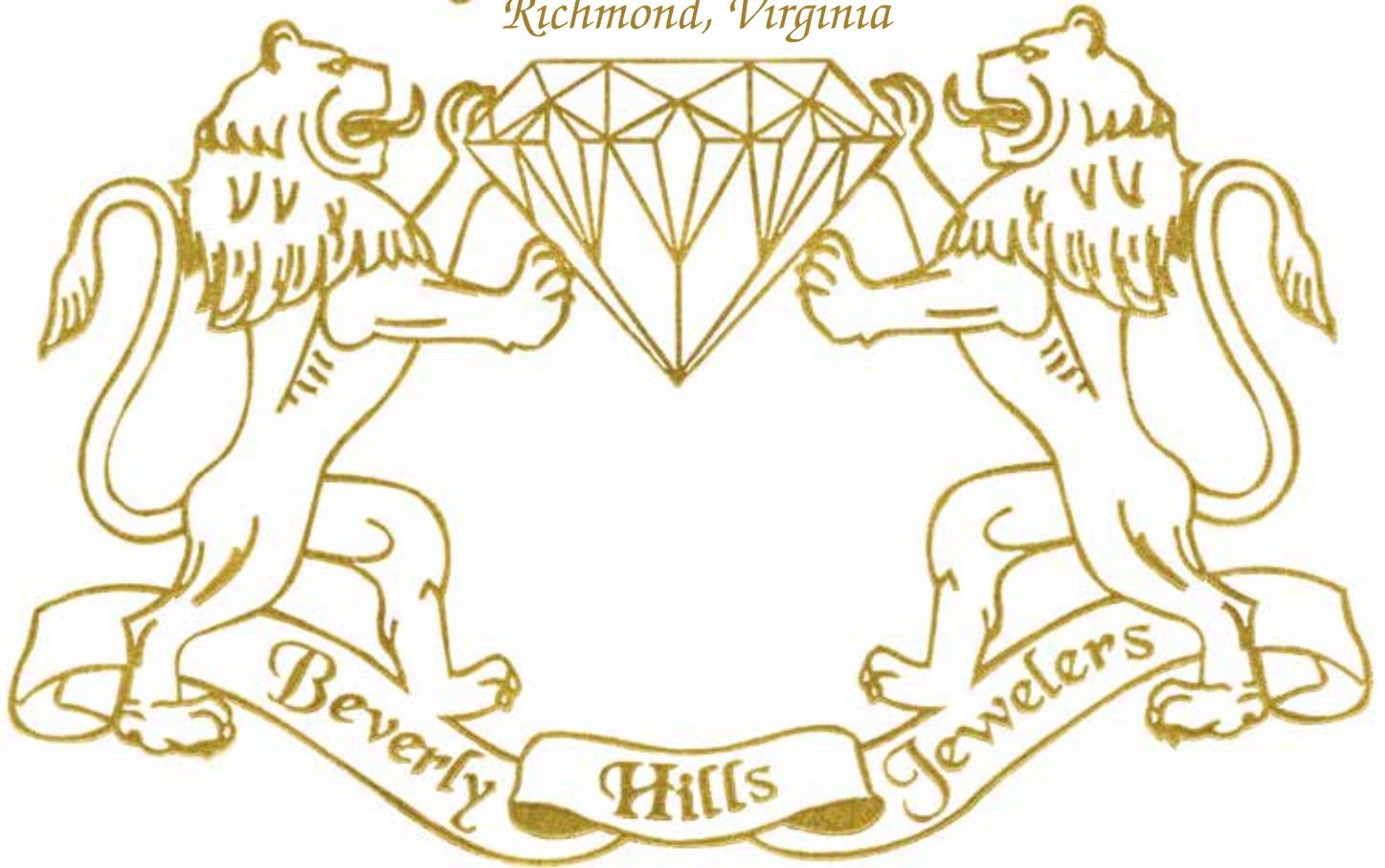
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ON THE COVER — John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, champion of States' Rights and defender of the South. — *From the Library of Congress.*

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Confederate Veteran.

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FROM THE EDITOR



Photo by John Gregory

Thanks to everyone who spoke with me at our recent National Reunion in Anderson, SC, about the new look of your *Confederate Veteran* magazine. All the comments were very positive and I'm happy you're pleased with our efforts. As I told a lot of you, each issue should be better than the last, a goal we will all work diligently to achieve. Thanks again for all your kind words and encouragement.

As you will read in Commander-in-Chief Michael Givens' column on the next page, changes are in store for future issues of the *Veteran*. To help commemorate the Sesquicentennial of the Cause for Southern Independence, upcoming issues will contain essays to help educate — not only ourselves — but the general public as well. Most of these essays are, by their nature, lengthy, so some of our regular features will be moved around and may only be published every other issue sometimes, depending on available space. I think you'll like it and I look forward to hearing your comments.

This issue's cover features the champion of States' Rights, John C. Calhoun. His home was a short drive away from our recent National Reunion in Anderson, SC, and was included as a tour for convention attendees. While in the US Senate, Jefferson Davis sat beside Calhoun and Calhoun served as Davis' mentor. Calhoun was a great Southerner and worked hard for Southern rights before his death in 1850. Calhoun is also pictured on the Confederate one-cent postage stamp. Any reading you can do on his life will be well worth your time.

Please continue to submit photos of your camp activities and letters to the editor, all feedback is appreciated. I have a good problem, more photos than I can publish. If you have sent in a photo for camp news and it has not appeared yet, please be patient. The longest backlog is in the AOT Department where it takes a year. The ANV is almost as long. As I said, this is a good problem to have. It shows we have very active camps participating in many projects they are proud of. And you should be. That's why we all joined the SCV — to honor our ancestors and to tell the world of their heroic struggle.

As always, if you have any questions please let me know. Until then, I remain,

Yours in the Cause,

Editor-in-Chief

A handwritten signature in black ink, which appears to read "Frank B. Powell, III". The signature is stylized with a large, looping "F" and a long, sweeping underline.



REPORT OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

R. MICHAEL GIVENS

CIC@SCV.ORG

"I tried all in my power to avert this war. I saw it coming, for twelve years I worked night and day to prevent it, but I could not. The North was mad and blind; it would not let us govern ourselves, and so the war came, and now it must go on till the last man of this generation falls in his tracks, and his children seize the musket and fight our battle, unless you acknowledge our right to self government. We are not fighting for slavery. We are fighting for Independence, and that, or extermination."

— President Jefferson Davis, Confederate States of America

Greetings, Compatriots,

I hope this finds you well. After having been elected as commander-in-chief of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, I find myself humbled, yet ready for action. I do not take my responsibilities lightly and fully understand the gravity of our current situation.

The Confederacy fought a defensive war to determine the right of self-government in America. After the loss of irreplaceable lives, talent and treasure, the dispute was settled in the favor of the repressors of liberty to the north. Once defeated, the surviving soldiers and statesmen of the Confederacy only asked that their sacrifice be remembered with honesty and integrity. When they saw that this wish was not being met, they turned to their sons to vindicate their noble cause and clear their good name.

We have now seized the musket and the fight is now ours. Will we stay in formation and concentrate our fire to our best advantage? Will we be successful in vindicating the cause during this, the sesquicentennial of the War for Southern Independence? Yes, we will! But, only if we ready ourselves for the battles ahead.

Like a skilled fighter, the fate of our organization now stares us squarely in the face and awaits our next series of moves. As you ponder that thought, remember this: as the SCV goes, so goes Southern Heritage. If we lose, we lose it all. We must and we will come together for a concerted defense and a well-thought-out offense. These actions will lead us to victory.

I have told you over the past few years to remember that intelligence is a weapon of self-defense. If we don't know our own history, then we will be helpless and ignorant before someone who merely claims to know our history! Our arsenal is to be filled with undisputable truths, not the emotional rhetoric relied upon by our enemies.

We must educate the world as to the true motives of the Confederacy. If you are with me in this valiant struggle for *right*, then we begin here and now. We will begin by educating ourselves on the most important topics of the war.

You will notice a difference in the *Confederate Veteran*, beginning with this issue. During the next two years, your *Confederate Veteran* magazine will feature a thought-provoking essay written by one of the leading men of letters in the South today. Each issue will address an important element of the

Confederate struggle, such as: Secession, Economic Motives for the Yankee Invasion, Slavery, Constitutional Amendments (including the original 13th), War Crimes, Lincoln Myths, Reconstruction, The South Today and Tomorrow and more. These essays are designed to be your weapons of self-defense.

More than 30,000 SCV members, plus family members, friends and library patrons, read the *Confederate Veteran*. We will use this tool as an educational journal and an information source to allow all of our men and supporters to work from the same page of Southern intelligence.

Our first essay is on slavery. I have often been advised not to draw first blood on the issue of slavery. The blood has already been drawn and has covered our Southland with its vile stench. This is the one issue that our enemies use against our people every time. Donald Livingston, Ph.D, Professor of philosophy at Emory University and a member of the Ft. Sumter Camp 1269, Charleston, SC, brings us a hard-hitting work which is sure to poke a finger in the eye of all those who cry the war was fought to end or perpetuate slavery.

We cannot stop simply by reading these essays. We must take action. I challenge each and every member to ask his fellow Compatriots if they read the most recent essay and what their thoughts are. I ask all camp commanders to schedule a speaker for one of your meetings to address the subject of the most recent essay. Work with your Division commander to strengthen your division speakers' lists and make sure you have capable speakers on these subjects. Then, let's use this information to spread the facts pertaining to the War. Engage your local school boards, call radio talk shows, write to your local newspapers and write your legislators to demand that the true history of the South be presented from now on — and let's drain this cesspool of lies once and for all!

Let's come together and all speak from the same page. We can and will make a difference.

As a final note about this project, at the conclusion of my term as commander-in-chief, I plan to bind all twelve essays into a book as the definitive defense of Southern Heritage. It is my hope that this book will be used for years to come to tell the true story of a dignified people: the Southern Confederates.

The musket is now in our hands. Our efforts for the Sesquicentennial may well advance the cause toward success, but all too soon we will pass the musket on to our sons and grandsons as they continue the fight for vindication on to the Bicentennial. Success will only be a reality if we come together for the good of the memory and legacy of the Confederacy.

Keep your powder dry and I'll see you on the front lines.

R. Michael Givens
Commander-in-Chief
cic@scv.org



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Dispatches From the Front

A collection of letters to the editor from our members.

County on map didn't exist during the War

To the Editor,

The cover page of the July/August 2010 copy of the *Confederate Veteran* had a very interesting map of the Atlanta Campaign. It was, however, not very correct. In the lower center of the map it shows the county of Douglas. The only problem is the Douglas County Georgia did not exist until October 17, 1870. At the time of the Atlanta Campaign the area now covered by Douglas County was part of Carroll and Campbell Counties.

My ancestor Pvt. Jesse F. Daniel, Hanleiter's Battery Georgia Artillery lived in this area.

Charles Garvin
General James Lonstreet Camp 1289
Douglasville, Georgia

Enjoyed article on Atlanta campaign

To the Editor,

I enjoyed the article on Johnston and the Atlanta campaign even though it has one error in the second paragraph. Johnston was charged with the safety of Richmond until wounded at Seven Pines in 1862, not for three years. If Johnston had been allowed to hold Atlanta for a few months longer, Lincoln would've probably lost the election and Little Mac would've spoken for a war weary North and sued for peace.

However, fresh in Davis' mind was the experience of Johnston backing up to the gates of the capitol and risking all on one throw of the dice in a winner-take-all fight. Not so fresh in his memory was how Ol' Joe whipped Davis over a barmaid while at West Point, according to Arthur Kreemantle's diary, as told by some of his classmates. Maybe this is a case of a little matter having

far-reaching consequences. We all know how Davis could carry a grudge.

Lowell Wallace
Delaware Grays Camp 2068
Seaford, Delaware

Johnston had more troops than he would admit

To the Editor,

My friend Ross Massey wrote a fine article on the Atlanta campaign in the July/August, 2010 issue. He took 3½ months of the campaign and wove it into a concise treatise. I would like to comment on two points of that article: Hood's generalship and Joe Johnston's strength. I have lived a number of years in Georgia and have been walking and studying the Atlanta campaign for nearly 30 years and have led a number of campaign tours.

Regarding Hood, Massey correctly states that Hood, at Cobb's Farm, failed to recon his front. Had Hood done so, he might have found the swamp that blocked some of the avenues of advance on the right of his corps which stopped their attack cold. Part of that swamp is still there today. Hood's tenure as corps and army commander, while aggressive in nature, also showed two faults. As mentioned, he failed to recon his own front before attacking time and again. At Atlanta, this failure to recon allowed Bate's and Walker's divisions to slam into Union General John Fuller's Division, which had moved to that spot where only hours before there was an open Union left flank. Hood never picked this up. Secondly, he also failed to coordinate his artillery fires in support. If you look at his three attacks around Atlanta and at Jonesboro, plus Franklin, you will see that artillery mattered little in them. Thousands of his men fell because of that.

Regarding Confederate numbers in

the campaign, Massey uses Johnston's memoirs and the "effectives" number from the *Official Records* (OR 1, Vol. 38, Part 3, Pages 675-676); around 43,000 men. Historian Richard McMurry has dug into the numbers and has proven Johnston had far more men than he admitted to. McMurry's research shows the proper accounting for the Army of Tennessee was the "present for duty" numbers. "Effectives" only counted men standing in the ranks at morning roll call. If you were in the hospital for any reason; off on foraging duty; off guarding wagon trains or an officer, you were not counted but you were still part of the army. These numbers do not count several units of the army, including William Martin's cavalry division, two cavalry brigades down along the Etowah seeking horses and three batteries of artillery. The "effective" numbers do count the vanguard of Polk's Army of Mississippi; Cantey's brigade, with 1,543 effectives (more than 1,800 present for duty). The "present for duty" numbers do count Martin's Division but not the rest who come into the army after the return was made. Thus, on April 30, 1864, Johnston's actual strength was 54,500.

Johnston received massive reinforcements as the campaign began and took hold. The first was Hugh Mercer's Brigade from Savannah who brought 2,500 men in four regiments to Dalton (the 63rd Georgia had more than 800 men alone). Next were the rest of Polk's army; two infantry divisions and the crack cavalry division of William Hicks Jackson. A third infantry division was made up of brigades taken from the Mobile garrison (Cantey's, later Walthall's). Johnston's cavalry jumped more than 5,700 troopers alone (Jackson's division and the two brigades mentioned already). The June 10th returns show Polk's troops to be 21,608 "present for duty." These additions brought Johnston's army to more than 80,000 men, less battle casualties to that point. Former Kennesaw Moun-

tain National battlefield historian Denis Kelly once told me the park library holds a commissary report for the army along the Kennesaw Line which reported 75,000 rations served in a single day. This was the army's apogee of strength during the campaign.

More reinforcements came in during June. Two regiments of the Georgia State Line, raised in 1862 to protect the Western & Atlantic Railroad, were attached, as were six regiments of Georgia Militia and some Mississippi state troops which brought some 3,000 other troops into the army. The militia performed admirably in a holding action in the Smyrna area and in the attacks during the battle of Atlanta in July. Atlanta Depot defense troops were added as the army took positions around the city in July. Georgia Governor Joe Brown promised even more militia.

Hood's last return for the campaign, dated August 31, 1864, reported the Army of Tennessee as having 51,141 men "present for duty." This was just as the two-day Battle of Jonesboro was taking shape, which cost Hood more than 2,000 casualties — including the capture of Govan's Brigade. I bring this up as most Atlanta historians agree the Confederates suffered about 33 -34,000 casualties in the Atlanta campaign. When you add this to Hood's report of August 31st, you find the Army of Tennessee did indeed have at least 83,000 men in the ranks during the campaign, probably closer to 85,000 troops, although not all at the same time.

Where Johnston failed as a commander was in using his defenses to hold Sherman and form flying columns, as Lee did in Virginia, to strike at Union flanking maneuvers. He missed a number of chances to do so, not counting Cassville. The ratio of men between Lee and Grant was further in favor of Grant than Sherman's numbers versus Johnston's. Sherman was also losing troops to hold rear areas and from regiments mustering out in August, 1864. Sherman only got the 17th Corps as

reinforcements during the campaign. Grant lost 66,000 men in a month in Virginia in 1864, and war weariness was taking firm root in the North. Had Johnston inflicted similar casualties on Sherman in the same time frame, who knows how the 1864 elections would have turned out. Lincoln, as late as August, thought he was going to lose; but then came the news about the fall of Atlanta. Johnston was good at defensive tactics and he kept his army well in hand to the point that one of Sherman's objectives, to destroy that army, was foiled by campaign's end. Professional soldiers know that defensive strategies and tactics do not win wars; offensive strategies and tactics do.

Greg Biggs
Sam Davis Camp 1293
Clarksville, Tennessee

General Kemper survived and became governor

To the Editor,

In reference to Bill Young's excellent observations in his "Ignorance is Bliss" article (May/June 2010 *Confederate Veteran*), even the National Park Service is not immune to making significant blunders when facts get in the way of the story — or movie, for that matter.

My great-great-grandfather is Major General James Lawson Kemper who commanded the 7th Virginia Infantry, which formed the right flank of General George Pickett's line in the famous Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg. Kemper was severely wounded, dismounted, and briefly captured before his men were able to retrieve him and bring him back to the Confederate lines. It was to Kemper who General Robert E. Lee issued his famous apology for having ordered the charge. Kemper's wound prevented him from retreating. He was again captured, but later paroled, and commanded the defenses at Richmond until the capital fell.

After the War, Kemper served as the first governor of Virginia following Reconstruction (1874-1878). He died in 1875 at the age of 72. His granddaughter toured the Gettysburg Battlefield in the 1930s, and was astonished to discover a plaque the Parks Service had placed at the spot he was wounded, but which erroneously included the modifier "mortally." She brought the error to the attention of the Parks Service and news media, noting not only did Kemper survive the battle and the War, but was elected governor of Virginia.

Unfortunately, Michael Shaara, author of *The Killer Angels*, did not get the word and implies Kemper died of his wounds at Gettysburg. And, of course, the movie *Gettysburg*, being based on Shaara's book, makes the same implication.

James Kemper Millard
John C. Breckinridge Camp 100
Lexington, Kentucky

Don't ever surrender

To the Editor,

There have been some interesting comments to the suggestion that we eliminate the Battle Flag from our logo. While it is unfortunate that various hate groups have misused the Battle Flag to the extent that it has become such a divisive symbol to many Americans, the real truth is that the PC crowd will not rest until every vestige of the Old South is totally removed. Removing the Battle Flag would not "appease" anyone and would only serve to alienate the vast majority of SCV members.

As proud graduate of Ole Miss I grudgingly accepted the premise that waving the Battle Flag at athletic events was offensive to our Black students and alumni. I also did not get particularly upset when Colonel Rebel went from a Confederate uniform to a large-headed Muppet-type character wearing a foot-

Continued on page 50

Letters to the editor are welcome. Please e-mail to eic@scv.org or you can mail to 9701 Fonville Road, Wake Forest, NC 27587. Please include your camp name, number and city. Space is limited; try to keep to 500 words or less, but longer letters may be edited and/or printed, space permitting. Differences of opinion are invited; attacks on fellow compatriots are not and will not be published.



REPORT OF THE LT. COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

**LT. COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF
CHARLES KELLY BARROW**

LTCIC@SCV.ORG

Take Pride in the SCV

That where there is no vision, people perish. Proverbs 29:18

It is my firm belief that the Sons of Confederate Veterans needs to have a vision for the Sesquicentennial. As I stated in Anderson, South Carolina, at the National Reunion our vision must be about the future. We must make our plan to fit the circumstances. General George S. Patton, Jr. once said, "It is only by doing things others have not, that one can advance." It is time for the SCV to step out of our comfort zone and be ready to face the enormous task of educating the public about the War Between the States. The Sesquicentennial offers a great opportunity for success and when opportunity comes knocking, we must open the door widely.

Every SCV member takes pride in their Confederate ancestors. These men endured hardships we can never imagine both during and after the war. When we begin to discuss their story, we hold our heads high and boast of their noble deeds and self sacrifice. We are proud of the legacy they have given us and should never take it for granted.

Now let's consider for a moment that we transfer the energy of that pride to our local camp. How would that look? Would we be able to attract and retain membership? Would the community see us as a viable historical organization? I believe that the answer would be yes to each of these questions.

Pride is defined as "the correct level of respect for the importance and value of your (Confederate ancestor or camp) personal character, life, efforts, or

achievement," per Encarta dictionary. In considering this, I came up with a five step process defining *PRIDE* as an acronym. Below the process is detailed:

- P** – Provide a Positive Working Camp
- R** – Recognize, Reward and Reinforce the Right Behavior
- I** – Involve and Engage
- D** – Develop Skills and Potential
- E** – Evaluate and Measure

STEP 1 — PROVIDE A POSITIVE WORKING CAMP

In the SCV, like in the business world, we have many people in leadership positions who are unaware how their actions and decisions affect member turnover. A critical aspect of an effective retention strategy is manager training. Properly trained leaders play a major role in an effective recruitment and retention strategy. Leaders need the skills, tools, and knowledge to help them understand their members' retention needs and be able to implement a retention plan designed to increase the member engagement in the SCV. My goal is to have a training session for officers on the camp and division level in each army over the next year. I have noticed in my travels some SCV camps prosper immensely while others struggle to stay above water so to speak. Both have

good men who want the camps to thrive, but they go about it in different ways. I want to see what works in certain areas and why and pass that information to the membership.

STEP 2—RECOGNIZE, REWARD AND REINFORCE THE RIGHT BEHAVIOR

Many things may attract people to the SCV's door, but something else has to keep them from going out the back. People have a basic human need to feel appreciated and proud of their work. Recognition and incentive programs help meet that need. Simple tactics such as making sure every person is greeted when they arrive helps to ensure that there is camaraderie. Certificates of appreciation from the camp or nominating a compatriot on the Brigade, Division and/or National level for an award is beneficial.

STEP 3—INVOLVE AND ENGAGE

People may show up for camp meetings, but are they engaged and productive? People are more committed and connected when they can contribute their ideas and suggestions. Determine what your members' gifts are and put them to use for the good of the camp. When a person is involved it makes them have ownership of that camp. In God's Holy Word it discusses this for the church in Romans 12:4-5 and 1 Corinthians 12:12-31. I feel we can use the Apostle Paul's writings to inspire us as an organization. Don't forget to include the family in many of your activities too.

STEP 4—DEVELOP SKILLS AND POTENTIAL

As stated above, a good commander should know his members and find where and how they want to serve. We have many talented people in the SCV but we don't capitalize on it as we should. We should not prohibit a person but grow them to be leaders and help them reach their potential.

In addition to those who are potential leaders, we must develop the average member who only wants to serve on a local level. Educate the members with informative monthly speakers and programs. By educating we are building a better member who can promote and fight for the true history. Ignorance of the truth is inexcusable.

Design an effective new member orientation program. It can be as simple or as elaborate for your camp as you need it be, but make it fit your needs.

By preparing them to be *good* SCV members, you are adding to the ranks those who will be our ancestor's voice during and after the Sesquicentennial.

STEP 5—EVALUATE AND MEASURE

Continuous evaluation and never-ending improvement is the final step of the *PRIDE* system. The primary purpose of evaluation is to measure progress and determine what satisfies and dissatisfies the membership. The evaluation process includes the measurement of attitudes, morale, turnover, and the engagement level of the camp. Conduct a membership satisfaction survey at least once a year. Use these results to help the leadership plan activities and events for the next year.

Contact delinquent members to evaluate why they may not want to be a part of the SCV. See if it is a fixable issue. Much time is put into recruiting a new member, but more time needs to be expended in retaining a member. You already know this is a person who is like-minded and enjoys learning about the War Between the States, so keep him if at all possible. It is understandable that some will come and go, but you need to strive to have a high retention number each year on the camp, Brigade and Division level.

I encourage you to take *PRIDE* and implement it at every level. In order for this to be successful you must nurture it. By doing so you will see the fruit of your labor develop and produce lasting effects for our organization.

I would like to take this opportunity to say thank you for electing me to this position. I am truly honored but at the same time humbled. I encourage anyone who has ideas about recruiting and retention to contact me. I hope to implement many new ideas to promote the SCV, but I cannot do it all by myself. There are members out there who have strategies that are tested and effective. I want to share those with the rest of the organization. Remember that two heads (or in this case 30,000) are better than one.

Please keep me in your prayers.

Deo Vindice!

Charles Kelly Barrow

Lieutenant Commander-in-Chief

barrowscv@inbox.com





Forward The Colors

**AN EDITORIAL FROM
THE CHIEF OF
HERITAGE DEFENSE**

Heritage Defense: Tactics and Strategy

It has been said so often that “the best defense is a good offense” that it has become almost axiomatic. Everybody says it. The sentiment has migrated from the field of battle, where it originated, to sports teams, political campaigns and public relations firms, among others. Like most things that are *axiomatic*, the saying is, while true, sometimes woefully deficient, in practice.

In the first place, are we completely sure exactly what it means? Is a good offense really an excellent defense? Or, instead, has it simply become a handy catch phrase for people who lack either the patience or the mental horsepower to actually think it through? Does it mean that if we stay on the attack, that no enemy will be able to mount a defense against us? Well, that’s a wonderful plan, and it might even work, but usually it’s unrealistic. Sometimes, the other team gets the ball. In sports, that generally happens after you have just scored a point. Then, you had better have a plan to play defense, or else he’s going to score against you, and you’re back even. For years, my dad tried to teach me to play checkers. I could never quite get the

hang of it. “Swapout” was one of the worst tactical ploys one could use with my dad, but I loved it! Jumping and being jumped — it was all quite exciting, until suddenly I would have no players left and he would win. It is the same with football, basketball, baseball, or, for all I know, soccer and tiddlywinks. If your only defensive strategy is to go on the offense, then you’d better have a pretty-much bottomless bucket of men, money, and lawyers ... the last to sue somebody to get the rules changed.

It does seem to be true that a strategic defense is very difficult to win at. One of the fundamental weaknesses of the Confederacy was the only strategy they had was defensive. This is not to criticize them. They weren’t mad at anybody. They just wanted to be left alone. How were they to know that Lincoln wouldn’t let them go? Indeed, had the Union had a reasonable man or party in charge in Washington, DC, the Deep South would have been allowed to leave the Union quietly and peacefully, and the Upper South would have stayed in for some time to come. Whether Virginia, Maryland,

Now is the time. This is the place. We are the men.

Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Missouri and Arkansas would have eventually cast their lots with the Confederacy is a moot point. History tells us the Gulf States seceded, then Lincoln reinforced the federal garrison in South Carolina (an act of war, in itself). When the South Carolinians fired on Fort Sumter, Lincoln issued a call for 75,000 men to subjugate the Deep South, and most of the Upper South followed their sister states in the Deep South into the new Confederacy. After that, though, where was the South to find an offense with which to defend itself? An invasion of the North? Hardly likely, even if it had been possible. The simple truth is the South had no offensive strategies available to them in 1861. The South had no offensive designs against the North! This really never changed. Even Lee's invasions of Maryland and Pennsylvania in 1862 and 1863 were tactical in nature, not strategic.

A tactical defense is more achievable. There are numerous examples of tactical defensive battles won and the course of wars sometimes changed as a result. Petersburg is one instructive example. Cold Harbor is another. Neither of these actually won the war, but both prolonged it for many months, giving the other armies and even the politicians an opportunity to win in their own spheres. Stalingrad is yet another. Stalingrad did change the course of WW II. Sometimes, you have to go on defense. If you're good at it, you just may be able to win the war later, through good offensive action. At the very least, you will husband your resources — in effect, rest and resupply your troops (or team, or whatever) in preparation for going back on the offense, when you can do so.

Now I, as much as anyone, wish this job was called "Chief of Heritage Offense," but it is not. It is about Heritage Defense. That's as it should be. Our Charge does not call directly for us to be offensive. It calls for us to defend the Confederate soldier's good name. We've become pretty good at that, though we need to constantly sharpen our skills. These are tactics. Our winning virtually every court case and flag T-shirt case and gosh only knows what other assorted cases is important; as

important as the marksmanship of the Army of Northern Virginia at Cold Harbor — but they're not enough. The Charge also calls for us to "vindicate the cause for which we fought." That, Compatriots, is not tactical. That is strategic. That statement gives us something the Confederacy did not have. It gives us something we can each and all rally around and go on the offensive *for* (not just *against* — that is defensive) for.

The Sesquicentennial approaches. Indeed, it is almost upon us. I ask you; I challenge you not to spend the next four years fighting a defensive battle against the forces of modernism and political correctness that is its current standard. Instead, join me in making this sesquicentennial our event, not that of the groveling latter-day Lincolnites who beset us. Join me as we put our love for our heritage on the front pages of every newspaper and in evening news broadcasts all over the Confederation and beyond! Jefferson Davis correctly predicted that the issues over which they fought in 1861-65 would again arise, for they had not been settled, but instead merely covered over with blood, pain and suffering. Let us defend the good name of the Confederate soldier by going on the offense often and with great determination, to vindicate his cause.

The final thing that needs to be said about defense is that, in almost every case, successful commanders engage in a tactical defense for a time in order to gain the necessary time, people, material and energy to regain the offensive. Now is the time. This is the place. We are the men. Indeed, Compatriots, if we are not the men, then who are they? From where are they to come? Generations have prepared us for this fight. Providence has dealt it to us to engage in it. Let it begin!

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Chaplain's Comments

Mark W. Evans
Chaplain-in-Chief



Dr. John Lafayette Girardeau: The Pastor of Slaves

Confederate Chaplain William W. Bennett made it clear: vibrant Christianity undergirded the South's War for Independence. He said of Southerners, "Their convictions of right in what they did were second only to their convictions of the truth of the Christian religion" (9). With Christian faith comes love for our fellowman. While Dixie is caricatured as a land of racial hatred, the facts contradict the indictment. Many examples reveal the compassionate heart of Southerners for all souls, regardless of race. Among the many examples is the life of John Lafayette Girardeau, pastor, theologian and Confederate chaplain.

Girardeau received his ministerial training at Columbia Theological Seminary, Columbia, South Carolina, and was subsequently ordained as a minister of the Presbyterian Church. In 1853, he accepted a call to a slave mission in Charleston. His love for the souls of slaves led him into a unique minis-

try. He desired to organize a black church separate from the white churches. Along with other pastors, he helped establish a church in which the slaves elected their own church officers and maintained their own membership. Girardeau became the church's pastor, starting with a membership of 48 slaves. By 1860 there was a membership of 462 slaves. However, the attendance was much larger, ranging from 1,500 to 2,000 people. The whites who visited the services sat in the gallery, while the blacks occupied the main floor. The assembly became so large that generous white believers of Charleston financed a new church building, named "the Zion Church of Charleston."

Girardeau so thoroughly taught the black congregants that the white visitors strained to keep up with the flood of truth pouring from the pulpit. The blacks rejoiced with full comprehension. The Lord sent a gracious revival, lasting for a period of eight weeks, in which many blacks

and whites were converted. Biographer George A. Blackburn said "Dr. Girardeau frequently referred to this as the Lord's mercy in gathering His elect for the great war that was soon to sweep so many of them into eternity" (100).

Colonel Alfred Robb, of the 46th Tennessee Regiment, told of an incident involving Girardeau and the notorious General Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts. While attending the National Democratic Convention meeting in Charleston in 1860, Butler determined to accompany Robb "to hear a great white preacher whose life is consecrated to the salvation of Negroes" (Blackburn 58). Robb described the event: "The prayer of the preacher was earnest, simple and humble as of a man pleading with God. The singing was general, heartfelt and grand. The sermon was tender and spiritual, and though profound, was plain, delivered with fire and unction. After the preacher took his seat, deeply impressed, I was with

closed eyes meditating on the wonderful sermon, when I heard someone sobbing. Looking around, I saw General Butler's face bathed in tears. Just then the church officers came for the usual collection and at once General Butler drew from his pockets both hands full of silver coin... and cast it into the basket, with the audible remark, 'Well, I have never heard such a man and have never heard such a sermon'" (Blackburn 58).

Blackburn said "In two years from that day, Colonel Robb had died on the field of battle fighting for the South, Dr. Girardeau was a chaplain in the Confederate States Army, and General Butler was hated by the men and women of Dixie" (58).

The renowned preacher watched with burning heart as Northern assailants invaded his homeland. A new mission field opened before him. Leaving wife, children, and his beloved slave ministry, he became chaplain of the 23rd Regiment, South Carolina Volunteers, organized April of 1861. The regiment served at Secessionville, Malvern Hill, Second Manassas, Maryland, Sharpsburg, Mississippi and Petersburg. Through hunger, thirst, weariness, forced marches, scarce supplies, fierce weather, and fiercer battles, the valiant Girardeau obeyed the call of duty. The preacher displayed the same Christian zeal during the storm of war as in the time of peace. At the Battle of Secessionville, Dixie's defenders forced Yankee soldiers to withdraw, leaving behind injured and dying soldiers. Corporal D. W. McLaurin of the 23rd Regiment said "Dr. John Girardeau, though one of the most ardent of Southerners, one, in fact who was never reconstructed, went down on his knees by these dying Union soldiers and offered up fervent prayers to his God for their salvation" (Blackburn 108).

At the Battle of Second Manassas, in which many of the 23rd Regiment were killed or wounded, McLaurin said "Many are the recorded acts of heroic conduct on this bloody field, but, like the man in the ranks, without whom there could be no army nor ever a battle won, but whose name is never mentioned in song or story, so was our beloved chaplain as he moved among us, constantly exposed to the deadly fire of the enemy, trying to alleviate the suffering of the wounded, and assist them in making peace with their God before being ushered into His presence" (Blackburn 113).

During the final retreat of the Army of Northern Virginia, the chaplain was captured and sent to a Federal prison at Johnson Island. His Christian zeal never weakened. He taught theology to young candidates for the ministry and preached the Word of Truth to Federal guards and Confederate prisoners. One witness said "His platform was the center of a great circle from which the streets radiated to the various sections of the barracks When Dr. Girardeau preached, not only the circle, but the streets as far as he could be heard, were crowded with eager listeners. Confederates and Federal guards all mingled together, held by a common interest ... Many men dated their conversion from these services" (126).

Upon his return, Dr. Girardeau joined his family in a refugee home, near Timmonsville, South Carolina. His heart longed to see his former black congregation. Fellow-preacher Dr. Thomas H. Law said "His mind naturally turned to his beloved Zion Church in Charleston, and his heart yearned to be with that dear



John Lafayette Girardeau

flock again. But it had been scattered to the four winds through the exigencies of the war" (Blackburn 134).

When he returned to Charleston, he found that Northern Presbyterian Church missionaries occupied his old church, the Zion Church. The Freeman's Bureau had confiscated the build-

ing. Still, Christ's indefatigable servant sought the spiritual welfare of blacks and whites. His efforts were hindered because of the "galling yoke of military rule" and "the horrible and detestable Reconstruction oppression in South Carolina, which dragged its slimy course of corruption and fraud and misrule and degradation..." (Blackburn 140, 141).

The man of God was called to yet another part of God's vineyard. He became a professor at Columbia Theological Seminary, filling the vacated chair of Dr. James Henley Thornwell. Once again, he put his hand to the plow and zealously labored for the cause of His Savior. He entered glory on June 23, 1898. His message to all — black or white, Northerner or Southerner — is well-expressed by a few lines from one of his poems:

"Prepare to meet thy God!

To Jesus come today;

Haste to the fount of Jesus' blood,

And wash thy sins away (Blackburn 359).

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The Last Roll



Fighting Joe Wheeler 1372
Birmingham, AL
Joseph M. Cocke

The Tallassee Armory
Guards 1921
Tallassee, AL
Joseph W. Patterson

Capt. Granville H. Oury
1708
Scottsdale, AZ
James Ray Elkins

Gen. John B. Hood 1208
Los Angeles, CA
Dennis Rodney Wyman

Francis S. Bartow 93
Savannah, GA
Herman W. Herring

McDaniel-Curtis 165
Carrollton, GA
Joe Beck Moore

Thomas Marsh Forman 485
Brunswick, GA
Sam McGowan

John B. Gordon 599
Lafayette, GA
David Thomas Espy

Lt. Dickson L. Baker 926
Hartwell, GA
Edwin J. Booth

Ogeechee Rifles Camp 941
Statesboro, GA
Smith Callaway Banks

Dixie Guards 1942
Metter, GA
Louie C. Waller

The Barnesville Blues 2137
Barnesville, GA
Walter Gary Bowdoin

John Kempshall 1534
Maroa, IL
Clarence D. Lambert

John C. Breckinridge 100
Lexington, KY
J. H. Woodward

General Louis Hebert 2032
Lafayette, LA
Joseph Melvin Domingue

Maj. Gen. Isaac Ridgeway
Trimble Camp 1836
Ellicott City, MD
James Floyd Barden

Sterling Price 145
St. Louis, MO
Arthur A. Robinson

Col. John T. Coffee 1934
Osceola, MO
Danny Lynn Wilson
Patrick T. Brophy

Jefferson Davis 635
Jackson, MS
Jack E. Davis

Lt. Gen. Nathan Bedford
Forrest 1353
Hattiesburg, MS
Stone Barefield

Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston
1660
Corinth, MS
Frank Simmons

Chickasaw Guards 1726
Houston, MS
A. J. Huffman
Robert Donnas Wells
Paul Edward Dendy

Jefferson Davis 1862
Newton, MS
Lee Plummer Harris

Col. William F. Martin 1521
Elizabeth City, NC
Donald Etter Denicke

Rocky Face Rangers 1948
Taylorsville, NC
Dale Lewis Bolick

Scotch Riflemen 2001
Moore County, NC
Earl Clifton Barton

Col. Daniel N. McIntosh 1378
Tulsa, OK
Howard Ware Moore

Gen. Paul Quattlebaum 412
Batesburg-Leesville, SC
Mark Anthony Deloach

Eutaw Regiment 1189
Santee, SC
Robert Sebastian Weeks

Sgt. Berry Benson 1672
North Augusta, SC
Boyce Rudolph Lowry

Gen. William B. Bate 34
Gallatin, TN
Billy John Brown
Charles H. De Leusomme

Longstreet-Zollicoffer 87
Knoxville, TN
Cullen Thomas Humphrey

William D. McCain HQ 584
Columbia, TN
Lindy Eugene Mabe

Sam Davis Camp 1293
Brentwood, TN
Lee Hampton Choate

Plemons-Shelby 464
Amarillo, TX
John Edgar Jones

Johnson-Sayers-Nettles 1012
Teague, TX
John Leslie Robinson

Gen. Sam Bell Maxey 1358
Paris, TX
William Deg. Hayden

Colonel Middleton Tate
Johnson 1648
Arlington, TX
Bruce Jerome Pastusek

Col. Phillip A. Work 1790
Woodville, TX
Leonce J. Whitmeyer

Col. Gustav Hoffmann 1838
New Braunfels, TX
Robert Michael Henning

Hill Country 1938
Fredericksburg, TX
Ollie D. Brown

W. W. Heartsill 2042
Marshall, TX
James Harley Griffith

Princess Anne 484
Virginia Beach, VA
Carroll Lee Palmer

The Stonewall Brigade 1296
Lexington, VA
Randall Wayne Pursley

Bedford Rifle Grays 1475
Bedford, VA
Robert Lloyd Carner

Norfolk County Grays 1549
Chesapeake, VA
Wilbur Simmons

Capt. William Latane' 1690
Mechanicsville, VA
Maynard O'Dell Banton

Charlotte Co. Grays 1964
Charlotte Court House, VA
Grady F. Terrell

Col. George S. Patton 1593
Coal Mountain, WV
Billy Ray May
Zionel Walker

Confederate Images

by C.E. Avery



South Carolina Battalion of State Cadets

On December 20, 1842, the South Carolina Legislature passed an act establishing the South Carolina Military Academy. This measure was intended not only to educate young men but also to provide added protection for the city of Charleston from the threat of a slave rebellion. The first cadets to report to the Academy in Charleston did so on March 20, 1843. This academy was called the Citadel, when another academy opened in Charleston named the Arsenal Academy.

After South Carolina left the Union, the Citadel cadets were ordered to Morris Island to construct a site in Charleston Harbor on the channel to prevent any reinforcements to Fort Sumter on January 1, 1861. Just eight days later they fired on the Federal steamer, *Star of the West*, attempting to supply troops to Sumter, hitting the ship at least once. The *Star of the West* then turned around, returning to New York. Many consider this to be the first shot fired in the war, but at the time it did not cause war to be declared.

Knowing that war would soon come, the South Carolina General Assembly on January 28, 1861, passed an act combining the Arsenal and Citadel into one institution. The act provided for: each academy to retain their titles, but together be named The South Carolina Military Academy; that the officers and



Unidentified Cadet

students be organized as a "Public Guard" into two companies each and that they be entitled "Battalion of State Cadets"; that they not be subject to command by the state militia except when specially ordered by the Governor; and that all graduates of the South Carolina Military Academy be eligible to hold rank below the grade of colonel in any state militia.

During the course of the War, they continued to operate as military academies. However, classes were disrupted by the governor on many occasions and the cadets put into military service. Among some of their duties performed were the mounting and manning of heavy cannons, guard duty and escorting

prisoners.

As combat soldiers they were involved in the following engagements during the War: firing on the *Star of the West*, January 1861; Wap-poo Cut, November 1861; James Island, June 1862; Charleston and vicinity, July to October 1863; James Island, June 1864; Tulifnny, December 1864; James Island, December 1864 to February 1865; and Williamston, May 1865.

At Tulifnny Creek they reinforced a small Confederate force defending the Charleston and Savannah Railroad. From December 7-9 they fought with Union forces and eventually forced the enemy to withdraw. In this action they lost eight cadets. For this action the battalion was commended for their discipline and gallantry under fire.

On February 18, 1865, when Sherman's men entered Charleston, the school ceased operations as a college. The Arsenal was burned by Federal troops and never reopened. However, the Arsenal cadets were still in the field as a military unit and fired some of the last shots of the War at Williamston on May 1, 1865.

Following the War, the Citadel was reopened by the state legislature, but not until 1882. It is interesting to note that in 1861, the average age of a cadet at the Arsenal was 13 years old and a few as young as 12 years old. ■

Why The War Was Not About Slavery

By Donald W. Livingston

American historians up to the 1960s tended to treat the War Between the States as a tragic or as a bungling affair. The moral challenge posed by slavery was seen as an aspect of why war broke out, but one overshadowed by deep and long standing constitutional, economic, and political conflicts. Today, however, historians, inspired by Marxist-style analysis, preach the one-dimensional doctrine that the conflict at its core was a *moral struggle* over slavery. The South was willing to destroy the Union in order to protect slavery and expand it. The North fought to eliminate slavery by preserving the Union. A recent historian, for instance, writes "It is an astonishing anomaly that ... for one hundred years historians and commentators attempted to exorcise slavery as relevant or to downplay it as incidental to the conflict. Recent scholarship has at last acknowledged that the participants, after all, knew what they were contending about. Slavery, its expansion or limitation, its abolition or perpetuation was what the war was all about."¹

Another historian writes "that Southerners seceded over one thing and fought over one thing, slavery." A recent biographer of Robert E. Lee says of Lee "He was a leader in the South-

ern rebellion, in which so many fought so nobly for such a bad cause."²

Robert Penn Warren, a Pulitzer Prize poet and novelist, witnessed the birth of this new style of writing history in the early 1960s, and wrote a devastating critique of it in *The Legacy of the Civil War*. Through the myth of a holy crusade to abolish slavery, Americans had illegitimately acquired what he called a great "treasury of virtue." Even historians who know the myth is a distortion have generally not written history in a way to criticize it. The National Park Service has ordered every Civil War battlefield park in the nation exhibit the theme that the war was "about slavery." This was the theme of Ken Burns' TV series on the Civil War in which Lee was presented as "a traitor." The series was very popular and prompted the conservative columnist George Will to gush that it was a demonstration of what television is *for*. The myth has been taught for generations in public schools and colleges. References to it are frequently heard in political speeches, commemoration speeches of all kinds, the media, in film, and in sermons from mainline churches. People in Argentina, Tokyo, Paris, Moscow and Australia who know next to nothing about American history know that

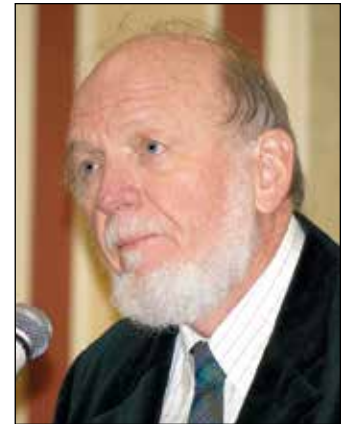
the Civil War was "a b o u t slavery."

The upcoming sesquicentennial year c o m m e m o -

rating the beginning of the War to Prevent Southern Independence promises to be a long, extended speech explaining how the war was "about slavery."

The myth, however, is not true. What is essentially wrong with it is not that it obsessively focuses on slavery while omitting facts contrary to the myth (though it does that), but that it reads a moral meaning into the conflict over slavery that did not exist. It leads us to believe that the North's "anti-slavery" was a correct response to the *moral challenge*, whereas the South was "pro-slavery" and reprehensibly turned its back on the moral challenge. In what follows we shall see that what Warren called America's great "treasury of virtue" is filled with fool's gold that morally corrupts all who exploit it.

The first thing to appreciate is slavery was, from the very first, a *national*



The substance of this essay was first presented at the 2008 Abbeville Institute Summer School. Donald Livingston is professor of philosophy at Emory University, a member of the SCV, and president of the Abbeville Institute, dedicated to educating college and graduate students about what is true and valuable in the Southern tradition. See www.abbevilleinstitute.org

enormity, an *American* sin for which every section of the Union bore some responsibility. This, however, is not how we have been trained to think. We think of slavery as an alien and “un-American” practice confined to the South in the 19th century. But an honest look at American history reveals a quite different picture. Slavery was woven into the economic, political, and cultural fabric of the Northern states from the beginning. The first African slaves were brought to New England in 1638 in exchange for enslaved Indians. Boston began importing slaves from Africa in 1644. For 164 years New Englanders sold slaves throughout the Western Hemisphere.

The Puritans who settled in New England were part of a larger group, the rest of whom settled in the West Indies and began sugar planting which required an especially brutal form of labor with a high mortality rate. New England slave traders supplied the demand for labor and formed marriages and other alliances with their Puritan kinsmen in the West Indies. By the end of the Revolution, slavery had been a respected institution in New England for around 140 years. One out of four families in Connecticut owned slaves. And there were slave plantations in the region. One out of fourteen people in Rhode Island was a slave, and around 50 percent of ministers owned slaves.³

The dark story of New England's involvement in the practice of slavery has been hidden from general public perception until recently, when three New England journalists published *Complicity, How the North Promoted, Prolonged and Profited from Slavery* (New York: Random House, 2005). They express their utter shock in discovering New Englanders approved the slave trade and the practice of slavery in their States. They ask “How could we not know this?” And the answer is “Northerners have pushed much of their early history into the deepest shadows of repression ... Slavery has long been identified in the national consciousness as a Southern institution.” The time to bury that myth is overdue. Slavery is the story of America, all of America. The

nation's wealth, from the very beginning, depended upon the exploitation of black people on three continents. Slavery, they continue, was a “national phenomenon. The North shared in the wealth it created, and in the oppression it required.” What is truly astonishing, however, is it took so long for these New England journalists to discover facts in their own backyard that were not difficult to uncover.⁴

Nor are they entirely emancipated from Warren's “treasury of virtue,” for their book is titled *Complicity*. It is misleading, however, to say the North was *complicit* in American slavery. It was *foundational*. The slave trade began and was carried out mainly by New England States for more than a century and a half. The wealth piled up by New England and New York was generated by servicing slave economies throughout the Western Hemisphere. The purchase of slaves and land in the South and elsewhere was financed by Northern banks; slave-produced staples were transported in Northern ships and insured by Northern companies. The global industrial revolution was based on textile manufacturing which generated an insatiable demand for cotton throughout the world. It is no exaggeration to say the New York City of 1860 was built on slave produced cotton. So was the New England textile industry. Some 75 to 90 percent of federal revenue came from the Southern export trade. The federal government was funded from the first up to 1860 by slave labor.

Slavery, then, was a national enormity integral to the entire economic and political structure of the United States from the beginning. Its elimination, therefore, *morally demanded* a *national solution* where all would share, to some degree, in the sacrifices and costs necessary to remove it. From our perspective, the morally right thing would have been a nationally funded program to *emancipate* slaves, *compensate* slave owners for their loss, and *integrate* the African population into American society as social and political equals. Yet, throughout the entire antebellum period, *no national political party of any importance* ever proposed

emancipation, much less compensation and integration. The South could not have seceded and fought to reject a morally responsible solution urged by the North because no such program was ever proposed or even contemplated.

Why not? There were two reasons. First, there was no national program because there was no *nation* in the modern sense of the term. America was an inchoate federation of States, not a centralized nation-state on the model of Britain or France. Everyone understood that slavery was a domestic institution governed entirely by the laws of each State. Congress simply had no constitutional authority to interfere with slavery in the States. Nor did Congress want that power. On March 3, 1861, Congress passed an amendment to the Constitution making it *impossible ever to amend the Constitution* to give Congress power over slavery in the States. Lincoln approved the amendment in his first Inaugural Address.

Since Congress had no power over slavery, and did not want such power, the only way to abolish slavery would be through individual state action or by an amendment to the Constitution. No such amendment was ever proposed during the antebellum period, or even seriously contemplated. One reason is that Northerners were not at all willing to help pay for emancipation. They viewed slavery as entirely the South's responsibility, willfully ignoring their own foundational and continuing participation in an economy and political order to which slavery was integral. But there was more to the North's lack of interest in emancipation than a refusal to compensate slave owners. If slaves were freed nationally, they would be part of a national American society, but as we shall see, Northerners absolutely refused to integrate free Africans into their States.

If no national political party put forth an emancipation plank during the entire antebellum period, how did the myth ever arise that the war was a great moral struggle between those wanting to protect slavery and those wanting to abolish it? The myth is



possible because of the confused and confusing way many Americans think about morality. We can best appreciate this by exploring the logic of the myth.

Most all antebellum Americans believed two propositions. The first proposition is that slavery *abstractly considered* (that is independent of positive law, circumstance, and custom) is a violation of natural law. This was as true of Southerners as Northerners. Lincoln makes this clear in one of his debates with Douglas: Before proceeding, let me say I think I have no prejudice against the Southern people. If slavery did not now exist amongst them, they would not introduce it.⁵ Why not? Because Southerners, like most Americans, thought that slavery *abstractly considered* is a violation of natural law.

The second proposition held by most Americans and especially by Northerners is the African population was never to be part of the American polity. These two propositions are not contradictory, but they exist together in tension. If slavery, abstractly considered, is a violation of natural law, then slaves in America should be freed. But if America is a white European polity to which Africans are never to belong, then, even if freed, they would be in a permanently servile position without the protections of the master who had, if nothing else, an economic interest in the welfare of the slave.

The moral tension between the two propositions is that between the *God-given* natural right of freedom and the *manmade* political right to be a citizen of a certain country. Even if it is true that all men have a God given natural right to freedom, it does not follow that all men have a *political right* to be citizens of the United States, or citizens of Israel which is a Jewish state, or of Pakistan which is an Islamic state. Whether an alien African population brought over by force and bound by force should be citizens of the United States is a question to be decided by those with the authority to grant political rights, and this will require nice judgments about their traditions and cultural identity (what makes them a people), and what barriers those erect, if any, to assimilating the alien population into their polity. Americans were white European Protestants with an ethic of individualism, a Protestant work ethic, and an ideology of progress. The African population was only two generations from tribal existence, uneducated, with no European past, and with only an abstract racial identity based on common bondage. It is doubtful one could find a parallel in history of two peoples less likely for social and political integration than these two.

So the American response to the moral challenge of slavery had to be filtered through these two beliefs: that

slavery in the abstract is wrong *and* the African population is never to be integrated into the social and political fabric of America. Given the tension generated by these two propositions, a conditional justification for slavery could be given. Although natural law teaches that slavery is wrong, it also teaches when confronted with a choice of policy, one should always choose what does the most good and the least harm. Thus Thomas Aquinas taught although prostitution is a sin and harms society, making it illegal could produce more harm than good. He judged the natural law teaching on prostitution is it should be legally tolerated but contained.

Likewise, if freed blacks were not to enjoy social and political rights and were to live as pariahs, which would push them into vagabondage and crime, then arguably emancipation in some cases would do more harm than good. If so, then slavery as a way of managing what was perceived to be an alien African population until some better arrangement could be found would be justified as a matter of prudence by the same natural law that declares all men have an inalienable right to freedom. This was an awkward position to be in, but it was how most antebellum Americans, North and South, thought of their condition. And, unhappily, they never moved beyond it in confronting the moral challenge of slavery.

Consider Lincoln's remarks in a debate with Stephen Douglas, September 18, 1858:

"I will say then that I am not, nor have ever been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races ... there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other men am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race."⁶

In the manner of St. Thomas, Lincoln did not object to slavery as long as it was confined to the South. He laid out the possibilities confronting Americans: "What then? Free them all, and keep them among us as underlings? Is it quite certain this better their condition? What next? Free them, and make them politically and socially, our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not ... We cannot then, make them equals." Lincoln confessed he could not think of an acceptable solution to the moral problem of slavery: "If all earthly power were given to me, I should not know what to do, as to the existing institution."⁷

Why was this supposedly greatest of all American statesmen stumped? Why did he not propose a nationally funded emancipation? He himself was caught in the grip of the tension between the two propositions just mentioned above, between natural rights and political rights. Consider another passage where Lincoln fully embraces the conflict between natural rights and political rights at the expense of natural rights: "Negroes have natural rights ... as other men have, although *they cannot enjoy them here*, and Taney once said the Declaration of Independence was broad enough for all men. But though it does not declare that all men are equal in their attainments or social position, yet no sane man will attempt to deny *the African upon his own soil* has all the natural rights that instrument vouchsafes to all mankind."⁸ The only solution Lincoln ever offered to the moral challenge of slavery was deportation of free blacks back to Africa — to their "own soil."

The only place where the African population was accepted as part of society was in the South. There blacks were integrated into society through the family, i.e.; the plantation household. Southerners had come to think that the native soil of blacks was Virginia and Georgia, not Africa. There was subordination in the Old South but not segregation. Slaves attended the same church as their masters. Only ten percent of Southerners even owned slaves,

and half of those owned fewer than five. A third owned one or two. Half the owners worked in the fields with their slaves; ate with them; lived on the same property with them, and sometimes in the same house. Slave owners traveled in public transport with their servants. This social intimacy, as we will see, was extremely distasteful to Northerners who worked to remove themselves as far as possible from the African population with a determination that has been erased from general historical memory.

This was especially true of New England. Early in the 19th century New England Federalists worked out the *first nativist racial ideology*. New Englanders thought themselves to be a superior race because descended from pure Anglo-Saxon Puritan stock. There was some truth in this. There had been hardly any immigration into New England from 1620 to the 1820s. For two centuries the original Puritan stock had intermarried to form a strong regional identity. They thought the blood of the rest of the Union was diluted by foreign peoples who did not have a title to be the "true Americans." Particularly disgusting was the South with its mixture of French, Spanish, Aboriginal and even African blood. The defeat of John Adams and the election of Thomas Jefferson as president was a *racial trauma* for New Englanders. They referred to him contemptuously as the first "Negro president." Jefferson had lived with Africans for so long that to New Englanders he had *become* African. His election meant that inferior and racially compromised Southerners would come to dominate the Union, and his purchase of the Louisiana territory, which more than doubled the size of the Union, confirmed their worst fears. They saw it as a plot by Virginia to dominate the Union which would turn it into a mongrel nation instead of one controlled by a morally superior, white Anglo-Saxon New England.

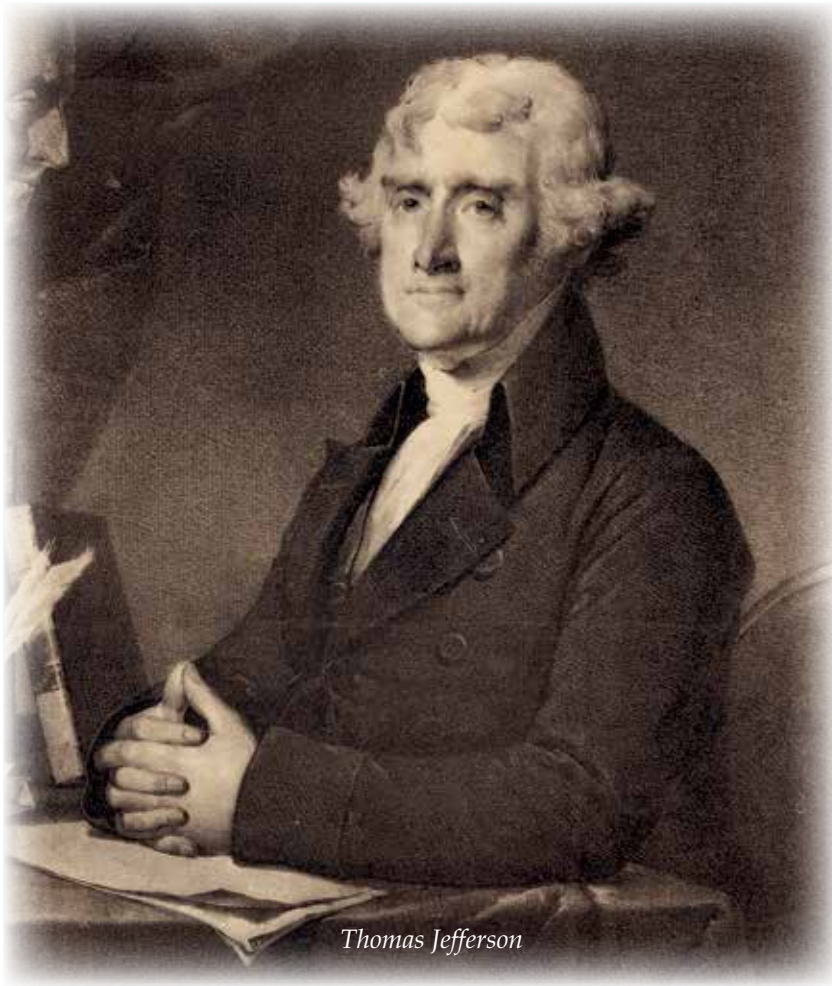
The story of New England racism is another narrative that has been suppressed by our popular national history. But a window has been opened in this self-imposed ignorance by Joanne Pope Melish in her book *Disowning*

Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and Race in New England, 1780-1860. She asks how did New Englanders view the emancipation of their native blacks and the prospect of integrating them into New England society? She points out state laws did not emancipate slaves outright, but rather freed those born after a certain date and upon achieving a certain age, usually eighteen for females and twenty-one for males. This was a form of compensated emancipation which allowed the slaveholder — not only to use the labor of the slave — but to sell him or her before the day of emancipation.

What about those who remained? During the transition period from slavery to emancipation, slaves were not educated with the end in view of integration into New England society. Instead they were treated as slaves and continued to exist in a servile condition after emancipation. They were tightly segregated into shantytowns at the edge of townships. These were often raided and burned. In some cases corpses were dug up and removed from the township. Melish estimates that from one-fifth to one-third of all violence done to blacks and abolitionists in the North was done by New Englanders.⁹

When after emancipation, the social pathologies of the black community did not improve, rather than shoulder part of the responsibility (failure to educate and integrate), New Englanders developed a theory of racial inferiority to explain the lag. Indeed, the first scientific theories arguing blacks were not members of the same species as whites were developed in the North. Josiah Nott was from one of Connecticut's oldest families and a brilliant scientist. He saw that insects spread yellow fever and anticipated Darwin's theory of evolution. He collaborated with the distinguished Harvard zoologist Louis Agassiz on a massive treatise *The Types of Mankind*, which argued blacks and whites are not of the same species in the same way that whites are distinct from monkeys.

Since Agassiz and Nott were among the most respected scientists of their day, it is worth observing the



Thomas Jefferson

moral implications of their theory. In a letter describing an encounter with blacks, Agassiz wrote "Seeing their black faces with their fat lips and their grimacing teeth, the wool on their heads, their bent knees, their elongated hands, their large, curved fingernails, and above all the livid color of their palms, I could not turn my eyes from their face in order to tell them to keep their distance."¹⁰ Josiah Nott jokingly described his theory that blacks were of a different species as niggerology.¹¹

It was widely believed in the North that, if freed, blacks, could not compete with the white man and would eventually die out. Jefferson Davis expressed shock in hearing Northern senators speak of the extermination of blacks as a matter of course. Even New England's great moralist Ralph Waldo Emerson shared this view: "the dark man, the black man declines ... It will happen by & by, that the black man will only be destined for museums like the Dodo."

The system of racial segregation leading to the gradual elimination of New England's indigenous African population was mirrored everywhere in the North and West. The 1820 constitution of Missouri prohibited free blacks from entering the State. The Constitution of Oregon ratified in 1857 excluded free blacks and mulattos: "*No free Negro, or mulatto, not residing in this state at the time of adoption of this constitution, shall ever come, reside, or be within this state, or hold any real estate, or make any contract, or maintain any suit therein; and the legislative assembly shall provide by penal laws for the removal by public officers of all such free Negroes and mulattos ... and for the punishment of persons who shall bring them into the state, or employ or harbour them therein.*" The Oregon constitution passed by a margin of 8 to 1. Its language prohibiting free blacks from entering the state was almost identical to that of the earlier constitutions of Illinois and Indiana. Every Midwestern state — Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michi-

gan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota — as well as those in the Far West, California, Oregon, Colorado, New Mexico — at one time or another passed measures to exclude free blacks from the state. Eugene Berwanger, who has carefully studied racial attitudes in the Western states, said "79.5 percent of the people of Illinois, Indiana, Oregon and Kansas voted to exclude the free Negro simply because of their prejudice."¹²

Those blacks already in the state before exclusion laws were passed were subject to severe restrictions. In Lincoln's state of Illinois, blacks were not citizens of the state, could not vote, could not sit on juries, could not use the courts to testify against white people, and the state refused to educate their children. And if this were not enough, their very movement was tightly restricted. The revised 1833 statutes of Illinois declared: "If any person or persons shall permit or suffer any ... servant or persons of colour, to the number of three or more, to assemble in his, her, or their out-house, yard, or shed, for the purpose of dancing or reveling, either by night or by day, the person or persons so offending shall forfeit and pay a fine of twenty dollars." And free blacks guilty of such assemblies were "to be whipped, not exceeding thirty nine stripes on his or her back." Cases abound of slaves escaping to free Northern states and being treated so badly that they would surrender themselves to authorities and request return to their master. Lincoln fully supported these shameful black codes and never once raised his voice against them during his political career in the state legislature.

These exclusion laws were successful and restricted the free black population of the Midwestern states to an average of around one percent. But even this minute number was considered too much. Serious efforts were made to colonize blacks abroad. Societies appeared with such names as "Ohio in Africa" and "Indiana in Africa." The Ohio plan was to remove 600 free blacks a year out of the state until free of the entire black population. A delegate to the Illinois constitutional convention in 1847 said "I am

in favor of removing [Negroes] not only from this state, but from all the States. Lincoln introduced a bill in the Illinois legislature to remove blacks from the state. J. C. Hall, leader of the colonization society in Iowa, said in a 1857 meeting Africans had never been part of the civilized world and could not compete with whites: "As long as they remain, they must be outcasts and inferiors. They can have no aspirations except as the objects of an unwelcome, hesitating and noisy charity."

Colonization of blacks out of the country was the favored solution in the North to the problem of slavery. The various colonization societies read like a who's who of American leaders: Madison, Marshall, Hamilton, Webster, Lincoln. But no one pushed the project harder than Lincoln. In debates with Douglas he had urged state and federal governments to fund programs of colonization. The same appeal was made in two state of the Union addresses and in the preliminary emancipation proclamation. In 1862 he introduced a constitutional amendment to buy and deport slaves. He sent the State Department out to arrange treatises with European colonial powers to secure land for Negro colonization. He explored possibilities in Haiti, Liberia, New Granada, Ecuador, St. Croix, Surinam, British Guiana, Honduras and the Amazon. In 1862 he urged Congress to pass a constitutional amendment to buy and deport slaves. In this plan slavery was to continue until 1900. At the end of his speech, Lincoln uttered the famous words: "We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best, hope of earth."¹³ As with so many of Lincoln's memorable phrases, these words have been taken to mean whatever those who quote them wish for them to mean. What Lincoln himself meant was America would continue to be torn — not by slavery as such — but by the presence of a large number of Negroes, whether free or not. The "last best hope of earth" referred to a purely white European polity free of racial strife, and not to a land of freedom for all as it is absurdly interpreted today.

Given the disposition of the vast majority in New England, the other

Northeastern states, the Midwest, and the West to rid themselves of the free African population in their states, it is preposterous to claim such people invaded the South to emancipate slaves. And they did not. Yet there was a long-standing agitation about slavery in the antebellum period, and that was a factor (though by no means the only one) in the decision of the Southern States to withdraw from the Union. This agitation, however, did not spring from a *moral motive* of concern for the liberty and well-being of the slave, but from other motives — and ones that were not always morally attractive. To appreciate this it is necessary to take a look at the main anti-slavery episodes in the antebellum period.

The first anti-slavery episode occurred at the Philadelphia Convention in 1787 over whether slaves should be taxed as persons and have representation in Congress or whether they should be taxed as property. New Englanders argued they should be treated as chattel and not represented in Congress. We must keep in mind that during this debate New Englanders were heavily engaged in the international slave trade and that many were well-accustomed to treating Africans as livestock. When criticized about his travels to Africa to buy slaves, John Brown (who with family support founded Brown University), said "there was no more crime in bringing off a cargo of slaves than in bringing off a cargo of jackasses."¹⁴

Southerners pointed out their laws gave the master ownership only in the *labor* of the slave, not his *person*. A compromise was reached in which slaves were counted three-fifths for the purpose of representation in Congress. This did not mean, as it is tirelessly said to mean, that slaves were three-fifths of a human being, but only that slaves, so it was thought, could perform only three-fifths of the work of a free white man. Racially conscious New Englanders resented this rule. They demanded that only whites have representation in Congress. One cannot exaggerate the resentment New Englanders felt over the three-fifths' rule for slaves. They

complained about it continuously up to 1860. But this first national quarrel over slavery had nothing to do with a *moral concern* for the well-being of the slave. If anything, the New England position that slaves were like livestock was morally inferior to the Southern position that, though subordinate (like women and children), slaves were nevertheless persons needing protection and hence representation.

The second anti-slavery episode occurred over Jefferson's close race with Aaron Burr for the presidency, which was decided in the House of Representatives. To New England Federalists this election was seen as illegitimate because without the slave representation Jefferson would not have won. Accordingly, as we have seen, racially conscious New Englanders referred to Jefferson as the first "Negro president." It was in this connection that stories about a sexual liason between Jefferson and one of his slaves, Sally Hemings, appeared. This supposed relation not only offended against New England's white nativist ideology, it showed the extent to which Southerners had been dragged down by their long association with Africans.

The Puritans saw themselves on a mission into a dark wilderness. Nature was something alien to be conquered and controlled by a strong will guided by abstract reason. Southerners, in contrast, developed very early the myth of the South as a garden of Eden. Nature was to be respected, but it was also something to be embraced, cultivated and enjoyed. New Englanders found this relaxed, comfortable relation to nature in the South unsettling. For them, Africans were a symbol of undisciplined and uncivilized nature. By living in close association with Africans, Southerners had reverted back to a more primitive state of nature, making them unworthy of leadership in an American Union that should be modeled on New England. From Jefferson's election up to 1860, New England cultural elites launched an insistent campaign to demonize the character of Southerners. Two excellent studies of this are *North Over South*, by Susan

Mary Grant, a British scholar; and Ann Norton's *Alternative Americas*.

Thomas Goodwin, a Northern abolitionist, could write in 1864 that Southerners had "African playmates ... African attendants African recreations ... African voices ... African minds." The inadequate notion of liberty and the relaxed morals of Southerners was "the direct influence of so large a population of half-barbarous Africans interspersed among them."¹⁵ Southerners had become *Negroized*, and so were not true Americans as defined by New England elites.

The repressed sexuality of New Englanders found ample room for fantasy about the South's descent into nature. Repression of sex meant rising above nature to conquer it and so to advance civilization. Such was the meaning of the celibate marriage of the abolitionists Theodore Weld and Angela Grimke. Abolitionists supposed not only masters had a free hand with slave girls but that Africans (being creatures of nature), were oversexed and proved a source of temptation to masters and mistresses. One abolitionist wrote that "The Southern States are ONE GREAT SODOM." A female New Englander placed the blame for interracial liaisons on the uncontrolled lust of slave women. These she said "lured young slave holders into illicit attachments." And John Rankin said "I could refer you to several instances of slaves actually seducing the daughters of their masters."¹⁶ It is hard not to see here more than a small bit of suppressed envy.

The agitation over the three-fifths rule and Jefferson's election was certainly about slavery, but it was not in the least about the emancipation and welfare of the African. Indeed, it was anti-African. Slavery was an evil because it brought to America a large number of half-barbarous Africans. Southerners were corrupted by close association with Africans and were unfit to govern the Union, yet somehow they had acquired a commanding grip on it. As of 1860, 11 presidents had come from the South, only five from the North. Attorneys general: 14 from the South and five from the North. Supreme Court Justices: 17 from the South, 11 from the North. Speakers of

the House, 21 from the South, 12 from the North. Southern character was not only barbarous (and secretly envied), it was also feared. Emerson bitterly explained Southern political dominance by saying that Northerners knew how to control steam and machines, while Southerners knew how to control men.

The third anti-slavery episode was sparked by Jefferson's purchase of the Louisiana Territory from Napoleon, his embargo, and Madison's war with Britain. New Englanders were opposed to expansion westward which they thought was contrary to their interest and was part of a Southern plot to take over the Union. The Louisiana Purchase and Jefferson's embargo on British shipping confirmed their worst fears, as did Madison's embargo and declaration of war with Britain. New England government agencies, from juries to legislatures, nullified the embargo and refused to send troops in the War of 1812. None of this would have happened, they thought, if Virginia did not dominate the Union, and that would not have happened without the hated three-fifths' rule that gave Africans representation. Representative Josiah Quincy from Massachusetts said "the slave representation is the cause of all the difficulties we labor under."

A Convention of New England States met at Hartford in 1814 and seriously considered secession. The Convention sent commissioners to Washington with a number of demands that had to be met as a condition for New England's remaining in the Union. Among these were repeal of the three-fifths' rule.

Talk of slavery was certainly a factor in the nullification and secession movements that raged in New England from 1804 to 1814, but this talk revealed no concern for the emancipation and welfare of the African population. New England, until 1808, was still engaged in the African slave trade. The agitation was about how the South had come to dominate the Union and was pursuing policies not in New England's commercial and political interests.

The fourth anti-slavery episode was in 1820 over admission of Missouri as a slave state. A com-

promise was reached by drawing a line across the continent, allowing slavery south of the line but prohibiting it north of the line. In our popular history, this is presented as a moral drama between those who were anti-slavery and those who were pro-slavery. But it was nothing of the sort. On the anti-slavery side was Senator James DeWolff of Rhode Island, who strongly opposed Missouri's entrance as a slave state. We recall that DeWolff, one of the richest men in the country, had gained his wealth through the New England slave trade. His company had run some eighty voyages to Africa until the trade became illegal for Americans in 1808, only 12 years before the Missouri Compromise. And DeWolff would continue trading in slaves in a foreign market.

What was the meaning of DeWolff's anti-slavery position? He was simply continuing the New England Federalist policies which had led to the secession movements in 1804-1814 — namely to weaken the expansion of the Southern agrarian interest which favored Westward expansion, free trade, and was opposed to a national bank and to government subsidies for business, all of which were in conflict with New England's subsidized shipping, fishing and manufacturing interests. DeWolff's — and New England's — anti-slavery position on admitting Missouri as a slave state was not in the least motivated by a moral concern for the welfare of the slave.

However, it is difficult for us today to read the expression *anti-slavery* without importing our own 21st century moral sensibilities into it. Unless historians go out of their way to correct us, we cannot help but think the Missouri controversy was a great moral drama between those who sought to keep Africans in slavery and those who sought to liberate them, or at least to limit expansion of the evil. But that is most certainly not how the participants in the controversy thought. The freedom and welfare of the African population never crossed the mind of DeWolff and most other opponents of Missouri entering as a slave state.

Continued on page 54

Going to the Reunion

By 2nd Lt. Bluford M. Sims, Thomas Legion, North Carolina Troops

Lucy, bring my old gray coat and dust it up a bit;
I'm not as stout as I used to be,
But I think that it will fit
The boys are going to make a raid up here on
 Louisville;
I kinda want to join 'em,
And I've decided that I will.

Yes, it's getting pretty old —
Nearly forty years, I guess,
since your mother cried
And put it away in that old cedar press.
Tom and Jim went with me; it was mighty hard
 you see,
For only one to kiss her, when she'd said good-bye
 to three.

But, Jim you know, at Bull Run,
Stayed in the front all day.
At night, among the heaps o' dead,
Out on the field he lay.
Tim and me, we still fought on.
I tell you, he was brave,
But the second day at Gettysburg,
I helped to make his grave.

It was lonesome to me after that, with both boys
 gone;
But, I had no time for grieving,
For Lee kept marching on.
I followed him for two more years,
Through battles thick and thin,
Till at last at Appomattox,
Our rank was clean hemmed in.

And so we were told surrender
I reckon twas just as well,
But if Lee had given the order,
We'd a fought till the last man fell.
They said we was whipped, but we wasn't —
The truth is, we had no men;
We'd warn 'en out a whipping
The Yankees over again.

And though we left Virginia
Red with battles that were done
The north never had a victory
While Lee's men had a gun
We talk about the "Lost Cause"
But I don't think it was lost
For each side knows that what was gained
Was less than what it cost.

And now when I think about it
I haven't got any spite;
The North and the South both found at last
That might can't conquer right.
As brothers we've had our quarrels
As brothers we'll have 'em yet
But we've each learned to know the other
In a way we'll not forget.

So brush out the wrinkles, Lucy;
I'm going on dress parade
I want to hear the roll call
Once more of the old Brigade,
There won't be many,
The earthworks are about all left unmanned
For the general and most of his army
On Heaven's battlements stand.

*Submitted by Mike Everhart, a member of the Saint Johns Rangers Camp 1630, Ocoee, Florida.
This poem was given to him by 2nd Lt. Sims' granddaughter.*

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Books in Print

Nullifying Tyranny Creating Moral Communities in an Immoral Society

The Kennedy twin brothers, authors of *The South Was Right!*, have issued a clarion call to all Southern Christians to reclaim our nation from immorality and our present government from the evil forces of tyranny. Their purpose in writing this book is to reassure “We the people” that hope is not lost, regardless of how hopeless the struggle appears in 2010.

James and Walter Kennedy have organized *Nullifying Tyranny* into three sections which focus on problems that have brought America to its immoral knees and Christian political solutions. Section I deals with Godly Separation from Evil; Section II with Godly Principles of Limited Government, and Section III with Godly Republic Lost — Godly Republic Regained. The Addendum contains four essays on related issues written by the brothers.

By the early 1840s, John C. Calhoun had already identified the fatal flaw in all mass democracies, that the numerical tipping point would come when those receiving government benefits would outnumber the minority who paid for that government. The tax-paying and moral minority would forever be tyrannized.

The strong federal government understood decades ago that law-abiding citizens could be hoodwinked into

supporting any of their corrupt policies by rattling sabres and convincing such citizens that their decisions were “patriotic.” By using this tactic, the government could squelch criticism with ridicule and lies.

The Kennedys point out without State’s Rights, the Constitution is useless. The federal government has convinced a sufficient number of unthinking and gullible citizens “that States’ Rights was an evil tool used to protect slavery, Jim Crow laws, white supremacy and racial segregation.” The Southern Christians lost the platform of protection against an all-powerful government along with the War Between the States. The authors suggest the only permanent and effective way to achieve States’ Rights is with a Constitutional Amendment.

America’s Great Divide is the result of government and liberal media labeling moral Americans as “divisive.” Their drumbeat has become “If only these moral folks would stop holding traditional values and outmoded ideas and doctrines, we could all just get along.” Their goal is these hated and ridiculed moralists remain unequally yoked to the secular humanists and therefore under political dominance of Big Government. Government tyranny has now assured God-fearing citizens, especially those who live in the South, will never again have enough votes to upset their liberal agenda.

A 2008 poll found states with the highest percent of population stating religion was important in their daily lives were all in the South. Another recent poll found people in the Southern states gave a higher percentage of their income to charity. People in Mississippi, the poorest state, gave a higher percentage of their income to charity than Massachusetts, one of the richest states.

Nullifying Tyranny ends on a note of hope that those of us who are moral

can create a more Christian and just America. The Kennedy brothers write: “Once we remove the ruling elite by returning the United States government to its true role in a constitutionally limited republic of republics, then our security will be assured and the property rights of the forgotten man will be secured as well.”

Author: James Ronald Kennedy and Walter Donald Kennedy
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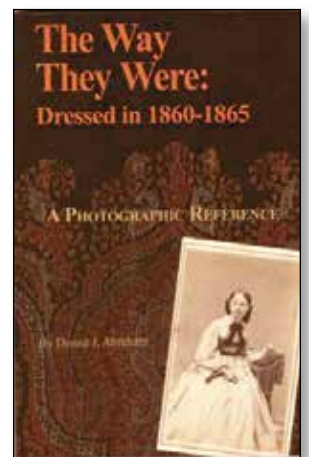
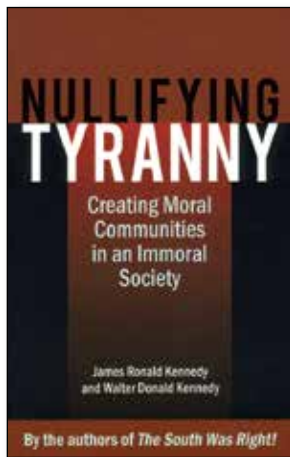
Reviewed by Ann Rives Zappa

The Way They Were: Dressed in 1860-1865, A Photographic Reference

Many times a person is told what people wore in the 1860-1865 era; however, rarely does the individual doing the telling have actual documentation to support the statement. *The Way They Were: Dressed in 1860-1865, A Photographic Reference* allows the reader to see what men, women and children actually did wear though cartes de visite. In addition to the outfits, hairstyles, accessories, etc. are shown. The most fascinating section to this reviewer is the images with the children.

This publication is perfect for the

Continued on page 46



Carry Me Back *by Bill Young*

A Mystery Solved

In 1840 James Conning was a New York silversmith. By the late 1840s he had moved to Mobile, Alabama, and was doing business at the corner of Dauphin and Water Streets. He was an orderly sergeant in the Washington Light Infantry during the War with Mexico. His letterhead stated he was an "Importer of jewelry, watches, cutlery, silver and plated ware, guns, pistols & fancy goods, wire, cartridges, caps, wads, etc." His store was located under the sign of the golden eagle and watch.

In 1861, Conning began making edged weapons for the South. He produced many artillery and cavalry sabers under contract for the State of Alabama. He stamped them with his name and address. He also made fine officers' swords and sold them privately to commissioned officers. His best sword was probably a field and staff officer type that had a straight blade, a leather scabbard with brass or German silver mounts, and a basket guard with the large letters "CS" set amidst a pattern of roses into the counter guard.

Conning marked his officers' swords unlike any other Confederate maker. Instead of marking the blade, he marked the upper scabbard mount. He often engraved the owner's name in script on the obverse side of the mount and the words "MADE BY/James Conning/Mobile/Ala" in four lines on the reverse side of the mount.

Some years ago I received a catalog in the mail from a dealer in "civil war arms, accoutrements & memorabilia." One item in particular caught my eye. It was listed as a "Confederate Inscribed Sword." The description in the catalog read "Brass hilted mounted officer's sword with eagle head pommel, feathers that go partially down the convex back strap. The knuckle bow is the reverse 'P' form with slot for knot. Grips are of bone carved with horizontal & slanting lines, held at bottom by brass ferrule. The single edged curved blade bears a

single stopped fuller either side. It is etched in gold with floral sprays & military trophies (a cannon, a drum, and a flag).

"The brass mounted leather scabbard is in fine condition. The upper mount is engraved 'J.H. Carr' on obverse. The reverse is marked '20' & 'Made by/James Conning/Mobile/Ala/1776...'. The sword itself would appear to be more of the Mexican War era. The scabbard is identical to those produced by Conning during the civil war for the field & staff officer's type sword

"J.H. Carr enlisted on April 1, 1861 at Fort Morgan for twelve months, was elected 2nd Lt. of Co. K, 2nd Alabama Infantry. They remained at Fort Morgan for some time and in late February of 1862 went to Fort Pillow."

The price of the sword was reasonable, so I bought it. As usual, I headed for the books to see what I could find out about Lt. J. H. Carr and his sword. I concluded James Conning probably did not make the sword. It is a US Army or militia officer's sword that dates back to about 1835. Conning could have made it or imported it before the War Between the States. Another possibility is that Carr owned the sword and took it into Conning's shop for Conning to make a replacement scabbard for it. Conning obviously made the scabbard, and the scabbard was surely designed for this particular sword because it fits the width, length and curve of the blade like a hand in a glove. Conning certainly did not make the scabbard in 1776; he made it in 1861. The date "1776" on the upper scabbard mount is a patriotic date. It captures the spirit of the times because the South was fighting a second war for independence.

The big question was "Who was J. H. Carr?" All of the reference books and sources that I could find said exactly what was in the militaria dealer's catalog, and not a word more or less. For example, see

Confederate Presentation & Inscribed Swords & Revolvers by Daniel D. Hartzler, pages 147, 148. It seemed as though Lt. Carr went to Fort Pillow in February, 1862, and disappeared. I could find nothing further about him, so I turned to my son, Bill III, for help. I put him on the trail of Lt. Carr.

It took awhile, but Bill III solved the mystery. James H. Carr was born in Jackson County, Alabama, in 1834. As a young man he worked first as a laborer and then became a merchant. In April 1861, he joined the 2nd Alabama Infantry regiment as a brevet second lieutenant in Company K. He signed on before Lt. Shoup for 12 months at Fort Morgan, Alabama. Three months later, Carr's name appeared on the 2nd Alabama's muster role. The regiment was training for duty both as infantry and heavy artillery.

Carr never went to Fort Pillow. On October 1, 1861, he was listed as AWOL on the roll of the 2nd Alabama, but just six days later he enlisted as a private in Company K of the 4th Alabama Infantry Regiment at Larkinsville, Alabama. He must have purchased his sword from James Conning in Mobile somewhere between April 1 and October 1, 1861. When he joined the 4th Alabama, he put aside his sword and took up a musket. He simply walked away from the 2nd Regiment and entered the ranks of the 4th Regiment.

Why did Carr leave the 2nd Alabama and join the 4th Alabama? I can't be sure, but I have several theories. For one thing, Carr's sword with its curved blade was more appropriate for an artillery officer than for an infantry officer, and the 2nd Alabama did not get its heavy guns. For another thing, the 4th Alabama was heading for Virginia, where the fierce fighting was going on. For yet another thing, Carr's brother John was already a private in Company K of the 4th Regiment, and his uncle, Captain William D. Chadick, was chaplain of the 4th Regiment. Uncle William was a Presbyterian minister who had served in the Second Seminole Indian War of 1836. During the War Between the States, he fought in the Battles of Manassas and Shiloh. He was known as "the fighting parson" and survived the war with the rank of lieutenant colonel.

Carr and the 4th Alabama fought in Virginia in the Battles of Seven Pines, Gaines Mill, Malvern Hill, Hazel River and Second Manassas. They marched with General Robert E. Lee to Maryland

*An
example
of a James
Conning
made
officer's
saber.*



and fought in the Battles of South Mountain and Sharpsburg. James was wounded at Sharpsburg on September 17, 1862. Two weeks later, he was admitted to Winder Hospital Number 4 in Richmond and then furloughed for 30 days. He was sent to the General Hospital in Richmond on February 16, 1863, and returned to duty on March 3, 1863. On March 19, 1863, he was sent to Chimborazo Hospital in Richmond, transferred to Howard's Grove Hospital in Richmond, and on March 19, 1863, wound up in the Small Pox Hospital in Richmond. He died in the Small Pox Hospital on April 12, 1863. He left \$64 in cash and a few personal effects. He lies in Richmond's Oakwood Cemetery.

Every time I look at the sword of James H. Carr, I feel sad because his life was cut short by disease. In the 1860s, disease was as big a killer of soldiers as minié balls and cannon shells. On the other hand, I feel proud because Carr did not take the easy way out. He gave up his rank, gave up his sword, shouldered a musket, and fought alongside his family, where he thought he could do the most good. He was a true Southern patriot. Now we know why there are no references to Lt. James H. Carr of the 2nd Alabama after October 1, 1861. Thanks, Bill III. You solved the mystery.



Army of Northern Virginia



Curators and Collections Assistant at the Cape Fear Museum located in Wilmington, NC, invited members of the **George Davis Camp 5**, Wilmington, NC, for a presentation to support their ongoing Institute for Museum & Library Services Conservation Project. While assembled, the camp made a donation of \$1,000 toward this cause on May 21, 2009.



In May 2009, **Seccession Camp 4**, Charleston, SC, camp members cleaned the Glenn McConnell Parkway in Charleston in cooperation with the SC Highway Department as a community service. Pictured from left, Windell Bunton, Clay Withers, Jimmy Wheeler, Taylor Withers, Danny Pinson, Bob Pollard, Michael Dixon, Johnny Singleary, Don Pace, and Joey Dixon. Holding the flag are Compatriots Bobby Compton, Bill Norris and Lucas Pinson.



From right, Camp Commander Bill Stevens of the **Thomas E. Caldwell Camp 31**, York, SC, welcomes Stefaan Creytens, new Friend of the SCV, and Bill Mobley, new full member of the camp.



Members and friends of the **Robert E. Lee Camp 726**, Alexandria, VA, led 60+ Southerners down Constitution Avenue for the Memorial Day 2009 celebration in Washington, DC. Pictured prior to the parade is James Carlin Becker with our youngest member, Jackson Van Ness and our junior member, Claude Crump IV in his father's 1983 VMI uniform.



Ms. Hanna Teague, a 2009 graduate of Alexander County High School, was the recipient of the 2009 Col. George Washington Flowers Scholarship, which is awarded annually by the **Rocky Face Rangers Camp 1948** and Southern Cross OCR of Taylorsville, NC. Colonel Flowers was instrumental in the formation of Co. G, 38th Regiment, NCT. Pictured with Ms Teague are Gail Baker and NC Division 2nd Lt. Commander Harold Dagenhart.



At the February 2009 meeting of the **Fayetteville Arsenal Camp 168**, Fayetteville, NC, Camp Commander Tyson inducted new member Delance Stephens.

South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, West Virginia and Pennsylvania Divisions



Several members of the **Stonewall Brigade Camp 1296**, Lexington, VA, and the Lee-Jackson Chapter OCR gathered in June for a camp picnic at the home, formerly known as the Inn at Union Run, of SCV member and sculptor Gary Casteel and his wife Leslie.



Joe Leach of Mechanicsville, VA, (center) celebrates Coon Dog Day with his newfound friends Henry Dobey of Landrum, SC (left) and Jim Bishop of Robuck, SC. Dobey and Bishop are members of the **General States Rights Gist Camp 1451**, Union, SC; 30,000 people from all over the country visited this event.



Pictured is Joseph Eugene Brown, Jr., a member of the **Pee Dee Rifles Camp 1419**, Florence/Darlington, SC, at the grave of his great-grandfather, J. J. Brown, of the 6th SC Cavalry. Compatriot Brown found the grave in Brooklyn, NY, after searching military records and making a trip to NY with his son, Joseph Eugene Brown, III, where they held a graveside service, placed flags, played *Dixie* and introduced themselves to his spirit! After 144 years he finally had someone reach out to him through the ages and say we did not forget!



The first-ever Memorial Day service was held on May 31, 2009, on Main Street in Latta, SC, by the newly formed **Colonel E. T. Stackhouse Camp 1576**, Latta, SC. The Stafford Militia provided the honor guard and SC Division Commander Randy Burbage was the guest speaker, with more than 40 people attending.



Brian Allmon of the **Major Egbert A. Ross Camp 1423**, Charlotte, NC, took a trip to Mechanicsburg, IL, to learn his Confederate ancestor, great-great-grandfather, Joseph Vencent Lively, was buried in Mechanicsburg Cemetery in an unmarked grave. He died in 1910. Compatriot Allmon purchased an Iron Cross of Honor and placed it on his grave.

Confederate Veteran



Brigadier General M. L. Bonham Camp 48, Saluda, SC, participated in the *H.L. Hunley* Award Program, which recognizes outstanding NJROTC cadets in high schools. Mark Simpson presented the award May 12, 2009, at the school's annual awards ceremony. Pictured from left, Camp 48 Adjutant Roy Vandegrift III, Adjutant-in-Chief Mark Simpson, H.L. Hunley Award recipient Austin Bryan and Camp 48 Commander William (Bill) Allen.

South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, West Virginia and Pennsylvania Divisions



The **Delaware Grays Camp 2068**, Seaford, DE, recently awarded a Life Membership Certificate to their 13-year-old member Jacob Zoch, Jr., during the August 2009 camp meeting. Jacob is a past SCV Cadet. Pictured from left, Camp Commander Rob Eldreth, Jacob Zoch, Jr. and John J. Zoch, Sr., who is also an SCV Life Member.



The grave of US Navy Chief Master at Arms William Henry Scholls was marked with a US and Confederate Battle Flag on Memorial Day 2009 at Mount Moriah Cemetery, Philadelphia, PA, by Compatriot Sam Ricks of the **J. E. B. Stuart Camp 1506**, Philadelphia, PA. In March 1861, at the age of 13, Scholls enlisted as a drummer in Company C, Confederate States Marine Corps and served until the surrender at Appomattox. Scholls is believed to be the last veteran of the War Between the States still serving at the time of World War I. During WWI, at the age of 69, Scholls was CMAA aboard the Navy battleship USS *Georgia* (BB-15), retiring in 1920 at Pensacola NAS after 30 years in the USN.



Members and friends of the **Colonel William A. Stowe Camp 2142**, Dallas, NC, placed three new gravemarkers in Goshen Presbyterian Church Cemetery, Gastonia, NC. Standing from left, Gerald Thornburg of the **Major Charles Q. Petty Camp 872**, Gastonia, NC; John Seagle, John Tyson, Kevin Ebersold, Andrew Fancher, Gary Byrd, Joseph Harris and Freddie Hamrick. Kneeling from left, Brian Duckworth, Bill Rippy, and David Farmer, Clerk of Session at Goshen Presbyterian Church.



The Maryland Division Color Guard posts at the Virginia Monument in Gettysburg for the May 9, 2009, Confederate Memorial Day Ceremony sponsored by the **Private John Wesley Culp Memorial Camp 1961**, Gettysburg, PA.



Members of the **Edmund Ruffin Fire Eaters Camp 3000**, Mechanicsville, VA, Jason Colbert and Preston G. Colbert, Jr., recently visited Hampton National Cemetery in Hampton, VA, where their ancestor David C. Colbert is buried.



In May 2009, the **Burke Tigers Camp 2162**, Valdese, NC, with the help of Scottie Shook, Charles F. Conner Camp 849, Hickory, NC, and the crew of the cannon "Satan," taught eighth-graders of the Burke County School System and the public about subjects concerning the War of Northern Aggression, with emphasis on flags of the Confederacy, along with a small firing of the cannon.



Army of Northern Virginia



On April 17, 2009, the **General J. R. Chambliss Camp 1779**, Emporia, VA, held a Confederate funeral for Compatriot Jerry Draper in Drewryville, VA, with a 21-gun salute.



On September 20, 2009, a reenactment of the Potomac River crossing at Shepherdstown, WV, was held following the epic battle of Sharpsburg. Pictured from left, past MD Division Commander G. Jerry Bayer; Dale Karraker, **Battle of Sharpsburg Camp 1582**, Sharpsburg, MD; Ian Karraker and PA Division Commander James Palmisano.



The Vietnam Moving Wall Memorial came to Monteith Park, in Dillsboro, NC, in October 2009. The **Jackson Rangers Camp 1917**, Sylva, NC, not only assisted in the organization of the event, but they provided 24-hour-a-day guard detail for the event, fully dressed in Confederate uniforms with weapons/fixed bayonets, and rendered all military honors.



On July 26, 2009, at Young's Chapel Cemetery, Wilson County, VA, Rex Halsey of the **Marshall Rifles Camp 2079**, Troutdale, VA, and Hobert Halsey of the **Colonel Harry W. Gilmor Camp 1388**, Baltimore, MD, place a VA headstone for their great-great-uncle Corporal Greenberry Halsey, Co. I, 51st VA Infantry.



In June 2009, members from **Maryland** and **West Virginia** camps attended a Confederate Memorial observance at Elmwood Cemetery in Shepherdstown, WV.



On September 20, 2009, members of the **Davidson Guards Camp 1851**, Davidson County, NC, donated a photo of the A. A. Hill Camp UCV to Applebee's Restaurant of Lexington, NC. Cadets William Burns and Joseph Hemmings hold the photo which shows local Confederate veterans with their names under the photo, which was framed with a plaque at the bottom to show who donated it.

Army of Tennessee



Compatriot Ken Temples of the **General Joseph Wheeler Camp 1245**, Aiken, SC, presents the memorial address for the **Brigadier General John C. Carter Camp 207**, Waynesboro, GA.



St. Clair Camp 308, Asheville, AL, and Asheville Chapter 1488, UDC, held their annual 2009 Confederate Memorial Day Service at the John W. Inzer Museum due to the Asheville courthouse undergoing renovation. Approximately 50 people gathered in the yard behind the Inzer Museum to hear St. Clair County Commission Chairman Stan Batemon address those gathered to honor their Confederate ancestors.



The **Kirby-Smith Camp 1209**, Jacksonville, FL, supported hometown author Justin Murphy's book-signing for his book *Patrick Cleburne* at the Barnes & Noble bookstore. Camp members pulled the camp cannon through the middle of Christmas shoppers and set up at the front door, representing the SCV.



Members of the **General Nathan B. Forrest Camp 469**, Rome, GA, held a Cemetery cleanup on April 4, 2009, at Myrtle Hill Cemetery in Rome. Commander Jim Dugger, Stephen Carnes, Merroll Smith, Austin Goggans, Richard Carnes and Bob Perry helped about 30 Rome High School students and several Cub Scouts clean headstones of Confederate Veterans. Afterward, the camp treated the volunteers to pizza and drinks.



Members of the **Chattooga County Camp 507**, Summerville, GA, visited the Chattooga County Historical Society in Summerville on Sunday, April 19, 2009, in honor of Confederate History and Heritage Month. The topic of the meeting was "The Battle of Trion Factory." Pictured are Camp Commander Dale Mitchell, Jamie Cavin, Dr. R. Dale Willingham, Stan Nix and Jim Nicholson.



The **Stephen R. Mallory Camp 1315**, Pensacola, FL, Commander Ken Daniels and Ronny Miller are pictured with the Florida Honor Guard in Beauvoir for the Jefferson Davis Birthday Celebration.

Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan and Wisconsin Divisions



Pictured is the 10th Annual First Brigade, Georgia Division Confederate Memorial Event, held at the Georgia Monument on Chickamauga Battlefield on Sunday, April 26, 2009. The featured speaker was William Latham, who gave an excellent speech, with Freddie Parris, Jr., commander of **The State of Dade Camp 707**, Trenton, GA, acting as master of ceremonies. Dignitaries attending included Georgia State Senator Jeff Mullis as well as city councilmen from Fort Oglethorpe, GA and a representative from US Senator Johnny Isakson's office.



Members of the **Lieutenant Jonathan Bressler Camp 1536**, Cincinnati, OH, gathered for a camp picnic at Compatriot Rod Eversole's house, Waynesville, OH, May 9, 2009.



Compatriots of the **Theophilus West, M.D. Camp 1346**, Marianna, FL, welcome Real Son and Compatriot Buford Sims as the their only Real Son. Compatriot Buford Sims is the son of Private Isaac Sims of Co. F, 6th FL Infantry. Private Sims served in the same company from 1861 thru May 1865.



The **Savannah Militia Camp 1657**, Savannah, GA, completed a restoration project of more than 400 Iron Crosses of Honor on the graves of Confederate Veterans at Laurel Grove Cemetery in Savannah, GA. Participants in the project included Ron Coats, Fred Royal, Cecil Greenwell, T. K. Rahn, Rick McCracken, Duncan Whithead and Danny Hightower, along with the assistance of Jim Willis and William Osburn, **Camp Davis 2073**, Springfield, GA, and Dr. Ira Couey, **Francis S. Bartow Camp 93**, Savannah, GA.



Commander Jeffers presents Belle Boyd Chapter 1, OCR, Illinois, President Judith Esarove with a Certificate of Appreciation for the chapter's years of support of **Camp Douglas Memorial 1507**, Chicago, IL.



Captain Winston Stephens Camp 2041, MacClenny, FL, members Larry Rosenblatt, Jon Georgi, Thomas Going and Alvin Kyle along with James (Doc) Gipson (not pictured), attended the Tampa Flag Dedication. Our hands were some of the last to touch the Flag as the crowd shouted "Let Her Fly"!!!!

Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan and Wisconsin Divisions



Lieutenant Colonel William Luffman Camp 938, Chatsworth, GA, has enlisted in the Adopt-A-Highway project and gathers to clean the roadsides of Highway 411. Pictured from left, Jerry Shipman, Mitchell Parker and Jimmy Luffman, nephew of Lt. Col. William Luffman.



In August 2009, DeWitte T. Cross, Jr., a member of the **General James Longstreet Camp 1289**, East Point, GA, with the help of some cousins, placed a VA grave marker at the grave of Confederate Veteran Thomas Hart Benson Cross at Angel Station in Calhoun County, AL.



Commander Larry Lee of the **Ten Islands Camp 2678**, Ohatchee, AL, recently set a headstone and a Confederate Cross of Honor at the Beulah Baptist Church Cemetery in Boaz, AL, for his great-great-grandfather, Peter H. Long, who served as a private with Company G, 39th, Georgia Infantry.



The **General Stand Watie Camp 915**, Calhoun, GA and Company G, 28th GA Volunteer Infantry reenactors sponsored a headstone dedication for Larkin V. McEntyre on July 25, 2009. Private McEntyre was a member of Company B, 8th GA Battalion, Army of Tennessee and lies at rest in Sisk Cemetery, Plainville, GA.



New member Paul Reynolds is sworn into the **Captain C. B. Vance Camp 1669**, Batesville, MS, by Commander Donald Wright, Jr.



Travis Bayles, a member of the **General E. A. O'Neal Camp 478**, Florence, AL, recently visited the Confederate Monument on the grounds of the Texas State Capitol in Austin, TX.



Army of Tennessee



The Nassau Red Shirts Color Guard of the **General Joseph Finnegan Camp 745**, Nassau County, FL, are followed by the 3rd Florida Infantry as they enter Brickyard Cemetery, Kings Ferry, for Confederate Memorial Day services in April 2009.



Anthony Harvey of **Finley's Brigade Camp 1614**, Havana, FL, celebrates his seventeenth birthday. Anthony won the Gold and Silver awards competing in the Florida Special Olympics last summer.



The **Lieutenant Dickson L. Baker Camp 926**, Hartwell, GA, gives away a sword each year at Christmas. Pictured from left are Hunter Barton, Real Son H. V. Booth, Harrison S. Barton with the sword and Mathew Hill.



Commander Mike Webb of the **William Thomas Overby/Coweta Guards Camp 715**, Newnan, GA, presents certificates of appreciation to Compatriots Cody Mulkey, left and Jonathan Mulkey both of Camp 715 for essays submitted on the 200th Birthday of Confederate President Jefferson Davis. The essays were submitted to the Army of Tennessee Essay contest. Cody placed second in his age group for his essay.



Life member Harvey Hill Brandenburg, Jr. and son Reid, both members of the **Major General William D. McCain Camp 584**, Columbia, TN, recently installed an Iron Cross at the grave of Harvey Hill's grandfather, Corporal Rufus K. Brandenburg, 1st GA Infantry Reserve, in Haralson, GA.



Middle Tennessee SCV and OCR members participated in their nineteenth straight Veterans Day Parade right down the middle of Broadway in Nashville, TN. The crowd always warmly receives the marchers and flags. Thanks go to the Tennessee Veterans Affairs Department, and especially John Furgess.

Army of Trans-Mississippi



With flags flying and people cheering, the **O. M. Roberts Camp 178**, Waxahachie, TX, float made its way along Main Street in the Waxahachie July 4, 2009, parade. Thousands lined the parade route. Waxahachie has a proud Confederate history and is a Confederate-friendly town.



Annually on August 20, the birthday of Tucson, Arizona is celebrated. This celebration in part, includes the flags which flew over Tucson. The 1st National Flag of the Confederacy flew over Presidio San Augustin del Tucson, AZ Territory, CSA from February to May of 1862. Pictured from left, Commander John E. Potenza, **Captain Hunter's Arizona Rangers Camp 1202**; Commander Bobby Morris, Gadsden Brigade, AZ Division; President Gretchen Brittain, John R. Baylor Chapter UDC and AZ Division Commander Richard Montgomery.



Members of the **Dick Dowling Camp 1295**, Beaumont, TX, recently presented an SCV Commendation Medal to recipient and camp member William D. "Bill" Quick. Pictured from left, Don Smart, David Nelson, Bill Quick and Camp Commander Warren Guidry.



Father James Monroe (right), a member of the **Albert Sidney Johnston Camp 67**, Houston, TX, received the UDC National Defense Medal in a ceremony held October 2, 2009, at the UDC TX Division convention in Sugar Land, TX. Mrs. Lyn Knapp (second from right), president of UDC Chapter 2609, Houston nominated Father Monroe for the medal. Pictured from left are Chris S. Knapp, member of SCV Camp 1648, and his wife Doris; Lyn Knapp and Father Monroe.



Members of the **Richard Taylor Camp 1308**, Shreveport, LA, pose on the steps of the Arlington Hotel at the 2009 National Reunion. Pictured from left, ATM Councilman Paul Gramling, Ron Hecht, Commander-in-Chief Chuck McMichael, Evan McMichael, Steve Shipp, Landon Gramling, David Hill, Ben Head, Scott Summers, Ardis Lowrey, J.C. Hanna, Camp Commander Bobby Herring, and Will Mason.



In October 2009, members of the **Major James Morgan Utz Camp 1815**, Florissant, MO, visited Palmyra, MO. Pictured are John Lewis, Chuck Knight, Camp Commander Billy Ed Bowden and Bob Arnold.

Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, Missouri, Oklahoma, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, California, Iowa, Kansas, Washington, Oregon and Utah Divisions



Compatriot Ben Burns, right, of the **Captain James W. Bryan Camp 1390**, Lake Charles, LA, and his cousin, Jerry Alford, left, with the assistance of former 1390 Commander Steve Travis Lanier, installed a new Confederate grave-marker for his great-grandfather 1st Sgt. Jamerson Pearl Fussell of the 9th Battalion LA Partisan Rangers on August 28, 2009, at the Fussell Cemetery in Washington Parish, LA.



Pictured is Compatriot David Hubbard, **Brigadier General William Steele Camp 1857**, Leavenworth, KS. David recently graduated from the US Military Academy, West Point, where he was commissioned into the infantry. He was appointed to West Point, from North Carolina, where his permanent residence is located.



Members of the **JO Shelby Camp 1414**, Harrison, AR, assisted descendants of Private William Jackson Moore in securing and erecting a headstone for his unmarked grave. During the weekend of Memorial Day 2009, the family of Private Moore gathered from five states to pay their respects. The 8th AR Field Artillery was privileged to do the Military Honors. Sgt. Bob Ruff presented the eldest descendant with a folded Confederate Flag.



The **2nd Texas Frontier Camp 1904**, DeLeon, TX, and the Cactus Rose Chapter 23 of the OCR prior to the lineup for the DeLeon Peach and Melon Festival on August 8, 2009.



Pictured are members and ladies of the **Gustav Hoffmann Camp 1838**, New Braunfels, TX, as they participated in the Comal County Parade, September 2009, in New Braunfels. Hoffmann, a Prussian, was New Braunfels' first mayor and a lieutenant colonel in Company B, 7th Texas Regiment, CSA.



On July 20, 2009, Adjutant Heath Roland of the **Major Thomas J. Key Camp 1920**, Kansas City, KS, set this headstone at Eastside Cemetery in Hutchinson, KS, for Private John A. Beasley of Co. I, 7th KY Cavalry. On right is Jim Converse, relative of Private Beasley, and a member of the Sons of Union Veterans.

Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, Missouri, Oklahoma, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, California, Iowa, Kansas, Washington, Oregon and Utah Divisions



Private Connor McMinn of **Terry's Texas Rangers Camp 1937**, Cleburne, TX, enjoys Pioneer Days at the Chisholm Trail Museum.



New Mexico Division Commander Jim Red, Brigade Commander Dave Lavandowski, and **Brigadier General Henry Hopkins Sibley Camp 2075**, Albuquerque, NM, Commander Jim Houghton welcome new recruits and compatriots Dan Gear and Ken Hamm to the organization.



Texas Bonnie Blue Camp 869, San Antonio, TX, conducted a memorial service for the 14 Confederate veterans buried at the Oak Rest Cemetery in Medina, TX, on June 27, 2009, and was supported by several area SCV camps and the TX Order of Confederate Rose. Providing the color guard, from left, Gaylan Harrison, **Hill Country Camp 1938**, Fredericksburg, TX, members Robert Goldsborough, Stephen Short, Paul Burrier and Don Taylor and piper William Jones of the Camp 869.



Members of the **Iowa Division** held a graveside ceremony for Confederate Veteran John W. Jackson, buried at the Calvary Cemetery just east of Marengo in October 2009. They continue to research Iowa cemeteries and records to locate Confederate veterans who might be buried there.



Compatriot Mark Skelton who is a member of the **W.W. Heartsill Camp 2042**, Marshall, TX, owns this truck.



Louisiana Division members pay their respects at the grave of General Leroy Stafford after the Fall Assembly in LeCompte, LA. Pictured standing from left, Will Mason, Mike Jones, Curt Tipton, Thomas Taylor, Kevin Adkins, Division Commander Charles Lauret, Fred Adolphus, Bobby Herring, Charles Neal, Bill Price, Adrian Flower and ATM Commander Todd Owens. From left, kneeling, David Hill, Scott Summers, John McGibboney and Jimmy Aymond.



Army of Trans-Mississippi



At the October 2009 meeting Ernie Roberts was formally inducted into membership of the **A. S. Johnston Camp 983**, Decatur, TX, by Commander Don Niblett. Compatriot Roberts' ancestor was his great-great uncle John M. Dorris, private, Co. E, 17th TX Infantry, Walker's Division.



Marcus Davis, owner of White Horse Trading Post, Tyler, TX, was presented the Advance the Colors Award from the **Joseph L. Hogg Camp 972**, Rusk, TX, on January 31, 2010. The Advance the Colors Award is given by camps to persons who fly the Confederate flag at their business or similar building. Pictured from left, Rod Acker, Kevin McCall, Scott Bell, Tom McCall, Owner Marcus Davis and Camp Commander J. D. Campbell.



New officers for the **Texas Lonestar Greys Camp 1953**, Schertz, TX, are installed. Pictured from left are John McCommon, Dan Carroll and Commander Tim Swinney.



At the March 2010 meeting of the **Colonel Leon Dawson Marks Camp 1596**, Shreveport, LA, newly elected officers were installed. Pictured from left, Commander John Preston, Charles Moore, Mrs. Jim Moore, Jim Moore, Don Zesch, Justin Hardin and Vernon Lane.



Texas Bonnie Blue Camp 869, San Antonio, TX, held a grave dedication for Daniel Wayne Furguson, CSA, Sequin, TX. Pictured from left are Terry Dunn, Linda Miller and Commander John Miller.



Camp Commander Lynn Hartt and son Christopher Hartt, both of the **Captain Jesse Amason Camp 282**, Center, TX, just completed setting the stone for their ancestor, 1st Corporal James A. Hartt, 14th TX Cavalry, Ector's Brigade.

Welcome to the Sons of Confederate Veterans

ALASKA

CSS SHENANDOAH 1820
ANCHORAGE
HICKS, GRANT STEPHEN
HUBBARD, CHRISTOPHER CHAD

ALABAMA

RAPHAEL SEMMES 11
MOBILE
TAYLOR, SELDEN KIRKWOOD

GEN. ROBERT E. LEE 16
AUBURN
STEVENS, BRUCE H.

EGBERT J. JONES 357
HUNTSVILLE
PUTMAN, RANDY EUGENE
SIMS, STANLEY EARL

DENT'S ARTILLERY 486
EUFULA
BOYD, BARTLEY K.

CAPT. THOMAS H. HOBBS 768
ATHENS
JONES, EDWARD RONALD
JONES, JOE MICHAEL

FIGHTING JOE WHEELER 1372
BIRMINGHAM
ISELL, LARRY MICHAEL

THE PRATTVILLE DRAGOONS 1524
PRATTVILLE
JONES, JACK A.

CAPT. WILLIAM HOUSTON
SHELBY 1537
COLUMBIANA
REMETICH, RICK ANDREW

COVINGTON RIFLES 1586
ANDALUSIA
BALLARD, PERRY ORELL
BALLARD, TERRY BRETT
MOTT, JAMES VERNON

WINSTON COUNTY GRAYS 1788
HALEYVILLE
HUNTER, KEVIN SHANE

FORT BLAKELEY 1864
BALDWIN COUNTY
KRALIK, DAVID ALLEN
McCAMISH, RAOU L VAN
McKEE, DAVID KELLEY
WILLIAMS, PAUL E.

THE TALLASSEE ARMORY
GUARDS 1921
TALLASSEE
HART, TYLER NATHANIEL
NORRIS, JAMES DANIEL
TUGGLE, MARK McDONNELL
VENABLE, CLAYTON KIMBALL
WHATLEY, BYRON LYNCH
WHATLEY, THOMAS McKEE

CAPTAIN HENRY C. SEMPLE 2002
MONTGOMERY
JENKS, BRENT ALAN
KING, CHRISTOPHER DOYLE
KING, WILLIAM DOYLE

PVT. WILLIAM M. CARNEY 2088
ATMORE
SMITH, J. MIKE

TEN ISLANDS 2678
OHATCHEE
HAMM, DONALD SHANE
TUCKER, TERRY WAYNE

ARKANSAS

GEN. JO SHELBY 1414
HARRISON
BAKER, CHARLES R.
SMITH, CLINTON WAYNE

MAJ. FONTAINE R. EARLE 1453
FAYETTEVILLE
LOVE, LAWRENCE ROBERT

1ST LT. ELBERT L. STEEL 1623
LEWISVILLE
PIPKIN, NATHAN WAYNE

ARIZONA

CPT. GRANVILLE H. OURY 1708
SCOTTSDALE
DOOLEY, BRANDON LEO

CALIFORNIA

FATHER A. J. RYAN-SAN DIEGO 302
SAN DIEGO
ROSS, VINCENT R.
SULT, MARK EDWIN

COLORADO

GOV. CHARLES S. THOMAS 2126
GRAND JUNCTION
DAVENPORT, JAMES J.

FLORIDA

GENERAL JOSEPH FINEGAN 745
YULEE
BRADLEY, JOHN ROYAL
HIGGINBOTHAM, BRANDON
JOHN
SHRONCE, JAMES K.

JOHN HANCE O'STEEN 770
TRENTON
BASFORD, JON FRANK

KIRBY SMITH 1209
JACKSONVILLE
FULLER, ROBERT G.
HARROLD, ANDREW CARLTON

CAPTAIN FRANCIS ASBURY
HENDRY 1284
SEBRING
DAVIS, MARK BENJAMIN

COL. DAVID LANG 1314
TALLAHASSEE
ROBERTS, JOHN YOUNG

STEPHEN RUSSELL MALLORY 1315
PENSACOLA
SMITH, WILLIAM EDWARD

BRIG. GEN. EVANDER M. LAW 1323
LAKELAND
FENNELL, ROBERT DALE

THEOPHILUS WEST M.D. 1346
MARIANNA
MORSE, CHARLES E.

CAPT. J. J. DICKISON 1387
MELBOURNE
BONNY, DENNIS EUGENE

WILLIAM HENRY HARRIS 1395
FT. LAUDERDALE
ADAMS, THOMAS EDWARD

JACOB SUMMERLIN 1516
KISSIMMEE
FORSYTHE, STEPHEN PAUL
GREER, MONTY L.

FINLEY'S BRIGADE 1614
HAVANA

MAXWELL, JOHN ELBERT

DIXIE DEFENDERS 2086
CROSS CITY
O'STEEN, MARION MICHAEL

GEORGIA

GENERAL LAFAYETTE MCLEAWS 79
FAYETTEVILLE
JONES, CARSON SAMUEL
JONES, HAROLD HARRISON

MAJOR WILLIAM E. SIMMONS 96
LAWRENCEVILLE
STATHAM, ROSS EDWARD

LT. COL. THOMAS M. NELSON 141
ALBANY
POLLOCK, DAVID ALTON

BRIG. GEN. E. PORTER
ALEXANDER 158
AUGUSTA
COOK, THOMAS THEODORE

GEN. HENRY LEWIS BENNING 517
COLUMBUS
MASSEY, NORMAN GENE
MASSEY, TIMOTHY DENNIS
MASSEY, WYATT THOMAS

BLACK CREEK VOLUNTEERS 549
SYLVANIA
MALLARD, KERRY ROSS

GEN. JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON 671
DALTON
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CHAMBLISS, PAUL NELSON
WOOD, BOBBY RALPH

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CREEKMUR, ROY L.

CURRAHEE RANGERS 935
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WHITE, DAVID McNEIL

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GREEN, STEPHEN DOUGLAS

McLEOD-MORING 1386
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HENRY, ROBERT HOLMES

GEN. WILLIAM J. HARDEE 1397
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SOUTHER, RICHARD LANE

JAMES T. WOODWARD 1399
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KELLEY, THOMAS ANDREW

27TH GEORGIA REGIMENT 1404
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NESBIT, DENNIS RAY

GEN. LEONIDAS POLK 1446
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WILLIAMS, DOUGLAS JACKSON

COL. HIRAM PARKS BELL 1642
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BOYD, DAVID P.
PRITCHARD, CLAUDIUS H.

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MILLER, MICHAEL THOMAS

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LOCKHART, CASEY MICHAEL
LOCKHART, LESLIE RICHARD

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BEEKS, DEVIN ALAN
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RITCHIE, JOHN FRANKLIN
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KENTUCKY

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ROSE, GARY CLINTON

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GEN. LLOYD TILGHMAN 1495
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LITCHFIELD, VICTOR LEE
LOFTON, DAVID LYNN
LOFTON, MARK ANTHONY
LOFTON, WILLIE JAMES

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COOLEY, NICHOLAS PATRICK

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LEGER, ALBERT JAMES

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COLE, STACY LYNN

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NOVAK, JEFFREY THOMAS

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PFEIFFER, ERIC MARSHALL

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COUNTY 2174
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**GEN. WILLIAM R. SCURRY 1385
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YOUNGER, KEVIN RAY

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THOMAS, BOBBY RAY

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HAYDEN, ROBERT THOMAS
HAYDEN, TRAVIS MORGAN
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TERRY, JOHN THOMAS

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Pictured are Real Sons Jim Brown, a member of the Captain Hunter's Arizona Rangers Camp 1202 in Tucson, AZ (left) and H.V. Booth, a member of the Lt. Dickson L. Baker Camp 926, Hartwell, GA, (right) attending our 115th National Reunion in Anderson, SC, on July 21-24, 2010.

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If you prefer to send a one-time donation (not association membership) to help with the ongoing work, please make your check payable to Oakwood Restoration Fund, P.O. Box 114, Leesylvania, VA 22015-0114.

The Virginia Division, Sons of Confederate Veterans is a 501(c)(3) charitable organization under IRS Code.

Books in Print

reenacting community, as well as living historians who visit schools regularly. These pictures display an authentic and tangible presentation that many find difficult to explain in words. It also verifies many presumed thoughts about how a person might dress, and dispels other assumed notions.

As a side note, the author Donna Abraham mentions in the introduction the solemnness of the subjects is due to the fact they were “trying to look dignified as in earlier oil paintings of their ancestors.” While this may be true, the main reason for this is it took several minutes for one to have his or her photograph taken. Any movement would cause a blur on the slide. Some photographers even used braces to help their clients remain immobile. In this day of digital cameras, it is hard to imagine one shot was all, unless you were willing to pay for an additional time. Unfortunately, having one’s picture taken was expensive. Now, consider smiling without moving the mouth for a long period of time — thus the solemn look.

Author: Donna J. Abraham
Publisher: Abraham’s Lady, LLC
www.abrahams lady.com
Paperback \$12.00

Reviewed by Cassie A. Barrow

The Southern Mind Under Union Rule — The Diary of James Rumley, Beaufort, NC

Diarist James Rumley was born November 12, 1812, and lived his whole life in Beaufort, North Carolina. Appointed Clerk of Court for Pleas and Quarters in 1848, Rumley served continuously in this Court or the Carteret County Superior Court until his death on December 15, 1881.

Editor Judkin Browning took the

contents of this diary from two sources, a copy of handwritten excerpts published in 1910 in *The Look Out*, Beaufort’s weekly newspaper, and a typescript version. These diary entries are available at the North Carolina State Archives. The original Rumley diary does not exist, but several sources confirm James Rumley wrote these entries during a 41-month period during 1862 and 1865. Interestingly, this Diary contains no personal information about James Rumley.

Editor Browning has written an extensive introduction that explains the background of Beaufort during these War years, the particular way of life in this coastal community, and mind-set of the natives.

Rumley’s first Diary entry begins “On the morning of Thursday the 13th of March 1862, the inhabitants of Beaufort were aroused by the sound of heavy cannonading in the direction of New Bern....” Federal troops under the command of General Ambrose Burnside occupied Beaufort following this battle. Rumley lived under federal occupation throughout the War Between the States and Reconstruction.

According to the Diary, Rumley outwardly maintained a civil demeanor toward the oppressors, but poured his hatred of their morals, thieving, and lying corruption into his entries. Beaufort during the War Between the States was not solidly Confederate. Rumley deplored this lack of staunch Confederate commitment and privately criticized townspeople who owned businesses for taking the Oath of Allegiance and co-existing with the enemy. Rumley did not take the Oath until pressure and threats forced him to do so, and he never considered his Oath to the US Government to be morally binding. On many occasions, Rumley wrote letters to Army officials to protest the taking of private property from citizens accused of Confederate sympathies.

The Confederate forces raised in this area in 1861 and 1862 were enlisted as militia and promised they would stay home to protect property and people. With the turning tide of War, many Carteret County militiamen deserted the Confederacy. Some joined the federal army and were designated “Buffaloes.” Others were content to avoid the conflict.

Rumley wrote the following entry, dated March 2, 1864 “Of the Buffalo troops captured by the Confederates at Batchelor’s Creek, above New Bern, nineteen who were recognized as deserters were hung on the 13th and 16th of February at Kinston.” Browning’s footnote reads “Twenty-two North Carolinians serving in Company F, 2nd Infantry Regiment were tried and hanged

for desertion by Confederates in Kinston.”

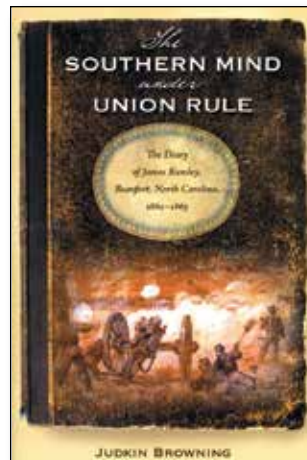
Rumley’s hatred of everything Northern flavors his Diary entries and makes this record of North Carolina coastal history sweet to Confederates and Southerners reading this volume today. He bemoans the breakdown of morals and tradition caused by these traitors who invaded the South.

Editor Browning has compiled meticulous research into extensive footnotes that accompany Rumley’s Diary entries. Browning presents a complete history of the War Between the States in this area of coastal North Carolina, as well as other historical facts occurring during the years 1862 to 1865.

Southern history lovers and especially North Carolina Confederates will enjoy having *The Southern Mind Under Union Rule* on their bookshelves.

Author: Judkin Browning
Publisher: University Press of Florida
www.upf.com
Hardback \$34.95

Reviewed by Ann Rives Zappa



... In the Beginning ...

170 men, chosen by a special state-wide election, carefully and deliberately decided on December 20, 1860, that South Carolina would secede from the Union. The South Carolina Secession Convention was unanimous in its decision, and each elected delegate signed the Ordinance of Secession. These men were the first to say "no more!" to an increasingly overbearing federal government. The South Carolina Division will erect an impressive monument to the memory of these patriots in the Charleston area during the Sesquicentennial. Your help is needed, and you can be part of this major project. There are several ways for camps, individuals, and businesses to memorialize a signer, an ancestor, a camp namesake, a camp, a family or an individual.



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NOTICES *From Around the Confederation*

Kentucky Appeal for Support in Flag Defense Case

During the 2008 national reunion in Concord, North Carolina, Kentucky's then Lieutenant Division Commander Bazz Childress was arrested for flying a Battle Flag in his motel window. He vowed to fight the situation. First, Kentucky and later the entire assembled SCV vowed support for his effort. Near the end of that year, the case finally came to court in Cabarrus County, NC, and Bazz was completely exonerated of all criminal charges. Of course, the flag had still been ripped down, and Bazz had still been arrested and had had to secure an attorney and drive to North Carolina to defend himself!

That being true, he, again supported by the men of the Kentucky Division and the entire SCV, filed suit against the motel chain and the local operator for falsely seeking his arrest and for having violated his civil rights. That civil case is wending its way through the legal system. It is proving to be an awesome process, especially in financial terms. Thus far, the legal fees attached to the civil suit have been paid by the men of the Kentucky Division. Now the Division hopes to broaden the base of financial support with an appeal to the general Confederation.

If it is at all possible for any camp, Division or individual member of the SCV (or anyone else interested in promoting the rights of a Southerner to display our flag anywhere, anytime) to contribute to this effort, please do so by mailing a donation to Adjutant, Kentucky Division SCV, PO Box 583, Pikeville, KY 41502. Please make checks payable to "KY SCV" attn:Childress Fund. Our expenses thus far have approached \$10,000. We need twice that much more, at least, to win in the civil system. We intend to take the fight to them and win, not just break even. Please take this opportunity to strike a blow against political correctness and in support of the Confederate Battle Flag.

Point Lookout Memorial Service Scheduled

On the north side of the Potomac River, where it enters the Chesapeake Bay, is a sandy spit of land called Point Lookout. During the War for Southern Independence the Union established a prisoner of war camp there. The camp was built to hold 10,000 Confederates. The union crowded more than 20,000 Confederates, blockade runners, and Southern sympathizers in the pen.

Conditions at Point Lookout Prison Camp were horrible. Although available, basic necessities such as simple housing, proper medical care, sufficient food, and adequate clothing were denied. One blanket was issued for every three men. As a result, thousands of Southerners died of starvation or disease. During the winter, many froze to death. The dead were buried in a mass grave.

On Saturday, October 9, 2010, the Captain Vincent Camalier Camp 1359 will host the Point Lookout Memorial Service in the Point Lookout Cemetery at 11 am. Following the service will be refreshments in the nearby Confederate Memorial Park. For more information, contact Chris McCall, 864-505-0334, e-mail Cstopher66@comast.net

National Fall Reenactment Planned Near Memphis

The national reenactment event of the fall will be the Twin Rivers Campaign: "Advance from Ft. Henry – Grant vs Forrest," "Battle of Collierville – Sherman vs Chalmers," "Battle of Ft. Donelson 1 & 2 – Floyd vs. Grant" on November 11-14, 2010 – Collierville (Memphis), TN. A Blue-Grey Alliance event. All of the usual amenities provided. Unscripted skirmishes beginning on Thursday and scripted recreations of the attempted breakout at Fort Donelson on Saturday and Sunday, plus Confederates' attack on the fort and Sherman's train at the Battle of Collierville. Battles Thursday,

Friday, Saturday (2), Sunday. Recreated fort and town of Dover. Elegant Ladies' Tea, and Grand Ball featuring the 52nd Regimental String Band.

The event is centrally located for all Western Theatre reenactors; pristine site of rolling hills, woods, lakes, fields, at the 3,000-acre Piperton Hills Ranch (Hwy 72, 2.6 miles south of Collierville at Hwy 196. Collierville, TN, is 15 miles east of Memphis). No modern intrusions. All camps available. Register on-line at www.cleburnes-division.com or www.firstfederaldivision.com. Registration is \$20. Pre-registration only; no walk-ons so to better plan amenities.

US commander is Brigadier General Terry Crowder of First Federal Division; CS commander is General Joe Way of Cleburne's Division. Co-hosted by the Battle of Collierville Association, www.colliervillebattle.org. For more information, contact Lee Millar, president, Battle of Collierville Association Inc., PO Box 562, Collierville, TN 38027-0562, www.colliervillebattle.org

Bid Notice for 2014 SCV National Reunion

Bid packages for those wishing to host the 2014 SCV Reunion are due by January 15, 2011. They should be sent to Chairman Joe Ringhoffer at 1211 Government St., Mobile, AL 36604 or e-mailed to ringhje@aol.com. Bidders should include in their proposals the cost of guest rooms at the hotel(s), any parking fees, host hotel flag-display policy, meeting facility layout, projected registration cost and any other pertinent information. This information is needed in addition to the bidders' plans for tours and events and information about attractions in the area. Preliminary bids shall also include a floor plan of the space (hotel or convention center) which the bidder intends to use. Bidders should indicate what room they intend to use for each main convention function (business meetings, awards luncheon, banquet,

ball, army meetings, True Confederate History Talks, vending area, etc.).

The guidelines for hosting a convention can be obtained from Chairman Joe Ringhoffer at the e-mail address above. The Convention Planning Committee can also provide information on the numbers of delegates which attended past conventions, how many persons attended various events at the convention and the number of hotel room nights booked at past conventions to assist bidders in preparing their bids.

The place and date of the meeting of the Convention Planning Committee, where bidders will make their formal presentations, will be announced after receipt of the bids. For more information, contact Chairman Ringhoffer at 251-402-7593.

Constitution Amendments Due Date for 2011

Compatriots,

The Due Date to submit proposed amendments to the SCV Constitution and Standing Orders for consideration at the 2011 Reunion in Montgomery, Alabama (July 23-16, 2011), is February 10, 2011. They must be sent to Judge Advocate-in-Chief Burl McCoy and Executive Director Ben Sewell by this date.

Amendments can be submitted by e-mail or by US Mail. If sent by e-mail, the date stamp on the e-mail message must be on or before February 10, 2011. Amendments submitted by e-mail should be submitted in an MS Word file attached to the message. If submitted by US Mail, the postmark must be on or before February 10, 2011.

Judge Advocate-in-Chief McCoy can be reached at rmccoy@mccoyandwest.com or at PO Box 1660, Lexington, KY 40588-1660. Executive Director Ben Sewell can be reached at exedir@scv.org or PO Box 59, Columbia, TN 38402.

Please be sure to include your name, your camp name and number and your contact information on any amendment submitted. Those submitting amendments may also include a brief statement describing the reason the amendment is proposed. Executive Director Ben Sewell will confirm

receipt of amendments submitted.

Please let me know if there are any questions regarding the submission of amendments.

Chief of Staff Colonel Jim Speicher, 913-962-9986; e-mail colspike@hotmail.com

Tennessee's Inaugural Sesquicentennial Event

In commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the American Civil War, Tennessee's Sesquicentennial Commission announces the state's Inaugural Sesquicentennial Signature Event. Taking place November 12 and 13, the theme of this historic milestone is "The Coming of the Civil War." Governor Phil Bredesen will kick off the event at the Tennessee Performing Arts Center's Jackson Hall beginning at 10 AM CST on November 12.

"The sesquicentennial commemoration of the American Civil War is important to all Tennesseans," said Governor Phil Bredesen. "This inaugural event, which begins the five-year recognition from 2011-2015, will create conversation, stir interest, and help people develop a greater appreciation for history and acknowledge the role this war played in the lives of all Americans."

The Tennessee Sesquicentennial Signature Event will consist of historical discussions, stories and reenactments in addition to music by the internationally acclaimed Fisk Jubilee Singers and special appearance by country superstar Trace Adkins. In addition, the historical significance of local attractions such as the Tennessee State Capitol, Tennessee State Museum, Bicentennial Capitol Mall State Park, Tennessee State Library and Archives and the Tennessee Performing Arts Center will be highlighted. State-sponsored activities will be held in downtown Nashville throughout the two-day event. Special recognition for Tennessee's Civil War Trails communities and their efforts in sustaining the state's history will also play an important role in the event. "We know the Civil War Sesquicentennial will focus the world's attention on this pivotal time in our nation's history. We expect thousands of visitors to make their

way to Tennessee to learn about the state's role in the war," said Commissioner Susan Whitaker, Tennessee Department of Tourist Development and co-chair of the Tennessee Civil War Sesquicentennial Commission.

The Keynote Address - *The Coming of the War* - will be presented by historian and author Sam Davis Elliott. Additional speakers will cover the following topics:

- Overview of the Civil War
- The Election of 1860
- Black Tennesseans, 1856-1861: During the Storm Clouds Before the Civil War
- Tennessee's Once and Future Military Leaders
- Tennessee Women Prepare for the War
- Was Secession Inevitable?

"Tennessee is creating a national model for how to plan and to commemorate the Civil War Sesquicentennial by sharing how the war impacted families, farms and towns across the state as well as leaving tens of thousands of brave soldiers dead on its 38 designated nationally significant battlefields," said Dr. Carroll Van West, director of MTSU Center for Historic Preservation and Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area and co-chair of the Tennessee Civil War Sesquicentennial Commission.

Tennessee is the only entire state designated by the US Congress as a Civil War National Heritage area. Another important Sesquicentennial initiative is Tennessee's Civil War Trails program. The program is part of a multi-state Civil War Trails initiative which interprets and creates driving tours of both the great campaigns and the lesser-known War sites. Tennessee, second only to Virginia in War sites, joins four other states in this important project. The entire program has been identified by the National Trust for Historic Preservation as one of the most successful and sustainable heritage tourism programs in the nation.

Registration for Tennessee's Sesquicentennial Signature Event is free and open to the public. For more information, please visit www.tnvacation.com/civil-war/events or contact patria.gray@tn.gov or lee.curtis@tn.gov. Registration can be e-mailed to vionne.williams@tn.gov. 

Dispatches From the Front

ball jersey. As it turned out, that too was offensive and Colonel Rebel is no more since he was "too closely linked to the Old South." We have been told we can still be Ole Miss and the Rebels, but it is only a matter of time until those names are eliminated. Then and only then will the PC crowd rest. The sad thing is that so many young Southerners have grown up with the sanitized/ politically correct version of history that they do not utter a whimper.

I totally agree with my fellow SCV members that feel we should stand firm on the Battle Flag issue. The very name "Sons of Confederate Veterans" will always be offensive to the PC crowd, and changing our logo will serve no purpose. I do get amused that the PC crowd is so ignorant of history that they would *buy into* the First National or perhaps the Bonnie Blue as acceptable substitutes. Most of the vocal ones do not know what those flags actually are.

Harry R. Bledsoe
Captain Clem V. Rogers Camp 481
Lexington, Oklahoma

We must change people's attitudes about flag

To the Editor,

I was reading the *Confederate Veteran* and I ran upon the letter "Suggesting to change the SVC Logo." I can appreciate Rev. Collins' letter and his feelings. But, I do have to voice a rather strong objection. I do this with all humility and respect for Rev. Collins. These are my objections. First, why do we have to surrender our logo. It is a surrender. Second, we have more a right to it than anyone else to the Battle Flag. Third, we are real Americans.

The use of the Battle Flag is a very pronounced image and it is our responsibility to change the attitudes of the people. Maybe those others who misuse it can find something else to use. They use the American Flag too, so do we sacrifice that as well? How far do

you want to retreat?

Second, The SCV has more of a right to use the Battle Flag than anyone. If people would just grow up and get over the fact it is part of our organization's symbol. If Muslims and everyone else has rights, so do we. The perceptions of others should be respected as my perception on this crazy world. The fight for Southern Independence is a Southern perception and it is our pride, and if they have a problem with it, then they should just get a beer and get over it. It is a Southern thing. There are less of us than any group in the nation. Why can't people just ignore this?

Third, to comment that we are not "real" Americans is rather naive. The South has always produced good military soldiers. Our women are beautiful. My wife is a very green-eyed beautiful gal. Rev Collins needs to take a very deep breath and accept that the Battle Flag is here to stay. This is all I have to say on this.

Michael Robinson
Colonel Hiram Parks Bell Camp 1642
Cumming, Georgia

We should be flying the Battle Flag more often

To the Editor,

It was with disbelief I read the letter to change our logo.

With all due respect to the Rev. Collins, striking the colors is an act of surrender. To change the logo would give comfort to an enemy dedicated to the total and complete destruction of all things Confederate.

I feel like, for the sake of the misinformed public, we should fly our Battle Flag, use our Battle Flag on our vehicles as use of bumper stickers, window decals, and instead of fighting the uninformed, it is our "duty" to see that these people are informed. We must visit all the school programs we can and speak the "Truth" about the War. Our children are getting lied to every day by teachers who sadly don't know the truth themselves.

I have four Battle Flags tattooed on me and I sure don't feel like I should cover them up when I go out. I am very proud of who and what I am.

I stand by: Remember the charge

of Stephen Dill Lee. It should be taught to everyone who will listen. I use it all the time in talks and services.

We Southerners have given up enough! We have been pushed around, lied on, spit on and have suffered from every kind of ridicule possible. This is one thing we should not give in to. I know that I'm not, never will. It would break my heart to see our logo changed, cause I'm gonna keep flying our Battle Flag on my arms as tattoos, on my vehicle with bumper stickers, on my house where I fly three Confederate Flags outside and a couple inside. After all, people, Robert E. Lee surrendered in 1865. I didn't!

Tex McKnight
Sabine Rifles Camp 2057
Many, Louisiana

'Double the size of the Battle Flag'

To the Editor,

The very idea of changing the SCV logo by removing the Battle Flag is appalling.

My suggestion is to double the size of the Battle Flag and make it so that it glows in the dark.

Buddy Kirtland
Maj. General Wm. D. McCain Camp 584
Collinwood, Tennessee

Let's take back our Heritage

Dear Compatriots,

I'd like to thank y'all for your informative, kind and some not-so-kind input on our logo issue. All I was doin' was commenting on a prior article, not get y'all riled up, and great feedback.

Gentlemen, I'm not understanding y'all's perception, that I insinuated "surrender" or "giving in" concerning dropping our Battle Flag for the First National, so simmer down, boys. I'd just as soon leave it alone, too, but here's a reality check and a challenge.

Concerning our security of our public and not-so-public archives, that affiliate our membership to undesirable entities under our own Constitutional Amendments, I propose a campaign to

Take Back Our Flag.

We have the right and resources to block the skinheads and Nazis from using our flags, at all, for any reason. Kind of a “disassociation” educational and national campaign of understanding, that that just isn’t who we are, nor will we continue to passively surrender our Heritage to serve their agenda, and frankly, their God.

So, Boys, whatcha gonna do? Education alone will not work, for it takes action.

I’m a former Marine, Nam Vet and descend from General William Barksdale of Mississippi and I don’t understand surrender but I do understand clearly a *Noble Cause*.

Where the rubber meets the road, my friends, is that it’s up to *US* to take it back; bygones be bygones. Let’s muster up some of that good ole intestinal fortitude that Southerners just seem to be blessed with and conjure up a structured, workable plan and legal action to “take and keep” our Heritage, protecting our archives from those who use it in a deceitful, dishonorable and degrading manner.

That’s the kind of Noble Cause I was raised to confront and defend; what about you? God Bless y’all and yours. Thanks again!

Remember, If we don’t obstruct others from using our symbols, we’re perceived as supporters, no matter what.

Rev. Michael Collins

*Maj. General Wm. D. McCain Camp 584
Klamath Falls, Oregon*

A lot of ignorance in the world today

To the Editor,

My camp and I traveled to Monroe and West Monroe, LA, to wave our flags across the Quachita River; as we were standing, a person passed by and gave us the finger. Then a man looked at us like we were doing something wrong. Sounds like they need a true history lesson about our great ancestors. But, gladly, 97 percent of the people were very friendly towards us. That next week, the Lt. Elijah H. Ward Camp 1971 hosted a Confederate His-

tory Month Rally, April 24, 2010, at the Courthouse in Farmerville, LA.

We were waving our flags; a woman passed by and called us the KKK. Do we have white sheets over our heads? No! Shows you how much ignorance and stupidity is in the world. They don’t try to learn, and some just don’t care to learn. We must not stop giving the charge that was given to us by Lt. General Stephen Dill Lee in New Orleans, LA, 1906. Keep teaching, keep showing our Southern heritage and remembering those who gave their lives for our liberty and Southern Independence. Deo Vindice!

*Damian Patton, 10th Grader
Lt. Elijah H. Ward Camp 1971
Farmerville, Louisiana*

Thanks to all who helped provide information

To the Editor,

I take pen in hand to drop you a few lines to say *Thank You* to the SCV members who have answered my request for information about Confederate ancestors two years ago.

I have three who were in Confederate service: Emile and Henry Lepage in the 54th Virginia Infantry Battalion-54th Militia and Harry L. Bullis in a Virginia Infantry Unit — I don’t know which one. That’s a great-great-grandfather and two great-great-uncles. It proved the family legends and stories correct.

I do living history at Echoes Through Time Learning Center and Museum. I also am involved with the 36th Virginia as a medic (hospital steward) as well as part of a gun crew in the Marlisen Light Artillery. Sometimes I carry the colors in a parade. I serve as General Robert E. Lee’s orderly. It’s a great honor. Echoes Through Time is the only WBTS Museum in Western New York State. We don’t want our veterans to be forgotten. It is for them that we wear the uniform, to keep history alive — Southern history. We also promote battlefield preservation.

I love *Confederate Veteran*. General Cleburne was right about the victors writing and teaching history. There are many people who have no knowl-

edge of American history. It’s very sad. It’s the same with Christian values. So much is lost today.

Again, thank you all for the genealogy information.

*Sincerely,
Barbara Lawrence
Buffalo, New York*

Ancestor would not stand in front of window/door

To the Editor,

The article on the Rebel Yell was very interesting. Also the article in the May/June 2010 issue by Jeff Finch of J. E. B. Stuart Camp 1506, Philadelphia, PA, was also very interesting.

My maternal grandfather would never speak of the War, but in 1959, he did, just the one time, and he said his daddy called the Rebel Yell the “Hollar.” My great-grandfather was Private John Wesley Ellison, 18th Vol. Mississippi State Infantry, McClung Rifles, Company E, CSA, was age 16 and a sharpshooter. After the war, he became a Methodist preacher and would never stand in front of a window or open door for the rest of his life.

*Gerald G. Gardner
General William R. Scurry Camp 1385
Albuquerque, New Mexico*

Confederate Veteran Deadlines

Issue Deadline for submissions

November/December 2010.....	September 1
January/February 2011 November 1	
March/April 2011.....January 1	
May/June 2011.....March 1	
July/August 2011.....May 1	
September/October 2011 July 1	

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Not About Slavery

Yet there is an important complication that needs to be addressed. As we have seen, nearly all Americans, including Southerners, as Lincoln acknowledged, believed that slavery *abstractly considered* is a violation of natural law. Consequently, slavery could be justified only by positive law, or by natural law, if and only if circumstances were such that eliminating it would do more harm than good.

This distinction between abstract principle and moral practice is difficult for Americans to grasp today because we have been trained to think about morals ideologically — to believe morality is mostly a matter of adhering to abstract principles. To be sure, believing in certain moral principles is a part of morality, but it is not the most important part. Moral merit attaches not to what one believes but to what one does or seriously intends to do. To believe in the abstract moral principle that slavery is wrong or that abortions of convenience are wrong conveys intellectual merit because one believes something which is true, but it conveys no moral merit unless it is part of an action intended to end the evil.

Let us call a critique of slavery based merely on assertion of an abstract moral principle *sentimental anti-slavery*. Such a critique enables one to feel good about oneself without having to do anything about ending slavery. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* enabled millions of Northerners to ignore slavery was a national evil and to feel good about themselves without having to acknowledge their own collective foundational and continuing participation in an economy dependent on slave-produced staples. Most criticism of slavery in the North throughout the antebellum period was rooted in sentimental anti-slavery.

The use of sentimental anti-slavery to mask (often morally unworthy) economic and political motives is morally corrupt because it singles out the

slave owner for condemnation (while willfully ignoring the institution is a national evil) and because the critic has no intention of actually doing anything (for which there would be a cost) to eliminate it. Jefferson unmasked the sentimental anti-slavery agitation over Missouri by sardonically observing that all the moralistic noise about preventing Virginia slaves from going to Missouri did not free a single slave in Virginia. The Missouri Constitution prohibited the entrance of any free Negroes, a provision which called forth no moralistic agitation, as it conformed entirely to Northern anti-Negro attitudes and practice.

That a genuine moral concern for the welfare of the slave played no part in the anti-slavery episodes we have examined so far should not be surprising. James Banner, a historian of New England Federalism, observed throughout the entire North after the Revolution and for the next half-century there was no interest in a genuine moral critique of slavery: "Save for a few isolated leaders, no one spoke out vigorously and continuously in defense of manumission, nor did the successful campaign against the slave trade engage the public interest or enter to any substantial degree into partisan debate."¹⁷

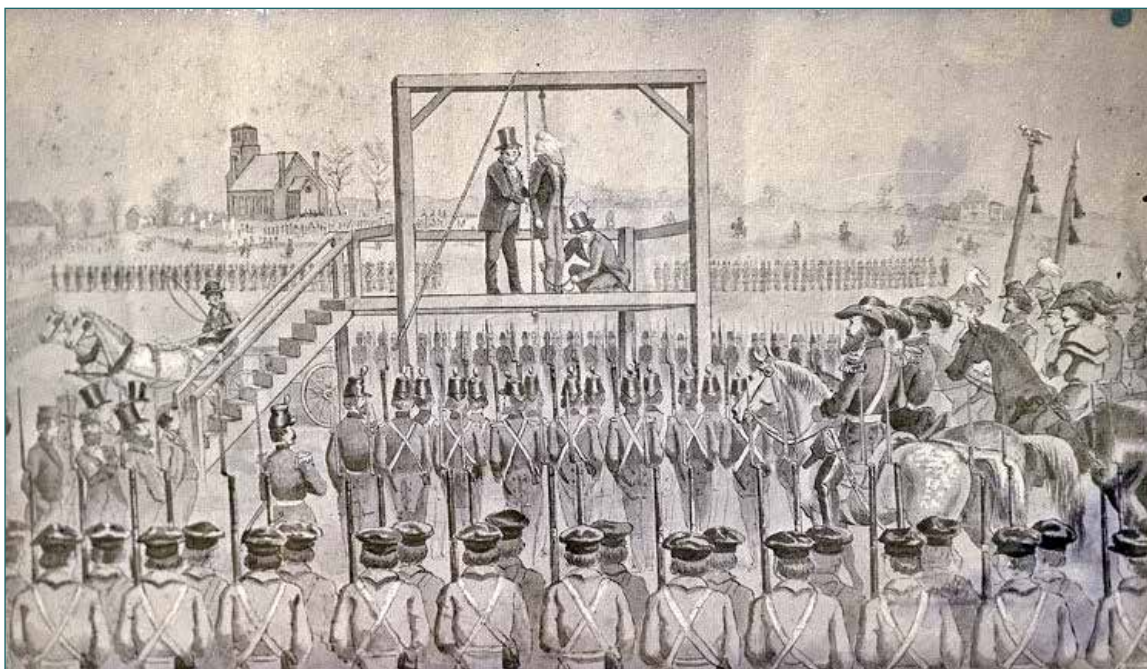
The fifth anti-slavery episode was that brought on by a small number of New England abolitionists, usually marked by the appearance in 1831 of William Garrison's journal *The Liberator*. One cannot accuse the New England abolitionists of sentimental anti-slavery. They certainly felt good about themselves for professing the abstract proposition that slavery is wrong, but they also called for action and were prepared to suffer for the cause. They held that slavery is a sin committed by the South against humanity, and they demanded immediate and uncompensated emancipation. The abolitionists at first proposed what their New England fathers had proposed in 1804-1814,

namely secession of the North from the South. This would free them from complicity in the slave economy and fatally weaken the institution in the South. Jeffrey Hummel, in *Emancipating Slaves and Enslaving Freeman*, has recently defended this abolitionist argument that secession of the North was the best way to end slavery.

As the Abolitionist movement developed, however, more violent methods were urged. Lysander Spooner of Massachusetts, a libertarian thinker of some merit, proposed infiltrating the South with armed units that would join black escapees and poor whites to form insurgent groups in wilderness areas. Spooner wrote to Bostonian abolitionist leader Wendell Phillips in 1840: "I think in five years, 500,000 men in the North would join and that nearly all the non-slave holders of the South would be with us. Cultural elites such as minister Theodore Parker, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and Stephen Foster encouraged the plan." Wendell Phillips paid for printing 500 copies of a handbill explaining the plan, and hoping, as he said, to "spread panic" among Southerners. The South was flooded with flyers and pamphlets of this kind proposing insurrection and advocating terrorist tactics such as poisoning well water and the like.

In time the hatred of abolitionists would be directed to all Southerners — whether they owned slaves or not. John Brown killed Southern farmers in Kansas who did not own slaves and was praised by New England elites for doing so. His mission to seize weapons at the Federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry for a slave insurrection was funded by New England elites.¹⁸ After it failed, he was executed, and immediately became an abolitionist hero and martyr. Today he is still admired by a certain kind of American.

The only part of the Abolitionist movement that had moral merit was the early effort to effect the North's se-



The hanging of John Brown on December 2, 1859.

cession from the Union as the best way of putting slavery on the road to extinction. That proposal had real promise of effecting a beneficial change. But it was the terrorist part of the movement that came to dominate. That part, however, must be repudiated as morally reprehensible. The project of ending slavery is a morally worthy one, but not if one uses immoral means. Some 50 million babies have been killed in America through abortions, usually for the purpose of birth control. That is morally reprehensible, but it does not justify killing abortionists or bombing abortion clinics, which is the counterpart of what abolitionists recommended for Southerners. This Puritan vision of slaying in the name of the Lord is celebrated in *The Battle Hymn of the Republic* which sadly has become an icon of American national identity.

Mainline historians either praise the abolitionists or are muted or mild in their criticism. It is said that, though violent and uncompromising in their rhetoric, they at least awoke the North to the moral problem of slavery. But they did no such thing. All they did was loudly assert an abstract moral principle to which they professed allegiance, demonize Southern character, demand immediate and uncompensated emancipation, and advocate terrorist tactics. No one had to tell Ameri-

cans slavery abstractly considered is a violation of natural law. That was not the moral problem. The *moral problem* was to put forth a practical proposal to end slavery that would do more good than harm to all sides concerned. This would have to include some form of *emancipation*, *compensation* to slaveholders, and *integration* into American society.

Abolitionists, however, had nothing to offer but immediate and uncompensated emancipation, and failing that, terrorism. These demands were as unjust as they were practically impossible. No emancipation could be just that did not include compensation, and that was not proposed. The abolitionists made no contribution whatsoever to the real *moral challenge* posed by slavery. What they did was heat passions up to the boiling point, making rational discourse about the problem impossible. Their legacy lives on in the effacement from collective memory that slavery was a national evil (demanding a national solution, which Americans failed to provide) and in the self-congratulatory demonization of Southern character. It is this legacy that informs the official story that the war about slavery.

And perhaps here something should be said about Calhoun's famous remark that slavery is a positive

good. This has been twisted by historians to mean that Calhoun repudiated the American principle that slavery is a violation of natural law in favor of the unAmerican principle that slavery is a positive good. But he did no such thing. He made clear that he was not talking about slavery as an *abstract moral principle* at all, but about the merits and demerits of an actual practice which the Union had inherited.¹⁹

By the 1830s Southerners were confronting an unreal situation. Their character was constantly vilified by abolitionists who let their imaginations run wild in decrying the evils of slavery, real and imaginary. Yet no morally responsible proposal was put forth to eliminate it. Since Northerners were not prepared to do anything about eliminating the institution, Calhoun shifted attention away from abstract principle to an evaluation of the actual practice — something would have to be done in any serious attempt to reform or eliminate it. He argued the practice in fact did not corrupt the virtue and patriotism of Southerners as was claimed. And as to slaves, he observed they had arrived, a people torn from their tribal roots, in a barbarous condition, but over time had gradually become civilized, Christian and a part (though a subordinate part) of Southern society. It was simply a fact, he said, that Africans had progressed

under slavery, and Calhoun placed no limit on the future progress they could make. He urged the vicious attacks on Southern character cease (which advanced no practical agenda in eliminating the institution) and the institution be reexamined in another ten years.

Calhoun taught that liberty is a reward for virtue. This logically implies blacks who achieved the required level of virtue should be given more responsibility, and eventually freedom. Calhoun did not go out of his way to stress this point nor to propose a plan of gradual emancipation, but neither did anyone else at the time. The crude, ideological way historians have treated Calhoun's claim the institution of slavery had achieved some positive good is symptomatic of how ideological Americans have become and how deeply entrenched is the error that to claim allegiance to an abstract moral principle confers moral merit. Such historians can see in Calhoun's remark only the assertion of the abstract moral principle that slavery is not a necessary evil but a positive good. From this they conclude Calhoun was an odious

man. They simply cannot see he was not talking about principles at all, but was offering a concrete evaluation of the practice in the particular context of an American Union that had never intended for Africans to be part of the polity. Far from being odious, Calhoun appears as a judicious man of practical wisdom among strident moral adolescents who confuse allegiance to abstract principle with moral merit and who cannot perceive any moral merit which is not accompanied by a confession of allegiance to an abstract moral principle.

And it should be added though abolitionists made much of the abstract principle that slavery is wrong, most of them shared the racist attitudes of most Northerners who recoiled from association with blacks. Senator Benjamin Wade of Ohio was a towering figure in the Abolitionist movement, but he abhorred contact with blacks. He arrived in Washington in 1851, describing it as "a God forsaken N..... ridden place." He complained, "the food was all cooked by n..... until I can smell and taste the n....." Looking for a

housekeeper in 1874, he complained "for mere n..... power it will cost over \$500 a year." He was determined to find a "white woman" because, "I am sick and tired of n....." Wade said he did not like blacks, but he hated Southerners more.

The sixth anti-slavery episode was prompted by the Kansas-Nebraska Act which abolished the Missouri Compromise line. Slavery would now be allowed in Western states if they chose to have it. The Act was passed in 1854. Prior to that time Lincoln had been silent on slavery. As a lawyer he had taken on the case of a slave owner seeking return of his slaves who had fled to Lincoln's state of Illinois for freedom. He supported the cruel black codes in his state, and urged colonization of Africans abroad. But his political career was at its lowest point, and so after 1854, he began playing the anti-slavery card.

Prior to the war, Lincoln offered no practical solution to the moral challenge of slavery other than deportation. And though he rejected the abolition-

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ists because of their demand for immediate and uncompensated emancipation, he followed them in treating adherence to abstract moral principle as identical to morality. He said that the great struggle confronting Americans was that "One section of our country believes slavery is *right*, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is *wrong* and ought not to be extended" [Lincoln's italics].²⁰ Here the conflict is structured in purely ideological terms as a philosophical conflict between contrary beliefs in abstract moral principles, and not as a conflict over practical proposals of how to eliminate the evil of slavery. We are led to think Southerners simply think slavery is right and so are evil, while Northerners think it is wrong and are good.

But the truth was just the opposite. Americans were not divided between those who think slavery, abstractly considered, is right and those who think it is wrong. Most agreed that it violates natural law, but Northerners, did not want to live with free Africans in their midst. They were opposed to slavery in principle, but could not see eliminating it without having to integrate free blacks into their states, and that was not on the table for discussion. But to take that view is, in effect, to say slavery is acceptable as a practical matter. All of the practical difficulties and complications which emerge from a thoughtful understanding of the *real moral challenge* posed by slavery are flattened out by Lincoln and reduced to a conflict of belief about abstract principles. Rather than see this as a failure in moral understanding, it is celebrated today as a *moral achievement*.

This explains why our popular history presents Lincoln as a moral giant in his opposition to the westward expansion of slavery. The great man, it is thought, drew a line in the sand beyond which the slave power could not go. But the no-slavery-in-the-West agitation which brought Lincoln to power (like the quarrel over allowing slavery in Missouri), had nothing to do with a moral concern for the liberation and welfare of the African population. It was about white Northern and Western interests which, among other

things, included keeping free Negroes out of the West.

Moreover, there was no realistic possibility the plantation system could move west. As Charles Ramsdell has shown, the geography of the West did not lead itself to large-scale plantation agriculture.²¹ In the Western territories, under the Missouri Compromise line, where slavery could have expanded, there were only 17 slaves in 1860. But more importantly, there were moral limits. As we have seen, Western states were determined to keep free blacks out of their territory. Slave owners in Western states could never be secure. Those who ventured out soon left. There were 55 reported slaves in Kansas in 1856. By 1860 there were only two. The prospect of slavery moving west in the mid-fifties when Lincoln began exploiting the issue that made him president was nonexistent. The real reason was stated by Charles Eliot Norton of Massachusetts, a militant liberal activist, a professor of art and literature at Harvard, and said to be one of the most cultivated men in America. He supported the free soil movement in the West in order to "confine the Negro within the South."

Instead of proposing a national solution to the moral problem of slavery as he should have done, Lincoln played on racist fears and demonized the South as a great slave power likely to extend slavery not only over the West, but over the entire United States! This claim was preposterous, but Northerners were whipped up into a mass hysteria and believed it. Its legacy survives today in the myth that the war was about the South's desire to protect and expand slavery.

It is true Southerners insisted on the right to use the common territory as a matter of constitutional right, even though many knew it would not be used in practice to expand slavery. To renounce that right would mean the loss of other constitutional rights in a sectional Cold War over economic, political, and constitutional differences stretching back some fifty years. Besides, much good could come from allowing slaves to go West. As Jefferson suggested, one practical good would be that slaves could be taken West for

emancipation. Diffusion of the African population over the continent would ease the racial tensions which would inevitably arise from emancipation. A small minority of blacks could be more easily integrated into white society than a large block of thirty to forty percent of a state's population.

Here was a real morally responsible proposal for gradual emancipation. Instead of deporting blacks to Africa, as Lincoln proposed, why not use the vast unoccupied territory of the West to allow slaves to work out their freedom? Southern philanthropists opposed to slavery secured land for just this purpose. John Randolph was one of these. He strongly supported the entrance of Missouri as a slave state, though he hated slavery. He provided in his will that property be bought in Ohio for the comfortable accommodation of 300 of his freed slaves. But the white citizens of Ohio refused them entrance. The freedmen returned to Virginia and asked to be wards of the state.

Why did not Lincoln urge a nationally funded program of gradual emancipation in the Western territories? The answer is that he lacked the moral courage and even the inclination to challenge the racial prejudices of his time. This is understandable, but it sits uneasily with the myth of the *Great Emancipator* and friend of black equality.

The no-slavery-in-the-West platform that Lincoln ran on was merely a code word for no-Africans-in-the-West, slave or free. As a historian of Kansas put it, "The western settlers did not talk about the sinfulness of slavery; they despised the Negro." The editor of the influential *Chicago Tribune* said the North's greatest fear was "if the slaves were liberated, they would become roaming vagrants; that they would overrun the North and subsist by mendicancy and vagrancy; and that from the day they were made free, they would cease to work." That might well be true if they had to live under the black codes of Lincoln's Illinois, but not if they were gradually emancipated, endowed with basic civil rights, and given their own farms in the vast unsettled West.

The editor of the *Chicago Times* said "There is in the great masses of the people a natural and proper loathing of the Negro, which forbids contact with him as with a leper." Senator Sherman of Ohio, brother of the Union general, said although most Northerners opposed slavery in the abstract, they were also "opposed to having many Negroes among them." These were spurned and hated all over the country. The influential *Illinois State Journal* declared "The truth is the n..... is an unpopular institution in the free States ... we confess that we have, in common with nineteenth-twentieths of our people a prejudice against the n....." Governor John M. Palmer, who became governor of Illinois, said that race, not slavery, was the real problem confronting Northerners: "It is the presence of the Negro race: a race which the sentiments of our people doom to a condition of racial and political inferiority beyond the reach of all efforts for their elevation."

The editor of *The Milwaukee Sentinel* said the two races could never live together in peace: "Whether it is instinct, reason or prejudice, is scarcely profitable to discuss ... It exists throughout the whole North and time seems to do little or nothing toward molifying it." An abolitionist said this about his fellow Midwesterners who supported Lincoln's no slavery-in-the-West agitation: "They are more properly Negro haters, who vote Free-State to keep Negroes out, free or slave; one half of them would go for Slavery if Negroes were to be allowed here at all." The inherent sinfulness of slavery is not once thought of by them.

The Republican Party platform of 1856 declared "all unoccupied territories of the United States, and such as they may hereafter acquire, shall be reserved for the white Caucasian race — a thing that cannot be except by the exclusion of slavery." And Lincoln said keeping slavery out of the territories would free them from "the troublesome presence of free Negroes." *The New York Tribune* said barring slavery from the territories would "give them an opportunity to become what New England is now," namely a uniquely

white, morally superior, and enthusiastically commercial society unpolluted by Africans and racially compromised Southerners.

To conclude. There was certainly a lot of anti-slavery talk in the antebellum period, but it did not have the moral content the official story implies. We have examined the major anti-slavery episodes from the Philadelphia Convention in 1787 to the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. Not a single one was motivated by a moral intention to do something about freeing the African population or attending to its welfare. In every case the motive was the economic and political interests of white people in the North and West against those of the South. The African population was viewed from New England, throughout the North, and across the West as a pariah people to be removed from one's presence as far as possible.

The South did not secede to protect slavery from a national plan of emancipation because no national political party proposed emancipation. Indeed, there was greater legal protection for slavery in 1860 than ever. And the South did not secede to expand slavery into the Western territories because given its geography and, more importantly, the racial attitudes of Westerners, there was no realistic possibility of the plantation system moving West. Besides by leaving the Union, the Southern States lost all claim to the use of those territories. We should also note that the Confederate Constitution abolished the slave trade and allowed the entrance of non-slave-holding states. Confederates were not intent on spreading slavery to every state in the Confederacy, and the same people who wrote the Confederate Constitution were not disposed in the 1850s (contrary to Lincoln and the official story) to spread slavery throughout the United States.

It is true that some states gave attacks on slavery as their reason for seceding, but not all of them did. Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas at first refused to join the Confederacy. They reversed themselves after Lincoln ordered — what they considered an unconstitutional —

invasion of the seceding states. As Lee said, he did not want to live in a Union held together by bayonets. Those states that did give attacks on slavery as their reason for seceding did not have in mind resistance to a morally responsible nationally funded program of emancipation, but the virulent, irresponsible attacks of abolitionists. Their long advocacy of a slave insurrection and terrorism was put in practice by John Brown and supported by national cultural elites and even government officials. When the governor of Virginia requested the return for trial of fugitives of Brown's raid which had fled North, the governors of Ohio and Iowa refused to comply, even though the Constitution requires governors to return fugitives from justice to the state where the alleged crime occurred when requested by the governor of that state. South Carolina, Texas and Mississippi mentioned this break-down in the rule of law as one of their reasons for seceding.

And to this we should add Northern leaders, moving through the unchartered territory of the industrial revolution, were beginning to deny that America is a federation of States. They began talking of it as a unitary nationalist regime with the central government having plenary powers controlled, of course, by the North. This was contrary to the Jeffersonian vision of the Constitution as a federation of sovereign States, which dominated in the South and which was the view of many in the North as well. Lincoln got no electoral votes from the South. He was the first sectional president.

Southern fears the Republican Party was a revolutionary party seeking to destroy the federation of States in favor of a unitary state governed by the North was openly affirmed by Wendell Phillips, a nationally recognized leader in the abolitionist movement. Prior to Lincoln's election, he gave a speech explaining the meaning of the Republican Party: "It is just what we have attempted to bring about. It is the first sectional party ever organized in this country. It ... calls itself national; but it is not national, it is sectional. The Republican Party is a party of the North pledged against the South."²²

If there were indeed two sections, with such strong identities that one could be pledged against the other, why not separate them and have two distinct federations of States? The Union was morally dissolved prior to the South's secession.

The North did not acquire a "treasury of virtue" from prosecuting one of the bloodiest wars of the 19th century. Instead, it acquired a habit of self-righteousness and moral self-deception which unfortunately has become a national characteristic. Just as Northerners suppressed the obvious fact slavery was a national evil for which they bore some responsibility, so our popular history today cannot acknowledge the invasion and plundering of the South from 1861 to 1877 was an awful crime, as the great 19th-century liberal Lord Acton put it. Their very identity requires they view the conflict instead as a great moral struggle to abolish slavery, even though the antebellum North put forth no morally responsible proposal for eliminating it.

The official story that the war was

a great moral struggle for the "soul of the nation" only strengthens the disposition to self-deception and self-righteousness. The war could not have been a battle for the soul of the nation because America in 1860 was not a centralized nation-state that could be said to have a soul. It was an inchoate federation of sovereign states only 70 years old; it had grown in only 50 years to more than four times its original size, which was expanding to the Pacific; and in which secession had been publically acknowledged as an option in every section of the Union.

Our nationalist historians have made it virtually impossible to perceive the moral truth that the best solution to all the problems confronting the federation of States in 1860 would have been a peaceful division into two federations, which is what the early abolitionists recommended. That, among other things, would have ended the fear that Southerners would use the Western territories as a dumping ground for emancipated Africans because by seceding, they would have no

constitutional claim to those territories. Secession would also have hastened the extinction of slavery, which drew its strength from being integrated with the Union. Jefferson Davis himself said that secession would mean the end of slavery.

The official story that the war was about the South's desire to protect and expand slavery and the North's determination to abolish it is not merely an error in academic history. The evidence against it has not been ignored so much as it has been suppressed. It had to be suppressed because it contradicts the legitimating myth of the centralized nationalist regime that emerged after the war. Having been repeated so often, it has come to be believed because of repetition.

There is a lack of moral maturity in a regime that cannot confront its own moral failures, but constructs its national identity by projecting those failures onto a scapegoat. And this disordered view of moral reality accepted by both the people and their rulers cannot

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but have a deleterious effect on domestic and foreign policy. A great stride would be made in ending the ideological style of politics — so characteristic of Lincoln's rhetoric — which distorts the moral lens through which public conflicts are perceived, if the whole truth were told about the North's role in slavery, in constructing racial attitudes, and in its failure to even remotely confront the great moral challenge posed by slavery.

But that would require writing a quite different kind of history from the one taught to the public over the past 50 years. Indeed, it would require seriously rethinking the standard narrative of post-bellum American nationalism. Such a history is long overdue. As I hope to have suggested in this essay, there is no lack of evidence to support writing such a history.

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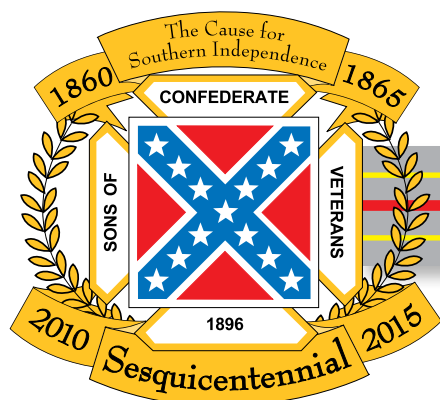
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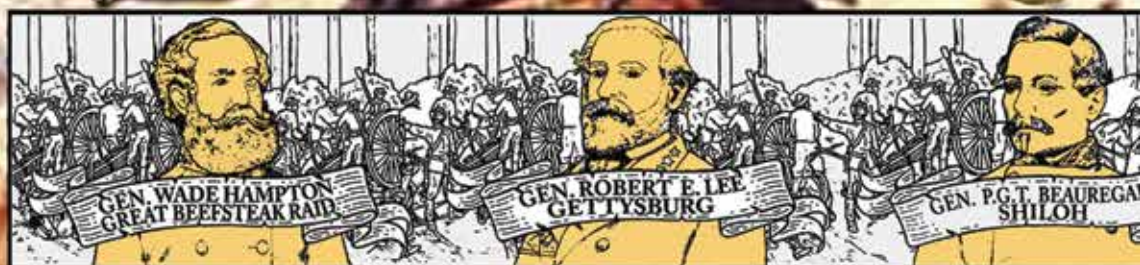
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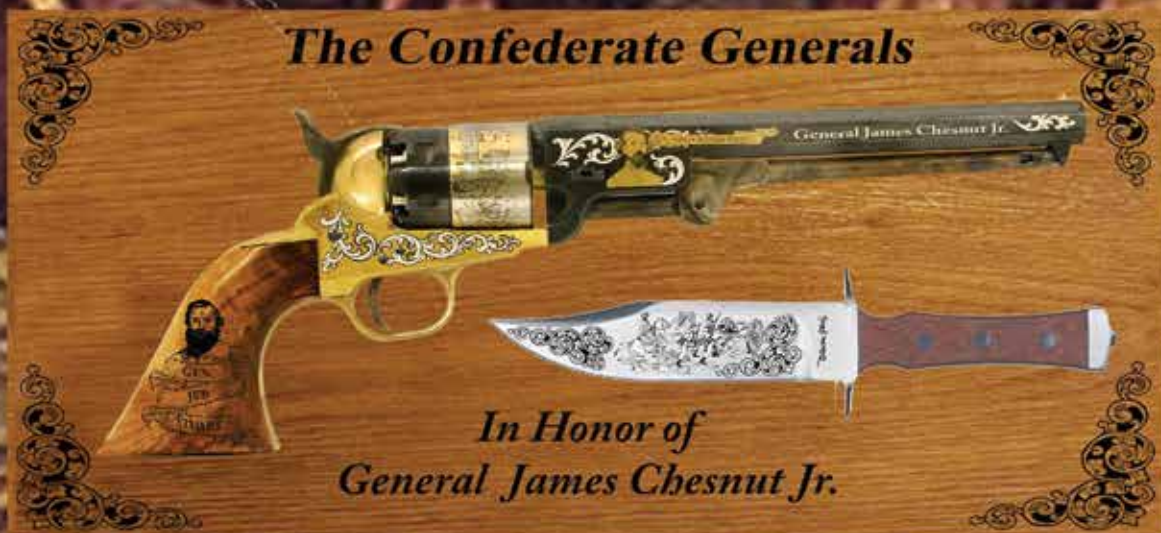
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