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## The Evolution of Post- World War II Civil War Commemoration: Intersections Between Race and Memory at Harpers Ferry

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## Abstract

The National Park Service administration of Harpers Ferry National Historical Park exemplifies the conflicts and concerns which characterized America's post- World War II commemorative landscape. Harpers Ferry's unique historical significance requires that racial issues be addressed, and even that race play a central role in its commemoration. It is thus a particularly illuminating location at which to observe confrontation over the racial meanings of the Civil War. The challenges encountered at Harpers Ferry, however, are in many ways representative; they were echoed throughout the South, and across the nation, as America sought to establish a new place for the Civil War within national memory. Through Harpers Ferry's unique story, reflections of a nationwide struggle can be

seen.

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The Civil War is frequently described as the central event in the course of American history, a crossroads so nationally defining that knowledge of its substance is fundamental to understanding the political, social, and cultural landscape of contemporary America. <sup>1</sup> Despite and because of its paramount national significance, the legacy of the Civil War has been the subject of fierce disagreement and debate, beginning even before the war's end and continuing into the present day. The nature of the war's remembrance and commemoration represents a critical battleground in the dispute over the meaning of America's cardinal conflict. Exploration of the struggle for ownership of Civil War memory illuminates the manner in which contention regarding its derived message has achieved lasting relevancy in American society.

The decades immediately following the Civil War and Reconstruction represent the first stage in the battle over the war's significance, a conflict over the politics of Civil War memory which resulted in the establishment of an interpretive narrative that was to remain dominant and largely uncontested through the Second World War. <sup>2</sup> This period was characterized by the collision of three visions of the war: an emancipationist, a reconciliationist, and a white supremacist interpretation. <sup>3</sup> The achievement of national reunion required that the racial legacy of the Civil War be sacrificed on the altar of reconciliation; an interpretation of the war which placed emphasis upon the shared nobility of all who fought, avoiding the issues of slavery and freedom entirely, triumphed over the conflict's potential as a springboard to the establishment of racial equality. <sup>4</sup> As long as white supremacy was acceptable within the fabric of American society, this legacy remained a functional compromise, uniting the nation on a platform of shared whiteness. However, the post- World War II era brought challenges to the predominance of white supremacy which undermined the admissibility of this approach. The success of the Civil Rights movement in the 1950s and 60s, which itself embraced an emancipationist vision, forced a re-evaluation of the Civil War's place within national memory. The eventual embrace and inclusion of the emancipationist racial legacy within mainstream remembrance of the Civil War was prefaced by a period of struggle, during which the desire to use the war's commemoration to facilitate non-confrontational patriotism and unity warred against the belief that not only remembering, but furthering, the Civil War's promise of racial equality would be a more truly American act. Continuation of this conflict can be seen even in modern day America.

As was the case in the post- Reconstruction era, remembrance and commemoration at historic sites of Civil War significance represented a major stage for the enacting of post- World War II conflicts over legacy and memory. As the government organization responsible for managing all national parks and historic sites, the National Park Service was required to navigate between

competing beliefs regarding Civil War memory, both shaping and responding to national forces through its actions.<sup>5</sup> The National Park Service administration of Harpers Ferry National Historical Park provides an example of the conflicts and concerns which characterized the post World War II commemorative landscape, and the manner in which the Park Service responded to them. Because Harpers Ferry's unique place within American history requires that racial issues be addressed, and even that race play a central role in its commemoration, it is a particularly illuminating location at which to observe the confrontation over the racial meaning of the Civil War. However, despite being in some respects a place of singular import among National Park Service Civil War sites, the struggles encountered at Harpers Ferry are in many ways representative; they were echoed throughout the South, and even across the nation, as America sought to establish a new place for the Civil War within national memory. Through Harpers Ferry's unique story, reflections of a nationwide struggle can be seen.

The events which thrust Harpers Ferry into the nineteenth century limelight, forging a place for the placid Virginian town within the narrative of national history, began in 1859.<sup>6</sup> In that year John Brown, a zealous white abolitionist who had already made a name for himself by leading a small army of supporters in violence against proslavery settlers during the conflict following Kansas' opening for popular- sovereignty settlement in 1854,<sup>7</sup> moved to a farmhouse just across the river from Harpers Ferry. Motivated by religious faith and the deep- seated conviction that slavery was irreconcilably immoral, Brown believed that it was his personal God- given duty to bring about its demise. To that end, he planned to orchestrate and lead an armed slave insurrection that would spread across the whole of the South, bringing with it freedom and the destruction of the plantation system. Harpers Ferry, a minor industrial center and the site of a United States armory and arsenal, appeared to Brown the ideal jumping-off point; a supply of weapons would be readily available, and the farms of the surrounding Shenandoah Valley would furnish him with sufficient initial support, in the form of slaves and free blacks, to allow the rebellion's rapid progress into the Deep South. Before US army forces were able to reach secluded Harpers Ferry, Brown calculated, he and his men would have already been able to establish defenses in the town.<sup>8</sup>

Brown's rebellion was short lived, and doomed from its inception. On the night of October 16, 1859 he led a small band of armed followers into Harpers Ferry, easily establishing control over the sleeping town and cutting communications to the outside world. Yet in spite of this initial success, no slaves flocked to join him. His initial 'army' of 21 men was insufficient to prevent angry townspeople from quickly retaking the town, cornering Brown and his men in the Harpers Ferry engine house. The raid's failure was already evident when U.S. Marines arrived in Harpers Ferry on the morning of October 18, capturing the engine house occupants and ending the stand-off. Brown was rapidly placed on trial in Charles Town, Virginia, and found guilty of murder, conspiracy, and treason against the state.<sup>9</sup> The verdict, death by hanging, was

carried out on December 2, 1859.

Despite the strategic failure of Brown's raid in directly bringing about slavery's end, his actions inflamed sectional tensions, and by so doing contributed significantly to the outbreak of the Civil War. Fearful Southerners concluded that most, if not all, Northerners supported Brown's actions; if Northerners were willing to endorse an armed abolitionist insurrection on federal property, how could Southerners feel secure within the United States? Most Northerners actually condemned Brown's raid, and strove to distance themselves from his actions in an attempt to prevent sectional strife. However, an abolitionist minority lauded the nobility of his sacrifice and mourned his death as a martyr to the cause of freedom. These vocal expressions of sympathy and solidarity with Brown, however unrepresentative of general Northern sentiment, were sufficient to lend perceived credence to Southern fears. The revelation that a number of powerful national figures, including several Senators and respected abolitionist Frederick Douglass, had had knowledge of Brown's plans, in some cases even providing him with financial and moral support, served to generate further Southern mistrust. In an already tense sectional atmosphere, Brown's raid polarized the nation, underscoring the vastness of the perceived ideological gulf between North and South. Scarcely a year later, the Civil War broke out.

Having been skyrocketed to a place of national prominence through the actions of Brown, Harpers Ferry continued on to play a significant role in the Civil War itself. Because it was home to an armory and arsenal, Harpers Ferry was a prize both the Union and the Confederacy fought repeatedly to acquire. Because it was situated in a strategically indefensible location, at the bottom of a valley overlooked by mountains, control over Harpers Ferry switched between opposing forces 8 times during the course of the war, leaving the town in ruins by 1865.<sup>10</sup> While Harpers Ferry did recover somewhat from the effects of the Civil War, it never returned to the industrial and economic strength it had held during the antebellum period. Instead, the ruins and wreckage left behind stood as a physical memorial to the significance of the Civil War era at Harpers Ferry.

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Harpers Ferry's military and symbolic Civil War role became the subject of commemorative attempts beginning almost immediately after the war's conclusion. Commemoration focused primarily upon the legacy of John Brown and the Harpers Ferry Raid, to which there were divergent interpretations. African- Americans, and others who embraced the emancipationist meaning of the Civil War, perceived Brown as a key player in the struggle for freedom, and his Harpers Ferry action as the symbolic opening act of the national Civil War.<sup>12</sup> In recognition of the location's inspirational significance a school for the education of newly freed blacks, Storer College, was opened in Harpers Ferry in 1867.<sup>13</sup> Harpers Ferry was additionally the object of many African- American commemorative pilgrimages, with the "John Brown Fort," the engine house which was the site of the abolitionist's last stand, a particularly popular

destination.

Before the white- supremacist vision had firmly established itself as the dominant Civil War narrative, the celebration of abolitionist advancements and the glorification of Brown's perceived heroism were accepted components of the war's memorialization, particularly in the North.<sup>14</sup> Yet as white-supremacists fought to dictate the racial significance of the Civil War across the South, white residents of Harpers Ferry struggled against Brown's commemoration there. Townspeople agitated for the removal of the John Brown Fort, hoping that the disappearance of this emancipationist symbol would quell future attempts to celebrate Brown at Harpers Ferry.<sup>15</sup> The Fort was sold in 1891 to the John Brown Fort Company, which dismantled the structure and shipped it to Chicago, where it was displayed as a part of the 1893 Columbian Exposition.<sup>16</sup> It was returned to the Harpers Ferry area in 1896, but restored at an unpopulated location in nearby Bolivar Heights as part of a failed attempt to establish a park and community surrounding the icon. The Fort's new non- obtrusive physical placement removed it temporarily from playing a central role in the controversy surrounding the Harpers Ferry memory of John Brown.<sup>17 18</sup>

Despite the Fort's absence, the commemoration of Brown at Harpers Ferry did not come to an end, nor did attempts to memorialize his acts through the use of the town's physical landscape. African- Americans led by Frederick Douglass, a contemporary and benefactor of Brown, sought to erect a monument to Brown at Harpers Ferry. In 1895 an obelisk honoring Brown was placed at the original site of the Fort, now the property of the nearby B&O railroad.<sup>19</sup> This public glorification of John Brown's significance was visible to tourists, both black and white, who visited Harpers Ferry, whether for commemorative or recreational purposes. Its presence presented a continued frustration to local whites.

The pro- John Brown narrative embraced by African- Americans and represented by the erection of the obelisk did not remain the sole interpretation of the Raid's meaning to be memorialized at Harpers Ferry. In 1895 the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) was established, an organization intended to honor the Civil War sacrifices of the South, and promote a Southern interpretation of its legacy. A key aspect of this Southern, white- supremacist Civil War perspective was the assertion that the slavery had not been the primary cause of the conflict. To the contrary, African-Americans had been contented as slaves, and would have continued so but for the provocations of abolitionists.<sup>20</sup> In order to further the acceptance of this argument, and present a justification for the continued subjugation of African- Americans, members of the UDC wished to create a "faithful- slave monument," a celebration of blacks who had remained loyal to the South during the Civil War.<sup>21</sup> The UDC sought a fitting subject and location for such a memorial, and found one at Harpers Ferry.

Heyward Shepherd, a free black who worked as a baggage handler for the B&O railroad, was the first victim of John Brown's raid. Upon hearing the commotion as Brown's men stopped a train from passing through Harpers Ferry and spreading news of the rebellion, Shepherd came out of his office to investigate the situation and was shot, for failing to halt when ordered to do so.<sup>22</sup> Because Shepherd had accepted his subservient place within Southern society, and was killed by the very men who had sought to achieve his freedom, he was perceived by West Virginian anti- Brown historian and committed Sons of Confederate Veterans member Matthew Page Andrews as an ideal candidate for faithful-slave memorialization.<sup>23 24</sup> This suggestion was embraced by the UDC, which in 1930 received permission from the Harpers Ferry town council to place such a memorial within town boundaries. The monument would sit across the street from the Brown obelisk, presenting a symbolic counterweight to the abolitionist perspective.<sup>25</sup>

The monument was unveiled on October 10, 1931, coupled with UDC and SCV speeches which lauded the loyal service of African- Americans like Heyward Shepherd, additionally defending slavery and criticizing the actions of Brown. Henry McDonald, the white president of neighboring African- American Storer College, participated in the ceremonies. The paternalistic, white-supremacist implications of the memorial's inscription (see Appendix A for the complete text of the memorial) were widely criticized by African- American groups including the NAACP, as was McDonald's endorsement of the monument's racially biased message.<sup>26</sup> Despite such protests, the Heyward Shepherd memorial became a central part of Harpers Ferry's memorial landscape. Through post- war conflict between black and white interpretive responses, Harpers Ferry became a part of the national conflict over the nature of the Civil war's memory and legacy. In Harpers Ferry, the erection of the faithful slave monument indicated that the forces of white- supremacy had triumphed.

The drive to achieve Harpers Ferry's inclusion in the National Park system risked re- opening old conflicts over the racial legacy of the Civil War. Though Harpers Ferry had been identified as a potential national historic site during a federally sponsored survey following the Historic Sites Act of 1935,<sup>27</sup> its actual designation as such, and the subsequent acquisition of sufficient land to eventually gain National Park status, required extensive lobbying on the part of various West Virginians committed to the national commemoration of history at Harpers Ferry. During these efforts, which lasted from 1935 through Harpers Ferry's establishment as a National Monument in 1953, local opposition to the promotion of John Brown significantly undermined support for the remembrance of Harpers Ferry history through a national memorial. West Virginia Congressman Jennings Randolph, who introduced a bill allowing for the establishment of Harpers Ferry National Park three times before it finally became law in 1944, was forced to underplay the role of John Brown in order to stem negative publicity surrounding the campaign. Area press, including the *Baltimore Sun* and the *Shepherdstown Register*, repeatedly conveyed the

unsavory notion that Randolph's park would glorify the cause of John Brown, even sometimes reporting that the memorial would be known as the "John Brown Military Park."<sup>28</sup> Southern heritage groups such as the UDC and SCV were already against the creation of the monument, decrying it as a "backdoor entrance into the original plan to honor John Brown and his ersatz brand of freedom;"<sup>29</sup> the suggestion that the memorial would be named in explicit commemoration of John Brown appeared to confirm this suspicion, fueling further protest. In the interest of a successful monument campaign Harpers Ferry lobbyist Mary Vernon Mish worked to separate Harpers Ferry from the issue of John Brown, publicly criticizing newspapers which implied the two were one and the same.<sup>30</sup> Instead, emphasis was placed on the unique coalescence of natural and historic assets which made Harpers Ferry an ideal site for urban tourists seeking the "restorative" effects of national attractions.<sup>31</sup>

While de-emphasizing the significance of John Brown in the future of the proposed Harpers Ferry National Monument did serve to ease its passage, it did not represent a viable strategy to inform growth and interpretation at the Monument. John Brown occupied a place of such unavoidable centrality in asserting the historical import of Harpers Ferry that to develop the Monument while sidestepping acknowledgement of his actions and legacy would leave Harpers Ferry with insufficient claim to status as a site of national historical value. The Superintendent of Gettysburg, whose advice greatly impacted early land acquisition following Harpers Ferry's 1944 establishment as a National Monument, assessed the history and concluded that, other than the Brown narrative, the 1862 capture of Harpers Ferry by Confederate forces, which influenced the Battle of Antietam,<sup>32</sup> was the town's only event of consequence.<sup>33</sup> For this reason, John Brown was selected as the park's primary theme, with Civil War military history, particularly the 1862 surrender, representing a secondary focus.<sup>34</sup> This decision was pivotal in directing the progress of Harpers Ferry as a national memorial, ensuring that those who shaped its future would be at the forefront of confrontations over the racial politics of Civil War memory.

The decades following World War II were characterized by an unprecedented explosion of enthusiasm for the celebration of America's past,<sup>35</sup> a phenomena which was in part a product of World War II itself. Wartime patriotism strengthened through vigorous government propaganda coupled with the buoyant confidence of a nation which had followed a triumphant return from overseas conflict by entrance into a period of widespread economic prosperity, resulting in sense of prideful nationalism whose logical extension was a desire to explore the history of America's progress.<sup>36</sup> The national government strove to establish and maintain a mutually reinforcing relationship between history and nationalism; through the strategic preservation and celebration of America's past, national history was used as a means by which to foster patriotism and renew "the idealism that prompted the patriots to their deeds of diplomacy and labor."<sup>37</sup> The onset of the Cold War elevated the promotion of patriotism to national centrality. The strengthening of American nationalism was

approached as a necessary component of the struggle against communism, and the patriotic presentation of history thus represented yet another weapon in the American ideological arsenal.<sup>38</sup> This new Cold War context informed national narratives of the nation's past, with the advancement of patriotism and unity through the exploration of America's symbolic past becoming history's primary national role.

The National Park Service, since 1933 one of the primary official caretakers of America's past, was at the center of the federal response to increasing historical enthusiasm post- World War II. Under-funded and initially without a coherent, articulated interpretive philosophy,<sup>39</sup> the NPS was ill- prepared for such a national explosion of historical interest. For this reason, it was not until the late 1940s, as the larger nationalistic potential of historical commemoration became increasingly clear, that the NPS began to focus on site interpretation rather than its former emphasis upon preservation.<sup>40</sup> The national importance of interpretive history was finally enshrined in NPS policy with the institution of Mission 66, a 10 year plan which provided the Park Service with federal funding for the improvement of its historical resources.<sup>41</sup> Historical interpretation, previously accomplished in a "loose and casual manner" on a park- by- park basis, became a strategic, regulated process.<sup>42</sup> With interpretation an established priority, NPS increasingly contributed to the furtherance of American nationalism by advancing a national history calculated to strengthen and inspire.

As Harpers Ferry acquired national monument status and entered into the National Park Service system in 1944 it became part of this nationwide endeavor to shape created public memory through the commemoration and interpretation of history. The use of Civil War commemoration for unifying and patriotic purposes required an especially careful, strategic, and selective presentation of the past. Civil War sites were certainly capable of inspiring nationalism, representing as they did "the symbolic expression of the triumph of the nation- state and the glory of the sacrifice of those who contributed to that goal."<sup>43</sup> Yet in order to avoid protest and other non- unifying forces it was necessary that Civil War commemoration subscribe to much of the 'Lost Cause' mythology. Memorialization thus carefully skirted issues of morality, slavery, and the Civil War's still- contested racial legacy. Challenges to the accepted racial narrative were to be avoided above all. In the interests of preserving unity and promoting patriotism in Cold War America, the National Park Service and other national purveyors of Civil War memory accepted the implicit terms of the post- Reconstruction compromise; Civil War commemoration continued to express a white- supremacist, Southern- originated conception of the war's legacy.

The unique history of Harpers Ferry made the site's administration predisposed to a high level of tension and conflict; race was a central and inextricable factor in the events which made the town a place of national historical significance. The decision to position John Brown as Harpers Ferry's

primary theme ensured that confrontation over issues of race and Civil War memory would be an unavoidable aspect of the site's development. Indeed, it was the opposition of Southern Heritage groups who recognized that the creation of a national memorial at Harpers Ferry would necessarily result in the commemoration of the site's Brown history which had initially stymied its establishment.<sup>44</sup> In 1954 the National Park Service officially announced that John Brown's Raid was to be the site's foremost theme and, as such, would be subject to development and interpretation prior to that of the 1862 capture of Harpers Ferry, an event of significantly less controversial potential.<sup>45</sup> It was with this goal in mind that Park Service employees and associated volunteers began the process of preparing for development of the park.

Yet, somewhat surprisingly, the first years of NPS presence at Harpers Ferry were not characterized by a great deal of confrontation regarding the commemoration of Brown and related racial concerns. The relative absence of discord on the subject reflected not widespread acceptance of Brown's elevation and memorialization at Harpers Ferry, but a paucity of Park Service action which explicitly asserted the Brown theme. Because both 1859 and 1862 were intended as years of emphasis at Harpers Ferry, the site was to be 'time-frozen' at the 1859 to 1865 period, with structures not appropriate to the Civil War era being gradually removed from the physical landscape.<sup>46</sup> Restoration to the entire period of interest took the focus temporarily off the interpretation and celebration of Brown. Concerned citizens instead engaged themselves in controversies surrounding the land acquisition and property restoration process itself.<sup>47</sup> The slow pace of physical NPS progress at Harpers Ferry served to further limit opposition. While NPS work remained in the initial preservation stage and restoration encompassed the entirety of Harpers Ferry's Civil War era history, there was little to oppose. It was only once interpretation was underway at the memorial that conflict would emerge regarding the racial legacy presented by the National Park Service.

In its early interpretive undertakings, the National Park Service went to great lengths to avoid stirring up any controversy. This effort consisted of both a continued attempt to downplay Brown's centrality at Harpers Ferry and a presentation of his legacy which strove to appear inoffensive to visitors of all races and sectional origins. The duality of this endeavor is evinced by examination of an event held by NPS at Harpers Ferry in 1955, in order to advertise the town's improvements to an audience of assorted tourists, politicians, and reporters. Visitors were informed of Harpers Ferry's wide ranging significance, including the early role of George Washington at the location, and the influence of transportation upon the site's development.<sup>48</sup> Neglecting to give the Civil War era dominance in the retelling of Harpers Ferry history deflected attention from polarizing issues surrounding the conflicted legacy of John Brown and the war itself. At the same time, some form of historical reflection on Brown's actions, ostensibly the site's main theme, was necessary in order to indicate that NPS progress was being made at Harpers Ferry. To that end, a series of informational panels were created which included

an account of Brown's Raid. Yet by addressing Brown's legacy as seldom and as "objectively" as possible, NPS failed to give consideration to the racial meaning of Harpers Ferry. Early NPS administration at Harpers Ferry walked a fine line between opposing forces of national memory, succeeding in postponing eventual confrontation through implicit acceptance of a Southern, non- racial Civil War perspective.

Attempts to market Harpers Ferry to the American public while avoiding larger controversies were not limited to Park Service employees. A 1957 National Geographic devoted space to a celebratory exploration of 'Memory Haunted Harpers Ferry,' employing a similar non- confrontational strategy to that advanced by the National Park Service. The article, while acknowledging the importance of John Brown in Harpers Ferry history, mollified potential protest by presenting a pro- Southern, white- supremacist narrative of the Raid <sup>49</sup> Brown's actions are in no way linked to the eventual achievement of African- American emancipation, and it is even stated that Brown failed to acquire followers because "the slaves had no heart for rebellion." <sup>50</sup> Implicit (even partial) embrace of the belief that African- Americans had been content under slavery did much to limit Southern criticism of Brown's remembrance at Harpers Ferry, supporting the site's inclusion in national memory in a non- controversial basis. National Geographic's portrayal of the National Park Service at Harpers Ferry, crafted in a manner intended to minimize controversy by accepting many aspects of the Southern Civil War narrative, followed a strategy in use throughout the nation when addressing the legacy of the Civil War. It was the path of least resistance, a path from which Park Service administration at Harpers Ferry would increasingly stray.

As the National Park Service rushed to restore, refurbish, and adequately interpret Harpers Ferry, the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of both John Brown's Raid and the Civil War itself were fast approaching. <sup>51</sup> The Civil War Centennial was slated to be a major national celebration, a vehicle for the promotion of patriotism on a massive scale. <sup>52</sup> A federal commission had been established in 1957 to organize the surrounding commemorative festivities, guiding Civil War memory in the direction most conducive to the furtherance of national unity. <sup>53</sup> With the burgeoning Civil Rights movement placing new strains on American society, the federal government desired a Centennial that would transcend sectional conflicts, bringing Americans together in the celebration of a pivotal national event. As was the case in earlier commemorations of the Civil War, it was determined that unity would be best facilitated by avoiding the issue of race, and embracing the Southern Civil War legacy.

Leaders of the Centennial Commission were aware that the aura of sectional unity they sought would be difficult to achieve and, in a nation increasingly wracked by racial tensions, nearly impossible to sustain. Karl Betts, Executive Director of the Commission, expressed concern that observance of the John Brown Centennial would upset Southerners, creating unrest which might undermine the successful celebration of the Civil War

Centennial. In order to prevent such an occurrence, Betts requested that NPS "soft- pedal" commemoration of the Raid at Harpers Ferry.<sup>54</sup> NPS officials, equally desirous of a quiet, uneventful Brown Centennial and fearful of generating negative sentiment through commemoration of Brown, agreed.<sup>55</sup> However, the local populace, as well as NPS figures present at Harpers Ferry, had been working too hard and anticipating too long to accept the removal of their Centennial festivities from the national timeline. Though NPS did not sponsor official celebrations of Brown, it did agree to assist local groups who took the initiative in planning events.<sup>56</sup> The Raid's observance was celebrated with re-enactments, plays, and a historians' roundtable discussion.<sup>57</sup> It brought 65,000 visitors to Harpers Ferry, and was acclaimed as a general success.<sup>58</sup>

These resulting Centennial events expressed a range of responses to the larger significance of Brown. Emphasis was placed by some locals on the importance of involving African- Americans in Brown Centennial events, a gesture which suggested recognition of and respect for Brown's emancipationist legacy within at least some elements of the Harpers Ferry community. Yet local enthusiasm for the Centennial celebrations should not be mistaken for a complete community embrace of Brown, and especially not of the moral and racial precepts which informed his actions. The fact that historians participating in the Centennial roundtable discussion collectively represented Brown as a madman hints at the absence of underlying agreement with Brown's cause amongst his local celebrants.<sup>59</sup> Instead Harpers Ferrians, left by NPS without an established interpretation of Brown's legacy, were carried away on a wave of enthusiasm over the national significance of their local event, and interpreted Brown's legacy as they wished. Passing the interpretive reins to the local populace turned out to be a successful strategy for the NPS at Harpers Ferry, allowing for the commemoration of the Raid without the official promotion of a specific Brown legacy. NPS installations continued to de- emphasize Brown, avoiding expressing overt judgment in their interpretations, but Centennial celebrations created at Harpers Ferry a climate facilitating exploration of the Civil War's implications and meaning. With the celebration of the Brown Centennial, the domination of the white- supremacist Civil War perspective became less secure at Harpers Ferry.

The decision to commemorate the Raid's Centennial at Harpers Ferry in any capacity represented a derivation from the larger Centennial strategy of the federal government, which necessitated avoidance of events and issues likely to generate racial disharmony. Yet while the Brown Centennial proceeded without provoking any significant racial incident, observance of the Civil War Centennial was wreathed in conflict from its inception. As preparation for national Centennial celebrations began, to commence with the commemoration of Fort Sumter on April 12, 1961, it quickly surfaced that segregation was practiced at the Charleston hotel which served as the Centennial Commission's headquarters; the sole black delegate to the Commission would be denied entrance.<sup>60</sup> The Centennial Commissions of several northern states responded by boycotting attendance, and Commission Chair Major General Ulysses S.

Grant III at first refused to move the headquarters despite having been explicitly ordered to do so by a freshly inaugurated President Kennedy.<sup>61</sup> While the event was eventually moved to a non- segregated location, remedying the immediate issue, resolution came too late for the cause of national unification through the celebration of the Civil War Centennial. The incident at Charleston enraged both North and South, inflaming partisan tensions and placing the issue of Civil Rights at the center of Centennial observances;<sup>62</sup> the peaceable, conflict- free nationwide commemoration of the Civil War years was no longer even a possibility.

Attempts were made to recapture lost Southern support for national, rather than regional, commemoration of the Civil War, but despite public promotions of the official historical interpretation, the Civil War Centennial Commission was unable to unite the nation.<sup>63</sup> Civil War remembrance instead became increasingly polarized, split between African- Americans, together with an increasing number of Northerners, who perceived the pursuance of Civil Rights as the “unfinished business” which was the Civil War's most significant consequence,<sup>64</sup> and Southerners who utilized the Centennial commemoration as means by which to “express defiance of the US government's efforts to change ‘the Southern way of life.’”<sup>65</sup> As opponents of the Civil Rights movement began to explicitly use Civil War memory, and particularly Confederate symbolism, to advance their cause,<sup>66</sup> the implicit acceptance of a white- supremacist Civil War narrative suggested by a focus on unity, not legacy, became increasingly unacceptable on a national level.

With Civil Rights having made Civil War remembrance newly controversial, national Centennial commemorative events drew great criticism and conflict. Recognizing the impossibility of advancing patriotic remembrance in such a climate, national forces increasingly withdrew from celebration of the Centennial. By the time the Centennial of Harpers Ferry's 1862 capture approached, the National Park Service had significantly scaled down its commemorative agenda. Low- key celebrations were acceptable, and the 1862 Harpers Ferry Centennial was marked by a privately- sponsored parade and flag ceremony.<sup>67</sup> In general, however, the long- term development of Civil War interpretation continued at Harpers Ferry with little attention paid to the celebration of Centennial affairs, much less the furtherance of nationalist aims through their commemoration.<sup>68</sup> National organizations had lost the battle for control over the Centennial, and conflict over Civil Rights, rather than Cold War nationalism, became the dominant force shaping Civil War era remembrance.

African- Americans fought before, during, and after the Civil War Centennial for the inclusion of the war's racial legacy in the remembered history of the American Civil War.<sup>69</sup> It was a cause whose advancement would serve several ends. The ascendance of the black, emancipationist Civil War narrative to a position of widely recognized significance in American memory would itself represent a major ideological victory for the Civil Rights movement. And even without nationwide acceptance, increased challenge to the white- supremacist

remembrance of the Civil War would be likely to inspire and strengthen the movement, recalling to Americans the war's yet- unfulfilled promise of equality. <sup>70</sup> Especially during the Centennial years, the movement linked Civil Rights with the Civil War; the NAACP created the slogan "free by '63" in an attempt to promote Civil Rights advancement by associating it with the approaching anniversary of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. <sup>71</sup>

The inspirational legacy of John Brown was one of the popularly neglected race- related Civil War era narratives of greatest symbolic importance to African- Americans. In the century following his attack on Harpers Ferry countless black leaders, including such influential figures as Frederick Douglass and W.E.B. DuBois, had found encouragement and strength through contemplation of Brown's actions. His life was a popular theme in African- American artistic endeavors, and of continued relevance even at his Centennial, as was asserted in Langston Hughes' 1959 article regarding his status as a "canonical figure" for blacks. <sup>72</sup> With the rise of the Civil Rights movement blacks turned yet again to the examination of Brown. Sympathetic studies asserting his sanity and wisdom were published and republished, <sup>73</sup> and Brown was further glorified in a collection of *Black World* poems devoted to heroic revolutionaries, sandwiched between Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner. <sup>74</sup> Militant blacks saw Brown as a model for the only acceptable white behavior, an attitude expressed by Malcolm X with the extreme statement "If you are for me and my problems, then you must be willing to do as old John Brown did." <sup>75</sup> As the Civil Rights movement achieved successes in the late 1950s and especially during the 1960s, the significance of Brown within the African- American community became increasingly difficult to overlook in the interpretation and presentation of NPS history at Harpers Ferry.

Prior to and during the Civil Rights movement, the National Park Service strove to avoid political controversy in its administration of national historical resources. To a great extent that goal, as well as the advancement of national unity, required overlooking racial historical narratives. The Civil Rights movement challenged the predominance of this approach in the national remembrance of the Civil War; its success brought the emancipationist interpretive perspective back into mainstream Civil War commemorative observance. Moreover, as the Civil Rights movement dissolved in the late 1960s, leaving in its wake urban riots and an atmosphere of civil unrest, city areas and urban concerns became the subject of increased national, and NPS, attention. <sup>76</sup> Rather than promoting nationalism through the whitewashing of racial issues, NPS was now called upon to directly address those same issues, in order to soothe urban tensions and by so doing advance American national unity. New urban park programs were created in an attempt to become more relevant to contemporary social concerns, including racism. <sup>77</sup> Another aspect of this new NPS direction was an increased concern for and exploration of "forgotten histories," those actions and actors traditionally neglected in the narration of history. <sup>78</sup> This included the history of black Americans.

This new genre of NPS emphasis laid the foundation for the inclusion of African- American history at Harpers Ferry, and with it a more complete portrayal of the John Brown Raid's racial legacy. NPS had initially strove to present Brown "objectively," with a tendency to err on the side of an anti-Brown, pro white- supremacist bias in order to prevent protest by Southerners, particularly local heritage groups. The Civil Rights movement had opened the discussion; racial issues no longer need be removed from historical interpretation, nor delicately treated to avoid violating the terms of the implicit national compromise over the legacy and remembrance of the Civil War. The 1969 opening of a new Interpretive Design Center at Harpers Ferry evinces NPS recognition of recent climatic shifts;<sup>79</sup> the increasingly unrestricted interpretive exploration of John Brown's historical significance became a viable aspect of the NPS presence at Harpers Ferry. In this new climate, discussion and commemoration of Brown's legacy in the black community could now provide another side to the interpretive debate.

One of the first and most symbolically prominent steps taken by the NPS to make African- American history a part of national commemoration at Harpers Ferry was the acquisition of the John Brown Fort, the engine house which had been the site of early black pilgrimages and in 1906 the second meeting of the Niagara Movement. Since 1910 the Fort had been situated on the grounds of Storer College, where it was celebrated by blacks as "a symbol of their cause for social justice."<sup>80</sup> The Park Service had long held an interest in the acquisition of the Fort, pivotal as it was to the narrative and physical landscape which represented the Park's primary interpretive theme.<sup>81</sup> Yet after desegregation prompted the closure of Storer College in 1955, the Fort sat on the grounds of the school for 13 years before finally being shifted by NPS to a spot in downtown Harpers Ferry, in close proximity to its original location.<sup>82</sup> The Fort, a symbol of "radical rebellion" to African- Americans, and of particular significance to radical blacks who sought an inspirational model in the violence of Brown, was given a place of unprecedented centrality in official Harpers Ferry remembrance.<sup>83</sup> Harpers Ferry is a place of unique significance in the racial chronicle of the Civil War, and the John Brown Fort is one of the war's few memorials of direct historical relevancy to African- Americans;<sup>84</sup> uniting the two into one commemorative landscape was a strategic gesture designed to quell black discontent through the mainstream embrace of African- American history.<sup>85</sup> It was an action characteristic of a Park Service newly revised in the wake of the Civil Rights movement, and one of at least limited success. The John Brown Fort continues to be an important part of the black American history of racial progress. It was even in 1994 the site of the West Virginia NAACP's 50 year anniversary.<sup>86</sup>

Since the late 1960s and 1970s the National Park Service has developed along the general trends first established during the formative period following the ascendance of the Civil Rights movement. Emphasis is placed on the development of "culturally relevant" programs, particularly those catered to appeal to groups, like minorities and the aged, who represent an increasing

fraction of American society but are underrepresented in park attendance.<sup>87</sup> At Harpers Ferry, a larger portion of the African- American demographic has been sought through increases in the role of black history on the site, particularly the 1992 opening of a Black Voices exhibit to present an African- American perspective on historical events of national consequence.<sup>88</sup> Additionally, the drive to expand historical relevancy has led to an increase in the scope of the history to be developed and interpreted at Harpers Ferry. Rather than simply exploring the primary and secondary themes initially selected by NPS staff, Harpers Ferry is now given a more holistic interpretation, as suggested by the following statement on its NPS website: "The story of Harpers Ferry is more than one event, one date, or one individual. It involves a diverse number of people and events that influenced the course of our nation's history."<sup>89</sup> This modern diversity represents a distinct transition from the cautious interpretive developments and restrictive nationalist mandate which characterized Park administration at Harpers Ferry in the early post- World War II era.

However, the newly open interpretive direction taken by Harpers Ferry National Historical Park has not guaranteed it freedom from racial controversy; the debate over the proper intersection between race and memory continues on at Harpers Ferry. Recent conflict surrounding the Heyward Shepherd Memorial serves to indicate the scope of modern race- related disputes. Upon acquiring the land on which the monument stood during the 1950s, the National Park Service immediately turned it so that its inscription faced the wall of a nearby building, in recognition of the memorial's continuing divisive potential. This policy was successful in temporarily skirting conflict, until the lobbying of a congressman forced Harpers Ferry staff to turn the monument back around again.<sup>90</sup> Being required to take this action frustrated site superintendent Joseph Prentice, who did not believe the memorial appropriate for display on the grounds of a national park.<sup>91</sup> Others agreed, including one Park visitor so upset by the inflammatory language of the UDC monument that he wrote a letter to the Washington Post protesting its continued presence at Harpers Ferry, which he asserted "exploits and thus dishonors the memory of Heyward Shepherd."<sup>92</sup> Though NPS was itself opposed to the memorial, it was not willing to challenge Southern Civil War memory by actively advocating its removal from the site. Instead, the monument was finally removed to a maintenance yard during 1975 renovations on the building it faced, and left there until 1980.<sup>93</sup>

In response to UDC and SCV complaints against the NPS action, the Heyward Shepherd memorial was returned to its original location in 1981, but immediately covered with a wooden box in order to prevent graffiti.<sup>94</sup> Buying time by using the monument's protection as an excuse for its plywood veil, the National Park Service sought to negotiate between two adamantly opposed organizations, the UDC and the NAACP. NPS proposed that an interpretive plaque be placed beside the Heyward Shepherd monument, explaining the historical context surrounding its erection. The monument would thus be recognized as itself a part of Park history, in addition to a memorialization of

earlier Harpers Ferry events. The UDC and SCV rejected such a suggestion, arguing that the memorial should stand on its own.<sup>95</sup> Unable to compromise between these two vastly divergent interpretations of local American history, NPS left the monument covered, assigning a park historian to research its history in an attempt to find a solution.<sup>96</sup>

In 1995, following a letter- writing campaign and an inquiry launched by Senator Jesse Helms (R- N.C.), both urging the monument's prompt redisplay, NPS simply uncovered the memorial, "without ceremony, preview, protest or news release."<sup>97</sup> A contextual wayside including a brief explanation of the history surrounding the Heyward Shepherd Memorial, and in a section entitled "Another Perspective" the 1932 written response of W.E.B. DuBois to the Shepherd monument, was placed beside the original memorial. (see Appendix B for complete text of the contextual wayside.)<sup>98</sup> While the NAACP advocated the monument's complete removal from the landscape, the UDC and SCV, with the support of community members including the editorial staff of local newspaper *The Winchester Star*, accused them of desiring to retrospectively revise Heyward Shepherd's history.<sup>99</sup> The UDC protested that the interpretive plaque failed to convey "the true history,"<sup>100</sup> and the SVC issued a responsive "heritage violation."<sup>101</sup> Despite the uproar, NPS refused to budge, asserting that the entire Heyward Shepherd episode, including the memorial, constituted history and would be treated as such.<sup>102</sup> The memorial was left on display with its interpretive plaque challenging the white- supremacist ideals asserted by the monument itself, indicating the modern triumph of a more balanced approach to the official interpretation of Civil War history at Harpers Ferry.

The Heyward Shepherd controversy demonstrates that the presentation and interpretation of history at Harpers Ferry is a continued struggle for the National Park Service; so long as race remains central to the events commemorated at the site, tensions over the racial component of history and memory will likely continue to be a factor in Park administration at Harpers Ferry. However, both the vocal presence of divergent racial interpretations and the very ability of the NPS to forge its own solution to the problem speak to the depth of the changes which have occurred in over 60 years of Park Service presence at Harpers Ferry. While 'traditionalist' overtones still have a presence in local debates, no longer must they be acquiesced to for the promotion of larger national goals. At Harpers Ferry the re-emergence of the emancipationist vision can now viably challenge the acceptance of the traditional remembrance of Civil War history.

## Appendix A

Below is the text inscribed on the Heyward Shepherd memorial unveiled on October 10, 1931, to sit on Potomac Street in downtown Harpers Ferry, West Virginia:

ON THE NIGHT OF OCTOBER 16, 1859  
HEYWARD SHEPHERD AN INDUSTRIOUS

AND RESPECTED COLORED FREEMAN,  
WAS MORTALLY WOUNDED BY JOHN  
BROWN'S RAIDERS. IN PURSUANCE  
OF HIS DUTIES AS AN EMPLOYEE OF  
THE BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD  
COMPANY,  
HE BECAME THE FIRST VICTIM OF  
THIS ATTEMPTED INSURRECTION.

THIS BOULDER IS ERECTED BY  
THE UNITED DAUGHTERS OF THE  
CONFEDERACY AND THE SONS OF  
CONFEDERATE VETERANS AS A  
MEMORIAL TO HEYWOOD SHEPHERD,  
EXEMPLIFYING THE CHARACTER AND  
FAITHFULNESS OF THOUSANDS OF  
NEGROES WHO, UNDER MANY  
TEMPTATIONS THROUGHOUT  
SUBSEQUENT YEARS OF WAR, SO  
CONDUCTED THEMSELVES THAT  
NO STAIN WAS LEFT UPON A RECORD  
WHICH IS THE PECULIAR HERITAGE  
OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, AND AN  
EVERLASTING TRIBUTE TO THE BEST  
IN BOTH RACES.<sup>103</sup>

Source: Paul A. Shackel, "Heyward Shepherd: The Faithful Slave Memorial," *Historical Archaeology*, 2003, 37(3), p. 142.

## Appendix B

Below is the text of the contextual wayside which has accompanied the Heyward Shepherd memorial since its return to public display in Harpers Ferry on June 9, 1995:

On October 17, 1859, abolitionist John Brown attacked Harpers Ferry to launch a war against slavery. Heyward Shepherd, a free African- American railroad baggage master, was shot and killed by Brown's men shortly after midnight.

Seventy- two years later, on October 10, 1931, a crowd estimated to include 300 whites and 100 blacks gathered to unveil and dedicate the Shepherd Monument.

During the ceremony, voices raised to praise and denounce the monument. Conceived around the turn of the century, the monument endured controversy. In 1905, the United Daughters of the Confederacy stated that "erecting the

monument would influence for good the present and coming generations, and prove that the people of the South who owned slaves valued and respected their good qualities as no one else did or will do.”

Below is the text of a section of the contextual wayside, presented under the title “Another Perspective:”

In 1932, Du Bois, founder of the Niagara movement and the NAACP, responded to the Shepherd Memorial by penning these words:

Here  
John Brown  
Aimed at Human Slavery  
A Blow  
That woke a guilty nation  
With him fought  
Seven Slaves  
And sons of slaves.  
Over his crucified corpse  
Marched 200,000 black soldiers  
And 4,000,000 freedmen  
Singing  
“John Brown's Body lies a mouldering in the  
grave  
But his Soul Goes marching on.”<sup>104</sup>

Source: Shackel, Paul A. *Memory in Black and White: Race, Commemoration, and the Post- Bellum Landscape*. New York: Altamira Press, 2003, pp. 108- 109.

## About the Author

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## Endnotes

1. Shelby Foote, in Ken Burn's *The Civil War In Jim Cullen, The Civil War in Popular Culture: A Reusable Past* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), p. 2.
2. Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergency of the New South 1865 to 1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 4.
3. David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: the Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001), general text.
4. *Ibid*, p. 4.
5. John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 170.
6. Harpers Ferry, which in 1859 was a part of Virginia, is now located in West Virginia.
7. Stephen B. Oates, *To Purge This Land With Blood: A Biography of John Brown* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1970), pp. 163- 177.
8. *Ibid*.
9. The decision to try Brown in the Virginia court system, despite the Raid having occurred on federal property (the armory grounds), was not uncontested. This method of dealing with Brown served to deepen sectionalist sentiment, by making his punishment a local, Southern affair rather than a national responsive action.
10. Paul A. Shackel, *Archaeology and Created Memory: Public History in a National Park* (Boston: Kluwer Academic/ Plenum Publishers, 2000), p. 1.
11. Paul A. Shackel, "Memorializing Landscapes and the Civil War in Harpers Ferry," *Look to the Earth: Historical Archaeology and the American Civil War* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994), pp. 265- 267.
12. Shackel, 2000, p. 61.
13. Teresa S. Moyer, Kim E. Wallace, and Paul A Shackel, "To Preserve the Evidences of a Noble Past": An Administrative History of Harpers Ferry National Historical Park (Catocin Center for Regional Studies, Frederick Community College and Center for Heritage Resource Studies, Department of Anthropology, University of Maryland, 2004), p. 36.

14. Paul A. Shackel, *Memory in Black and White: Race, Commemoration, and the Post- Bellum Landscape* (New York: Altamira Press, 2003), p. 56.
15. Moyer et. al, p. 37.
16. Ibid, p. 37.
17. C. S. Gee, "John Brown's Fort," *West Virginia History*, XIX (2), pp. 93- 100.
18. Though distanced from controversy by its new physical distance from the town, the John Brown Fort did not cease to be a place of significance to African- Americans. Indeed it was of such importance to turn- of- the- century black leaders that in 1906 it was selected as the site of the second meeting of the Niagara movement, an early civil rights organization dedicated to freedom and equality of opportunity, and led by W.E.B. Du Bois. Uninterested in the uses of the Fort so long as it was not a part of commemoration within Harpers Ferry itself, local whites took little notice of the meeting. Moyer, et. al., pp. 38-40.
19. Ibid, p. 45.
20. Alan T. Nolan, "The Anatomy of a Myth," Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, eds., *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000), p. 16.
21. Shackel, 2003, *Memory*, p. 86.
22. Oates, p. 292.
23. Shackel, 2003, *Memory*, pp. 87- 88.
24. Early confusion following the Harpers Ferry raid regarding the exact cause of Heyward Shepherd's death, whether due to a failure to obey an order or a more explicit rejection of Brown's raid, had long since been clarified by the time Shepherd's faithful- slave status received UDC and SCV attention. The statement of C. W. Armstrong, a passenger on the train attempting to pass, and the Senate investigation testimony of Dr. John D. Starry on the subject, as well as a number of other first-hand Harpers Ferry accounts support the view that Shepherd was shot for refusal to obey the command to halt, not for declining participation in the raid itself. (See Oates, p. 405.) However, those who campaigned for the Heyward Shepherd Memorial, including UDC President General Mary McKinney, misrepresented the nature of Shepherd's death, suggesting that he knowingly refused to join with or obey Brown's men, in order to draw more direct "faithful-slave" implications from his actions. Shackel, 2003, *Memory*, p. 88.
25. Paul A. Shackel, "Heyward Shepherd: The Faithful Slave Memorial," *Historical Archaeology*, 2003, 37 (3), p. 141.
26. Shackel, 2003, "Heyward," p. 143.
27. Moyer et. al., p. 62.
28. Moyer et. al., p. 95.
29. Matthew Page Andrews to Hon. Jennings Randolph, 1943, Reel 117, CO/HAFE. In Moyer et. al., p. 96.

30. Moyer et. al., p. 74.
31. Ibid, p. 84.
32. David J. Eicher, *Mystic Chords of Memory: Civil War Battlefields and Historic Sites Recaptured* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998), p. 47.
33. Moyer et. al., p. 97.
34. Ibid, p. 97.
35. Michael, Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991), p. 571.
36. Kammen, p. 618.
37. Statement by the National Park Service. In Bodnar, 1992, p. 196.
38. Kammen, p. 571.
39. Federal sites of historical significance had fallen under the administration of the National Park Service since the Historic Sites Act of 1935. By the end of World War II symbolic and thematic criteria governing the acquisition of new NPS sites had been firmly established. It was only in the administration, and particularly the interpretation, of sites already within the NPS system, that NPS lacked overarching thematic guidelines.
40. Kammen, p. 610.
41. Bodnar, 1992, p. 195.
42. Bodnar, 1992, p. 195.
43. Ibid, p. 191.
44. Shackel, 2000, p. 72.
45. Moyer et. al., p. 114.
46. Shackel, 2000, p. 9. Though widely criticized by contemporary archeologists and historians, the practice of 'time- freezing' was a part of general NPS strategy at the time of the Harpers Ferry restoration. Moyer et. al., p. 114.
47. Ibid, p. 98.
48. Ibid, p. 120.
49. V. Wentzell, "History Awakens at Harpers Ferry," *National Geographic*, 61 (3): pp. 402- 408.
50. Wentzell, p. 9, 11.
51. Paul. A. Shackel, 2000, p. 9.

52. Bodnar, 1992, p. 207.
53. Paul A. Shackel, 2003, *Memory*, p. 42.
54. Moyer et. al., p. 145.
55. Ibid, p. 146.
56. Ibid, p. 146..
57. Ibid, p. 147.
58. Ibid, p. 147.
59. Press Release, "Colorful Ceremonies to Mark Centennial of JB Raid," October 9, 1959, Folder "HFNHS 1959," Box 20, Ent 414B, RG 79, NARA- MA (Ph.) In Moyer et. al., p. 147. The question of Brown's sanity is a point still debated by historians. While no general consensus has been reached, changing historical responses to the issue have tended to reflect changing attitudes regarding the acceptance or non- acceptance of Brown's racial legacy. More specifically, historians who believe Brown was at least to some extent morally valid tend to justify his actions without questioning his sanity, while historians who reject the validity of his actions are more likely to attribute his behavior to some form of insanity.
60. Jon Wiener, "Civil War, Cold War, Civil Rights: The Civil War Centennial in Context, 1960- 1965," *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), pp. 238- 239.
61. Ibid, p. 239.
62. Ibid, p. 238.
63. Wilber Zelinsky, *Nation Into State: The Shifting Foundations of American Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), p. 82.
64. Bruce Catton, *America Goes to War: The Civil War and its Meaning in American Culture* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1958), p. 122, p. 125.
65. Wiener, p. 238.
66. J. Michael Martinez and William D. Richardson, "Understanding the Debate over Confederate Symbols," *Confederate Symbols in the Contemporary South*, Michael J. Martinez, William D. Richardson, and Ron McNinch- Su, eds. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), p. 4, 7.
67. Moyer et. al., p. 176.
68. Ibid, p. 176.
69. Cook, p. 52.
70. Catton, 1958, p. 125.

71. Cook, p. 59.
72. Benjamin Quarles, *Allies for Freedom: Blacks and John Brown* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 195.
73. Paul Finkelman, ed., *His Soul Goes Marching On: Responses to John Brown and the Harpers Ferry Raid* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995), p. 12.
74. Herbert Clark Johnson, "John Brown," *Black World*, September 1972, p. 72.
75. Attributed to Malcolm X. In Quarles, p. 196.
76. Bodnar, 1992, p. 197.
77. Ralph H. Lewis, *Museum Curatorship in the National Park Service 1904-1982* (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Curatorial Services Division, 1993), p. 173.
78. Paul A. Shackel, "Terrible Saint: Changing Meanings of the John Brown Fort," *Historical Archaeology*, 1995, 29(4), p. 19.
79. Moyer et. al., p. 217.
80. Charlotte J. Fairbairn, *John Brown's Fort: Armory Engine and Guard House, 1848- 1961* (Harpers Ferry, West Virginia) Manuscript on file, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. Quotation taken from Shackel, 1995, p. 19.
81. Moyer et. al., p. 159.
82. The Fort's former location is currently railroad property, and the spot where it used to sit covered with fill, rendering it unavailable as a present home for the Fort. Shackel, 1995, p. 19.
83. Shackel, 2003, *Memory*, p. 73.
84. Shackel, 1995, p. 20.
85. *Ibid*, p. 19.
86. *Ibid*, p. 21.
87. *Ibid*, p. 30.
88. Moyer et. al., p. 306.
89. "Harpers Ferry National Historical Park (National Park Service)," National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior [[www.nps.gov/hafe](http://www.nps.gov/hafe)]
90. Shackel, 2003, *Memory*, pp. 103- 104.
91. *Ibid*, p. 104.
92. B. J. Layman, "Monumental Ambiguity at Harpers Ferry," *The Washington*

Post (August 26, 1970), p. A15.

93. Shackel, 2003, "Memory," p. 104.

94. Ibid, p. 104.

95. Shackel, 1995, "Heyward," p. 144.

96. Eugene L. Meyer, "As Civil War Monument Returns, So Does Controversy," The Washington Post (July 10, 1995)

97. Ibid.

98. Shackel, 2003, "Heyward," p. 145.

99. Ibid.

100. Ibid.

101. Shackel, 2003, "Heyward," p. 145.

102. "Our Opinion."

103. Spelling and grammar reflect that of the original inscription, including the substitution of "Heywood Shepherd" for "Heyward Shepherd."

104. Spelling and grammar reflect that of the original text.

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