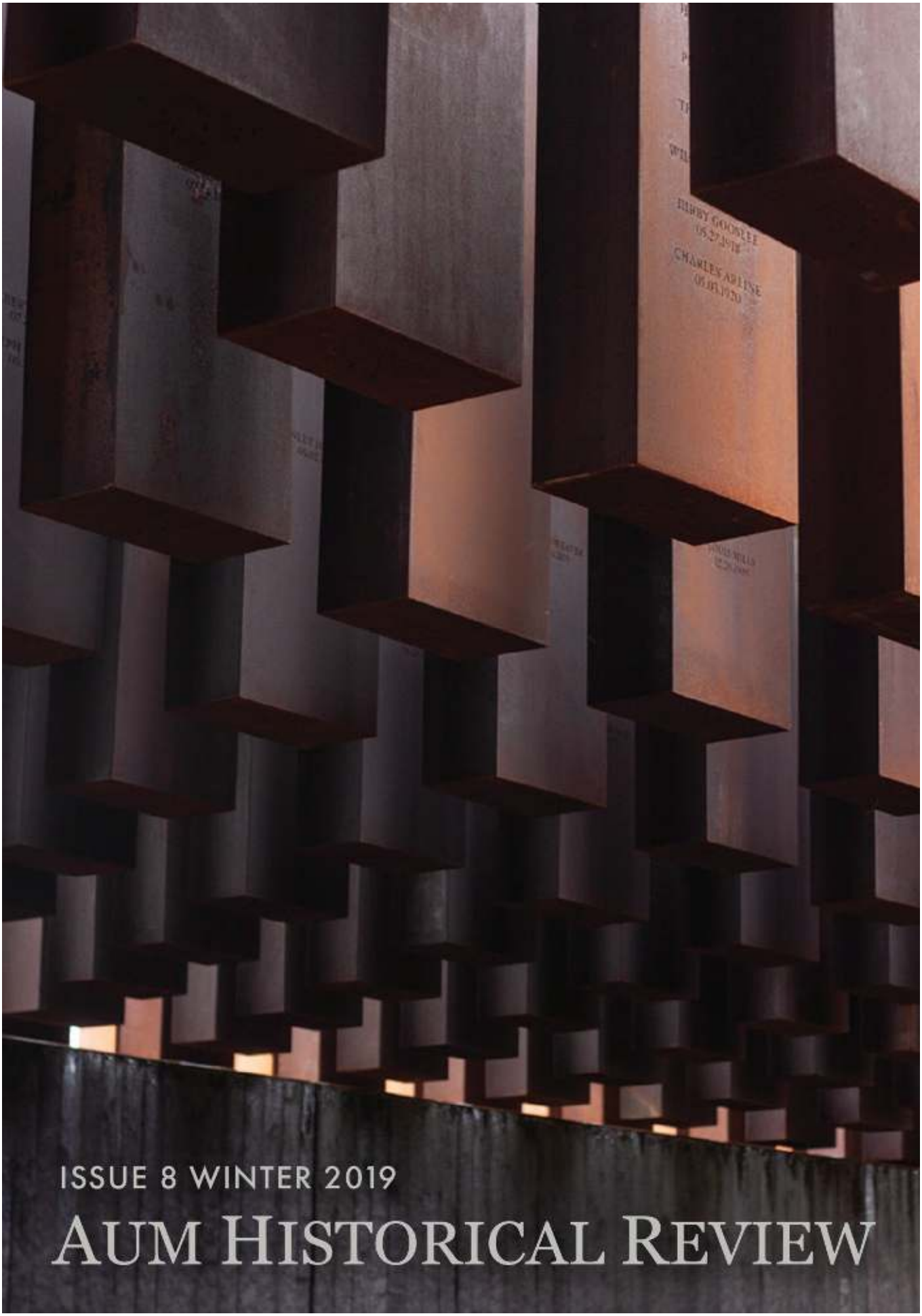
ISSUE 8 WINTER 2019
AUM HISTORICAL REVIEW

AUM Historical Review

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Behind the Scenes

Robert Ashurst is a junior majoring in history and has been an editor for the *AUM Historical Review* for two years. He plans on attending graduate school to further his studies, and hopes to pursue a career in archaeology or museum curation.

Graeme DePace is a sophomore majoring in history and planning to do a double minor in philosophy and religion. He has attended AUM since the fall of 2017 and is a member of the University Honors Program. Graeme hopes to attend seminary after graduating. This is his first time serving on the editorial board.

Cole Hamric is a fourth-year history major. After graduation, Cole would like to become a professional historian or teacher. This is his second year on the editorial board.

Megan Lofgren is a junior majoring in graphic design with minors in art history and music. She has also been the designer for the AUM publication the *Filibuster*. She is the treasurer for the AUM AdFed club, and in her spare time she enjoys exercise and photography. Megan lives in Montgomery with her husband, dog, and two cats.

Steven Tuchfarber is a junior majoring in history with a minor in finance. His favorite historical areas are US military history and US Southern history. He has attended AUM since fall 2016. This is his first year on the staff of the *AUM Historical Review*.

Emily Witcher is a senior majoring in history with a minor in art history. She has attended AUM since fall 2015 and is part of the University Honors Program. She plans to go on to graduate school for museum studies and hopes one day to work in a museum as an educator.

About the cover, from Megan Lofgren

I took this photograph at the Memorial for Peace and Justice which opened in Montgomery, AL in 2018. This memorial to the victims of lynching is necessary for our nation to remember this great stain on our past. A friend recently described this place as being full of "haunting, sobering beauty." My hope is that this photograph captures some of that solemnity and beauty, and in a small way pays tribute to those who lost their lives.

Letter from the Editors

Dear readers,

We are honored to present to you the eighth edition of the *AUM Historical Review*. For this year's issue, we have collected a variety of articles focusing largely on the history of the American South, with an emphasis on racial division and justice.

We begin with a look into the history of Confederate monuments and the changing social and political climates which motivated their construction, followed by a brief article on the National Memorial for Peace and Justice, which recently opened in Montgomery. We then turn our attention to colonial Maryland, and explore the decades-long struggle between Protestants and Catholics as they fought to determine who would dominate in a state founded on the principle of religious tolerance. Afterwards, we learn some of the horrifying stories uncovered by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission after the fall of apartheid in South Africa. Next, we have a brief interview with the Montgomery Motor Speedway's Stan Narrison, who discusses some of the history behind the racetrack and its impact on the sport of racing. Finally, we conclude with a gripping article about the state of medical care in the Confederacy as told by the nurses who experienced it.

We would like to give a warm thanks to all of our associate editors – Graeme DePace, Todesia Flavors, Cole Hamric, Elizabeth Meads, Steven Tuchfarber, and Emily Witcher; this issue would not have been possible without your tireless efforts, so for that, you have our deepest gratitude. We would also like to thank our gracious advisor Dr. Steven Gish, as well as Dr. Ben Severance and the entire AUM History Department for their continued support of the Review. We cannot forget Professor Breuna Baine, who is always dependable in finding the graphic designers that bring our journal to life. She managed to find us the talented Megan Lofgren, who created the cover and layout which truly make this issue shine. Of course, we must thank all of the businesses who so generously provided the funding for this issue. Their advertisements appear in the final pages of the journal.

The most essential component of the Review is, of course, our authors; we cannot thank Rebecca Bricker, Adam Hamilton, and Jaynee Hobbs, as well as our staff authors Elizabeth Meads and Todesia Flavors, enough for their contributions to this year's edition. If any students reading have any interest in publishing their own articles, or just wish to submit ideas or recommendations for future issues, be sure to contact us at historicalreview@aum.edu by May 1, 2019.

We sincerely hope you enjoy this issue of the *AUM Historical Review*. We believe that we have collected an excellent catalogue of interesting, engaging, and memorable articles that are sure to keep you reading the whole way through. So please, on behalf of all of us on the staff, enjoy, and be sure to keep an eye out for our next edition!

Robert Ashurst and Victoria S. Kenyon, Editors

Monument to an Unknown Confederate Soldier (1894), Friendship Cemetery, Columbus, Mississippi. (Leigh T. Harrell)

Rebecca Bricker is a senior at AUM majoring in history with a minor in art history. After graduation in December 2018, she is moving to San Antonio, TX with her husband and son where she plans to pursue a master's in library science and archival certification. Rebecca won the 2017-18 Richard Morse prize for "Confederate Commemoration: Looking Beyond the Bronze and Stone," which fuses her passion for U. S. Southern history with her love of art history.

Confederate Commemoration:

Looking Beyond the Bronze and Stone

by Rebecca Bricker

The outcome of the American Civil War caused a range of emotions throughout the nation. Looking specifically at the southern states, the devastation struck deeply within the hearts of those who lost loved ones, homes, and livelihoods. Infrastructure of urban areas lay in ruins, leaving many southern cities without basic needs. Women waited for the return of husbands, brothers, fathers, and sons; sadly, many men lie buried in shallow graves, never to return home. Veterans of the war suffered terrible wounds, many of which required amputations. In some cases, rebel soldiers had no homes or wives to return to. What had it all been for? What were people to do in the aftermath of war? How were they to move forward? These questions, along with many more, reverberated throughout the South. A theme, which came to be known as the Lost Cause, emerged to mollify the wounds of defeat. As the South attempted to rebuild, this emotional turmoil manifested itself in the form of commemoration. Monuments and memorials became the ideal way for people to express both loss and pride. From the actions of groups such as the Ladies Memorial Association and the Daughters of the Confederacy to commissions from private individuals, a collective southern memory evolved. The intended purpose centered on honor and memorialization, as well as extending the ideology of a noble Confederate cause into future generations. Digging beneath the surface of stone and bronze, this paper explores the intent of Confederate monuments, and why they were so important to the people who built them.

Discussing Confederate monuments in the modern twenty-first century creates a hotbed of opinion. Consideration of commemoration from over one hundred and fifty years ago demands context from that period. Today's perspective, devoid of actual living memory from that era, leaves opinion rather than fact as the reasoning behind the monuments and memorials of yesteryear. Without firsthand memory or some understanding of that time, the viewer only knows the content of the monument itself. Unfortunately, the lines of history blur at some point, leaving three sides of the story: what really happened, what people wanted future generations to know, and how future generations actually perceive it. Documentation from the past holds the key to unlocking the myth of the Lost Cause. Investigating this documentation permits crucial insight into the importance of Confederate commemoration.

According to historian Alan Nolan, white southerners needed a justification for the war besides slavery.[1] Since the Confederacy lost, there needed to be a nobler cause other than the unpopular idea of preserving their chattel. Nolan further explains that the "legend has been substituted in the national memory," replacing factual history.[2] He gives many examples as to why the myth successfully

inserted itself into southern memory. Long before secession, Southern states contended that slavery enhanced their economy as well as the lives of an inferior race. The institution needed to remain intact to prevent the ruin of such a "beneficial" system. The North endangered this valuable practice; therefore, war was justifiable to protect it. Nolan then explores several claims behind the Lost Cause. "Slavery was not the sectional issue," he points out. This denial "became a cardinal element of Southern apologia." Instead, states' rights and economic repression became the main reasons for secession.[3] Southerners also blamed secession on abolitionist provocation, which caused fear of devastation to the southern way of life. Jefferson Davis claimed in his address to the Confederate Congress of 1863 that slaves actually wanted to be in bondage. The slave was happy and faithful to the masters. This idea spread through word of mouth, pulpit, and print.[4] Long after the war, this image continued to exist in American culture through literature and film.

In addition to soft-pedaling slavery, Nolan notes that the Lost Cause also fueled a myth. Southerners needed a reason for losing the war. Rather than admitting to a Union victory, they maintained that the Confederacy had simply been overwhelmed by Yankee numbers. Moreover, they claimed that a Confederate victory at Gettysburg would have led to a Confederate victory overall. Reverend John William Jones wrote in the Southern Historical Society that "the South would have won at Gettysburg, and Independence, but for the failure of one man."[5] Despite an exemplary military career, Lieutenant General James Longstreet was marked as the main reason the Confederacy lost Gettysburg. His postwar views and actions made him an easy scapegoat. He questioned Robert E. Lee's choice to engage in the battle. Additionally, he publicly encouraged southerners to allow Republican rebuilding of the South and urged acceptance of the vote for newly freed slaves during Reconstruction. To add insult to injury, he took a position working for Ulysses S. Grant. These actions offended Confederate veterans and white southerners who were nursing the wounds of defeat. Nolan lists Lieutenant General Jubal Early, Reverend Jones, and William Nelson Pendleton as the main instigators in targeting Longstreet as the leading reason for the Confederacy losing the war.[6]

Adding to this skewed explanation for military defeat, southerners held onto the romanticized ideal of the Old South when cotton was king and southern gentlemen were chivalrous knights protecting their southern belles. According to an 1860 article, southerners were "persons belonging to the blood and race of the reigning family, and belonged to that stock recognized as Cavaliers – who were royalists…directly descended from the Norman Barons of William the Conqueror, a race distinguished…for its warlike and fearless character, a race, in all time since, renowned for its gallantry, its chivalry, its honour, its gentleness and its intellect."[7] Southerners were genteel and Northerners were barbarous. In the 1939 film Gone with the Wind, Yankees are portrayed as cruel and savage destroyers of the idealistic antebellum South. In contrast, white southerners in their superiority rise above the destruction, with the Confederate soldier front and center in glory, dying for the worthy cause of honor. Focus on this glorification shifted the gaze from the realities of defeat in a war for slavery.

Kirk Savage addresses this soldier glorification in The Civil War in Art and Memory. He points out that "this civil war has been romanticized beyond all other American wars."[8] The Lost Cause ideal powers this sentiment. Although evidence exists in the Confederate states' declarations of secession that the main purpose for dissolving the Union lies in protecting slavery, many southerners only remember states' rights and the adoration of the soldiers' honor. The Old South hinged its values on honor. The Southern Literary Messenger described southerners as "naturally generous...till the question of honour is raised, and then they rush to the sword."[9] This entrenched "code of honor… made personal bravery and oath-taking

central to a male's status."[10] War tested these values, and defeat caused men to question themselves and their worth. Instead of allowing defeat to dishonor them, they changed the narrative to serve their purposes, so much so that "southerners collectively imagined a vision of the war and the world that had preceded it in order to establish comforting pathways of memory that held nobility in defeat in higher esteem than in victory."[11] Defending states' rights and protecting their honor became the principles they stood on. Many statues and monuments exist as a testament to this honor and nobility.

"Discussing Confederate monuments in the modern twenty-first century creates a hotbed of opinion."

Monuments for the common soldier cropped up throughout the United States after the war. These statues were mass produced without personal features, offering a relatively inexpensive form of commemoration for communities that lost so many men and boys, especially those whose bodies were never recovered. This void left a terrible feeling of unknowing for their families and friends. The idea of the disconnected soldier compelled people to search for closure. The single soldier monuments provided a place for families to mourn and remember their lost loved ones. By having a community memorial to the fallen, the soldier was in essence no longer just a loss to a single family, but a loss to the community, the state, and the cause. Henry Ward Beecher exclaimed in his 1863 Thanksgiving sermon, "He was your son, but now he is the nation's."[12] Though Beecher addressed a northern congregation concerning Union soldiers, the sentiment was true for the Confederacy as well. Every soldier lost in war transcends personal loss.

Before the Civil War, the idea of a good death centered around dying peacefully with loved ones near, followed by a service for people to say their last goodbyes, and a proper burial with a tombstone to inform people, present and future, of that person's significance. The "quality of death" played a significant role in a proper passing, which involved remaining at peace until the end, facing death with grace and dignity. An undignified death, or to "die hard," included fear, distress, and dying alone.[13] War challenged the cultural ideas people held concerning death. More than 600,000 men died during the war. Most died horrifically on the battlefield, alone, their bodies left behind until someone could bury them in a shallow grave. John R. Neff describes Gettysburg in the days after the battle as a "second invasion of visitors, relatives, and the curious," those seeking the remains of their loved ones as well as scavengers looking for souvenirs. Distant families paid locals to find their relatives and send the bodies home.[14] Still, many bodies remained unaccounted for. Countless unknown dead in unmarked graves scattered across the United States shocked the country, both North and South.

While the Union and Confederate armies attempted to bury their dead suitably, time and circumstance prevented it. Therefore, organizations formed to inter soldiers' bodies properly, including relocating them to a cemetery with gravestones. These early organizations came to be known as Ladies Memorial Associations (LMA). Most LMAs sought out cemeteries in their cities or created new cemeteries. However, some groups secured plots of land on the battlefields themselves to create a cemetery. The first concern was burial or reinternment, which required locating the bodies of the soldiers and erecting gravestones. LMAs also commissioned monuments soon after the war. These earliest monuments from 1865-1885 "differed significantly from the later ones that usually featured a

Confederate soldier atop a tall shaft on the courthouse lawn." In terms of space and design, early commemoration focused on bereavement, with seventy percent located in cemeteries rather than a town center, and seventy-five percent featuring cemetery statuary to reflect grief.[15]

On the other hand, more grandiose monuments were created to perpetuate aspects of the Lost Cause. The Lee Monument, unveiled in 1890 at Richmond, Virginia, was created to honor Robert E. Lee's death, and it sparked fanfare and celebration in the city. Banquets, parades, and Confederate reunions took place over the course of three days to celebrate the monument's unveiling. Confederate veterans from all over the South attended. At more than sixty feet tall, Lee stands near the George Washington monument, which was installed in 1858.[16] Both Lee and Washington sit atop mighty horses as though riding off in battle to defend liberty. Maurie D. McInnis addresses the equestrian statuary in "To Strike Terror: Equestrian Monuments and Southern Power."[17] While horses served various utilitarian purposes, they also provoked fear in slaves and freed blacks as they provided a means of monitoring for slave patrollers who hunted runaway slaves and overseers who maintained control over plantations. The white man on a horse symbolized white superiority for many. During the ceremonies of unveiling the Lee monument, a local African-American newspaper, The Richmond Planet, noted that "the honoring of the Confederacy was indulged in while every one in that joyous throng stood ready to declare to you that the South was right and the North was wrong. 'Not beaten but overpowered.'"[18] Here again, the Lost Cause drives the celebrations beyond the simple erecting of the Lee Monument.

Like Richmond, Montgomery, Alabama held exciting celebrations at the unveiling of their monument to the Confederacy's soldiers and sailors. Located at the state capitol, the eighty-eight-foot monument displays the loyalty and pride over the state's role in the birth of the Confederacy. As early as November 1865, the Historical and Monumental Association of Alabama (HMAA) emerged with hopes of obtaining $5,000 from the state legislature to proceed with the commission of a marble monument with the inscription of "Alabama honors her sons who died in her service."[19] However, the monument fundraising halted temporarily for over a decade while the state focused on its soldiers' graves located in other states. The HMAA sought out Montgomery women to continue the task. The women created the Ladies Society for the Burial of Deceased Alabama Soldiers, later changed to the Ladies Memorial Association (LMA). The LMA successfully generated funds for grave caretaking in Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia, and Mississippi, as well as locally at Oakwood Cemetery in Montgomery. By 1882, the LMA shifted its focus back to the monument for Capitol Hill. By 1886, with a lavish ceremony, former Confederate president Jefferson Davis returned to the first Confederate capital to lay the first cornerstone of the monument on the same grounds where he took his presidential oath. Historian William J. Cooper discusses how the events of Davis laying the cornerstone legitimized the idea of the Lost Cause. He notes that "this second time in Montgomery, Davis himself became a living monument."[20] Though the war ended decades before this moment, southerners still clung to the idea that the South had been wronged. Erecting these monuments gave them a sense that the war had not been in vain. They glorified

"Grandiose monuments were created to perpetuate aspects of the Lost Cause."

their loss by elevating figureheads such as Davis, Lee, and Jackson to the status of demigods, or, as Cooper says, a living memorial.

The unveiling of the colossal limestone and bronze monument in December 1898 sparked a frenzy in local newspapers. Leading up to the ceremony, the Montgomery Advertiser devoted numerous issues to the event. This "Historic Event," its editors proclaimed, signified that "Alabamians will never…forget those who sleep on thousands of battle fields, and who wait in unmarked and unknown graves"[21] The spirit of state pride continued days later as Montgomery's Weekly Advertiser reported on the events: a parade up to Capitol Hill, an invocation to bless the monument and the people, speeches for each of the statues' unveilings, and Alabama's own young ladies to represent each of the seceding states. This newspaper highlighted Dr. George B. Eager's prayer as he asked God to inspire the people with "the spirit that actuated them [soldiers] and made their lives glorious…to cherish the principles for which they died."[22] The monument embodied the glory of lives lost and the principles of the Confederacy.

The Richmond and Montgomery monuments provide examples of the glorification of the Confederate soldier. Both were commissioned shortly after the Civil War by private associations. Many monuments were commissioned by cities, towns, or states. However, one particular Confederate monument, the Lee and Jackson Monument, placed at Wyman Park in Baltimore, Maryland, is an example of a private individual's commission. J. Henry Ferguson Jr. commissioned the monument in his will upon his death. It was meant to glorify Ferguson's childhood heroes, Robert E. Lee and Thomas Jonathan "Stonewall" Jackson. Ferguson's father, a slave-owner, was friends with Jefferson Davis. The dedication of this monument took place on the anniversary of the May 1863 Battle of Chancellorsville, Lee and Jackson's greatest victory. Both Maryland's governor and Baltimore's mayor spoke at the dedication. Governor Lane said the "scars of the Civil War have long since been healed" while Mayor D'Alesandro urged the audience to "emulate Jackson's example and stand like a stone wall against aggression in any form that would seek to destroy the liberty of the world."[23] Unveiled in 1948, this monument signifies the continuance of the Lost Cause well into the mid-twentieth century.

Another means of promoting the Lost Cause comes in the form of monuments to honor faithful slaves. The thought that slaves were happily submissive seemed to permeate the South via the Lost Cause in the years after Reconstruction. The United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) sought to honor these slaves in the form of a monument. Formed in 1894, this organization wrote essays and articles concerning the idealized antebellum Old South: "Slaves were faithful…because of the benevolence of masters." UDC leadership encouraged membership to "preserve their own historical record of slavery by writing sketches of the 'old mammy' and the 'many faithful slaves,'" even though many of them never experienced life on an antebellum plantation with slaves. They wrote their histories based on the memories of parents and grandparents.[24] These memoirs attempted to rewrite history. In 1922, the Washington, D. C. chapter of the UDC proposed the "Faithful Slave Mammies of the South." The proposal passed Congress, and two different models were created for the monument. U. S. J. Dunbar sculpted a woman in the "Aunt Jemima" fashion, holding the children of her master while her own children play at the base of the structure.[25] The second model, designed by George Julian Zolnay, cast a female slave with a white infant suckling her breast while black children sit at her feet, and a white woman looks on.[26] This proposed monument, meant to honor the slave women who nurtured white children, reveals the skewed view many southerners held concerning slavery. Though well on its way to creation, announcements of the new monument in the nation's capital sparked outrage throughout the country. Neval H. Thomas from the National Association for

1898 Monument, Wilmington, North Carolina. (Rusty Long)

the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) wrote a letter that circulated in American media, in which he wrote,

> So if the South has such deep gratitude for the virtues of this devoted group from which it reaped vast riches, let it remove the numberless barriers it has gone out of its way to throw up against the progress of the noble Negro womanhood who sprang from these "mammies." Democracy is the monument which the 'Colored mammy' wants erected to her, and not a marble shaft, which at best will be but a symbol of our servitude to remind white and black alike that the menial callings are our place in the scheme of things. [27]

Pressure from protesting caused the Senate to reconsider the continuance of the bill, which they rescinded.[28]

Interest in a "mammy" memorial started before this 1922 proposal. In 1910, a group of prominent Texans organized to plan the erection of a monument to the "old black mammy of the south." Originally, they planned to put the monument in Galveston, but thought better to make it a national endeavor by placing it in Washington. They set a fundraising goal of one million dollars with the idea of electing a joint committee comprised of representatives from every southern state to oversee the project. [29] The project gained momentum throughout the South. However, Northerners did not have the same feelings toward this type of memorial. The Charlotte News in North Carolina scolded the New York World's editorial protest against the statue. According to the article, the New York newspaper disputed the idea that all citizens were comforted by a "mammy" during slavery. And, it "insinuates that she would not have been faithful to her task were it not for the fact that the South....refused to permit her to be anything but 'the old black mammy.'"[30] The Charlotte News article claims the northern newspaper lacked real facts concerning the life of these women. Instead of living in cruelty, "mammy" benefited from being a part of the family and she refused to leave her owner after emancipation. "Therefore, if there are those with funds to lavish on commemorative monuments and the like, it is not for us to say nay."[31]

This is not the first example of commemoration to slaves. The Emancipation Memorial, also known as the Freedmen's Memorial, located in Washington, D. C., was commissioned to honor Abraham Lincoln after his death. Funded by former slaves, this memorial was meant to commemorate freedom. The idea for the monument started with a five dollar donation from a freed slave immediately after Lincoln's death in 1865. She entrusted the funds to her previous owner. When the story ran in newspapers, other freed slaves joined in and supplemented her contribution. A Union general latched onto the idea and reached out to the Western Sanitary Commission of St. Louis. Kirk Savage points out that African-American soldiers donated a large portion of the money for the monument. Western Sanitary Commission, led by white men, held the funds for the group. Within months, enough money had been raised for a decent bronze statue. The white commissioners, however, envisioned a more elaborate statue. They set a goal of fifty thousand dollars, to which freedmen were asked to donate more money. Thomas Ball's design was chosen, and after few changes

suggested by the commission, the monument was erected. The monument features a black man kneeling with Abraham Lincoln standing over him. The kneeling man looks up in wonder as Lincoln's raised hand releases him from the institution of bondage. Savage explains that, although this monument began with good intentions from a freed slave, white heroism became the focus. This monument further cemented white supremacy.[32]

"With each new generation, the Lost Cause myth loses its control on public memory."

The discussion of the Lost Cause and white supremacy continues today. Modern-day monuments attempt to offset the Lost Cause celebration by initiating a new conversation between past monuments and new ones. A recent monument erected in Wilmington, North Carolina in 2008 labeled the "1898 Memorial" recognizes a massacre in the city three decades after the Civil War. Wilmington's black population prospered in business and politics, allowing for a growing black middle class.

The participation of blacks at the local, state, and federal levels agitated whites in North Carolina. Newspapers in the surrounding areas called for white Democratic control throughout the state and an end to "Negro domination." White elites from Wilmington's Chamber of Commerce and Merchants' Association devised a plan to utilize whatever means to secure a Democratic win in the upcoming elections. The Secret Nine and Group Six, white supremacist groups, wrote the "White Declaration of Independence," which listed the supposed egregious assaults black people acted out on white people. Following this declaration, an armed white supremacist group known as the Red Shirts arrived on election day to intimidate voters into voting Democrat and to keep black voters and Republicans from voting. The next day, in a whites' only meeting, the "White Declaration" was endorsed, led by ex-Confederate Alfred Moore Waddell. They also called for the resignation of all Republican leadership from any public office. Additionally, Alexander Manly, editor and publisher of a local black-owned newspaper, became the main target for the group. Manly responded to an article written by Rebecca Latimer Felton, a white supremacist who denounced black men as a threat to white women. Felton called for lynchings to "protect woman's dearest possession from the ravening human beasts." Manly countered that "white men were as dangerous to black women as black men were to white women." Waddell issued a mandate for Manly to leave Wilmington. Manly refused to leave, and on November 10, 1898, a large mob, including Waddell, descended upon the city. They burned the building that housed Manly's newspaper, patrolled the streets with a machine gun, and attacked local black-owned businesses. The mob forced all elected officials to resign, replacing them with white supremacists, and instating Waddell as the mayor. An accurate number of those killed has never been determined. The story passed down claims more than twenty-five died, and that their bodies were placed in the river. After the massacre and political overthrow, Wilmington's African-American population dwindled greatly and political involvement suffered a great deficit.[33] Whites maintained from that point forward that blacks instigated the riot.

Those in power controlled the narrative until the 1990s when a diverse mix of whites and blacks created the 1898 Commemoration Foundation. They set their mission to "tell stories accurately," "heal the wound," and "honor the memory" of those lost and the destruction created by white supremacy.[34] One of the projects the group endeavored to undertake consisted of a

monument located where most of the violence took place. Racism stemming from generations past sparked much debate in the community as to what the memory actually was, how to commemorate that memory, and why a monument was necessary. The African-American community debated amongst itself as to how the commemoration would rectify the wrongs from over a century before, and whether there should be reparations for the economic loss suffered by their ancestors. Many saw a monument as an easy apology without any accountability for the consequences of the event. Some whites held to the narrative that the riot and massacre were responses to black instigation. Two prominent white men in the community remained loyal to the idea that their ancestors must have had substantial reasons for taking part in the events of that day. The city faced a dilemma.

Despite the opposition facing the committee, a design for the monument was chosen. Unlike the Confederate statuary, this piece featured remnants from the past as well as progress from the present. The designer, Ayokunle Odeleye, merged the traumatic memory of the massacre with the present-day achievements to heal the wounds created by racism and white supremacy. The monument brings the collective memory full-circle rather than telling one side of the past. When confronted with the question of what to do with the Confederate monument in Wilmington, the committee chose to leave it untouched. The two monuments, in conversation with one another, create a dialogue concerning an unpleasant history. Together, they offer an education in memory for future generations.

The 1898 Monument is a great example of a true collective memory. The committee tasked with commemorating this event focused on all parties involved rather than a particular narrative or memory. The fact that descendants of the perpetrators refused to acknowledge any wrong-doing from their ancestors demonstrates how far the tentacles of the Lost Cause have reached. However, with each new generation, the Lost Cause myth loses its control on public memory, like in its glory days when the Old South was adored and Confederate generals were viewed as the iconography of better days stolen by the Northern oppressors.

The effort to create monuments speaks volumes to the motive behind their creation. It goes beyond the ornamentation and the aesthetics. It reflects the need to preserve glories as well as traumatic events. Historian John Neff emphasizes these aspects with a quote from Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs: "All care for the dead is for the sake of the living."[35] Commemoration transcends building materials. It encompasses public memory, whether a shared memory or a forced memory. Confederate commemoration attempted to preserve ideals and values that served a purpose for that generation. However, when those ideals and values are enveloped in a myth, at some point the myth will unravel and future generations lose sight of them. New ideals and values take the place of the old. Despite the fluctuations of memory and values over time, monuments serve a purpose for the past, present, and future. They teach us more about the people who conceive and build them than the honorees they are built for.[36] Rather than view these monuments through present-day lenses, viewers must study them from the perspective of when they were created, why they were created, and what period they were meant to commemorate. Monuments contain a fascinating education for the viewer who is willing to look beyond the bronze and stone.

Notes

1. Alan T. Nolan, "The Anatomy of the Myth," in *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History*, ed. Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 13.
2. Nolan, "The Anatomy of the Myth," 14.
3. Nolan, "The Anatomy of the Myth," 15.
4. Nolan, "The Anatomy of the Myth," 16.
5. Nolan, "The Anatomy of the Myth," 17.
6. Nolan, "The Anatomy of the Myth," 127-132.
7. "The Difference of Race Between the Northern and Southern People," *Southern Literary Messenger* 30, no. 6 (June 1860): 407.
8. Kirk Savage ed., *The Civil War in Art and Memory* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2016), 1.
9. "The Difference of Race," 406.
10. Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 25.
11. John R. Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005), 7.
12. Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead*, 83.
13. Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead*, 23.
14. Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead*, 42-45.
15. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 37-42.
16. The George Washington Monument, erected in 1858, stands at 21 ft. tall on Capitol Square. Confederate President Jefferson Davis delivered his second inaugural speech at this monument on Washington's birthday, February 22, 1862. His speech drew connections between the founding fathers and the Confederate states. (See note 17 for reference.)
17. Maurie D. McInnis, "To Strike Terror: Equestrian Monuments and Southern Power," in *The Civil War in Art and Memory*, 127-144.
18. *Richmond Planet*, Virginia, May 31, 1890, 4.
19. Michael W. Panhorst. "Confederate Monument on Capitol Hill," *Encyclopedia of Alabama*.
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Front entrance of the National Memorial for Peace and Justice, which was founded by the Equal Justice Initiative in Montgomery, Alabama. (Todesia Flavors)

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A Memorial to Remember

by Todesia Flavors

The National Memorial for Peace and Justice and the Legacy Museum were opened on April 26, 2018 in Montgomery, Alabama to pay tribute to the African Americans who fell victim to gruesome acts of violence and oppression between the late 1870s and early 1950s. The "Lynching Memorial," as it is often called, focuses on those who were brutally tortured and killed in an act known as "lynching," wherein a mob of riotous whites would beat an African American, often those accused of a crime (though usually with a justification that was flimsy at best), and subsequently hang (or otherwise murder) that person. Due to the nature of these horrific acts, and their impact on the black community throughout much of the post-Civil War era, the Lynching Memorial stands as a testament to the unbelievable strength and fortitude shown by one of America's most historically marginalized groups.

The memorial is the work of the Equal Justice Initiative (EJI), led by the organization's founder and executive director Bryan Stevenson, a Harvard-educated lawyer and social justice activist. In creating the Lynching Memorial, Stevenson was initially inspired by the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin.[1] He envisioned a place where people across the country can come and reflect. He is the author of the *New York Times* bestseller *Just Mercy: A Story of Justice and Redemption*, which is a memoir that focuses on combating injustice during one of his first cases. Mr. Stevenson is adamant about the importance of educating communities on America's troubled past of racial segregation and violence.

Stevenson and the EJI began working on creating the memorial in 2010 and have logged more than 4,400 investigated lynchings.[2] There were several hundred more that had already been acknowledged by the public. Twelve states participated in the act of lynching blacks, which led to many blacks leaving the South in order to escape the violence against them. Mr. Stevenson's goal is that many people will visit the memorial and learn something about a dark chapter in American history that they never knew and to see racial injustice for what it is. It is imperative that the shortcomings regarding equality be publicized and that the American people learn from the mistakes of the past. Montgomery, Alabama, is widely known as the home of the Confederacy and is the perfect place for the memorial, which Oprah Winfrey has called "painful and sobering," because of its historical significance.[3]

The memorial sits on six acres of land and contains about eight hundred monuments dedicated to the victims of lynching. In a *New York Times* article, Jesse Wegman describes the memorial as follows: "Rain drips blood-red from the rusted steel columns that hang from the ceiling, commemorating the thousands of lynchings of black Americans."[4] Each monument is engraved with the names of the victims and the counties and states where the violent crimes happened. The counties whose names are listed on the monuments have the opportunity to "adopt" an identical monument and display it publicly.[5] The hope

Side view of the steel monuments, representing each county in America where a documented lynching occurred. (Todesia Flavors)

is that they will all eventually be claimed and displayed in order to educate their viewers on the dreadful history behind them. As of yet, no monument has been taken.

The memorial also houses sculptures, texts, and spaces that serve as a historical guide through the eras of oppression and hardship. The visual aspects at the memorial help create an exhilarating and powerful experience. EJI partnered with several artists to ensure that visitors had engaging visual references. There are many things at the memorial that capture one's attention, including a garden at the front entrance. While taking a tour through the garden, visitors can stop to view the "memory wall." The stone marker for the wall, inscribed with white text, informs the visitors that it was built with bricks that were made by slaves many years ago. There are also stone benches placed at the center of the garden that allow visitors to rest and introspect while looking over the flowers. The garden provides a space at the memorial for people to mull over its message.

The National Memorial for Peace and Justice is important because it educates Americans on a time that is often downplayed and marred by historical revisionism. As Stevenson believes, progress can only be made if we are willing to take an honest look at our nation's sometimes hideous past. Coming to terms with that past, and accepting that our sacred values of justice and equality were so often cast aside in favor of impassioned and embittered hatred towards those wrongfully deemed inferior is the only way that we can ever hope to heal the wounds left by decades, if not centuries, of mistreatment.

Even if there is no way to truly be rid of the pain endured by so many innocent people, this memorial's construction at least offers a place to mourn. Both the victims and their families who were forced to suffer their loved ones' tragic passing are honored here; their descendants are encouraged to come forth to participate in the commemoration. The National Memorial for Peace and Justice and the Legacy Museum serve as a place for citizens of Alabama, and even the entire country, to reflect on these unfortunate times, and to create in them a drive to never allow such senseless acts of violence against African Americans and other minorities to ever go ignored again.

Notes

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Cecil Calvert, 2nd Lord Baltimore.
(Florence MacKubin)

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Anti-Catholicism in Maryland

by Brandon A. Hamilton

Ever since Henry VIII's "Act of Supremacy" in 1534, England had experienced intense ebbs and flows in anti-Catholic rhetoric and policy. This original "Act of Supremacy" ousted the Pope's power in the country and brought with it a fresh wave of anti-Catholic propaganda. When Henry's daughter Mary I rose to power, she repealed her father's act and reinstituted Catholicism as the official religion of the land. "Bloody Mary," as she would be called, also had a penchant for executing Protestants. As one might imagine, such violent and chaotic events bred aggressive repayment. When Elizabeth I took the reins of power, she destroyed the Catholic power structure and replaced it with Anglicanism. This action caused Pope Pius V to label Elizabeth a heretic, which in turn created a sense of anti-Papal paranoia that swept over the land. Fear and paranoia led to an intense surge of anti-Catholicism in England.

Almost one hundred years after Henry VIII's "Act of Supremacy," anti-Catholic fallout remained. George Calvert, Secretary of State under King James I and respected member of Parliament, was coerced into resignation when he converted to Catholicism in 1625. Calvert had sympathized with the plight of Catholics in England for some time, and with his resignation due to his religious beliefs (and perhaps his backing of Prince Charles's unpopular marriage), he became a pseudo-martyr to the Catholic cause. Calvert turned these tribulations into opportunity when Charles I ascended to the throne.

Calvert had the king's ear and requested a large tract of land on which to grow lucrative tobacco and to act as a haven for oppressed Catholics. Charles I rewarded Calvert's loyalty and granted him twelve million acres in what would become the colony of Maryland.[1] Sadly, George Calvert died before he could receive his charter. George Calvert's son Cecil Calvert assumed proprietorship of the colony and was officially granted a charter on June 20, 1632. Cecil continued in his father's footsteps, envisioning a religiously plural and tolerant colony that could also benefit from the lucrative tobacco trade. The consensus of Cecil Calvert was that "he was under the impelling influence of motives and obligations that were more imperative than those of a mere colonizer – among which was the sacred duty of finding a refuge for his Roman Catholic brethren, an obligation which had been felt by the Arundel group for many years."[2] This religious refuge would be "canonized" to a greater extent in 1649 with the "Maryland Toleration Act" or "An Act Concerning Religion," as it was commonly called. However, the ideals of religious harmony were challenged directly from the start with an act of legislation known as the "Ordinance of 1639."

In general terms, the "Ordinance of 1639" was a barebones set of laws that gave an initial nod to the rights of the individual, the rights of the state, and the rights of the church. The expedient passage of this ordinance was likely due to events in England, such as the "Catholic Remonstrance of

Grievances" which was created and signed by the English Catholic laity (and George Calvert) in 1625.[3] Another nudge towards such a speedy motion of legislation can be found in the Maryland charter itself when it grants the power of proprietorship that Cecil Calvert, also known as Lord Baltimore, had in his interpretative leeway, qualifying, "always that no interpretation is made by which God's true and holy Christian religion…would suffer any prejudice [,] diminution or curtailment."[4] Due to Lord Baltimore's considerable political power in the colony and his right to interpretation, many Protestants saw these early laws as a sort of collusion of sin between the mother country and Baltimore. Some particularly paranoid Protestants saw collusion in other places from potentially "dangerous" Catholics, as evidenced in this Virginian's statement about the threat in Maryland: "The said Roman Catholiques will bring in the Spaniards or some other forraigne enemy to suppresse the Protestants of those parts, or perhaps grow strong enough to doe it themselves."[5]

Lord Baltimore was well aware of these fears and concerns, which caused him much angst as proprietor. While Calvert did desire to create a refuge for Catholics, he also knew it would be politically savvy to not be too open about it. "As the colony's chief civil authority, he recognized that the colony's survival depended on removing religious considerations from the political arena."[6] To Lord Baltimore, providing a refuge and growing a religion were distinctly separate ideas, and to his credit his aims were to avoid religious polemics.

In some ways, Lord Baltimore was so accommodating to other religions that he nearly came across as anti-Catholic himself. Even Baltimore's initial orders, given to the first settlers of Maryland, painted a picture of Protestant protectionism with a subtle suggestion that Catholics would be observed with more scrutiny. In his orders given to the governor aboard the *Dove*, Calvert writes, "[care should be taken] to preserve unity and peace amongst all the passengers on ship-board, and that they suffer no scandall nor offence to be given to any of the Protestants, whereby any just complaint may hereafter be made, by them, in Virginia or England."[7] This sentiment was followed up with further instruction to his officers that they should "cause all Acts of Romane Catholique Religion to be done as privately as may be, and they instruct all Roman Catholiques to be silent upon all occasion of discourse concerning matters of Religion."[8]

It did not take long for Calvert's policies to be challenged. The case of William Lewis in 1638 brought into question the proselytization of the Indians and Protestants alike. Lewis, who was a Jesuit overseer, did not remain quiet with his religion as Baltimore had instructed. Instead he boasted of his conversions of the Protestants nearby. Naturally, this very public and antagonistic display of religion, especially the Catholic religion, drew its fair share of venom from the Protestants. Lewis's Protestant servants seemed to have borne the brunt of his proselytization when they claimed that Lewis said, "our ministers are the ministers of the divell; and that our books are made by the instruments of the divell, and further saith that those servants which are under his charge shall neither keepe nor read any booke which doth appertaine to our religion within the house of the said William Lewis."[9]

In the end Lewis was placed on trial and found guilty of disturbing the peace, offensive and indiscrete speech, and acting with disregard to public proclamation (Baltimore's Policy). He was fined five hundred pounds of tobacco and put on bond for an additional three thousand pounds, and ordered to not "offend the peace of this colony or the inhabitants therof by injurious and unnecessary arguments or disputations in matters of religion."[10] The rather steep treatment of Lewis presents two important ideas about colonial Maryland's religious dealings: These ideas were that Protestants could feel they had a proper redress in their grievances concerning religion, and that

even Catholics were willing to act on some level in an anti-Catholic fashion.

While the Protestants understandably critiqued the Catholic power structure in the colony, it was Lord Baltimore who found himself locked into political warfare with his fellow religionists of a different shade, the Jesuits. Baltimore had a special relationship with the Jesuits. There was of course the fact that they shared a faith, but Cecil's father, George, had been very involved in the Society of Jesus. Baltimore also found great advantage in having Jesuits in Maryland because of their conversion efforts among the native population, which could potentially quell tensions down the road and open up superior trade routes. Despite all of the good that the Jesuits could bring to Maryland, Baltimore demanded of them what he demanded of other religionists by saying they should accept "the same conditions, agreements and contracts as the rest of the colonists, and act accordingly."[11]

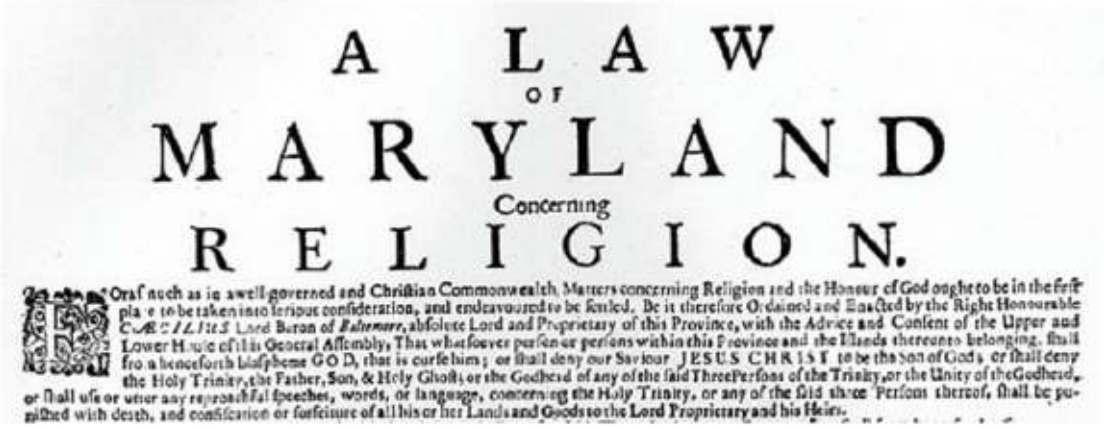
"Even Catholics were willing to act on some level in an anti-Catholic fashion."

The problem, however, was that the Jesuits didn't want to accept that they had to be on equal footing with other religionists in the colony. They even managed to secure a special exemption from the assembly that convened in 1638. Jesuit leader Father Thomas Copley entreated Baltimore publicly to ensure that the Church would enjoy the same rights and privileges as it did in England, but in private he demanded special privileges. Baltimore knew the dangers of an unchecked religious group in the colony that had special privileges, and it was something he could not abide.

Baltimore constructed a heavy-handed statement towards the Jesuits that consisted of four demands: The first demand was that the Jesuits relinquish all trade and claims involving the native population unless they were given special license by Baltimore. The second demand was that the Jesuits forfeit their right to land in Maryland unless given permission by Baltimore. The third demand expressly stated that clergy and layman alike were not above the law and that there would be no special religious immunities granted. The final demand stated that ecclesiastical workings such as marriages, testimonies, probate of wills, etc. would be handled by officers of Lord Baltimore's choosing. Baltimore sought to undermine the inner working of the Society of Jesus in his statement.[12]

Unsurprisingly, the Jesuits resoundingly rejected Lord Baltimore's demands and, to add a bit of fuel to the fire, subtly threatened him with excommunication. Not to be outdone, Lord Baltimore placed an embargo against Jesuits coming into the colony. One would be hard pressed to find a more prolific example of irony than a man creating a colony (ostensibly) with the purposes of religious freedom, and simultaneously rejecting the immigration of the very people he sought to shelter. Baltimore's heated exchanges with the Jesuits and his embargo on them was fueled in part by the inherent danger they posed to religious liberty and in part because of his paranoia that they were out to ruin him. As he lamented, "I am (upon very good reason) satisfied… that they doe designe my destruction."[13]

If Lord Baltimore, a professed Catholic and seeker of religious liberty, could act in such a fundamentally anti-Catholic fashion, what might one expect from the Protestant population within the colony? Suffice it to say that anti-Catholicism would run amok in Maryland, but as with most big events they tend to start small. The fires of anti-Catholicism that would eventually engulf Maryland needed but a spark. That spark was found in Lord Baltimore's seemingly innocuous decree, "An Act Concerning



A L A W
OF
MARYLAND
Concerning
RELIGION.

FOr as much as in a well-governed and Christian Commonwealth, Matters concerning Religion and the Honour of God ought to be in the first place to be taken into serious consideration, and endeavoured to be settled. Be it therefore Ordained and Enacted by the Right Honourable CAECILIUS Lord Baron of *Baltemore*, absolute Lord and Proprietary of this Province, with the Advice and Consent of the Upper and Lower House of this General Assembly, That whatsoever person or persons within this Province and the Islands thereunto belonging, shall fro henceforth blaspheme GOD, that is curse him; or shall deny our Saviour JESUS CHRIST to be the son of God, or shall deny the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, & Holy Ghost, or the Godhead of any of the said Three Persons of the Trinity, or the Unity of the Godhead, or shall use or utter any reproachful speeches, words, or language, concerning the Holy Trinity, or any of the said three Persons thereof, shall be punished with death, and confiscation or forfeiture of all his or her Lands and Goods to the Lord Proprietary and his Heirs.

A small broadside reprint of the Maryland Toleration Act.
(Assembly of the Province of Maryland)

Religion" (Maryland Toleration Act). Generally, Lord Baltimore's "An Act Concerning Religion" simply codified what was already commonplace practice in regards to religion. However, there were a few interesting highlights and exceptions that created confusion and resentment. While "An Act Concerning Religion" covers multiple things it is essentially a document that tries to convey two mutually exclusive concepts: religious tolerance and intolerance. These discordant ideas would not only undermine Lord Baltimore's founding principles, but would also serve as a catalyst for Protestant ire.

The first half of "An Act Concerning Religion" explicitly outlines Calvert's ideas about religious liberty by saying,

> That whatsoever person or persons within this Province and the Islands thereunto belonging shall from henceforth blaspheme God, that is Curse him, or deny our Saviour Jesus Christ to bee the sonne of God, or shall deny the holy Trinity the father sonne and holy Ghost, or the Godhead of any of the said Three persons of the Trinity or the Unity of the Godhead, or shall use or utter any reproachfull Speeches, words or language concerning the said Holy Trinity, or any of the said three persons thereof, shalbe punished with death and confiscation or forfeiture of all his or her lands and goods to the Lord Proprietary and his heires.[14]

On one hand it is quite clear that religious tolerance applied to Protestants as well as Catholics, as Lord Baltimore had intended, but it is important to note that tolerance abruptly ends when one ventures from the confines of typical Trinitarian belief, as would be the case for atheists, Jews, and others. The limitation of religious tolerance in this fashion is understandable for the time period, as the prevailing thought was that all stripes of non-Christians had a tendency to sow disquiet. However, the death penalty as a form of punishment for such "crimes" speaks volumes about how important a role religion played in everyday colonial life.

The next passage of "An Act Concerning Religion" breaks the unifying bonds between Protestants and Catholics that were tenuously forged in the previous passage by allowing for a sort of special privilege regarding Catholics and an interesting form of punishment that could follow. The passage that stuck in the craw of Protestants reads as follows,

> And bee it also Enacted by the Authority and with the advise and assent aforesaid, That whatsoever person or persons shall from henceforth use or utter any reproachfull words or Speeches concerning the blessed Virgin Mary the Mother of our Saviour or the holy Apostles or Evangelists or any of them shall in such case for the first offence

> forfeit to the said Lord Proprietary and his heirs Lords and Proprietaries of this Province the summe of five pound Sterling or the value thereof to be Levyed on the goods and chattells of every such person soe offending, but in case such Offender or Offenders, shall not then have goods and chattells sufficient for the satisfyeing of such forfeiture, or that the same bee not otherwise speedily satisfyed that then such Offender or Offenders shalbe publiquely whipt and bee imprisoned during the pleasure of the Lord Proprietary or the Lieutenant or cheife Governor of this Province for the time being. And that every such Offender or Offenders for every second offence shall forfeit tenne pound sterling or the value thereof to bee levyed as aforesaid, or in case such offender or Offenders shall not then have goods and chattells within this Province sufficient for that purpose then to bee publiquely and severely whipt and imprisoned as before is expressed. And that every person or persons before mentioned offending herein the third time, shall for such third Offence forfeit all his lands and Goods and bee for ever banished and expelled out of this Province.[15]

The special exception being taken concerning the Virgin Mary was a potential sticking point that would affect Protestants, and led to some very problematic consequences. The idea of physical abuse for uttering reproachful words towards Catholics was naturally terrifying, as was the idea of imprisonment, since being incarcerated for any substantive length could result in destitution. However, the most concerning consequence lay in the forfeiture of all lands and goods, coupled with expulsion from the colony. If these punishments were to be carried out, a very obvious shift would occur as more and more Protestants could be imprisoned, expelled, and forced to forfeit goods to the Catholic proprietor. To the Protestants, this particular passage was indicative of a subversive plot against them.

Overall, the idea of a clandestine Catholic agenda would feed into a sense of paranoia. This is especially witnessed when the Protestants of Maryland petitioned King Charles II to do something about such papist plots in the region. The Protestants were quite harsh in their language towards Lord Baltimore, and even outright accused him of treason. The following passage indicates the level of paranoia and danger that Protestants found in Catholics who were (in their minds) willing to collude with anyone to serve their base needs,

> To our great gratious Kinge and Souvereigne Charles the II, King of England &c. with his parliament. It is high time, that the original Cause of the late and former distractions should be inquired into: the Berklieu and Baltimore Partys will tell a great many over smothed Contraries: the platt form is, Pope Jesuit determined to over terne England, with feyer, sword and distractions, within themselves, and by the Maryland Papists, to drive us Protestants to Purgatory within our selves in America, with the help of the French spirits from Canada.
>
> Now mark the late Tragedy: Old Governer Barkly, Altered by marrying a young wyff, from his wonted public good, to a covetous fools-age, relished Indians presents, with som that hath a like feeling, so wel, that many Christians Blood is pukkuted up, with other mischievs, in so much that his lady tould, that it would bee the overthrow of the Country; of which Dissembling Baltemore is glad, because it is his custom to exchaince the King's Majesty Subjects, for furr: and now presents an opportunity to give Virginia a good blow, if not an overthrowe by Maryland Piscattaway Indians in Potomoke River, who encourradged by their own if not a Popish Divell, went over to Virginy side, to doe mischeief.[16]

Of course, while the petition to King Charles II gave a specific example of anti-Catholicism by Protestants in Maryland, the general environment throughout the colonies was profoundly anti-Catholic. When Protestant settlers immigrated to America they brought with

them their bigotry from the fallout of the Protestant Revolution. Their children were indoctrinated in their education books to distrust Catholics and associate the Pope with Satan himself. As if past enmity and early indoctrination weren't enough, there were also ministers who published tracts and gave sermons against the devilry and insidiousness of what they liked to call Papism to further fortify this hatred.

Prominent minister and hater of all things Catholic Cotton Mather published his thoughts on Papist activities in Maryland. If ever a title fully encompassed its contents, it was Mather's *The Fall of Babylon: a short and plain catechism, which detects & confutes the principles of popery: and arms the Protestant from the Tower of David, for the defence of his holy religion: intended particularly for the service of the Christians in Maryland, who may be in danger of popish delusions.* While not being the pithiest of titles, Mather expresses the danger that he believed Marylanders to be in at the hands of evil Catholics. In *The Fall of Babylon*, Mather couches the struggles of Protestants in Maryland as a holy war of the "true" religion versus the insidious plotting of "Popery."[17]

Approaching the late seventeenth century, anti-Catholicism in Maryland was rising to a fever pitch. The paranoia, at that time, envisioned Lord Baltimore working with that elusive "other" to undermine Maryland's best interests. Protestants were likewise seeing the effects of nepotism in government and feared they would never be truly represented. However, by the late 1680s, Protestants had managed to form a majority in the Maryland colony. The mood, emotion, and capability for aggressive revolution were all present, but Protestants lacked the catalyst they needed to affect change. That catalyst would be found across the sea in England in 1688.

In 1688, England underwent what was known as the Glorious Revolution. In this revolution, Protestants William and Mary successfully deposed Catholic King James II. Alongside this symbolic religious triumph of Protestants over Catholics lay the passage of power from the monarch into the hands of the people in Parliament. When factoring in all the sudden and symbolic changes presented in the Glorious Revolution, one needn't ponder too long as to what happens next in Catholic dominated, Protestant-filled Maryland.

After the events in England and years of pent up resentment, the levies finally broke in 1689. John Coode led an army of over seven hundred Protestant citizens who identified themselves as "associators" to march against the colonial army led by Catholic governor Henry Darnall. When the combatants met, it was clear that Coode's men held the advantage. Darnall was forced to yield, and as the defeated governor wrote, "wee being in this condition and no hope left of quieting the people thus enraged, to prevent effusion of blood, capitulated and surrendered."[18] The triumphant Protestants quickly capitalized on their victory by seizing control of the legislature and installing Coode as governor; they were now free to enact any anti-Catholic policy they desired, and they didn't miss the chance. With the Protestants firmly in control of the reins of power, they set out to ban the practice of Catholicism. Catholics were forced to worship in secret or face fines and imprisonment. Another consequence of the Protestant Revolution in Maryland was that Catholics would no longer hold public office, and thus only Protestant needs would be addressed and represented. No longer did Maryland have even the guise of religious freedom, but was an officially sanctioned state church of Anglicanism.[19]

"The general environment throughout the colonies was profoundly anti-Catholic."

One cannot help but see the irony and tragedy of establishing a safe haven for a particular group of people with a message of liberty, and see that liberty be the source of their own undoing. Anti-Catholicism had a long history in England and it most assuredly bled over into America. Sometimes this anti-Catholicism appeared in the expected ways, both from external and opposing forces, and sometimes it appeared from within their own ranks. Despite the obvious discord and hatred that religious conflict caused in Maryland, it did have the very positive effect of being a test case to learn from and find the importance of true religious freedom within our own country.

Notes

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Nelson Mandela burning a passbook, a document designed to monitor and control the movements of black South Africans. (Wikimedia Commons)

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A Truth that Cannot Be Denied

by Jaynee Hobbs

On April 27, 1994, Nelson Mandela was elected president of South Africa, ending years of government-sponsored oppression and racial discrimination instituted under the system of apartheid which had been in place since 1948. In 1995, in an effort to deal with the country's past and promote a united future, the new government established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), a court-like judicial body primarily designed to hear victims' testimonies and offer conditional amnesty to those who had perpetrated human rights violations under apartheid.[1] The commission also functioned to reveal lost or suppressed information in the wake of decades of systematic destruction and censorship of the archival record.[2] The adoption of the TRC was not met with unconditional support among all South Africans, however. The commission's mandate, process, and findings drew criticism from many different parties. Despite this criticism, some of which was valid, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission did uncover secrets concerning acts committed during the apartheid era that would have most likely remained hidden had the TRC not been established. Victims could find healing in telling their stories and in learning the fate of loved ones and those who benefited from or were complicit in apartheid's crimes could no longer claim ignorance.

In order to understand the impact of the TRC, it is necessary to understand the system of apartheid and its history. Apartheid, an Afrikaans word meaning "apartness," was a system of racial segregation and oppression established by the National Party government in 1948. Racial discrimination and segregation had existed in South Africa before 1948, but after the National Party gained control of the government, these policies were expanded and codified into law. The system was characterized by legislation designed to segregate the races, strip the black African majority of political power and agency, and increase the power and control of the white minority. Examples of such laws include the Population Registration Act of 1950, which categorized and registered the population based on race, and the Group Areas Act of 1950 and the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959, both of which further regulated segregation and forced the removal and movement of black South Africans, Indians, and those of multiracial backgrounds, labelled as "Coloureds." The latter act designated a very small percentage of the land in South Africa as "homelands" in which black Africans could claim citizenship. Further legislation would go on to strip blacks of their South African citizenship. Other examples of apartheid laws include the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, the Immorality Amendment Act of 1950, the Bantu Education Act, the Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1951, and the pass laws.[3] Some of the results for black South Africans due to this legislation included the near complete segregation of the races, discriminatory educational and labor

Nelson Mandela and F. W. de Klerk at the Annual Meeting of the World Economic Forum, 1992. (World Economic Forum)

opportunities, lack of civil rights including the right to vote or politically organize, and controlled and monitored movement.

Unrest inspired by discrimination, as well as labor and civic concerns, had existed in South Africa even before the National Party took control of the government; however, with the official adoption of the policy of apartheid, resistance increased. In 1950, the government passed the Suppression of Communism Act, which effectively allowed the government to ban any organization that opposed the National Party or its policies. In response, resistance movements organized and increased their efforts, culminating in the Defiance Campaign of 1952. Resistance, both planned and spontaneous, continued throughout the 1950s and was mostly characterized by policies of civil disobedience. This would begin to change in the 1960s as the decade saw an increased brutality in the government's response to these movements, and consequently more militant tactics were embraced within many liberation groups.[4] On March 21, 1960, black South Africans began gathering around a police station in Sharpeville, a township near Vereeniging, to protest the pass laws. As the crowd demonstrated, the police began to fire into the crowd, killing 69 and injuring around 186, with most of those killed being shot in the back. This event became known as the Sharpeville massacre, and would inspire an immediate wave of strikes and protests. In response, the government declared a state of emergency, which allowed it to detain anyone without a trial. Shortly after, the government banned both the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the two most prominent liberation organizations. The government also had the power to ban individuals, which restricted their movements and political activity. Thousands of people would go on to be banned in order to silence opposition.[5]

Despite mounting pressure forcing the liberation movement underground, activists continued to resist apartheid. The 1970s saw the rise of the Black Consciousness Movement under the leadership of Steve Biko and increased student activism, culminating in the Soweto uprising. The government's response of firing on and killing children drew the attention of the world and led to the imposition of sanctions and embargos upon South Africa by many different countries. By 1986, South Africa's most important trading partners, including the United States, Japan, and the European Community, had imposed economic sanctions. Private companies also faced pressure from their home countries to disinvest from South Africa, and the international community expressed their condemnation of apartheid through various boycotts, including in the academic, sport, and cultural spheres.[6]

By the 1980s, the ANC's militant wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, had increased guerrilla infiltration into the country and began a bombing campaign designed to rally support for the ANC. International pressure, as well as increased violent resistance and widespread demonstrations, forced the government to institute some reforms, though these changes were not substantial enough to quell the growing unrest. The president at the time, P.W. Botha, was pressured to step down from the presidency, and his successor, F.W. de Klerk, went on to begin the process of negotiating the end of apartheid.[7]

These negotiations took place between 1990 and 1993, concluding with the adoption of a new constitution. The transition period was not peaceful, however, and was threatened by sectional violence between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), police brutality, and financial scandals. The IFP was created and led by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, a former ANC member and Chief Minister of the KwaZulu Bantustan, or "homeland." Divergent interests and policies caused division between the two groups, culminating in the ANC sentiment that Buthelezi was a collaborator with the apartheid government. In 1992, the two groups stood on the edge of civil war. The negotiations were again threatened in 1993 by the murder of Chris Hani, the general secretary of the South African Communist Party. Regardless of the difficult process, negotiations were successful, a constitution was adopted, and a general election was held.[8]

Despite this momentous achievement, the transition had not been easy, and many wondered if the population of South Africa would be able to collectively cooperate in building a new future. Archbishop and anti-apartheid activist Desmond Tutu believed that South Africa would have to deal with its troubled past in order to move on, yet it was unclear how this could be achieved. During the negotiations it had become clear that a Nuremburg-like trial of apartheid's perpetrators would not be possible. Apartheid officials and security forces would have never allowed the negotiations and transition to continue if they were to be put on trial afterwards. Another option, a general amnesty, was also rejected because many felt that past crimes needed to be exposed and victims' suffering needed to be acknowledged. A compromise was reached and in 1995, and the new government passed the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, which established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.[9]

The Commission was mandated with establishing "as complete a picture as possible of the causes, nature and extent of the gross violations of human rights" that occurred between 1960 and 1994 and compiling a comprehensive report of the Commission's activities and findings. It was also tasked with promoting unity and reconciliation, granting amnesty to human rights violators in exchange for full disclosure of the truth if their violations were politically motivated, and restoring dignity to victims by hearing their testimonies and recommending reparation measures. Finally, the Commission was to make recommendations to the president based on their findings. The Commission was made up of three committees: the Human Rights Violation Committee, the Amnesty Committee, and the Rehabilitation Committee. An investigation unit and research department were also established to assist the committees. The Human Rights Violation Committee was tasked with holding public hearings in which victims were allowed to tell their stories and air their grievances. These "victim hearings" were covered by both local and international media, and for many viewers across the world, it was the first time in which they were exposed to the truths and horrors underlying apartheid.[10]

The Amnesty Committee conducted public hearings in which perpetrators of human rights violations who were applying for amnesty testified and were questioned concerning their confessions. These hearings were also extensively covered by the media and drew worldwide attention. Victims of the perpetrators' crimes often attended the hearings, and in some cases, participated in or challenged the application. Once the hearing was conducted and it was determined that the applicant had fully disclosed the truth, and that the violation was political in nature, then they would be granted amnesty for their crimes. If these conditions were not met, then the applicant would be denied amnesty and would be vulnerable to prosecution.[11] On October 28, 1998, the TRC published its final report detailing its findings.[12] These public hearings conducted by the Human Rights

Violations and Amnesty Committees, as well as the TRC's final report, revealed to the South African people and the world the abuses and human rights violations conducted under the oppressive system of apartheid.

Despite the TRC's success in revealing the truth of apartheid to the world, the Commission still faced criticisms. Examples include the fact that many of the leaders of apartheid never applied for amnesty and many violators refused to implicate their superiors. Some victims believed that amnesty denied victims of human rights abuses justice, and the reparations process was delayed and often insufficient.[13] Others questioned whether the TRC and its public hearings had caused more division rather than reconciliation.[14] While some of these criticisms have validity, they do not detract from the fact that the process brought to light the atrocities committed under apartheid. According to an article published in the *Economist*, "[The Commission] will show that the brutality lay overwhelmingly on the side of the white regime."[15] The distinction between the abuses committed by the state and those committed by the resistance is explored in the book Reconciliation Through Truth: A Reckoning of Apartheid's Criminal Governance. The book's authors postulate that "it is simply short-sighted, not canny realpolitik, to ignore or suppress the moral distinctions between the battle to preserve apartheid and the battle to abolish it."[16]

The process also allowed viewers to hear first-hand accounts of both perpetrators and victims of abuse, which undeniably supported the conclusion that the apartheid government had sanctioned the use of terror, murder, and conspiracy in its attempts to suppress opposition. However, this does not mean that the TRC did not investigate abuses committed by liberation movements. There were many black South Africans whose family members were killed due to allegations of collaboration or sectional violence, and the Commission also worked to uncover their fate. Finally, some within the white community or the old government claimed to be unaware of the abuses committed under apartheid, though testimony clearly implicated the government in wide-ranging and systematic violence. Therefore, those in the white community who claimed ignorance could not do so any longer. While the TRC based its findings on thousands of testimonies, a complete analysis of each account would be exceedingly difficult; regardless, the following case studies are examples of the secrets uncovered in the TRC process.

Steve Biko was a prominent anti-apartheid activist and leader of the Black Consciousness Movement, a widespread and influential movement designed to instill a sense of dignity within the black community, allowing them to mentally break free of oppression. Biko and Black Consciousness ideas were very popular in South Africa, and his influence was a primary instigator to the dramatic increase in student-led protests and demonstrations during the 1970s. In fact, his growing influence would mark him as a threat to the apartheid government. In 1977, Biko and his friend Peter Cecil Jones were stopped at a road block by police and then taken to a holding cell in Port Elizabeth before being separated. Biko would go on to die of brain injury in a prison cell a few weeks later. Initially, no one was found guilty of his death. Despite the lack of details surrounding his death, many black South Africans reacted with renewed and intense strength in the struggle against apartheid. His friends and family would not learn the truth regarding Biko's death until those responsible testified before the Commission in a bid to seek amnesty.[17]

The five police officers responsible for Biko's death testified that they had beaten Biko with a hose and rammed his head into a wall, which caused a brain hemorrhage. Biko was then interrogated while he was chained to a gate for twenty-four hours before being transported 660 miles in the back of a Land Rover to Pretoria prison. The officer who delivered Biko admitted to lying to Pretoria officers about his condition, telling them that Biko was faking his

injuries. Not long after, Biko died in his prison cell.[18] Biko's death is one of many examples of abuses committed by security forces under apartheid; detainees were often tortured and abused while in police custody. However, this did not mark the extent of the crimes committed by security forces in the fight for apartheid.

Vlakplaas was the name of a small farm located near Pretoria. The unassuming location was home to a counter-insurgency section of the South African police and served as a base used to train "askaris" or

"The crimes confessed are staggering."

black collaborators. Between 1983 and 1993, Vlakplaas operatives were responsible for the kidnapping, torture, and murder of thousands, as well as the infiltration of anti-apartheid groups. Once operatives finished killing their victims, their bodies were burned, hidden, or tossed into a nearby river. The group operating at Vlakplaas and other groups like them within the security forces became known as "death squads."[19] Much of what has been revealed regarding the squad's actions is due to the confessions of Dirk Coetzee and Eugene de Kock. Both men commanded the unit at different times and both sought amnesty through the TRC. They described the mindset that predominated the unit as a war on behalf of Christians against the forces of communism.

The crimes confessed by the two men are staggering, although some of their confessions stand out. Eugene de Kock claimed responsibility for masterminding the bombing of the South African Council of Churches and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the assassination of ANC activist Zwelimanzi Nyanda, the mailing of hidden bombs, and the orchestration and execution of many more murders.[20] Dirk Coetzee had a similar record of torture, murder, and conspiracy, most notably the murder of activist and lawyer Griffiths Mxenge. Another member of the unit confessed to killing ANC member Richard Motasi and his wife Irene. One of the most important revelations in these men's confessions was their implication of superiors, including Botha and De Klerk.[21] Both Vlakplaas operatives also drew connections between the state's security apparatus and the violence between the ANC and IFP.

According to the testimonies of the former defense minister Magnus Malan, IFP member David Zweli Dlamini, as well as government documentation obtained by the TRC, a covert project code-named Operation Marion was sanctioned by the apartheid authorities, including Botha. This operation called for the creation, training, and arming of an offensive force within the IFP, designed to spur violence between the supporters of the group and supporters of the ANC. The operation commenced in 1985 in response to the formation of the United Democratic Front, a coalition of anti-apartheid groups. According to Dlamini, who testified wearing a ski mask due to fears of being recognized and facing retaliation, the IFP group known as the Caprivi Trainees "had been trained by the South African Defense Force to use weapons of war – mortars, light machine guns, AK-47s, hand grenades, anti-personnel mines, landmines, and explosives."[22] Covert paramilitary support was not legal and led to many human rights abuses between the two groups. The violence even threatened to derail the negotiations to end apartheid and the following election.

The murder of Steve Biko by police officers, the formation of Vlakplaas as a base for terror operations and death squads, and the state security force's covert, paramilitary support of the IFP are all connected to the apartheid state's security apparatus, and were orchestrated in order to crush the growing

opposition to apartheid and secure the government's power. In a compilation of TRC findings, the report states that the IFP was "the primary non-state perpetrator, and that it was responsible for approximately 33 percent of all the violations reported to the Commission."[23] The TRC's indictment of the IFP as "the primary non-state perpetrator" mirrors the report's findings regarding the state's culpability:

> The predominant portion of gross violations of human rights was committed by the former state through its security and law-enforcement agencies. Moreover, the South African state in the period from the late 1970s to early 1990s became involved in activities of a criminal nature when, amongst other things, it knowingly planned, undertook, condoned and covered up the commission of unlawful acts, including the extra-judicial killings of political opponents and others, inside and outside South Africa.[24]

The TRC and its investigations into human rights violations led to the uncovering of many uncomfortable truths. Despite the silence of the former government concerning these testimonies and confessions, the TRC's findings could no longer be denied by the rest of the world.

The truth recovery process was also very important to those searching for answers regarding their missing or dead loved ones. In an attempt to provide such closure and healing and to avoid bias, in 1997, the TRC conducted an investigation into Winnie Mandela and the Mandela United Football Club. Allegations were instigated by the testimony of many Soweto residents whose children had gone missing after coming into contact with the Football Club. The subsequent TRC investigation revealed evidence that linked the club to more than twenty instances of assault, murder, and abduction. When questioned, the members of the club testified that their actions were carried out under orders from Winnie, whom they referred to as "Mommy." One of the victims whom the Football Club confessed to killing was Stompei Seipei, a fourteen-year-old who the club claimed was a police informer in 1988. When the killing took place, his mother claimed his body but remained unaware of the circumstances of his death. In 1997, Jerry Richardson, a member of the club, testified that he had tortured and killed the boy under direct orders from Mandela. Mrs. Mandela denied involvement and refused to apologize for her part in the liberation struggle; however, after prompting from the TRC's Chairperson, Desmond Tutu, she did apologize to Stompei's mother for how "things went horribly wrong."[25] After nine years, Mananki Joyce Seipei finally knew how, if not under whose orders, her son had been killed.

The horrors of apartheid had seeped into every crevice of South Africa and left the country hurt and bitter. Some victims were able to find closure in truth, even managing to begin the Commission's seemingly impossible goal of reconciliation by forgiving the perpetrators. Some were not able to so easily forgive those that had wronged them and their families. However, despite the very different levels of moral responsibility between those who fought for and against apartheid, gross human rights violations were committed by all sides. These abuses left many of the country's people hurt, both in the way in which one hurts when violated and the way one hurts when having committed violations. Truth is not the single answer to the legacy of grief and bitterness left in apartheid's wake, but it does provide a chance for closure and healing for many. The former government's destruction of the archival record also necessitated a need for the truth in order to restore the country's collective memory. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was not perfect in its design or execution, but it served the very important function of facilitating the search for truth which has affected so many, in so many different ways. Its public nature also made sure that no one could claim to be ignorant of the abuses and violations that had occurred under apartheid.

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2017 Alabama 200 Winner and current NASCAR racer, Chase Elliot. (Stan Narrison)

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Montgomery Motor Speedway:

Racing in the River Region

by Elizabeth D. Meads

Nestled deep in the west side of the capital city of Montgomery lies the oldest asphalt track in the South – Montgomery Motor Speedway. Built in 1953, the half-mile track boasts an impressive history. Stan Narrison, the general manager of the track, has been in the racing business for approximately twenty-two years, but has been with Montgomery Motor Speedway (MMS) for five years.

When asked, "Have you had any racers make it to the top of the American racing food chain, that is, NASCAR?" Narrison exclaimed, "Well of course we have! Some of the greatest names in NASCAR have raced here or have even gotten their start in racing here. Just to name a few, both the Allison brothers, Bobby and Donnie, 'The King,' Richard Petty – almost any driver that raced in the 1960s through the 1980s – and some of the newer guys in the circuit, like David Reagan and Joey Logano." Stan also talked about how the uniqueness of MMS sets it apart from any other entertainment venue in the River Region, with its rich history and the diverse groups of people, both racing teams and fans alike, that the track draws in every other Saturday night.

Narrison was questioned about the closure of MMS that happened in the mid-2000s, and before he answered, a smirk crawled across his face. "This is such a great story. So, this guy named Bill Manfull purchased the track around the year 2003. It was more of a group of investors really. They tried to draw in racers by offering large purses for races but had absolutely zero financial backing to pay out the winnings. Drivers were getting upset so they essentially stopped coming to the track. In order to get some cash flowing in, Manfull and the investors decided to lease the track to the Hyundai plant for them to park cars on the property as storage." Narrison chuckled and said, "The funny part about this whole ordeal was that when Hyundai finally decided to remove the cars, mice and rats had eaten through all of the wiring harnesses in the cars and all of them had to be scrapped."

The current owners, Bobby Knox Sr. and Mark Knox, purchased the track in 2008. Narrison said that a lot of people in the community were extremely supportive and helped where they could. The track did not open until mid-2009, and was repaved between 2009 and 2010. Many improvements were made to MMS, such as adding a wall to the back straightaway to make the track safer for drivers and adding grandstands to make the fans' experience even more enjoyable.

"We have five regular racing divisions here at MMS – the 'Show Me the Money' Pro Late Models, the 'Black Sheep Woodlands' Late Model Sportsman, the 'Coca-Cola' Street Stocks, the Modified Minis, and the Road Runners. But from time to time, we host special classes, like the Sprint Cars, Super Modifieds, Bandit

Big Rigs, and once upon a time, we had the Winston Cup cars out on the track."

The crown jewel of races at Montgomery Motor Speedway is the Alabama 200, which Narrison named the "Hunt for the Bear" – Alabama's state animal is the black bear, so he thought it was very fitting to have a trophy look like the bear. The Alabama 200 has been a traditional race at the track for nearly fifty years and it is a way to close out the racing season in the fall.

"What really sets MMS apart from everything else in Montgomery for entertainment is that it's inclusive to everyone," Narrison said. "We have teenagers racing on the track, sometimes with their parents or other older relatives. Even for the kids and adults in the stands, we have bike races and pace truck ride-alongs and I don't think you will find anywhere else in this area that allows for that immersive experience."

Hyundai vehicles parked at MMS, taken in 2006. (David Killough)

Early racing program from the early years of MMS.
(David Killough)

Confederate Nurse Kate Cumming.
(Alabama Department of Archives and History)

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Southern Hospitality:

Confederate Women Nurses in the Civil War

by Victoria S. Kenyon

"War is Hell." These words, spoken by Union General William T. Sherman, are perhaps more true of the United States Civil War than any other conflict in American history. The four years of battle in the Civil War resulted in the deaths of as many as 750,000 Americans, while the violence left many others permanently disfigured. While the soldiers certainly deserve praise for their valor, the often-unsung heroes of the war were those who faced its post-battle horrors by providing medical care to soldiers. In both the North and South, women worked as nurses, tending to wounded troops, managing hospitals, and consoling and comforting the injured. These women came from diverse backgrounds and participated in the war for a variety of reasons, including nationalism and a sense of duty to their fellow countrymen.

For those women who worked as nurses on behalf of the Confederacy, though, the reputation of their work is tinged with the legacy of slavery and treason. Nevertheless, while the cause that they supported was not a wholly righteous one, the women who acted as nurses in the South were exhibiting the same kindness and virtue as their Union counterparts. Confederate nurses, whether they worked in private hospitals or served on the battlefield, displayed courage and compassion in the work they set out to do – that of alleviating suffering. Thus, the nurses of the Confederacy deserve to be remembered, and the sacrifices they made to combat the hell that was the Civil War ought to be celebrated.

In much of the extant scholarship on medical care during the Civil War, the undertakings of women nurses are often given little attention in the broader scope of the research, and they are usually consigned to little more than a chapter in books on the subject. Moreover, many of the works that center on the activities and experiences of women nurses in the Civil War focus on the deeds of those who served on the Union side. This is, of course, understandable, as the official United States government records focus not on those who fought in the Rebel army, but those who sided with the Union. Indeed, perhaps the most well-known woman to contribute to her country during the Civil War was Union nurse Clara Barton, the eventual founder of the American Red Cross, who is often credited with developing the nursing profession into its current form. However, while Barton's contributions to her nation and to medicine are inarguably significant, there were many other nurses who exhibited great bravery and selflessness during the war as well.

Before discussing the work of southern women on behalf of Confederate medicine, it is important to establish their other contributions to the Rebel war effort. Doing so gives one an idea of the patriotism and sense of nationalism felt by those who could not serve in the ranks. In fact, southern women aided the Confederate army in many ways. For example, some sewed uniforms and other items of clothing, along with banners, which were used both in parades and in battle. As noted by historian George C. Rable, this method of contributing to the war effort was

convenient for women for two reasons: first, many women possessed the skills necessary to sew or knit, and second, such domestic work was unthreatening, as it respected the "conservative social order" of the Antebellum South.[1] It certainly appears from the evidence that the admiration and recognition of those women who used their sewing skills for the southern cause were firmly grounded in the fact that they worked within a socially acceptable sphere. For example, on March 16, 1863, the Selma Morning Reporter of Selma, Alabama celebrated "the noble army of southern women" who worked not with the bayonet, but with the needle.[2]

Southern women also aided the Confederacy by raising funds and creating relief societies. These societies were formed with the purpose of sending supplies to soldiers on the front, as well as anywhere else where such goods were needed. One group of ladies from Independence, Alabama, sent necessities like blankets, pillows, rags, and bandages to medical facilities, as evidenced by a letter written in 1861 to Juliet Opie Hopkins, the superintendent of the Alabama Hospital in Richmond, Virginia.[3] Ladies' aid societies also organized high cultural events, such as concerts and tableaux vivants (events with costumed actors posing as figures in paintings), for the benefit of the Confederate army, as mentioned in newspaper advertisements.[4] These examples of some of the small ways that the women of the South contributed to the Confederate cause show how far-reaching the effects of the conflict were on the lives of southern citizens.

More than just pointing toward the war's effect on southern life, the actions of southern women during the conflict also display a pervasive sense of nationalism throughout the culture of the South in the Civil War era. Young women in particular were taught Confederate values by their schools, churches, and parents. They studied battles and figures involved in the fighting, joined prayer groups dedicated to the war effort, and discussed politics at the family dinner table.[5] When one considers the fact that these women were so inundated with messages of the necessity of sacrifice for the Confederate cause, it is perhaps no wonder that so many chose to volunteer as nurses to aid in the war effort.

The desire to serve the Confederacy that gripped many southern women during the war is on display in two letters in particular, written by a young Virginia woman to the abovementioned matron Juliet Opie Hopkins. In the first letter, Lizzie D. Lewis, a twenty-four-year-old woman, asks Hopkins for clarification on the duties of a nurse, stating that she wished to "be of any service – without being exposed to all those most disagreeable sights connected with a sick room."[6] Lewis went on to praise the bravery of Confederate soldiers, but then asked if it would "be expected of a young lady" to tend to the wound of a soldier who had lost his leg. Clearly, there were some who exemplified the stereotypical delicacy of "southern belles," who desired to aid their injured menfolk, and yet were still concerned with getting their hands too dirty. Yet, this distaste for unpleasant settings (like that of a war hospital) among women of the South makes the work of those who served even more significant and commendable, as those who took up the task possessed grit and determination lacking in some of their fellow southern women.

Lewis' letters also illuminate the religious enthusiasm that drove some Confederate citizens (including women) during the war. In her first correspondence to Juliet Opie Hopkins, the young woman explained her desire to volunteer as a nurse as one spurred on by her "missionary spirit," stating that she felt "that many whilst lying wounded and sick may be led from darkness into light – The marvelous Light of the gospel." Judging by Lewis' second letter to Hopkins, the latter had recommended against the young Virginia woman volunteering as a nurse. One detects a sense of relief in this second letter, as Lewis stated that she would "strive to be of some use in an indirect manner, in procuring comforts for the sick."[7] Though it appears that Lewis did not

ultimately become a nurse, her letters reveal much about young southern women during the war – not only when it came to their motivations to serve their country, but also the complicated nature of those motives.

It is worth noting, however, that devotion to the Confederacy did not keep southern women (even those who volunteered as nurses) from questioning the morality of the Civil War. The evidence suggests that their objections mostly stemmed from the harm that the conflict caused to the people of the South, rather than any doubt about the war's purpose. A quote from the diary of one nurse, Ada W. Bacot of South Carolina, illustrates this point. She wrote in April 1862 to say, "The more I see of the suffering of our brave men the more wicked & unrighteous I feel the war to be."[8] This sentiment was not particular only to Bacot; this source illuminates the inner struggle of many southern women during the war, who saw and decried its destructive consequences even as they actively contributed to the Confederate cause. It also demonstrates that while many women from the South certainly appeared to support the war, there was at least some level of dissent, especially when those women were faced with loss for the sake of the Confederacy.

"It is worth noting, however, that devotion to the Confederacy did not keep southern women ... from questioning the morality of the Civil War."

In regards to the socio-economic makeup of Confederate nurses, records show that many of the women from the southern states who volunteered as nurses were those who came from places of privilege, as they were mostly the ones who kept first-hand accounts. However, Jane E. Schultz argues that "slaves and white working-class women" also worked in hospitals. She further points out that the records on the service of women nurses were destroyed when Richmond was burned in 1865, and so a thorough examination of the exact demographics of Confederate nurses is now impossible.[9] Of course, many of those who became Confederate nurses did so on a volunteer basis, as the etiquette of the South dictated that taking money for such work was unseemly, and this would have made it difficult for yeoman women to serve in the same capacity. Still, evidence confirms that there were at least some working-class women who rose high in the ranks of hospitals, including matron Susan Smith.[10] Yet, even if the majority of those who served as nurses were from the upper class, their work should certainly not be downplayed. Though they possessed more resources than the wives of small farmers, and perhaps sacrificed less by leaving their families and homes behind, those wealthier southern women who volunteered still worked tirelessly to care for the wounded soldiers of the Confederacy, as will be explored in greater detail below.

In order to provide as complete a picture as possible of the sacrifices and impact of southern nurses in the Civil War, it is also worth examining the state of medical care during that era of American history. While germ theory was as yet unheard of, the attitude toward infectious diseases had changed dramatically in the nineteenth century, and medical facilities on both sides of the war made use of disinfectants to ward off such ailments. Nonetheless, the lack of proper cleanliness and sanitation in war camps (as well as close, cramped conditions) made soldiers prime targets for disease. In fact, illnesses killed twice as many men as battle wounds did, especially during the first two years of the war.[11] Disease would be one of the most difficult challenges for nurses.

Some of the most prevalent diseases during the Civil War were the measles, pneumonia, diarrhea, and dysentery (the latter two being responsible for one of every ten deaths, according to Howard L. Holley).[12] One report from the Army Argus and Crisis of Mobile, Alabama recorded the names of Alabama soldiers who had died in 1862 in Columbus, Mississippi. Of the more than thirty names on the list, each of them had died of disease (with the most common disease among them being typhoid fever).[13] Interestingly, according to Margaret Humphreys, Confederate soldiers reported fewer cases of venereal disease than did their Union counterparts. This could be due to a few factors, Humphreys claims, including the possibility that southern troops were not stationed near enclaves of prostitution.[14] Regardless of the South's good fortune in this particular area, infectious diseases of many kinds were still a deadly foe for both sides throughout the war.

Battlefield injuries, of course, presented their own challenges. It was crucial that injured soldiers be carried away from the field, though moving wounded men could also prove dangerous to their wellbeing. Further, infections could easily set in with any wound. When amputation of an injured limb was deemed necessary, medical officers would employ chemicals such as chloroform or ether for anesthesia (when these chemicals were unavailable, which was often the case, alcohol was also used).[15] For many soldiers, these drugs left them unable to experience the pain of the operation, but were still faintly aware of what was happening. General Stonewall Jackson, for example, claimed to be able to hear the saw during the removal of his left arm after he was shot at the Battle of Chancellorsville in 1863. Some soldiers who witnessed amputations, informed by their experiences with farm work, referred to the operation as "butchery."[16] These few examples that demonstrate the rudimentary state of medicine in the Civil War illuminate some of the difficulty involved in nursing (and medicine in general) during that period.

Not only was medical care relatively unsophisticated in the nineteenth century, but Confederate hospitals in particular also faced administrative and logistical hardships throughout the course of the conflict. One obstacle facing the Confederacy was a shortage of trained medical professionals. Bonnie Tsui writes that the South had only "roughly one-quarter the number of surgeons and assistant surgeons" as did the Union.[17] When one considers this staggering short-handedness in the Confederacy, it is perhaps no wonder that southerners were eventually able to put aside their antebellum sensibilities and allow women to serve as nurses. Besides this simple lack of manpower, the South's dedication to the idea of states' rights also proved detrimental. The Medical Department of the Confederate States Army was founded on February 26, 1861 in Montgomery, Alabama, during a meeting of the Confederate Congress.[18] However, this department did not create a centralized hospital system for the Confederacy, opting instead to allow states to create and manage their own medical facilities. Thus, the process of recruitment for nurses was hindered, and its methods remain slightly unclear.[19]

Another challenge facing the Confederacy (though the situation was the same in the Union) was that the women who volunteered as nurses possessed no formal training.[20] In fact, some of the only women to serve as nurses who had

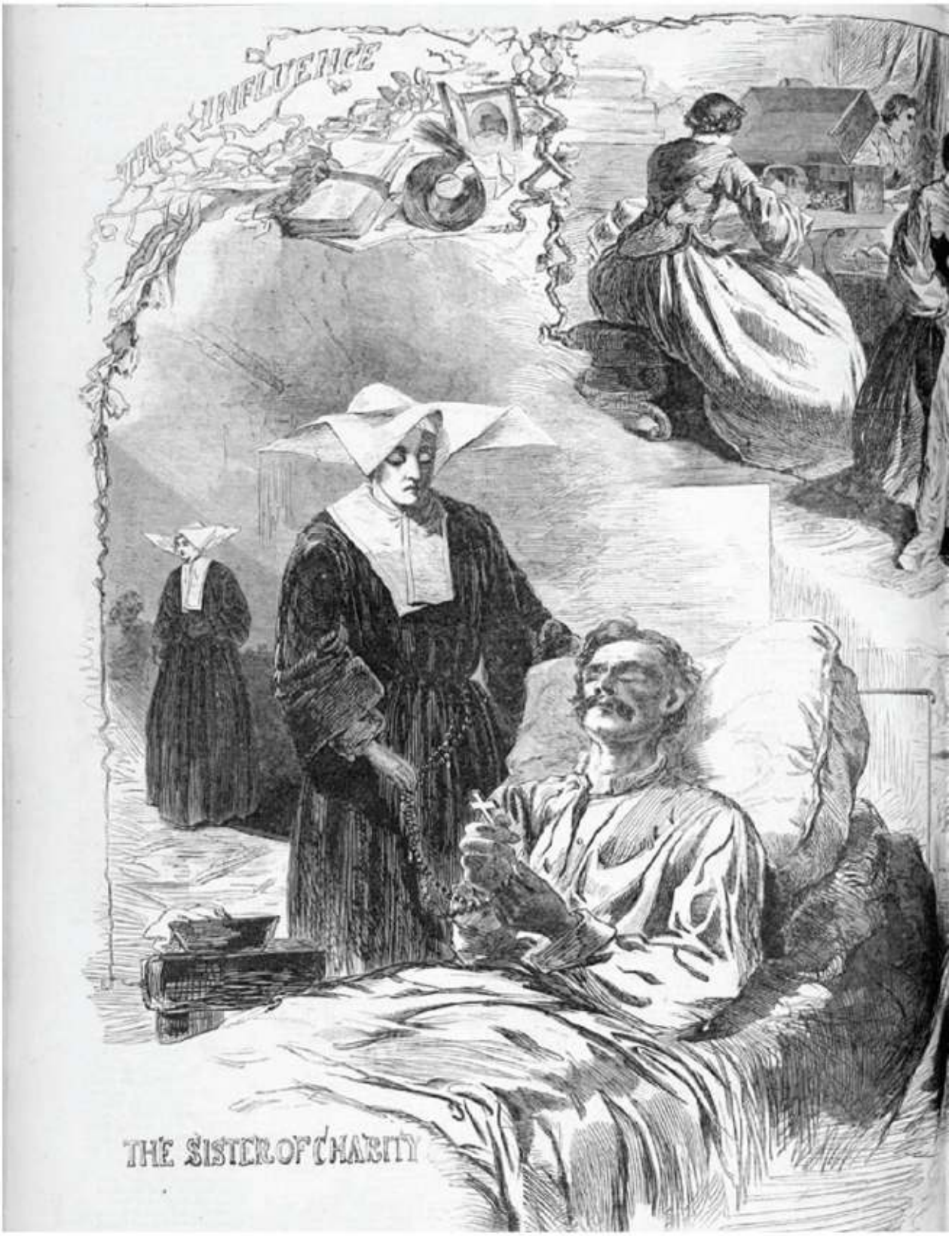
"The vast majority of those southern women who volunteered to serve as nurses during the Civil War were not experienced ... in providing medical care."

undergone actual medical instruction were those from religious organizations, such as the Roman Catholic Sisters of Charity. These Sisters were efficient and considered immensely useful to the Confederacy, and maintained two hospitals in Mobile and Montgomery, Alabama throughout the war.[21] Colonel George W. Brent, upon inspecting these hospitals, composed a glowing report of the organization's St. Mary's Hospital in Montgomery. He wrote, "The condition of the wards is such as is always seen in an institution under the care of the Sisters of Charity. Neatness, cleanliness and order characterize their presence everywhere."[22] Unfortunately for the Confederacy, the Sisters of Charity numbered less than two hundred.[23] Consequently, the vast majority of those southern women who volunteered to serve as nurses during the Civil War were not experienced (at least not at the beginning of the conflict) in providing medical care.

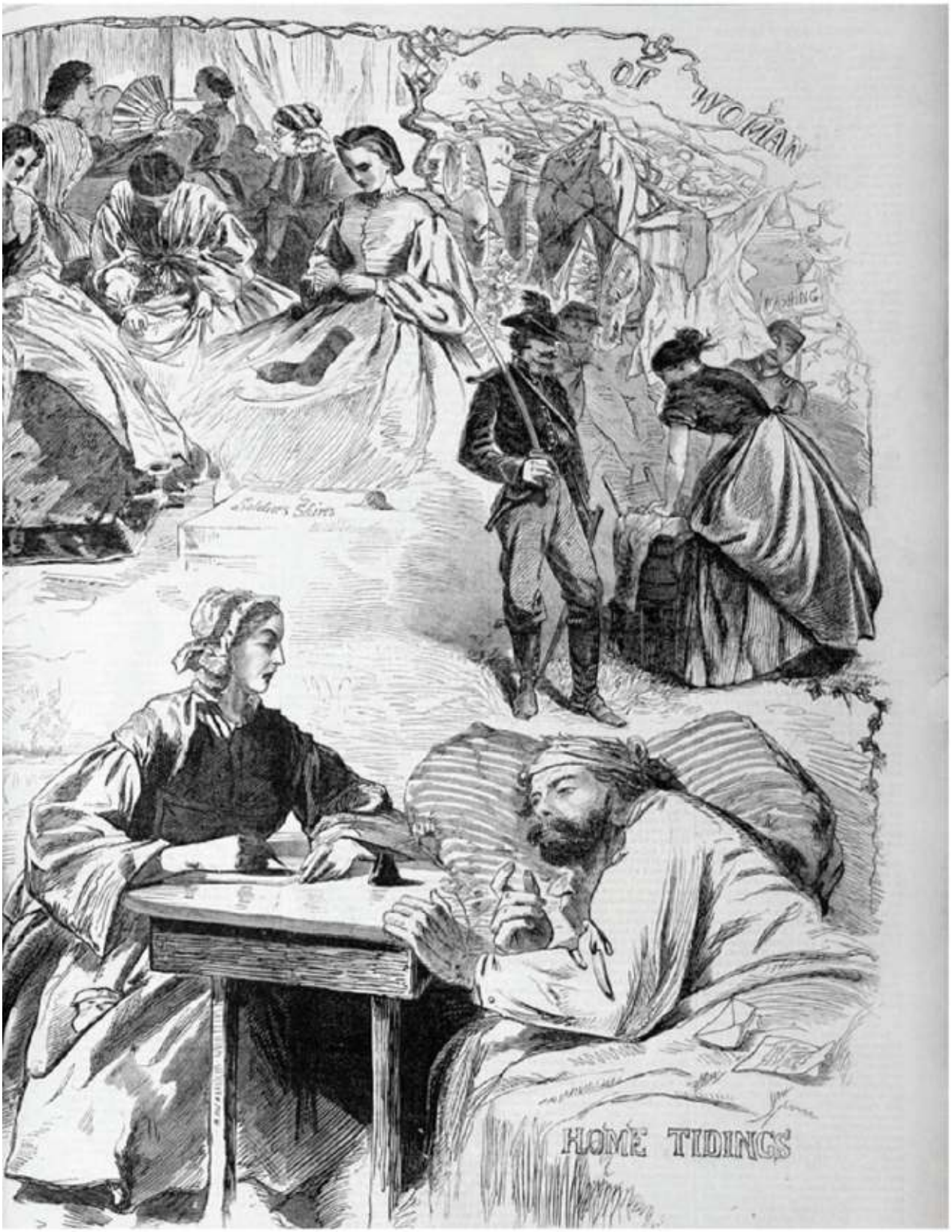
Confederate hospitals met other difficulties as well. Chimborazo Hospital in Richmond, Virginia, one of the largest hospitals on either side (with space for "more than five thousand patients"), provides a picture of some of the challenges faced by medical staff at such a facility.[24] According to Robert E. Denney, the financial woes that plagued the Confederate States in 1864 adversely affected the conditions and state of care at Chimborazo. The refusal of the Confederate Congress to increase funds for hospitals that were struggling under inflation, coupled with the lack of a railway system to ship necessary goods, resulted in scant supplies of foodstuffs and other essential items for facilities like Chimborazo.[25] Thievery from hospitals was also a problem, which exacerbated the issues with supplies and frustrated nurses like Kate Cumming, who wrote in her diary on May 24, 1864: "To me all of this is a great grievance. I do not begin to get enough to feed the patients; it is with the strictest economy we can give them what we do."[26] The struggle to properly fund hospitals can also be seen in correspondence between Judge Arthur Francis Hopkins (the husband of the aforementioned matron Juliet Opie Hopkins), who was tasked with overseeing Confederate hospitals, and Alabama Governor John Gill Shorter. In one letter, Hopkins wrote of the closing of an Alabama hospital in Richmond due to a lack of support. He also claimed that the facilities he oversaw were "objects of dislike, rather than of favor, to the Surgeon General," and stated that he believed this was due to the fact that "the Confederate Hospitals did not compare advantageously with the Alabama."[27]

It certainly appears in some sources that the reputations of Confederate hospitals were mostly negative among soldiers. For example, in his memoirs, Chaplain Thomas W. Caskey of the 18th Mississippi Infantry Regiment wrote that "the sick soldier dreaded the hospitals then little less than the cold grave; and if they could have had their own way many of them would have risked the grave to avoid the hospital."[28] It is worth noting, though, that conditions on the field were bad enough for some men to feign illnesses in order to escape to the relative calm of a hospital. Known as "hospital rats," these men claimed to be suffering from ailments that could not be easily disproven, such as rheumatism, thereby frustrating doctors and nurses who were forced to divert attention from genuinely ill patients.[29] Though this showed that some men were willing to lie in order to flee to hospitals, finding better comfort than a Civil War battlefield was certainly not a difficult task to accomplish.

Along with the many diseases and logistical difficulties that Confederate nurses had to overcome during the war, they also faced gender prejudice. While it was not uncommon before and during the era of the Civil War for men to receive medical treatment from women in their families, military nursing (and nursing outside the home in general) was one of many occupations originally held exclusively by men.[30] Yet, the war motivated many women in both the North and South to demand the right to aid their wounded countrymen by providing medical care. This led to strained



This illustration by Winslow Homer, published in *Harper's Weekly* in September 1862, shows some of the ways women contributed to the war effort. (Kzirkel – Wikimedia Commons)


OF WOMAN
HOME TIDINGS

relations between male doctors and nurses and the women who flocked to hospitals in order to volunteer during the war. According to Frank R. Freemon, tensions between male and female hospital staff were often due to the commonly held notion that women were simply not meant to work outside the home. Further, Freemon explains, male doctors believed that the realms of military and political affairs (and thus a military hospital) belonged solely to men.

However, the women of the Civil War era did not see things this way. Instead, female nurses who volunteered in hospitals saw their traditional practice of healing relatives as endowing them with the experience necessary to work in Confederate hospitals.[31] Though this was the view held by southern women, the nature of nursing outside of the home, coupled with the sensibilities of the antebellum South, blurred the answer as to whether women ought to serve as nurses. Nevertheless, it is clear from the number of southern women who volunteered that many were able to set aside the question of whether nursing was the respectable thing to do in order to serve their fellow Confederate citizens.

Still, even with the practice in caring for ill family members that many nurses possessed, hospital work was seen as a different animal entirely. Working outside of the home, and nursing in particular, pushed many of the social boundaries that dictated that women not interact (especially not in the intimate way that medical care sometimes demanded) with men outside of the family, as well as those of a different social class.[32] Thus, the women who volunteered as hospital workers were seen as operating outside of the regular order of society, which left them open to derision, even by other women from their communities. Nurse Kate Cumming expressed frustration with these southern cultural values and their hindrance of women who would otherwise be inclined to volunteer. She wrote the following in her diary on December 3, 1863: "There is scarcely a day passes that I do not hear some derogatory remarks about the ladies who are in the hospitals, until I think, if there is any credit due them at all, it is for the moral courage they have in braving public opinion…Well, I can not but pity those people who have such false notions of propriety."[33] If Cumming's account is to be considered representative of the experiences of other women nurses, then it is clear that those who volunteered sometimes did so at the expense of their public reputation.

Evidence also suggests that at least some women nurses were unafraid to stand up to the male doctors with whom they worked. For example, Fannie Beers once lost her temper with a physician who had given up on a wounded soldier, and continued tending to him despite direct orders that she leave him to die. When Beers' efforts paid off and the patient's health recovered, the doctor was reprimanded.[34] This story, however, should not be seen as typical of the experience of most nurses, as they were certainly expected to follow the direction of their (male) superiors. As Drew Gilpin Faust notes, even when women were allowed to enter into service as volunteer nurses in 1862, there was a sense of caution among southern society that this work not result in "female empowerment."[35] Nursing outside the home (and in a military hospital, no less) was certainly a step forward for the women of the South, but society was careful not to let them become too confident or assertive.

Beyond facing social pressure and disdain due to the nature of their work, women nurses also faced discrimination in the form of sexual objectification by the very patients

"There was a sense of camaraderie between injured Confederate soldiers and the nurses who cared for them."

they assisted. When going through their tasks, southern nurses were occasionally met with men who offered compliments or asked for kisses. Upon seeing one young nurse attract this attention from a soldier, Sally L. Tompkins remarked how useful it would be if such women could leave their "beauty at the door" while performing their jobs.[36] This flirtation, while not explicitly aggressive in itself, would have served as a reminder to the women working in Confederate hospitals of their place in the social order of the South. It is also worth noting, though, that reports of more serious sexual indecency were almost unheard of in the accounts of matrons and nurses.[37] Perhaps this shows that the stereotypical chivalry so often attributed to southern men prevailed during the war, at least to some degree.

Confederate nurses fulfilled many roles and responsibilities during the war, and served in various positions. On November 25, 1862, the Medical Department set forth a system by which hospitals would employ two chief matrons to oversee a Confederate facility's entire nursing staff, two assistant matrons to see to laundry, and "two ward matrons for each ward of one hundred patients."[38] Those women who worked as hospital matrons were thus charged with almost innumerable responsibilities, including cleaning facilities, tidying beds and rooms, and keeping track of prescriptions and medications – essentially, the domestic tasks of the hospitals.[39] Women were also often given another domestic chore – the task of preparing food for hospital patients. Matrons and nurses closely monitored the diets of injured soldiers, especially those with illnesses related to the digestive system, such as diarrhea and dysentery.[40] It was also for this reason, as well as the flirtations mentioned above, that matrons had to be wary of female visitors to their hospitals. Even well-meaning actions such as bringing home-cooked meals could have deadly consequences when diseases were involved. For example, Fannie Beers once wrote of a soldier suffering from dysentery who was killed by a young woman's innocent gift of apple turnovers.[41] Clearly, Civil War nurses had to be ever vigilant when caring for their patients.

One of the most important tasks nurses performed was that of caring for the mental health of wounded soldiers. Confederate nurses worked not only to heal bodies, but also to lift spirits, and so this treatment came partly in the form of comforting the injured men. For example, nurses read to and conversed with patients, and even composed letters for them.[42] In fact, upon visiting Branch Hospital Number One in Mobile, Alabama, Reverend C.F. Sturgis remarked that the actions of nurses there made him think that the wounded men "must almost imagine they are at home."[43] These simple acts of comfort and kindness are only some of the ways that women nurses provided aid to the mental wellbeing of soldiers. Men stationed far from home were, of course, susceptible to homesickness and loneliness (conditions referred to under the overarching term of "nostalgia" during the Civil War), and Roberts Bartholow, a Union doctor, emphasized the importance of mental fortitude in the health of soldiers.[44] Even in the period of the Civil War, it was understood that in order for a man to be an effective soldier, he needed to be of sound mind. Thus, this attention to the mental and emotional state of their patients is perhaps one of the most significant contributions that Confederate nurses made to the war effort, and further exhibits the humanitarian nature of their work.

As might be expected, there was a sense of camaraderie between injured Confederate soldiers and the nurses who cared for them. Female nurses served almost as stand-ins for family members to injured men. Some, like Kate Cumming, referred to their patients in affectionate terms, calling one soldier a "fine-looking Texan" in her diary, for example.[45] Another wounded man by the name of Jimmy Phiel told Matron Susan Smith that she was "one of [his] best friends."[46] There is even some evidence that suggests that at least a portion of Confederate women disregarded the rigid class disparity between soldiers and nurses. For example, Sally Putnam of Virginia once

wrote that "every soldier was our brother, and distinctions were forgotten when their suffering was to be alleviated."[47]

Of course, it is understandable that Confederate nurses and soldiers would have warm and friendly relationships. After all, they were on the same side. However, one may wonder what the situation was when it came to the interactions between southern nurses and the Union wounded who were lodged in Confederate hospitals throughout the war. From an examination of the accounts of Confederate nurses, it appears that some certainly reacted with displeasure at having to care for one of the enemy. For instance, volunteer nurse Kate Robson tended to a wounded Union soldier who had been shot in the eye, telling him that she hoped he could make a recovery and return home, but following it up by saying that "if he ever fought against the South any more, I hope he would get his other eye shot out."[48] Sources like this one demonstrate that the compassion and kindness of nurses was easily overshadowed by the steadfast and fierce dedication to the Confederacy that many of them possessed.

One of the central duties of nurses during the Civil War was tending to wounds; according to many accounts, such work was often harrowing and upsetting to the women who performed it. Phoebe Palmer, the matron of Chimborazo Hospital, recounted a gruesome episode from 1864, when she attended a man who had been struck by two balls in the cheek and jaw, resulting in a loss of teeth and the splitting of his tongue. Palmer described the wound and the procedure of caring for the injured man as follows:

> The sight of this was the most sickening my long experience had ever seen. The swollen lips turned out, and the mouth filled with blood, matter, fragments of teeth from amidst all of which the maggots in countless numbers swarmed and writhed, while the smell generated by this putridity was unbearable. Castile soap and soft sponges soon cleansed the offensive cavity…the following morning I found him reading the newspaper…His first request…was that he wanted a looking glass to see if his sweetheart would be willing to kiss him when she saw him.[49]

Similarly, Nurse Ada W. Bacot recorded an episode in her diary from August 1862, which she said gave her a "terable fright." She described a wounded soldier who she was unaware had been brought into her ward in a hospital in Charlottesville, saying "he is shot in the face, his eyes are blood shoten & his face all bandaged up, face very much swolen & the blood trickling from his noze all the time[.] I almost droped on the floor when I saw him my nerves were terably shocked. If I had been only told he was there I would not have minded it."[50] Clearly, even those who were used to tending to the wounded could become distressed when performing their duties (especially, it seems, if they did not have the chance to prepare themselves beforehand). The fact that even an experienced nurse could blanch in the face of her duties reflects the terrible nature of the wounds sustained by many of those who fought in the Civil War.

The pictures painted above are only two examples of the horrors of war that Confederate nurses confronted on a daily basis. For those women who worked not in established hospitals, but in army camps, the situation could be even more trying. From the beginning of the war, women served alongside men as field hospital and battlefield nurses (sometimes called "soldier-nurses").[51] These Confederate women performed their work in the field, and endured harsh camp life, often in order to accompany their spouses or other male relatives. For example, the aforementioned Nurse Fannie Beers of New Orleans became a battlefield nurse and followed her husband, a soldier in the 1st Louisiana Infantry Battalion, to Richmond, Virginia, where she became one of the first women in the South to volunteer as a nurse. She then moved with her husband again when his battalion was sent to Tennessee, and became a hospital matron.[52] Those nurses who worked in the field often took fire and put themselves at risk while trying to save lives. Juliet Opie Hopkins, for example,

received two bullet wounds at the Battle of Seven Pines "while lifting a wounded officer on the battlefield."[53]

Beers and Hopkins were two of many nurses who voluntarily faced the dangers of the field and the discomfort of life in a Civil War camp. As mentioned previously, these locations were not safe and comfortable places. Exposure to the elements, inadequate supplies, and a lack of proper hygiene were the reality when one was travelling with the Confederate Army.[54] A piece of correspondence from Captain Henry Semple of Alabama references the inhospitable conditions of Confederate camps. While stationed in Tullahoma, Tennessee, Semple

"One of the central duties of nurses was tending to wounds ... such work was often harrowing and upsetting to the women who performed it."

wrote a letter in January 1863 to his wife, Emily, stating that the women who visited troops at his camp were "so uncomfortable they did not stay long.[55] This piece of evidence provides a reminder of the grit possessed by Confederate nurses, and shows that those women who volunteered to provide medical care, both in hospitals and camps, were willing to give up the comfort and sensibilities that they were accustomed to, and to which many other southern ladies still clung.

As has been shown in this article, there were many nurses who volunteered in the Confederacy throughout the war. Of these, three in particular stand out: Juliet Opie Hopkins, Kate Cumming, and Sally L. Tompkins. Each of these southern women came from an upper class background, and thus possessed the opportunity and funds to volunteer. They provided medical care to the Confederate Army in different ways, and achieved honor and renown for their work. Their stories and experiences have been briefly examined above, but are sufficient in conveying their dedication to their mission of alleviating suffering, and the extent of the sacrifices made by women like them during the war.

Juliet Opie Hopkins was from Mobile, Alabama. Though she had no background in nursing or administrative work, she took it upon herself to aid in creating hospital facilities for the Confederacy beginning in 1861.[56] Together with her husband, Judge Arthur F. Hopkins, she created and provided the funds for multiple Alabama hospitals during the war, including three in Richmond, where, as mentioned above, she also served as superintendent. She is one of the most significant Confederate nurses, and was once called "the angel of the South" by General Joseph E. Johnston.[57] In a eulogy following Hopkins' death, General Joseph E. Wheeler credited her with contributing a sum of around two hundred thousand dollars to the Confederate cause, and stated that she was "untiring" in her nursing work.[58] She was diligent and determined in her efforts for Confederate hospitals, and in death she was given the honor of being buried at Arlington National Cemetery.

Another one of the most distinguished Confederate nurses was Kate Cumming. She was Scottish-born, but came to the United States as an infant and was raised in Mobile, Alabama. She was a skilled nurse who began serving in 1862, eventually becoming the matron of a hospital with the Army of Tennessee.[59] Her diary, which she kept throughout her time as a volunteer nurse and published in 1866, reveals a great deal about the experiences of nurses in hospitals. In it, she wrote of the many horrible cases of gangrene, pneumonia, and other illnesses nurses were faced with daily. More than just providing information and

details on the daily duties of hospital work, Cumming's writings also provide insight into the personal side of volunteer nurses. She wrote about her displeasure with those who looked down upon women nurses, and her reflections on her duties are also interspersed with words of concern for her brother, who was a Confederate soldier. Additionally, she stated her opinions of the military and political happenings of the Civil War, commenting on topics including the potential intervention of European powers in the conflict.[60] Cumming's diary also reveals that she was a fervent admirer of southern men, and fiercely (and often sarcastically) criticized the Yankees for what she considered cowardice, at one point referring to them mockingly as "valiant knights, who war so bravely on helpless old age, women, and children."[61] Overall, she was an exceedingly passionate and dedicated nurse, and she is often credited with being one of the volunteers who helped to change perceptions about nursing and what was proper for southern women.

Another well-known southern nurse who served in the Civil War was Sally Louisa Tompkins. She worked in Richmond, and utilized her own funds to create a private hospital for wounded soldiers.[62] According to one author, over the course of her time spent serving as a nurse, Tompkins tended to approximately 1,333 soldiers, and lost only 73.[63] Tompkins was considered such a valuable asset to the war effort that when the Confederacy closed private hospitals in the later years of the war, Jefferson Davis awarded her with the position of captain in the Confederate army so that she could continue providing medical care for the Confederacy.[64] In her will, Tompkins left funds for the Memorial Hospital in Richmond on the condition that they name a room after her, and so her legacy of medical care lived on.[65]

Though the South had initially been hesitant to allow women to serve as nurses in military hospitals, it is evident from many sources that even in the first few years of the war, these women became beloved throughout the Confederate States. Even if it was for no other reason than propaganda purposes (as some historians argue), newspapers often published the stories of brave nurses who were performing their duties to the best of their ability. The commendations these women received from such papers often contained the kind of flowery, poetic language that was usually reserved for soldiers themselves. One such example of this acclamation was published on April 17, 1862, when the Montgomery Daily Advertiser reported on a resolution passed by the Confederacy that recognized the contribution of southern women (and especially nurses) in the war. The paper provided a long commentary on this resolution, which was titled "A Merited Acknowledgement" and praised the ladies of the South:

> Not only have they ministered to the comfort of those who are in health and on the field, but they have been untiring in their attention to those who have been prostrated by wounds or disease. The hands of sympathizing women have smoothed the pillow and soothed the pain of thousands of soldiers of the Confederacy, and while the memory of noble, generous deeds remain in the hearts of our countrymen, so long will the patriotic devotion of the women of the south [sic] be remembered with pride and gratitude.[66]

As demonstrated from this article and the resolution that it cited, the government and people of the South admired the women of the Confederacy who volunteered as nurses.

One of the greatest difficulties of evaluating the reputation of Confederate nurses lies in attempting to separate the actions of those women from the greater war effort that they supported. Those who volunteered as nurses were inspired not only by their dedication to the Confederacy, but also by a desire to alleviate suffering. And yet, as Libra R. Hilde points out, "volunteering as a Civil War nurse was a decidedly political act."[67] Indeed, when one considers the compassion that southern

nurses had for the wounded soldiers in their care, it is perhaps difficult to rationalize that kindness in light of the cruelty the Confederacy (and southern culture in general) showed toward African Americans in the nineteenth century. However, from the sources consulted above, it is at least plain to see that those women who served as nurses for the Confederacy during the Civil War did so with bravery and honor. The benevolence displayed by the southern nurses who tended to wounded soldiers proves that the Confederacy, as much as the Union, possessed women of virtue who were willing to give their utmost for those around them. They faced enemy fire, gruesome wounds, and heart-wrenching loss with courage and perseverance. Therefore, Confederate nurses ought to be remembered for their work in relieving pain in the Civil War, and deserve as much honor and praise as the bravest soldier.

Notes

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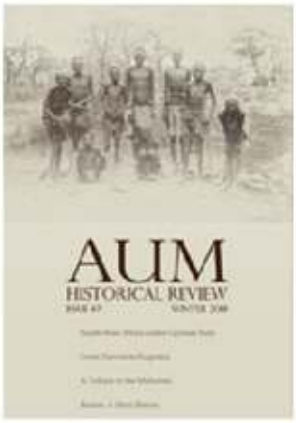

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