

The Tennessee Civil War Centennial

Commission: Looking to the Past as Tennessee

Plans for the Future

Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area

Murfreesboro, Tennessee

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“The Civil War was the most stupendous event in the history of the United States. Nothing was of greater influence in deciding the destiny of the nation, and thereby affecting the destiny of the whole world.”

– Stanley Horn, Chairman Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission

Dignitaries from around the state gathered for the occasion. A hush fell over the throng of people crowding to see the affair. After a series of impassioned speeches, all eyes slowly watched as the American flag descended from Tennessee's state capitol and raised their heads again as the Confederate Stars and Bars rose to supplant it. A twelve-gun salute concluded the pomp and circumstance as the crowd erupted into a joyous cheer. The year was not 1861, but rather 1961, the first year of the Civil War Centennial. The event was the commemoration of Tennessee's secession from the United States of America, marking the official opening of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission.

The Centennial Commission had a lifetime that spanned from 1959 through 1965. It was most active in the years coinciding with the anniversary of the Civil War itself, 1961-1965. During its existence, the Centennial Commission accomplished a number of projects and offered steadfast guidance to local committees desiring to celebrate the Civil War in their own communities. They published an assortment of material, from guidebooks for memorial military re-enactors to a detailed roster of all military units created in Tennessee. The Centennial Commission erected eighty-five highway markers, organized a curriculum on the Civil War in Tennessee for teachers, and created a filmstrip describing the Civil War's impact on Tennessee. Eighty local city and county Civil War Centennial Committees were established under the influence of the state commission, resulting in numerous local commemorative exercises.

These accomplishments garnered national recognition for the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, but a closer examination and the passage of time reveal serious deficiencies in the Centennial Commission's execution of its policies. For

Tennessee, a hundred years gave only limited distance to the ideologies and influence of the Civil War and its aftermath. The Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission could not escape the legacy of the glory of the South that colored the perception of so many. The publications, decisions, and actions of the Commission show an unabashed favoritism for the Confederacy, which at best excluded the ambivalence of Tennessee during the Civil War and at worst distorted history, thus perpetuating the very prejudices that helped precipitate the war.

Any evaluation of the nature of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission cannot neglect the historical context that ironically plagued the 1960's. For a hundred years after their official emancipation from slavery, African-Americans were still struggling to attain the same rights as white citizens of America. This conflict came to a head in the late 1960's, but its crescendo was already swelling during the Civil War Centennial. Once again, the North was aligned against the South in a battle over the treatment of the African-American population, struggling over the very same issues for which their ancestors fought and died. Examples of these rifts in opinions manifested themselves during the Civil War Centennial celebration and reflected the continued biases from which the South was unable to shed itself.

As Tennessee and the nation looks toward the celebration of the 150th anniversary of that tragic conflict that cleaved the United States in two, one can only hope that its citizens can learn not only from the lessons of the war but also the lessons of our remembrances.

History of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission

Creation

The Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission was not a carefully planned creation. Rather, its birth was more like an unplanned parenthood, whose creators quickly had to cope with the new reality of their situation. The Centennial Commission came about by the prodding of the National Civil War Centennial Commission and the influence of well-known historians within the state. The roots of Tennessee's supporters for a Commission go back even to the mid-1950's as they eagerly anticipated the forthcoming centennial. The Civil War Centennial Commission, however, would never have been formed without the eventual cooperation of both the executive and legislative branches of government.

Before the existence of the National Civil War Centennial Commission, the Civil War Centennial Association was created in 1955 by the likes of Bruce Catton and Carl Sandburg. They were a non-profit group formed for the sole purpose of properly celebrating the approaching Civil War centennial. One member nominated and elected to this organization was Stanley F. Horn, a prominent historian in Nashville, Tennessee whose books on Hood's Nashville campaign and the Army of Tennessee placed him in the forefront of scholarly research. Horn would later serve as Chairman of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission.

In 1958 the Civil War Centennial Association found itself embroiled in its first conflict over the course that the centennial celebration would take. A rival group called the Civil War Roundtable of the District of Columbia drafted a resolution that circulated through the United States Congress allowing for the creation of a National Civil War

Centennial Commission. The Civil War Centennial Association, to which Horn belonged, endorsed the proposed legislation with a few important exceptions. They primarily objected to a \$100,000 requested appropriation to pay for an interim report, which they viewed as an exorbitant price tag and a waste of taxpayer dollars. The Civil War Centennial Association tried to resolve their differences with the Civil War Roundtable of the District of Columbia, but the animosity between the two groups swelled. Eventually, Congress passed the legislation put forth by the Civil War Roundtable of the District of Columbia, at which time Karl Betts was made executive director and General U.S. Grant (a descendant of the famous Civil War general of the same name) was named Chairman. Both Betts and Grant had been members of the Civil War Roundtable of the District of Columbia. With the National Commission now established and the non-profit group overshadowed by the historians in the District of Columbia, the Civil War Centennial Association ceased to have any real purpose. Throughout this turbulent creation of the national commission, Stanley Horn had remained a rather distant spectator though he did express sympathy for the Civil War Centennial Association.¹

In an attempt perhaps to bury the hatchet between the two predecessors to the national commission, Betts and Grant invited a number of the members of the Civil War Centennial Association to serve on their Advisory Council, including Stanley Horn who graciously accepted. The National Civil War Centennial Commission asked another Tennessean to serve on the Advisory Council, Gilbert E. Govan librarian of the

¹ Stanley Horn to Carl Haverlin, 20 December 1956, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 2, Folder 2), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, who had written a scholarly book on General Albert S. Johnston.

The structure of the National Civil War Centennial Commission was such that they viewed themselves as facilitators rather than instigators of the centennial celebration. The National Commission served state commissions and local authorities by encouraging publicity and publications, arranging memorial observances, sponsoring educational activities, preserving historical documents, etc. In order for the centennial celebration to be successful, the National Civil War Centennial Commission by its very nature required the states and localities to muster, form their own organizations, and do most of the work. Karl Betts, the executive director, eagerly encouraged the formation of state commissions. Thus began the saga to create a Commission in the state of Tennessee.

Surprisingly, Stanley Horn, despite being involved in the Centennial since 1955, was not the one to initially engage in the promotion of a Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission. Gilbert Govan first presented the idea in July of 1958 to Horn, who agreed with the idea and advised Govan to write then Governor Frank Clement.² Meanwhile, Karl Betts wrote to Horn asking for his help in persuading Tennessee to appoint a Commission, as he considered a Commission in Tennessee crucial to the success of the National Commission. Impatient with the lack of progress, Betts again wrote to Horn in September saying, “we must have a State Commission to work with us in order to carry through the widely varied program of the Centennial Commission.”³

² Gilbert Govan to Stanley Horn, 25 July 1958, and Stanley Horn to Gilbert Govan, 19 August 1958, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 6, Folder 4), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

³ Karl Betts to Stanley Horn, 25 August 1958, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 2, Folder 1), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

By October, it became clear that Governor Clement would not act to create a new Commission, partially because 1958 was an election year. Gov. Clement was a lame duck about to be succeeded by Buford Ellington. Horn, therefore, advised Gilbert Govan to write a letter and urge Mr. Ellington to form a State Commission. Govan agreed but only reluctantly because of his association with the *Chattanooga Times*, which had opposed Ellington for Governor. In the end, Govan's work with the *Chattanooga Times* actually proved beneficial instead of harmful for the formation of a State Commission because Govan could write editorials encouraging the formation of a Commission.

Mr. Ellington was no more inclined to form a new commission than Governor Clement had been. The situation looked quite desperate for Tennessee. In late November of 1958, Stanley Horn wrote to Karl Betts to describe the state of affairs in Tennessee:

As you may have observed, the authorities of the State of Tennessee seem to be somewhat less than enthusiastic about the appointment of a Civil War Centennial Commission for the State. Our out-going Governor has refused to do anything at all about it, and the in-coming Governor (to be inaugurated in January) has let it be known that he is opposed to creating any new state commissions that will require any additional financing. I am told that he is planning to suggest that anything the State of Tennessee does along this line should be handled through the existing Tennessee Historical Commission – which would be impractical and ineffective, as the Commission has no facilities for promoting any such observance. I know you have been sending letters and promotional literature to the Governor's Office, but (frankly and confidentially) I do not think this has received very serious attention. If we are to have a Civil War Centennial Commission in Tennessee, some effort will have to be made to convince our new Governor that this is something that needs to be done. I can't do this myself, but I might be able to get somebody to do it if I can be supplied with sufficient ammunition. It will be appreciated, therefore, if you will send me such promotion material as you think might be effective; particularly a list of the states which have already established commissions.⁴

Betts was predictably displeased to hear that a commission in Tennessee seemed unlikely. He wrote a frustrated letter in reply to Horn saying, "Tennessee ranks no. 2 among all the states in the number of military engagements during the war and it is

⁴ Stanley Horn to Karl Betts, 24 November 1958, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 2, Folder 1), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

inconceivable that you would not have a State Centennial Commission.”⁵ It seems that the National Commission was concerned that either they would have to take on the responsibilities for all the activities in the state or worse yet the centennial would pass unnoticed in Tennessee.

In December, all these concerns were laid to rest when Horn and Govan were finally successful in exerting pressure on Governor-elect Ellington. It is unclear why Ellington had a sudden change of heart or exactly how Horn and Govan lobbied for the formation of the Commission. Gilbert Govan approached Carter Patten, a member of the State Legislature and friend to Civil War history, to speak with Ellington concerning the matter. Stanley Horn’s connections are a bit more elusive. In his correspondence with Govan, it seems that Horn somehow had the idea presented to Ellington through some of the Governor-elect’s friends in Nashville.⁶ Regardless of how the reversal was achieved, Ellington pledged his support for the Commission, though he contended that the Commission should be formed by a legislative act to lend the organization prestige. The Governor-elect requested that Stanley Horn draft the legislation, including the members of the commission, to be composed of six men and three women, evenly divided between the three grand divisions of the state. Ellington did not choose the members of the Commission; he only suggested the appointment of Stanley Horn and Vernon Sharp. The rest of the appointments apparently fell to Horn to decide. Oddly enough, Vernon Sharp

⁵ Karl Betts to Stanley Horn, 2 December 1958, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 2, Folder 1), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

⁶ Stanley Horn to Gilbert Govan, 19 December 1958, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 6, Folder 4), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

did not become a member of the Commission, though he served on its Advisory Council and committees. The reasons for this are unknown.⁷

The next couple of months Horn frantically prepared a bill and selected members of the commission. Tennessee was already lagging in its preparations compared to other states, so it was imperative to pass a bill as quickly as possible. To achieve this, Stanley Horn contacted James Geary, executive director of the Virginia Civil War Centennial Commission, which had been in operation for almost a year. Virginia, like Tennessee, had been created by a legislative act, so Horn requested a copy of Virginia's legislation. Under such time constraints and with a good example in hand, Horn chose not to waste time creating an original piece of legislation. Not only did he use the structure of Virginia's legislation creating a Civil War Centennial Commission, he plagiarized nine of its thirteen sections for use in the Tennessee bill. The only part of the Tennessee bill that showed any real divergence from the Virginia bill was the first section, which effectively served as the preamble.⁸

Horn followed Ellington's request and inserted all the members that were to serve on the Commission:

- Stanley F. Horn, Chairman, of Nashville
- Dr. Gilbert Govan, University of Chattanooga Library, of Chattanooga
- Dr. Ralph Haskins, Department of History, University of Tennessee, of Knoxville
- Mrs. James R. Stokely (Wilma Dykeman), of Newport
- J. Pinckney Lawrence, of Nashville
- Sam M. Fleming, Third National Bank, of Nashville
- Mrs. W. Hubert Wyatt (Margaret Early), of Franklin
- Seale Johnson, McCowatt-Mercer Press, of Jackson
- Paul Flowers, The Commercial Appeal, of Memphis
- Mrs. Lawrence B. Gardiner (Lillian), of Memphis.

⁷ Stanley Horn to Gilbert Govan, 29 December 1958, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 6, Folder 4), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

⁸ James Geary to Stanley Horn, 22 January 1959, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 13, Folder 5), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

The Commission was diversely composed of different fields, with academics, prominent businessmen, a United Daughters of the Confederacy representative, a journalist, a publications expert, and a representative of historic sites. Notably, there were no African-Americans serving on the Commission. It is unknown whether Horn picked all the Commission members or if he had further help from Ellington.

The bill having been crafted and the Commission members having been named, Horn needed to present the legislation to the Tennessee General Assembly. Govan had already elicited the help of Rep. Cartter Patten in forming the Commission, thus making him the perfect candidate to sponsor the legislation. In the State Senate, Horn sought the help of Barton Dement, a senator from Rutherford County who obviously held opinions about the role of the South in the Civil War. In a self-description of his political affiliation for the Senate, he dubbed himself a “Democrat and Un-Reconstructed Rebel.”⁹ Despite the support of these two senators, Horn still felt apprehensive about the legislation passing the Tennessee General Assembly. In his correspondence to Govan, he said:

The Civil War Centennial Commission is still in the works, and so far as I can learn there is no particular opposition to it. On the other hand, nobody seems particularly interested in it, and I have some fears that it may fall by the wayside while the legislators are debating some of the more controversial subjects.¹⁰

On March 11, 1959, Horn’s fears were assuaged when Senate Bill No. 383 creating the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission passed the Senate and the House of Representatives. Governor Ellington approved the bill on March 19th, at which time

⁹ Tennessee General Assembly, Senate, “Members of the Senate,” *Public Acts of the State of Tennessee, 1959*, (Nashville: Rich Printing Company, 1959).

¹⁰ Stanley Horn to Gilbert Govan, 4 March 1959, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 6, Folder 4), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

Stanley Horn officially became Chairman of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission.¹¹

Now that the Commission was fully vested with all necessary powers and equipped with a beginning appropriation of \$10,000, Chairman Horn set about the task of establishing the precise nature and duties of the Commission. For this, he relied heavily on Gilbert Govan. Just as Govan had been the one to initially push for the creation of the Commission, he was also the source of most of the brainstorming that would guide the Commission for the remainder of its life. He was the first Commission member, though not the only one, to criticize the suggestion that Tennessee sponsor the re-enactment of battles. Govan sought something less fleeting and urged Horn to have the Commission focus on the erection of markers, research into military units, and a thorough cataloguing of the names and ranks of all soldiers who fought in the Civil War from Tennessee.

In 1960, Govan made recommendations to Horn when the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission prepared to approach the Governor and State Legislature about a budget increase. Govan suggested they publish military annals for all Tennessee regiments, establish a historical markers program, and collect manuscript material for archiving. He was also the first to suggest that they publish a book telling the story of the Civil War through primary source documents.¹² Horn agreed with all these suggestions

¹¹ Tennessee General Assembly, Senate, *An Act to Create a Commission to Commemorate the Centennial of the American Civil War, to Provide for the Duties and Powers of Such Commission, and to Appropriate Funds for the Use of Such Commission*, 81st General Assembly, S.B. 383, Ch. 203, 11 March 1959, *Public Acts of the State of Tennessee* (Nashville: Rich Printing Co., 1959), 594.

¹² Gilbert Govan to Stanley Horn, 2 March 1959, 26 October 1959, and 22 August 1961, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 6, Folder 4), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

and, as his correspondence indicates, eagerly sought Govan's advice on issues large and small related to the Commission.¹³

The final major task remaining for Stanley Horn to complete the formation of a Commission was the selection of an executive director. Horn needed a reliable individual whose salary demands would be appropriate for a state employee. In September of 1959, Stanley Horn decided to write Colonel Campbell Brown to see if he would be interested in the position. Col. Brown, of Franklin, graduated from Virginia Military Institute and served in the United States Marine Corps and the United States Army. He possessed a demonstrated passion for history, having worked for the Tennessee Historical Commission on their historical markers program. He also had a familial interest in the Civil War; his grandfather Major Campbell Brown served as assistant adjutant general on the staff of Lieutenant General Richard Ewell. Col. Brown expressed interest in the Chairman's letter, yet before Horn could formally offer him the position approval had to be obtained from Governor Ellington.¹⁴ There is no record of Ellington's approval or disapproval, but Col. Brown received the executive directorship so one can assume that Ellington had no major objections to his appointment.

The creation of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission was no simple or easy affair. The State of Tennessee was perilously close to not having a proper Commission. The assiduous efforts of Stanley Horn and Gilbert Govan, as well as the external pressure from Karl Betts were singularly responsible for the birth of the Commission. Politicians in the state both in the legislative and executive branches chose

¹³ Stanley Horn to Gilbert Govan, 24 August 1961, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 6, Folder 4), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

¹⁴ Stanley Horn to Col. Campbell Brown, 28 September 1959, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 6, Folder 5), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

to play a passive role in the formation of the Commission. Only on rare occasions did the governor or a legislator tender advice. Though Chairman Horn often consulted Governor Ellington to obtain his consent, none of the documents reveal any attempts by the administration to overturn the Centennial Commission's decisions. Either state politicians placed an incredible amount of trust in the Commission's ability to make sound decisions, or they had little concern with the actions of the Commission. Horn's correspondences prior to the formation of the Commission concerning the lack of support in Clement's and Ellington's offices and in the legislature indicate the latter as the most likely explanation. Even after the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission officially came into existence, Stanley Horn and Gilbert Govan continued to shape the direction of the Commission without significant help from the governor or the legislature.

Funding

Funding for the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission was never exorbitant nor was it miserly. The Commission achieved a great deal during its tenure; therefore the money appropriated at times was stretched quite thin. The appropriations can perhaps best be characterized as the minimum spending necessary to do an adequate commemoration of the centennial throughout the state.

The budgets for the Commission were set over a two-year period because at that time the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee met every other year. They also ran on a fiscal year basis, from July 1 to June 30 of the following year. When the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission was created in March 1959, funding was provided for the new commission in the *Miscellaneous Appropriations Bill* at \$10,000 per year for the

next two years.¹⁵ Gilbert Govan had hoped the Commission might be able to obtain a little more. When Horn asked Govan how much they ought to request, Govan suggested \$25,000 for the biennium or \$5,000 more.¹⁶ The money for preparations was barely enough to sustain the meetings of the commission and the hiring of a secretary and executive director. Govan's estimate should have been given greater heed because at the end of the biennium in 1961 the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission exhausted its appropriation. In order to have enough money to finance the last meeting of that budget year, Chairman Horn was forced to beseech Budget Director for the State, Edward Boling, to forward the commission \$500.00 with the understanding that it would be deducted from the Commission's appropriation for 1962.¹⁷

The Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, in order to undertake any projects, needed a greater appropriation for the years of the centennial (1961-1965). Stanley Horn again turned to Gilbert Govan for his counsel. Govan suggested an appropriation of \$37,500 per year throughout the centennial. By his projections, this would allow them to publish all their proposed papers, finance a historical markers program, hire a research assistant, and tackle a number of smaller projects.¹⁸ It is unclear whether Horn thought the commission needed less or whether Governor Ellington or the legislature insisted on a lower appropriation. Regardless of how it occurred, the appropriation for the years of the centennial was set at \$30,000. For 1961-1963, this included \$10,000 in the *General Appropriations Bill* and \$20,000 in the *Miscellaneous*

¹⁵ Tennessee General Assembly, Senate, *Miscellaneous Appropriations Bill*, 81st General Assembly, S.B. 827, Ch. 268, 21 March 1959, *Public Acts of the State of Tennessee* (Nashville: Rich Printing Co., 1959), 783.

¹⁶ Gilbert Govan to Stanley Horn, 7 January 1958 [1959], Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 6, Folder 4), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

¹⁷ Stanley Horn to Edward Boling, 22 May 1961, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 6, Folder 5), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

¹⁸ Govan to Horn, 2 March 1959, 26 October 1959, and 22 August 1961.

Appropriations Bill. For 1963-1965, the entire \$30,000 came from the *General Appropriations Bill*. Once again, however, Govan's estimates were more accurate than the allotted appropriations. As the Tennessee Civil War Centennial drew to a close, there were a number of documents intended for publication but not enough money to finance them. Horn asked Govan for advice, and Govan recommended they request additional funds from Governor Clement (re-elected after Ellington's term).¹⁹ Clement agreed, and after clearing the issue with Harlan Matthews, Commissioner of Finance, the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission was allotted an additional \$10,000 to complete their projects.²⁰

In addition to the funds appropriated for use by the commission, there were a number of smaller projects inserted into *Miscellaneous Appropriations Bills* related to the Centennial of the Civil War. These projects, undoubtedly, resulted from legislators in the General Assembly who successfully obtained funds for their own counties or from powerful organizations such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy who had a powerful constituency. Most of the time, these appropriations did not even pass through the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission but went directly to local organizations. Though financed by the General Assembly while invoking the importance of the Centennial, the Centennial Commission typically did not sponsor the projects. Table 1 catalogues the different projects that received funding from the General Assembly, including the funding appropriated solely for the Centennial Commission.

¹⁹ Gilbert Govan to Stanley Horn, 26 May 1964, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 6, Folder 4), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

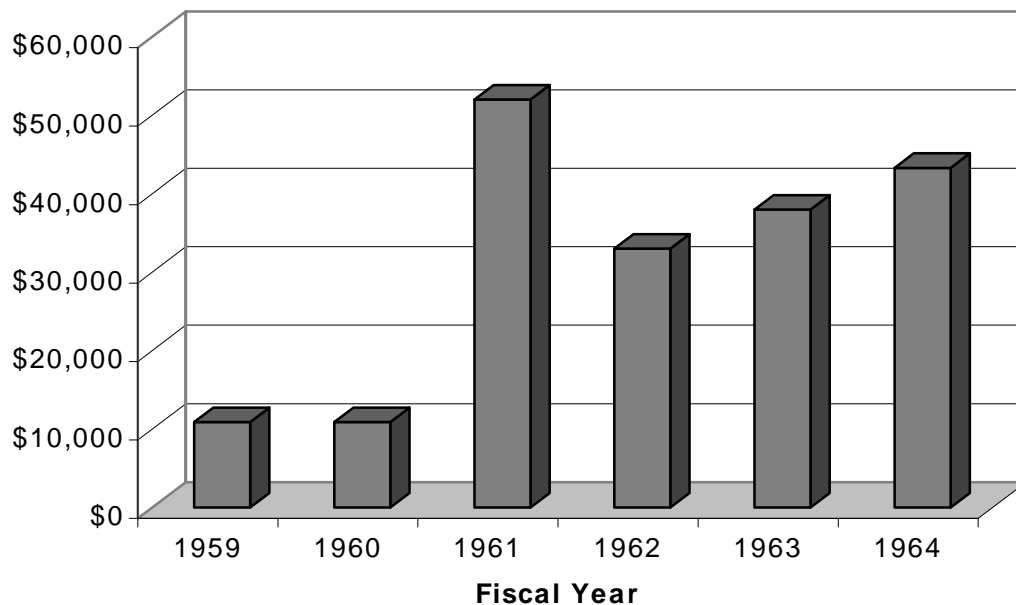
²⁰ Stanley Horn to Harlan Matthews, 9 June 1964, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 6, Folder 7), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

Table 1

Funding Destination	1959-60	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	Subtotal
General Appropriations Bills							
Civil War Commission			\$10,000	\$10,000	\$30,000	\$30,000	\$80,000
Miscellaneous Appropriations Bills							
Civil War Commission	\$10,000	\$10,000	\$20,000	\$20,000			\$60,000
Confederate Cemetery at Beech Grove	\$900	\$900					\$1,800
Confederate Cemetery at Tullahoma			\$1,000	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$4,000
Sam Davis Home, Smyrna			\$2,000	\$2,000	\$2,000	\$2,000	\$8,000
Stones River Court of Flags			\$10,000				\$10,000
Sam Davis Monument, Pulaski			\$2,000				\$2,000
Unknown Soldier CSA Monument, Union City			\$1,000				\$1,000
Confederate Cemetery Knoxville			\$3,500				\$3,500
Sam Davis Memorial Museum			\$2,500				\$2,500
UDC Scholarship Fund					\$1,767	\$100	\$1,867
Sam Davis Memorial, Pulaski					\$200	\$200	\$400
Other Appropriations							
UDC/Gettysburg Monument to CSA (legislative)					\$3,000		\$3,000
Publishing Overruns (administrative)						\$10,000	\$10,000
Subtotal	\$10,900	\$10,900	\$52,000	\$33,000	\$37,967	\$43,300	\$188,067

These pet projects added significantly to the total appropriations that went toward Civil War-related operations. The 1961-2 fiscal year held the greatest amount of these extra appropriations, bringing total spending on the Civil War to \$52,000 for that year. In the total span of the lifetime of the Centennial Commission, over \$188,000 was expended on Civil War related projects. The total appropriations per year are recreated in the graph below.

Civil War Centennial Appropriation by Year



Not all pet projects were successful. For political reasons of unknown origin, a number of projects were inserted into *Miscellaneous Appropriations Bills* but were subsequently vetoed by the governor. Table 2 catalogues the different Civil War-related projects that passed the General Assembly but not the governor's office. The most significant project was the attempted acquisition of Fortress Rosecrans in Rutherford County. The State Legislature requested \$15,000 but failed to get final approval from the Governor. The requested appropriation for Fortress Rosecrans represented almost half of the total amount of funding that was vetoed by Governors Ellington and Clement, \$37,700.

Table 2

Funding Destination	1959-60	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65
Miscellaneous Appropriations Bills						
Land Purchase of Fortress Rosecrans	\$15,000					
Fort Donelson Memorial	\$2,000	\$2,000				
Book of Confederate Songs			\$7,800			
Confederate Cemetery Knoxville			\$3,500			
Confederate Cemetery Knoxville					\$4,000	
Sam Davis Home at Smyrna					\$1,500	\$1,500
Sam Davis Memorial, Pulaski					\$200	\$200
SUBTOTAL	\$17,000	\$2,000	\$11,300	\$0	\$5,700	\$1,700
					TOTAL	\$37,700

The Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission at times struggled with the limitations of their funding. Not only were sources exhausted prematurely on two occasions, but there are also numerous references in Stanley Horn's correspondence where the Commission declined to participate in regional conferences and to attend commemorative exercises in other states due to budgetary constraints.²¹ This is not to imply that there should not have been limitations on funding. It is, however, important to note that the Centennial Commission was not handed copious amounts of money but instead struggled to fulfill its obligations while staying within its means.

Structure

The quick creation of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission did not afford a great deal of time to plan the structure of the organization. Stanley Horn therefore modeled the Commission off three organizations already in operation, the National Civil War Centennial Commission, the Virginia Civil War Centennial Commission, and the Tennessee Historical Commission. From these sources, Chairman

²¹ Stanley Horn to Karl Betts, 8 August 1960, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 2, Folder 1), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

Horn composed the framework for the Commission's relationship with local committees and for the delineation of power within the Commission.

The National Civil War Centennial Commission determined that its objective should be to facilitate the work of state centennial commissions in their commemoration of the Civil War. Hence, Karl Betts, their executive director, eagerly pushed Stanley Horn to create a Commission for the State of Tennessee. In like manner, Stanley Horn and the Commission decided that they were best served by fostering the establishment of as many local committees as possible. The purpose of these local committees was to commemorate Civil War-related events of local and state importance within their counties. The result was that commemorations were held with a much greater frequency than would have been possible with just the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission.²²

To foster the development of local Civil War centennial committees, Stanley Horn turned to Virginia again, just as he had in crafting the legislation for the Commission. James Geary happily complied with Horn's request for information and informed Stanley that he had approached the Governor of Virginia to write a form letter to mayors encouraging them to form a local Civil War centennial committee. Since this proved successful for Virginia, Chairman Horn chose to do the exact same thing. He requested that Geary send him a copy of the Governor of Virginia's letter to mayors so that Governor Ellington could model his letter off this example.²³ A list of the counties that heeded Governor Ellington's recommendation and established local Civil War

²² Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Minutes of the Meeting of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission*, 15 May 1959, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 7, Folder 8), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, 6.

²³ Stanley Horn to James Geary, 27 May 1959, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 13, Folder 5), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

centennial committees can be found in Appendix A. By 1965, the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission effectively established eighty local centennial committees in the State of Tennessee.

The formation of local committees was a clever move by state commissions because it passed some of the financial burden on to localities. For instance, the Davidson County Civil War Centennial Commission sponsored the opening commemoration of the Civil War Centennial for Tennessee, which was the re-creation of Tennessee's secession from the United States. The Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission contributed no money to this affair, though they helped plan the affair. The Davidson County commission used their own funds and raised money on their own initiative. They appealed to Nashville's dependable financial institutions to contribute \$500 a piece to sponsor the event.²⁴ The Davidson County Court, Nashville utility companies, banks, and insurance companies all offered their financial support. The Davidson County Civil War Centennial Commission actually raised enough funds that they were able to hire a public relations professional to help coordinate the State Capitol re-enactment.

The use of local committees also provided local communities the opportunity to creatively commemorate the Civil War in their own way without the imposition of a state governing body. For instance, the Rutherford County Civil War Centennial Commission hosted a commemorative event in July 1962 based on Nathan Bedford Forrest's cavalry actions in the area. The week long affair included a book exhibit, a costume luncheon, memorial services, a re-enactment of Forrest's raid, a banquet for the Nathan Bedford

²⁴ Col. Campbell Brown to Walter Chandler, 4 August 1961, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 5, Folder 5), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

Forrest Civil War Roundtable, a parade, a costume ball, a musket firing contest, and a pageant. The coupe de grace was the firing of a daily cannon salute that had to be cut short after the third morning because of window breakage in stores nearby.²⁵ The energy and resources required to achieve such a detailed commemoration would have been impossible for the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission to tackle in each major city of the state, much less the smaller counties. The local committees thus filled a critical role in the organizational structure of the commission.

The Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, being composed of geographically distant members, required structure in order to operate smoothly. In the later years especially, the membership only gathered together once a year, so meetings had to be run efficiently. To solve this problem, Stanley Horn looked to the Tennessee Historical Commission as a prototype. Specifically, Chairman Horn suggested the formation of committees composed of Commission and Advisory Council members to do work between meetings, and the establishment of an Executive Committee to scrutinize agenda items and determine whether or not the whole commission should view them.²⁶ Horn's tactics proved easily digestible to the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission because most members also served or had in some manner been associated with the Tennessee Historical Commission. It was a process that was already familiar to them.

²⁵ Rutherford County Civil War Centennial Commission, *Rutherford County Civil War Centennial Commission Summary of Events*, Homer Pittard Collection (Box 2, Folder 5), Gore Research Center, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro.

²⁶ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Minutes of the Meeting of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission*, 14 August 1959, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 7, Folder 8), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, 2.

The Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission expedited their decision-making process because of its short life span and the infrequency of its meetings. Greater latitude of autonomy was bestowed on smaller groups or individuals. For instance, Chairman Horn was empowered to appoint committees whenever he felt a necessity; it did not require the approval of the entire Commission. Stanley Horn created a Publications Committee, a Historic Markers Committee, and a Budget Committee. In addition, there was the Executive Committee, which Horn did not appoint but was elected by the membership of the Commission. A list of the members in these different committees can be found in Appendix B. These committees had significant autonomy. The executive committee had the authority to elect members to the Advisory Council and to appoint an Executive Director.²⁷ The Historic Markers Committee held the responsibility for choosing markers without referring to the entire Commission.²⁸ Given the powers delegated to these individuals and smaller groups, segments of the Commission at times acted quite independently from the rest of the Commission.

The precedence set by the National Civil War Centennial Commission, the Virginia Civil War Centennial Commission, and the Tennessee Historical Commission shaped the structure of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission. *The Minutes of the Meetings of the Civil War Centennial Commission* clearly indicate Horn's reference to these organizations when he composed the structure and powers of the Commission. There was efficiency to be found in these systems, as more work could be accomplished by relying on local committees and committees within the Commission to do the bulk of

²⁷ Ibid, 3,4,6.

²⁸ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Minutes of the Meeting of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission*, 16 June 1961, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 7, Folder 8), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, 2-3.

the work for the commission. At the same time, this decentralization of power resulted in a loss of control by the Commission itself. They waived their right to dictate decisions to the local committees and the committees within the Commission.

Accomplishments

The Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission accomplished many projects in its brief lifetime. Under the careful guidance of Stanley Horn, the Commission pursued a vigorous program of publication, education, and public coordination. As already stated previously, Gilbert Govan initially suggested most of the programs initiated by the commission, but to Stanley Horn's credit, the direction of the commission was ultimately his responsibility as Chairman.

Most of the Commission's accomplishments were plainly described in its *Statement of Policy* in January 1960. The basic policy of the Civil War Centennial Commission of Tennessee stated that it would "operate principally through the local Civil War Centennial committees which have been formed in counties, towns or cities as a result of the invitation of the Governor."²⁹ While such a policy compelled the commission to coordinate and disseminate information to the local committees, this principle did not impede the commission from aspiring to other objectives. Among these, the executive committee construed a plan to sponsor an essay contest in high schools to promote education, to collect and preserve historic materials related to the Civil War, to erect markers and monuments, and to publish a historical booklet for the public, a roster of soldiers from Tennessee, and finally an anthology of historical material. A few of

²⁹ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Statement of Policy of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission*, 1 January 1960, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 7, Folder 6), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, 1.

these plans changed over the course of the centennial, but most were energetically pursued.

As the principle objective of the Commission was to foster local centennial committees, Col. Campbell Brown maintained a steady flow of communication. *Information Bulletins* and *Special Organizational Bulletins*, published on a monthly basis, kept all the local committees apprised of the situation throughout the state. Brown particularly focused on educating local committees about re-enactments and how to conduct one. *Special Organizational Bulletin #3*, later reprinted as a handbook, instructed units about all the necessary details of forming re-enacting units with recommendations for clothing, equipment, rank, etc.³⁰ This inclination toward re-enactments did not imply that the Commission condoned or sponsored such commemorative events. The prevailing attitude, first presented by Gilbert Govan, was that re-enactments should be left entirely in the control of local committees.³¹ Eventually this opinion was folded into the *Statement of Policy*, which stated that:

The Commission will give all possible advice, information and assistance to any local group desiring to stage a re-enactment of any event, civic or military, having bearing on the Civil War. It is not prepared, however, to provide funds or to engage to make available supplies of any kind for re-enactments or other similar exercises. The Commission will not, of itself, initiate any action to bring about the production of such a spectacle: such action must come from the local committee concerned.³²

The commission thus avoided entangling itself in commemorations which required great toil and energy. In addition to commemorations, Col. Brown also produced a pamphlet entitled *Suggestions for a Memorial* that listed other options for commemorations such as roundtable groups or guide services to historic sites.

³⁰ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Instructions for Organization, Equipment and Uniform of Military Memorial Units*, from *Organizational Bulletin No. 3*, Nashville, 1960.

³¹ Govan to Horn, 2 March 1959.

³² Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Statement of Policy*, 31.

Information was not only distributed to local committees but also procured from them. Brown relied heavily on their feedback to fashion the military roster of units serving in the Civil War from Tennessee and the publication on Civil War monuments in Tennessee.³³ In a project that never blossomed, Col. Brown tried to solicit information on all county and city officials who held office during the Civil War.³⁴ Local committees served as a very broad based research engine for the Commission.

In the Commission's other pursuits, education played an important role. The essay contest delineated in the *Statement of Policy* never occurred. The Department of Education for the State of Tennessee viewed essay contests as a questionable tactic for imparting knowledge.³⁵ As an alternative, the Dept. of Education and the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission collaborated on a school curriculum for 7th-8th grade and 12th grade teachers. The curriculum, created primarily by academics associated with the Centennial Commission, contained a brief outline of work based on Eric Wollencott Barnes' *The War Between the States* for the 8th graders and Robert Selph Henry's *The Story of the Confederacy* for the 12th graders. To aid teachers, the authors outlined the objectives of a course on Tennessee Civil War history, as well as topics to be covered with page references to the textbooks. For a deeper understanding of the conflict, they also supplied a detailed bibliography of works for reference.³⁶ The Department of Education then distributed the materials to schools throughout the state. The impact of

³³ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Special Organizational Bulletin*, no. 2, Nashville, 1960, 1; also Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Information Bulletin*, no. 21 (Nashville: Civil War Centennial Commission, 1962), 3.

³⁴ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Information Bulletin*, no. 38 (Nashville: Civil War Centennial Commission, 1964), 1.

³⁵ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Information Bulletin*, no. 1, (Nashville: Civil War Centennial Commission, 1960), 2.

³⁶ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission and Tennessee Department of Education, *Outline of Unit of Work on the History of the War Between the States* (Nashville: Department of Education, 1960), 1-4.

this curriculum remains unknown, i.e. whether or not teachers actually taught the Civil War in Tennessee and if they did, how much they relied on the Commission's curriculum. Col. Brown attempted to obtain answers to these questions in a meeting with administrators at the Department of Education. They told him that it was not possible to ascertain the reactions of either the students or the teachers to the outline.³⁷

For educational purposes, the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission also elected to produce a filmstrip on the Civil War in Tennessee. Col. Brown wrote the script, while the Commission contracted to a commercial firm for the production of the film. Once again, the Department of Education received copies of the filmstrip to distribute to teachers for classroom use. The Commission retained extra copies for use in talks and presentations.

In the *Statement of Policy*, one of the objectives laid forth by the Executive Committee was the active procurement of historical materials, either documents or items, for archiving. The Commission intended to save these materials from destruction and to open new resources for research. Tennesseans, misled in the intentions of the Commission, developed the notion that the State was attempting to seize historical family materials.³⁸ Of course, the Commission would have been greatly satisfied just to receive copies of these documents, but after the public agitation it created, the program failed. Col. Brown, imitating the efforts of the Virginia Civil War Centennial Commission, tried to solve this problem by employing the service of Jaycee Clubs to help obtain historic

³⁷ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Report of Campbell H. Brown, Executive Director, to the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission*, 23 October 1962, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 7, Folder 8), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, 3.

³⁸ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Information Bulletin*, no. 3 (Nashville: Civil War Centennial Commission, 1960), 3.

materials for copying purposes only.³⁹ His efforts were fruitless. The Commission never partnered with the Jaycee Clubs or effectively motivated families to disclose historic materials related to the Civil War.

While the collection of historic materials was not in the ability of the Commission to control, the erection of historic markers proved to be quite the opposite. The Tennessee Historical Commission, who felt that the Centennial Commission should have the authority to erect markers pertaining to the Civil War, gave responsibility of the historic marking program to the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission. Out of courtesy, the Centennial Commission still allowed the Tennessee Historical Commission to approve their selected markers, but this distinction made little difference. The members on the Committee of the Centennial Commission Historic Markers program were also on the Historic Markers Committee of the Tennessee Historical Commission. This dual designation essentially ensured that disputes would not arise between the two Commissions over a marker, its placement, or its language. Stanley Horn also kept some degree of control on the historic markers program because all recommendations by the Historic Markers Committee had to meet his approval.⁴⁰ The system worked efficiently and by the conclusion of the Commission's mandate, eighty-five markers had been erected. Some of the topics included Forts Henry and Donelson, the assault on Island No. 10, the Battle of Murfreesboro, the Chattanooga Campaign, and a plethora of cavalry raids.

The Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission published four major books between 1961 and 1965. Col. Campbell Brown wrote the first completed paper, *Guide to*

³⁹ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Report of Campbell H. Brown*, 3.

⁴⁰ Col. Campbell Brown to Dan M. Robison, 21 April 1961, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 5, Folder 9), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

the Civil War in Tennessee, which contained a brief history of the Civil War in Tennessee, a chronological synopsis of events, and a catalogue of Civil War-related highway markers and monuments. The booklet was initially designed to provide the out-of-state tourist with a better orientation to Civil War resources in Tennessee. It therefore had a short publication run. The Commission was soon flooded with requests for these free booklets, both from in-state and out-of-state. Policy dictated that they give the booklets only to out-of-state residents, but it soon became apparent that a second edition was necessary to keep up with demand. Residents of Tennessee had access to the second publication and took full advantage of it. According to Col. Brown, he received approximately three requests every day for *The Guide to the Civil War in Tennessee*, as well as bulk requests for as many as 150 booklets per request.⁴¹ By the close of the centennial, the Commission distributed all 20,000 copies of the booklet.

In collaboration with the United Daughters of the Confederacy and to fulfill their legislative obligation to care for Civil War monuments and markers, the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission published *Directory of Civil War Monuments and Memorials in Tennessee* in 1963. This publication was not intended for mass consumption like *The Guide to the Civil War in Tennessee*. The book had a printing of 3,000 copies, 600 of which were distributed gratis to the United Daughters of the Confederacy at their annual meeting in Memphis. There had never been a thorough attempt to record the various monuments and memorials in the state related to the Civil War, so the book had value aside from aiding the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

The last two publications, *Tennesseans in the Civil War: A Military History of Confederate and Union Units with Available Rosters of Personnel* and *Tennessee's War*,

⁴¹ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Report of Campbell H. Brown*, 3.

1861-1865: Described by Participants, were not released fully until 1965 because research was not completed until late into the centennial.⁴² It was for this reason that the Commission had to seek additional funding from Governor Clement. This also meant that these two books, which happened to be the more scholarly, were not published until after the close of the centennial and after the sunset clause of the Civil War Centennial Commission had taken effect. They designated the Tennessee Historical Commission as caretaker and repository of the completed books.

Tennesseans in the Civil War: A Military History of Confederate and Union Units with Available Rosters of Personnel was similar to books published by other centennial commissions at the time. It listed all personnel serving in the Civil War from Tennessee with a brief description of the units. These valuable research tools have proven indispensable to families seeking to know more about their heritage.

Tennessee's War, 1861-1865: Described by Participants was an anthology of first-person accounts of the war as it took place in Tennessee. The accounts, collated and organized by Stanley Horn, were placed in a loose chronological order with narrative interspersed throughout the book to increase its readability. Once again, Gilbert Govan had originally suggested the idea for the anthology and also for the military roster, but it was Stanley Horn who labored to produce the book.⁴³

Outside the official capacity of the Commission, the staff and Commission members also worked on other publications. Seale Johnson, who served on the publications committee, the historic markers committee, and the executive committee,

⁴² Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission *Tennesseans in the Civil War: A Military History of Confederate and Union Units with Available Rosters of Personnel* Part I became available in 1964, but Part II which completed the publication was not available until 1965.

⁴³ Govan to Horn, 2 March 1959 and 22 August 1961.

compiled a book called *The Reminiscences of Newton Cannon*. Stanley Horn wrote the forward and Col. Campbell Brown edited this story of a veteran of the war. Stanley Horn, Col. Campbell Brown, and Thomas Wiggington, the research assistant hired by the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, joined together to write articles for an issue of *The Civil War Times Illustrated* dedicated exclusively to the Battle of Nashville. The strong emphasis on publication by the Commission is apparent not only in the number of books it published but also in its members' involvement with publications outside the Commission. This was not too surprising since Stanley Horn, who as Chairman set the tone for the Commission, was editor of *The Southern Lumberman*, a trade publication.

Ideas Explored

As with the life of any organization, the Civil War centennial generated more ideas than could possibly be accomplished. Some ideas reached maturation and developed into viable projects, like the commission's various publications. Other ideas followed the route of the Dodo bird and drifted into extinction, but their existence reveals something of their evolution. The rejected ideas prove valid to studying the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission because it clarifies not just the actions of the Commission but its choices. The ideas are loosely grouped together into a few different categories: re-enactments, local committees, and museums.

At the beginning of the Civil War centennial, the National Civil War Centennial Commission pushed for a kick-off re-enactment, similar to what Tennessee later did with the re-enactment of secession. The First Battle of Manassas became the National Commission's premier candidate, as Virginia was already undertaking preparations for its

anniversary. A corporation was established to run the affair, and Karl Betts, using the weight of his office, strongly encouraged each state to participate in the ceremonies. He even went so far as to request that each state send a coterie of re-enactors so as to have a properly magnificent mock battle.⁴⁴

At first, Stanley Horn and Col. Brown supported the idea, but over time it became apparent that the whole affair was in disarray. The corporation set up to administer the re-enactment was unable to answer Horn's basic logistical questions such as how many re-enactors would be required, how they would be fed and housed, etc. Initially, it had been suggested that National Guard troops could be used by the States; volunteers would be lured into participation because the Department of Defense would compensate them with training hours. Many of these details had not yet been fully approved by the government. By June of 1961, Stanley Horn felt that the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission needed to decide whether or not to participate, despite the lack of information on logistics. He brought the issue before the Commission, and they agreed "that it was not feasible to attempt to send uniformed men from the State of Tennessee."⁴⁵ Stanley Horn and the Commission probably chose not to support this endeavor because they could not make adequate preparations in such little time with such little information. Another reason for the Commission's final decision, though it was not recorded in the minutes of the Commission meeting and may not have been conscious, was the *Statement of Policy* which rejects the use of the Commission's funds or supplies for re-enactments.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Karl Betts to Stanley Horn, 4 June 1959, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 2, Folder 1), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

⁴⁵ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Minutes of the Meeting*, 16 June 1961, 1-2.

⁴⁶ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Statement of Policy*, 4.

Colonel Brown proposed the other idea related to re-enactments, though it was more a personal initiative rather than as a representative of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission. He wrote a letter to Colonel Robert Fox, Director of Tennessee Civil Defense. Col. Brown encouraged the formation of Civil Defense Mounted Groups in each county of the state, apparently an idea that had previously been floated in 1955. These groups mounted on horse could react in times of national emergency such as to direct traffic for fleeing civilians. Obviously, this idea was born of the strained tensions from the Cold War. For Col. Brown, this idea had great possibilities for its dual-use with the Civil War Centennial Commission. These mounted groups could act as cavalry troops for Civil War re-enactments throughout the State of Tennessee.⁴⁷ In the Stanley Horn Papers, there is no response to Brown's letter, and this author is not aware of any formation of Civil Defense Mounted Groups. It was certainly optimistic of Col. Brown to imagine that the government would want to form these mounted groups to please the Civil War Centennial Commission. His proposal was even a bit naïve, a quality that Col. Brown would display in other ideas.

At times the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission tried to stir the local committees to action on certain ideas, but in the end, they refused to be agitated. A prime example of this interaction occurred when Col. Brown sent out his monthly *Information Bulletin*. Apparently, the Commission (probably just Col. Brown as this idea did not appear in the minutes of the Commission meetings or in correspondence with Stanley Horn) decided to form a Speaker's Bureau so that speakers could be provided for any meetings related to Civil War subjects during the Centennial. To be on the Bureau, a

⁴⁷ Col. Campbell Brown to Col. Robert Fox, 26 July 1960, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 5, Folder 5), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

speaker did not have to have any real qualifications, only the requirement that they be knowledgeable on some Civil War topic.⁴⁸ Only a few names were ever listed in the Bureau. Local committee members were either uninterested in the Bureau or too frightened or apathetic to take action on Brown's bulletin. In the Stanley Horn Papers, there is no record that indicates anyone ever requested a speaker from the Speaker's Bureau. The idea thus never developed and was never accessed.

Late in the centennial, another of Brown's *Information Bulletins* tried to solicit information from the local committees, producing an even smaller response than the Speaker's Bureau. The Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission (again probably just Col. Brown as this idea did not appear in the minutes of the commission meetings or in correspondence with Stanley Horn) wanted to compile a list of all county and city officials who held office anywhere in Tennessee during the Civil War.⁴⁹ This project would have complemented the other research efforts of the Commission, such as the roster of troops and the record of Civil War monuments in each county. The timing of this effort could not have been more ill chosen. By 1964, much of the enthusiasm for the centennial was fading. Furthermore, Col. Brown had already hounded the local committees for information that required the local committees to put time and energy into research. There is no record in the Stanley Horn Papers that indicates the local committees ever supplied the information.

A different set of ideas during the Civil War Centennial sprang from various voices concerned with the support of local, state, and national museums in their Civil War exhibits. One of the commission members, Wilma Dykeman, responded to Stanley

⁴⁸ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Information Bulletin*, no. 20 (Nashville: Civil War Centennial Commission, 1962), 1.

⁴⁹ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Information Bulletin*, no. 38, 1.

Horn's initial solicitation of ideas for the Commission with an initiative to bolster local museums. Her idea was to hire a museum specialist that would travel the state visiting various local museums, where he or she would help locals to expand their exhibits and make them more professional. This person would act as an advisor and facilitator, which aligned with the vision of the Civil War Centennial Commission.⁵⁰ Stanley Horn stopped the idea from developing further stating that the staff was not large enough to support such an endeavor. Of course, the whole point of Dykeman's suggestion was to hire an additional person if possible or to collaborate with the Tennessee Historical Commission on this effort.⁵¹ Horn determined that money would be better spent elsewhere.

There were ideas circulated during the Centennial of acquiring some local museums for the State of Tennessee, as memorials in and of themselves. The United Daughters of the Confederacy approached the Centennial Commission about transferring ownership of Winstead Hill to their possession, further suggesting that they acquire Fort Grainger and administer the property at Carter House. Together these three Civil War attractions would serve as Civil War museum houses and be remembered as a Williamson County Memorial. This generation donation was more than likely a result of financial troubles on the part of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, whose membership was growing older and not effectively gaining new members.⁵² Someone else proposed the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission acquire McGavock

⁵⁰ Wilma Dykeman Stokely to Stanley Horn, 1 November 1960, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 7, Folder 4), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

⁵¹ Stanley Horn to Wilma Dykeman Stokely, 3 November 1960, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 7, Folder 4), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

⁵² Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Minutes of the Meeting of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission*, 23 October 1962, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 7, Folder 8), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, 3.

House in Franklin and establish a Civil War museum there.⁵³ These ideas were too grand in scheme for the Commission and consequently abandoned. The expense associated with the maintenance and operation of these locations, even if the property had been donated, would have consumed the restrictive budget of the Commission. Furthermore, the financial obligations of the maintenance and operation would have to be transferred to the Tennessee Historical Commission when the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission ceased to exist.

For state museum efforts, there were two ideas floated to Stanley Horn. The first proposal was to have the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission finance an expansion of the State Museum of Tennessee to house a wing dedicated to Civil War history.⁵⁴ A less permanent option was proposed to Stanley Horn for a state Civil War exhibit, whereby the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission would finance a History Mobile. This consisted more or less of a trailer that would carry a state Civil War exhibit to be displayed in localities throughout the state. Once again, the price for these two proposals was too prohibitive for the Commission to pursue. The Commission decided that the History Mobile might have been a worthwhile investment if it had been proposed earlier, but by the time the trailer would have been equipped with display cases, it could only be used for approximately a year and a half.⁵⁵

In addition to the ideas of local and state Civil War museums, there was one ambitious Knoxville attorney, Harley Fowler, who believed the Commission should establish a national Civil War museum at the McClung Museum on the University of

⁵³ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Minutes of the Meeting*, 16 June 1961, 1-2.

⁵⁴ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Minutes of the Meeting of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission*, 23 June 1960, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 7, Folder 8), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, 3.

⁵⁵ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Minutes of Meeting*, 23 October 1962, 2.

Tennessee campus. His reasoning was that East Tennessee was the perfect location for a national museum on the Civil War because of the divided loyalties that dominated there in the 1860's. The museum would therefore be dedicated to the honor of Union and Confederate soldiers. Fowler realized his proposed museum exceeded the regular budget of the Commission, but he felt that perhaps the State Legislature could be swayed to support such a nationally prominent project and that corporate donations could be sought. After consulting with University of Tennessee officials, he determined that adding a wing to the McClung Museum would cost approximately \$400,000 with annual operating expenses of approximately \$40,000.⁵⁶ As with the state and local museum proposals set before Stanley Horn, the Chairman of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission did not support the project, citing lack of resources to finance the new wing or to dedicate a staff person toward raising money from donations.⁵⁷

Throughout the Centennial commemoration, people developed other ideas and proposed them to the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission; re-enactments, local committees, and museums were the predominate themes. Many of these rejected ideas were just as refined as some of the other ideas that the Commission resolved to undertake. What distinguished these failed ideas from the successful ones? Gilbert Govan and Stanley Horn are the common threads between ideas. Of the projects performed by the Commission, almost all had originated with this pair. Of the rejected ideas, other people both within the Commission such as Col. Brown or Wilma Dykeman Stokely and outside the Commission, such as Harley Fowler, presented them; neither

⁵⁶ Harley Fowler to Stanley Horn, 30 March 1960 and 15 September 1960, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 6, Folder 3), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

⁵⁷ Stanley Horn to Harley Fowler, 19 September 1960, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 6, Folder 3), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

Govan nor Horn presented any of the rejected ideas. Only two conclusions can be the result of this outcome. Either Gilbert Govan and Stanley Horn, as experts in the field, chose the best, most feasible ideas for the course of the Commission, or this pair effectively controlled power in the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, enabling them to guide the Commission to follow their own interests over others.

Influenced by its Time: the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission and the 1960's

Tennessee fought for the Confederacy during the Civil War. Tennesseans, however, fought for both the Confederacy and the Union despite the decisions of the state government. This is one of the reasons why the Civil War remains so potent, rekindling the Cain and Abel stories of brother killing against brother. Yet, the vibrancy of this story was lost at times during the Civil War Centennial. One hundred years after the Civil War, southern states and their statesmen still honored the glory of the South and its secessionist past. The divisive Civil Rights issue that erupted in the nation during the decade of the 1960's augmented these Confederate attitudes, as the former slaves of the Civil War still wrestled with the State governments and the American government to obtain equal rights.

In an ideal world, the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission would have executed its legislative mandate and *Statement of Policy* unburdened by some of the opinions that still prevailed in the South. The reality was quite different. It was natural for the Commission to focus on Tennessee's role in the Confederacy since it was indeed in the Confederacy. This is especially true considering that individuals in the 1960's did not operate under the same political correctness that characterizes our present time. Even considering this cultural difference, a subtle but consistent bias towards the Confederacy permeated many of the projects of the Commission, due predominately to the two men who ran the organization, Executive Director Col. Campbell Brown and Chairman Stanley Horn. There were also struggles with racism in which these individuals chose solidarity with their southern compatriots over racial change. Like most humans, their

actions were not altogether consistent. At times, they were able to break free from these biases and exercise greater equality both in terms of Union sentiments in Tennessee and racial issues. These occasions seem to be exceptions and did not govern their actions most of the time.

The Pro-Confederate Bias

The pro-Confederate slant of the Commission manifested itself in various guises. The historical record preserves examples from both Colonel Brown and Stanley Horn. As the two most powerful men in the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, they ostensibly set the tone for the entire Commission. Col. Brown's inclination toward the Confederacy can be found in his communications with local committees, the ideas he generated, and in his writings on behalf of the Commission. Stanley Horn's correspondence reveals his predisposition toward the South.

In his *Information Bulletins*, Col. Brown kept the local committees apprised of the latest ideas and happenings related to the centennial commemorations. From the beginning, Col. Brown used this newsletter as his brainstorming forum, pronouncing his ideas however ill-formed they might be. Such unedited behavior illuminates his conscious or unconscious bias towards the Confederacy. A prime example occurs in the second *Information Bulletin* released:

Of the fifty-one Tennessee-born general officers of the Confederacy, the birthplaces of only five are distinguished by a marker or monument, as far as is known. The Commission considers it highly fitting that a determined effort be made to provide some type of marker for the birthplace of each of these distinguished citizens.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Information Bulletin*, no. 2 (Nashville: Civil War Centennial Commission, 1960), 1.

Brown provides a list of all fifty-one of these Confederate officers with no mention of Union general officers, of whom Tennessee did possess, such as Admiral Farragut of Knoxville.

Further into the bulletin, he again neglected to incorporate Union troops in his projects. The initiative to record all Civil War monuments in Tennessee was next mentioned in this letter, but Brown asked for the local committees to send him only information on Confederate monuments.⁵⁹ There are naturally a majority of monuments dedicated to the Confederacy in Tennessee chiefly through the toil of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, who not coincidentally co-sponsored this initiative. Monuments to the Union were present in Tennessee prior to 1960, such as the Grand Army of the Republic Monument at the Fort Hill Cemetery in Cleveland, Tennessee. A striking example of a Union monument stood at the Greene County Courthouse in Greenville, Tennessee dedicated to Union soldiers c. 1916. Col. Brown showed a complete disregard for the historical divisions in Tennessee between areas that were traditionally Confederate and other areas that were traditionally Union. By the time the Commission published the *Directory of Civil War Monuments and Memorials in Tennessee*, this error had been corrected so that the directory included Union monuments.

The same disregard characterized his *Organizational Bulletins*, which were mainly concerned with collating information for the rosters on Civil War troops from Tennessee. Col. Brown recorded the latest information on the rosters of Confederate troops in every single bulletin. Of the eighteen newsletters, only one tried to solicit

⁵⁹ Ibid., 2.

information on Federal troops from Tennessee.⁶⁰ This inattention probably affected the accuracy of information in the rosters when they were produced, with such little time and energy being devoted to Federal troops.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy had a true friend in Col. Brown, who also felt compelled to dedicate monuments to the resting place of Confederate soldiers. Brown tried to establish a fund-raising scheme in which the Commission would request the chairman of each local committee to raise \$321. This would generate approximately \$25,000, which would then become a Civil War Monument Fund administered by the Commission for the erection of monuments outside Tennessee to its Confederate troops. The chief purpose of this initiative was to stop the individual solicitations of the General Assembly to pay for monuments in other states, like Vicksburg and Gettysburg.⁶¹

Stanley Horn immediately stymied this venture, saying:

As you know, Confederate troops from Tennessee fought in many battles in several states outside of Tennessee. It seems to me that is [it] is obviously impractical for our Commission to assume the responsibility of erecting memorials to the service of Tennessee troops (much less individual regiments) in all those battles; and I don't see any reason for giving special consideration to the 16th Tenn. Infantry or other Tennessee troops in the Battle of Perryville.⁶²

Horn concludes the letter by firmly stating that he would not send Brown's proposal to the rest of the Commission and that there was enough for the Commission to handle at the present time. The same sentiments were not expressed for Union soldiers from Tennessee or the United States Colored Troops from Tennessee.

⁶⁰ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Special Organizational Bulletin*, no. 17 (Nashville: Civil War Centennial Commission, 1963), 1.

⁶¹ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, unlabelled bulletin, no date, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 8, Folder 3), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, 1.

⁶² Stanley Horn to Col. Campbell Brown, 4 June 1962, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 6, Folder 5), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

This same sort of thinking also colored Col. Brown's writings on behalf of the Commission. *Guide to the Civil War in Tennessee*, published by the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission in 1960 and written primarily by Col. Brown, was an expression of his pro-Confederate stance. After reading the brief history of the Civil War in Tennessee, the reader is left with a sense of awe at how the South lost the Civil War. Brown's description would almost lead one to believe that the Confederacy had won the war. The history praises the military savvy of the Confederacy:

While Forrest's raid was coming to a close, Rosecrans had started from Nashville to bring Bragg to conclusions. His advance was somewhat hampered by Wheeler, who, with his cavalry, completely circled his army while on the march, doing massive damage. On the last day of 1862, the two armies came together a few miles west of Murfreesboro. The battle, which lasted for two days, was by no means a Confederate defeat, yet Bragg withdrew his army to the Shelbyville-Wartrace-Tullahoma area, which had good defensive potential. . . . Rosecrans, following, managed to get himself into the disastrous Battle of Chickamauga, just over the Georgia line. He was driven back into Chattanooga, and only the resolute action of Major General George H. Thomas kept his withdrawal from being a complete rout. Bragg, however, did not follow up his advantage, and Rosecrans shut himself up in Chattanooga, while the Confederate cavalry, mostly under Wheeler, reduced his army to a state of near-starvation. Rosecrans was relieved by Grant who, by careful movement and with judicious reinforcement, moved against Bragg in November 1863, and decisively defeated him at Missionary Ridge.⁶³

All the descriptions in this passage of the duel between Rosecrans and Bragg focus on the successes of the Confederate forces, primarily the cavalry. After the Union army received massive damage, was almost completely routed, and nearly starved to death, Brown has them miraculously defeating the Confederate army, encompassed by just one pitifully small sentence at the end. There is no description of the Union success at Missionary Ridge and no explanation as to how it happened. This history by omission created an obvious bias towards the South

Brown's fixation on the Confederate cavalry appeared in other sections of the brief history in *Guide to the Civil War in Tennessee*. Nearly every Confederate cavalry

⁶³ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Guide to the Civil War in Tennessee*, (Nashville: Division of Information Department of Conservation, 1961), 7.

action is recorded in its pages, both those in Tennessee and those outside the state, if it involved Tennessee cavalry. Above all, Brown describes Nathan Bedford Forrest with the most flattering of phrases. Forrest “brought some order out of the terrified chaos” in the flight from Nashville after Fort Donelson had fallen. Of all cavalry actions in 1862, Forrest’s was “probably the most effective and dramatic.” In 1863 when Forrest raided West Tennessee, “he worked wonders.” When he commanded a Cavalry Corps of the Army of Tennessee under Hood in 1864, Forrest conducted “a faultless piece of screening.” After Hood’s defeat in Nashville against the Union army under Thomas, Forrest performed “a masterful rear-guard action to the Tennessee River.”⁶⁴ Col. Brown did not spare these adjectival descriptions on Union cavalry. For that matter, one begins to wonder in reading *Guide to the Civil War in Tennessee* whether the Union had a cavalry or if this was just some ingenious innovation on the part of the Confederacy.

Even the artwork of *Guide to the Civil War in Tennessee* blatantly glorified the Confederacy and disregarded the Union. The cover art features a close-up of a hardened but hearty General Nathan Bedford Forrest on his steed. The art on the back also illustrates a Confederate cavalryman. On the inside, the *Guide to the Civil War in Tennessee* contains a detailed map marking all of the training camps and staging areas of Confederate troops in Tennessee. There is no map to show Union troops in Tennessee, their encampments, forts, or training areas, nor is there art to depict them on horseback or even horseless.

Contemporaries noticed some of Brown’s historical deficiencies. Gilbert Govan, member of the Commission and close colleague to Stanley Horn, offered a critique of *Guide to the Civil War in Tennessee*. A summation of his thoughts appeared in a

⁶⁴ Ibid., 4, 7, 8.

postscript in a letter to Horn, “I was disappointed as I told Campbell in his *Civil War Guide to Tennessee*, which left out entirely too much.”⁶⁵ Col. Brown wrote a reply to Govan’s critique in which he apologized and admitted to omitting important historical events in Tennessee. Brown concluded his letter to Govan saying, “I suppose that I had better confess that I was perhaps blinded by the actions of Forrest and the people against him, and to some extent neglected the Army of Tennessee at that time.”⁶⁶

Brown pledged to correct these things if they ever printed a second edition. The rebukes from Govan and Brown’s confession taken together clearly highlight Brown’s fixation with the Confederate cavalry and the tainted history that resulted.

After Govan’s critique, Brown might have made a greater effort to subdue his own opinions from consuming his historical writing, but his later work indicates otherwise. Col. Brown, as Executive Director of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, wrote the narration for the filmstrip on the Civil War in Tennessee, produced for the Department of Education and for internal use. While a little less obsessed with Confederate cavalry, Col. Brown’s history was again slanted toward the South. This time the draft of the script was given to Gilbert Govan for review prior to publication, an opportunity not wasted on the librarian from Chattanooga. He made several corrections to the script including one particularly egregious faux pas. Govan writes to Brown:

I am puzzled by your statement that some of the states when accepting the Constitution “explicitly reserved the right to withdraw.” I can remember no such reservation and none

⁶⁵ Gilbert Govan to Stanley Horn, 26 October 1960, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 6, Folder 4), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

⁶⁶ Col. Campbell Brown to Stanley Horn, 4 October 1960, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 6, Folder 4), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

of the constitutional authorities here know of one. I should like to know where you get this, as I do not believe you will find it to be accurate.⁶⁷

In the publicized script for the filmstrip, Brown's text on Constitutional reservations was eliminated. One hundred years later, Col. Brown was filled with the same misconception of states' rights that led the nation toward the Civil War. Worse yet, he had nearly deluded the children of Tennessee into believing this argument to be a historical truth.

Despite all his shortcomings in portraying history, Col. Brown deserves credit for his attempt to stir East Tennessee into a pro-Union re-enactment. At the beginning of the Civil War Centennial, two important re-enactments took place in Tennessee. One was the attempt by Franklin County to secede from Tennessee and join the state of Alabama when Tennessee voted to stay with the Union. The second re-enactment was at the State Capitol in which the State decided to secede from the United States on its second referendum. In an attempt to balance the scales, Brown made an appeal to the Honorable Carl Baxter, County Judge of Greene County, to commemorate the Greenville Convention of 1861 from which came a proposal to allow pro-Union East Tennessee to secede from the rest of the state. He said, "this is particularly desirable in view of the non-partisan standpoint with which this Commission desires, as far as possible, to commemorate events during the Civil War."⁶⁸ When he did not receive a positive reply from Baxter, he wrote to Wilma Dykeman Stokely, historian and member of the Civil War Centennial Commission. He urged her to organize something for the Greenville

⁶⁷ Gilbert Govan to Col. Campbell Brown, 9 May 1962, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 6, Folder 4), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

⁶⁸ Col. Campbell Brown to Hon. Carl Baxter, 3 August 1960, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 5, Folder 4), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

Convention.⁶⁹ In the end, his prodding was unsuccessful, though not from a lack of effort on his part.

Brown's attempt at a non-partisan standpoint was brief. Perhaps after the rejection from East Tennessee, he no longer felt compelled to include the Federal perspective in his communications with local committees or his publications. On the other hand, Col. Brown's perspective hardly wavered before or after the incident with Greene County. His consistent exclusion of the Federals and his overt glorification of the Confederacy colored most of his projects, kept in check on occasion by Horn and Govan. Col. Brown also had strong family connections to the Confederacy, with his grandfather serving on the staff of General Richard Ewell in the Army of Northern Virginia.⁷⁰

Stanley Horn, Chairman of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, also had an inclination toward the Confederacy, though it was not nearly as course and pronounced as Col. Brown. As Chairman, Horn also operated on a different level, with much of his correspondence occurring with other States and the National Civil War Centennial Commission, whereas Col. Brown communicated primarily with the local committees. Stanley Horn at times waged an intellectual war with the National Civil War Centennial Commission over their representation of history, which Horn found to be biased towards the Union.

One of the first such crises emerged with the National Civil War Centennial Commission opening meeting in Richmond. All the new State Centennial Commissions had been invited to this Assembly, at which they showed a short film produced by the

⁶⁹ Col. Campbell Brown to Wilma Dykeman Stokely, 1 August 1960, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 5, Folder 10), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

⁷⁰ Col. Campbell Brown, "To Rescue the Confederacy – Why and How Hood Invaded Tennessee," *Civil War Times Illustrated: a Non-partisan Magazine of American History*, Special Nashville Campaign Edition (December 1964): 13.

National Civil War Centennial Commission on the Civil War. Stanley Horn was offended, feeling that the film was slanted toward the Union. Upon returning to Tennessee, he took the trouble to write a letter to Karl Betts, Executive Director of the National Civil War Centennial Commission. In his letter, Horn declared that the film neglected Confederate history and insinuated that it even celebrated the defeat of the Confederacy.⁷¹ Betts responded to the defense of the National Commission by saying that they had felt the film was biased the South. General Ulysses Grant III, Chairman of the National Civil War Centennial Commission and grandson of the Federal commander of the same name, “commented that neither his grandfather nor Sheridan appeared in the film and there were two pictures devoted to Robert E. Lee and Arlington.”⁷²

Horn, sufficiently incensed over the whole issue, would not let the issue lie. He wrote a second letter in response to Betts, attacking even more aggressively the National Civil War Centennial Commission’s film. He provided more concrete examples for his argument. The Battles of Antietam and Gettysburg received proportionally too much attention. Also, Horn said, “its [the film’s] greatest shortcoming, in our opinion, was its lack of recognition of the Confederate leaders and its careful avoidance of mention of the Confederacy to as great of extent as possible.” He even accused Chairman Grant of outright favoritism, “since General Grant is chairman of the Commission, it is only natural that his view should carry the greatest weight.”⁷³ Betts did not bother responding to this second letter.

⁷¹ Stanley Horn to Karl Betts, 22 April 1959, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 2, Folder 1), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

⁷² Karl Betts to Stanley Horn, 29 April 1959, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 2, Folder 1), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

⁷³ Stanley Horn to Karl Betts, 4 May 1959, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 2, Folder 1), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

At the National Assembly, Horn found a like-minded southerner named J. Ambler Johnston, an architect from Richmond, with whom he could vent his feelings. They corresponded after the conference, and Horn revealed with frankness his impressions of the National Civil War Centennial Commission's organization. He wrote:

I think you have been ultra-generous in describing General Grant's and Mr. Betts's talks as "fine and effective." I think you are on safe ground in what you say about the inclination of the Park Service to glorify the Federal victories and soft-pedal the Confederate victories. I hope that in the commemoration of the Civil War Centennial the Park Service will not concentrate all its activities in acquiring more land at Gettysburg, Sharpsburg and Manassas, to the neglect of other places where some rather important battles were fought.⁷⁴

In a second letter to Johnston, Horn expressed disappointment in Tennessee's ability to get proper cooperation from the National Commission, but concluded with a vow to do his best to work with them.⁷⁵

This author has not had the opportunity to see the film that brought such controversy between the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission and the National Civil War Centennial Commission. Therefore, it is difficult to ascertain who was overreacting in this debate. From the correspondence, Stanley Horn clearly took the role of protector for Confederate history. His attitude reveals a concern only for the Confederacy, and his choice of language, calling it "Confederate history" instead of "Civil War history," establishes a clear division between the two interpretations of the past. There is also the possibility that there was more to this issue than just a short film. Already some tension had grown between these two groups prior to this first meeting. Stanley Horn had been a member of a rival group, the Civil War Centennial Association, vying to form the National Civil War Centennial Commission against Betts' and Grant's

⁷⁴ Stanley Horn to J. Ambler Johnston, 27 April 1959, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 6, Folder 6), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

⁷⁵ Stanley Horn to J. Ambler Johnston, 11 May 1959, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 6, Folder 6), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

Washington, D.C. Civil War Roundtable. The Civil War Centennial Association lost after a bitter feud, and Betts and Grant solidified control over the national organization.⁷⁶

While Stanley Horn had not been actively involved in this debacle, there may have existed some hard feelings in either or both camps over this previous encounter.

Horn had similar objections to a later publication by the National Civil War Centennial Commission that was to serve as a handbook for high school students. Both sides handled the situation much more professionally, due primarily to the entrance of a new Executive Director for the National Civil War Centennial Commission, James I. Robertson. Robertson had served in the Department of History at Emory University and had also been a member with Stanley Horn on the Civil War Centennial Association. Robertson asked Horn for a critique of the handbook, which Horn was more than happy to oblige. Horn objected to the descriptions of Jefferson Davis in the handbook, the focus on the East with little mention of the West, and the characterization of Nathan Bedford Forrest “murdering” the garrison at Fort Pillow.⁷⁷ Horn’s critique was not nearly as caustic as before, but he still acted as protector of Confederate history even though this publication was probably more even-handed than Betts’s film since it was produced by Robertson, a Southerner.

Horn’s subtle Confederate perspective and Brown’s overt Confederate bias permeated the entire structure of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, since, in essence, they were the corporate structure for the whole organization. There are countless further documented examples of this bias. For instance, the kick-off

⁷⁶ Carl Haverlin to Dr. Christopher Crittenden, 18 January 1957, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 2, Folder 2), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

⁷⁷ Stanley Horn to James I. Robertson, 14 August 1963, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 2, Folder 3), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

celebration for the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, which included a re-enactment of Tennessee's secession, the raising of the Confederate flag over the State Capitol, and a Confederate Ball at the Maxwell Hotel. Needless to say, a similar affair did not occur on the anniversary of the capitulation of Nashville to Union forces. The historic markers program of the Centennial Commission showed evidence of Brown's obsession with Confederate Cavalry, with series of markers to Forrest's Murfreesboro Raid, Forrest's West Tennessee Raid, Forrest's Memphis Raid, and Wheeler's Raid around Rosecrans. As a result of these shortcomings, the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission's projects lacked a balanced approach to the Civil War. Brown romanticized history so that the Confederacy was pure, heroic, and noble, while Horn wanted the Confederacy portrayed more like victors instead of the vanquished.

Civil War Versus Civil Rights

With the emergence of the Civil Rights movement in the 1960's, it was perhaps inevitable that there would be a collision with the Civil War Centennial and southern states. There was only one major incident that occurred throughout the Centennial, but it garnered national attention and ultimately involved the President of the United States. Tennessee's role in this process was small, but the opinion of the Commission on matters of Civil Rights could not be concealed. Yet, the Commission was not filled with berating bigots who held no concern for people of color, and they found it dishonorable that such racists would wave the Confederate flag as their symbol.

In 1961, the National Civil War Centennial Commission prepared to hold their fourth national meeting, inviting all the State Commissions to participate. The location of the event was Charleston, South Carolina, where a weeklong commemoration had

been planned culminating in the anniversary of the firing on Fort Sumter. The problem arose when the New Jersey State Commission objected to the choice of location and for good reason. One of the New Jersey Commissioners was African-American, Mrs. Madaline A. Williams, who had served as a member of the New Jersey State General Assembly. In 1961, Charleston was a segregated city, thus presenting the crux of the matter. How could an African-American Commission member receive the same hospitality at the conference as the Caucasian attendees?

The New Jersey Civil War Centennial Commission unanimously stood behind Mrs. Madaline A. Williams and wrote a resolution boycotting the conference unless the venue was changed. Additionally, they asked that all other State Centennial Commissions take similar action and then mailed a copy of their resolution to them. Karl Betts and Gen. Grant apparently did not take action to move the venue. The brewing conflict immediately attracted the media, with the issue suddenly gaining national attention. Before the situation worsened, President John F. Kennedy directly intervened and suggested to the National Civil War Centennial Commission that they move the location of the conference to a non-segregated United States Naval base on the outskirts of Charleston. The national meeting was held with only a few grumbles and the crisis was avoided, due solely to the intervention of the President.⁷⁸

And what did Tennessee do? Stanley Horn received the resolution from the New Jersey Centennial Commission and replied promptly to its suggestion of a boycott. His response was terse and to the point:

We have your memorandum of March 9, enclosing text of the resolution adopted by your Commission, urging that all other Civil War Centennial Commissions take steps to

⁷⁸ United States Civil War Centennial Commission, *The Civil War Centennial: A Report to Congress* (Washington, D.C.: United States Civil War Centennial Commission, 1968), 12.

demand that the Fourth National Assembly in Charleston be cancelled. Our Commission will not make any such demand, and representatives of our Commission are planning to attend the Assembly in Charleston when it is held.⁷⁹

A decision had to be made, and a position had to be taken. Stanley Horn decided not to be inconvenienced by this act of Civil Rights. Tennessee would not boycott on behalf of the oppressed African-Americans. Tennessee was not alone in this course of action. None of the southern states supported New Jersey, but New York and Michigan joined the protest, aligning North against South once again.

After the close of the conference that had drawn such frenzied heat, Karl Betts tendered his resignation as Executive Director, and in the fall, Gen. Grant resigned for health reasons. Undoubtedly, Betts' resignation stemmed from the media attention to the conference and the pressure of the White House. Grant may also have succumbed to pressure from these sources, but his ill health may truly have guided his decision. Regardless, there was widespread talk immediately after the conference of eliminating both men from their positions of authority.

Col. Brown, sufficiently moved by the whole affair, wrote a preemptive letter to Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee. His opinions he claims were his own and not those of the Commission, but his knowledge and perspective are written from his position as Executive Director. Col. Brown defended Betts and Grant, saying:

Naturally it is understood that the mission of the Civil War Centennial Commissions is to discourage sectionalism and in some way do away with animosities which may prevail as a result of the Civil War 100 years ago. As a native southerner, I am absolutely sure that Gen. Grant and Mr. Betts have done everything to the utmost of their ability. They have been placed in a difficult position and insofar as I could see in Charleston carried off the situation with all credit. I therefore write to ask that should a move to get them removed from their present position come to your attention you give this matter close attention and searching scrutiny. If you do, I feel sure that you will find that in the present instance

⁷⁹ Stanley Horn to Everett J. Landers, 14 March 1961, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 7, Folder 1), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

both of these gentlemen have been good friends of the southern states and have carried out their duties with the utmost impartiality and tact.⁸⁰

This letter of support stands in stark contrast to Stanley Horn's correspondence with Karl Betts, accusing the National Civil War Centennial Commission of blatant favoritism and sectionalism for the North. Allegiances were readily switched when the issue of Civil Rights emerged.

The conservative reaction of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission to the boycott of the National Assembly at Charleston was fully in accord with the other southern states and shows no radical departure from conventional thinking. Does this mean they were racists filled with hatred for African-Americans? Their actions indicate otherwise. It was common practice in the 1960's for the Ku Klux Klan to hold rallies opposing the Civil Rights movement, especially in the South. Numerous photographs and newsreels captured these white-masked Klan-members marching through streets waving the Confederate Battle Flag. Eventually, the Confederate Battle Flag was used so much in these pro-racism rallies that the flag began to be associated as a racist symbol for these groups.

The Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission found this movement entirely inappropriate and considered it disgraceful that the Confederate Battle Flag was used in such a manner. Col. Brown, in particular, felt passionate about this issue. In January 1961 just prior to the controversy over the Charleston Civil Rights issue, Col. Brown drafted legislation to be submitted to the Tennessee General Assembly that levied a \$100 fine and/or three months imprisonment for inappropriate use of the Confederate Flag. His legislation had two purposes, to halt the commercialization of Confederate emblems

⁸⁰ Col. Campbell Brown to Senator Estes Kefauver, 18 April 1961, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 2, Folder 3), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

as popular advertisements for goods and to prevent groups like the Ku Klux Klan from brandishing the flag in their marches. The legislation as written by Brown said:

Be it further enacted, that it shall be unlawful for any individual or member of a group, acting singly or in concert, to display or carry any flag of the former Confederate States of America in any pageant, parade or demonstration which has for its apparent object the incitement to disorder or riot against constituted authority, or the harassment or embarrassment of any individual, group or class of citizens of the United States....⁸¹

Col. Brown then sent this draft of proposed legislation to George McCanless, Attorney General for the State of Tennessee, asking someone from his staff to review its legality. The Attorney General's reply has not been preserved in the Stanley F. Horn Papers. It can, however, be said that this legislation did not appear before the Tennessee General Assembly in 1961, so one can assume Col. Brown was discouraged from proceeding any further. Banning the use of a flag for public demonstrations is a clear violation of freedom of speech, which is presumably something that the Attorney General's staff would have disclosed.

Col. Brown's opinion on this subject did not waver, despite the failure of his proposed legislation. If he could not share his vision legally, he had the power to at least reach an audience that would perhaps be sympathetic. In one of the last *Information Bulletins* published by the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, Brown raised his complaint to the attention of the local committees throughout the state. He published a complete copy of a newspaper editorial that criticized the use of the Confederate Flag for commercial sales and civil disorder. The editorialist condemned the Ku Klux Klan for employing the flag and considered its use in these marches as a grave insult to all those who died for the Confederacy. Col. Brown agreed wholeheartedly with the piece

⁸¹ Col. Campbell Brown to Hon. George McCanless, 17 January 1961, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 5, Folder 8), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

and hoped that his audience would give its words due consideration.⁸² An editorial had never before appeared in the *Information Bulletins*, so it seems that Col. Brown made an exception on this occasion, an indication of how deeply he felt about the issue.

Col. Brown and Stanley Horn faced these biases and crises as primary representatives not only of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission but also by extension the government of the State of Tennessee. Between 1959 and 1961, the Commission was faced with a series of decisions as to how they would portray the past and how they would confront the challenges of the racially-charged present. Tennessee chose to follow the path of its Confederate history, so proudly celebrated at the time. The history of the past was represented in the terms of the pro-Confederate South, and the crises of the present were dealt with in a manner consistent with the status quo. With a tinge of hypocrisy, the persuasions of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission were kept somewhat at bay as Col. Brown in particular strove to include Unionists of Tennessee and to exclude the Confederate Flag's association with racial hatred. The actions of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission proved how history can influence the present, though never totally govern it.

⁸² Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Information Bulletin*, no. 41 (Nashville: Civil War Centennial Commission, 1964), 2-3.

Looking toward the Sesquicentennial: an Analysis of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission

Believe it or not, the sesquicentennial, or the 150th anniversary, of the Civil War is fast approaching. In another eight years, it will have arrived, bringing with it all the excitement, the drama, and the baggage associated with that rocky period in American History. Anniversaries are a natural time for reflection. As humans in the present continuously adapt to changing circumstances, history can spring to life with new and different meaning, bringing insightful revelations and uncomfortable challenges. No doubt the sesquicentennial will be a time for such reflections.

The coming of the sesquicentennial leads historians and policy makers to extend this reflection not just to the Civil War but also to its centennial. The Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission offers the State's only example of an anniversary historical commission dedicated to the Civil War, thus serving as the natural predecessor to any government-sponsored events for the 150th anniversary of the Civil War. As Tennessee prepares for the sesquicentennial, it is hoped that the analysis below will illuminate some of the revelations that can be learned from their past practices. This evaluation intends to answer three questions pertinent to the coming sesquicentennial:

1. Did the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission fulfill its obligations?
2. How did Tennessee's successes and failures compare to other states observing the Centennial?
3. Is the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission an effective model for the sesquicentennial?

If historians and policy makers have the strength to objectively analyze these questions, then the sesquicentennial will have a greater chance to succeed.

Obligations of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission

There are only two standards by which the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission can be measured to see if it met its requirements. The legislation passed by the Tennessee General Assembly creating the Centennial Commission contains sections that clearly delineate the Commission's powers and responsibilities. These sections offer guidelines by which the Commission's accomplishments can be judged. The other document that provides a standard of measurement is the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission's very own *Statement of Policy*, which lists a number of projects that the Commission intends to accomplish. By placing these projects in the *Statement of Policy*, it becomes incumbent on the Commission to complete them. For any projects undertaken outside the legislative mandate and the *Statement of Policy*, the Commission's work is purely a bonus, above and beyond its obligations. Likewise for any uncompleted projects or failed plans outside the legislative mandate and the *Statement of Policy*, the Commission cannot be judged derelict of its duty.

Chapter No. 203 of the Public Acts of the 1959 Tennessee General Assembly created the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission. The legislation did not assert too many obligations on the Commission, leaving a great deal of autonomy to the Commission members to establish a proper course of action. There are sections within the legislation, however, that denote the purpose of the Commission. The best summary is contained in Section 1:

To that end it is desirable that there shall be throughout the State of Tennessee a proper observance of the Centennial of those four years, 1861-1865, in which the history of our nation was forged through the sufferings of a great war; and in this observance pay tribute to the memory of our forefathers who took part in that bitter conflict, commemorating the battles and history making events of those fateful years, taking action to assure the adequate markings of all our state's fields of bravery, and collecting and preserving historical material relating to the events of those four years, so that they

will endure in the understanding and memory of all Tennesseans and those who visit with us.⁸³

The legislation clearly mandates three things that Tennessee will do in order to hold a proper observance of the Centennial: commemorate the battles and the history, mark the battlefields, and collect and preserve historical material.

The Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission satisfied its obligation to commemorate the battles and the history of the Civil War in Tennessee. By establishing local centennial committees throughout the state and charging them with the authority to hold commemorative events, the Commission ensured that even small, local events would be commemorated. As for the larger battles, the National Park Service handled most of those commemorations because they owned and operated the more significant battlefields. In terms of commemorating the history of the Civil War, the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission exceeded its obligations. If we take commemorate to mean the honoring of a memory, then almost all of the Commission's publications serve as commemorations to Civil War history. Since the Commission published at least four major works on the Civil War as well as a number of smaller pamphlets, this section of the legislative mandate was secure.

The second mandate laid out in Section 1 of the Public Act creating the commission was the marking of battlefields. The Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission led a successful initiative to mark not only the major battlefields but also many of the smaller skirmishes. All told, the Commission erected eighty-five historical markers in various locations across the State of Tennessee. Given the budgetary

⁸³ Tennessee General Assembly, Senate, *An Act to Create a Commission to Commemorate the Centennial of the American Civil War*, 589-590.

constraints of the Commission and its five-year lifespan, eighty-five historical markers surely satisfy this legislative mandate.

The third mandate of Section 1 states that the established Commission will collect and preserve historical material related to the Civil War for future generations. The Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission had intentions to accomplish this goal, but the execution fell short of expectations. When word spread across Tennessee that the Commission was trying to collect historical materials, the public reacted negatively, with an image of the Commission stealing ancestral materials from families.⁸⁴ This, of course, was not the Commission's intention, but after this civic snafu, it was difficult to re-establish trust with the public. Col. Brown proposed an initiative to partner with Jaycee Clubs, but this idea floundered as well.⁸⁵ In the end, the Commission was not successful at collecting and preserving historical materials except on a very limited scale.

The legislation put forth in the Tennessee General Assembly creating the Civil War Centennial Commission contained at least two other sections clearly stating duties to be performed. In Section 5, Chapter 203 stated, "That it shall be the duty of the Commissioner to develop and coordinate the plans of the public and private agencies for commemorating the One Hundredth anniversary of the Civil War."⁸⁶ This is more or less a redundancy from the previous section. The Commission clearly coordinated public and private agencies for the commemoration by employing the local committees.

In Section 7, the Public Act states, "The Commission shall give especial attention to the further preservation and development of battlefields and sites, and the graphic

⁸⁴ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Information Bulletin*, no. 3, 3.

⁸⁵ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Report of Campbell H. Brown*, 3.

⁸⁶ Tennessee General Assembly, Senate, *An Act to Create a Commission to Commemorate the Centennial of the American Civil War*, 591-592.

marking thereof, at such time and in such manner as will insure that a fitting observance may be held at each such battlefield or site in Tennessee as its centennial occurs.”⁸⁷

There is some redundancy in this section with the reference to graphic marking, accomplished in the eighty-five historical markers erected by the Commission. This section also touches on something quite different, “the further preservation and development of battlefields and sites.” The Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission never engaged in the preservation or development of battlefields, aside from the historical markers. The Commission’s legislation gave them the power, with final approval from the Governor, to purchase property necessary for the commemoration, but the Commission chose not to exercise this authority.⁸⁸ Preservation of battlefields was never in the Commission’s agenda.

In 1959 after its establishment, the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission crafted a *Statement of Policy* containing a number of self-imposed objectives laid out in six broad themes: information, education, collections, markers and monuments, publications, and re-enactments and pageants. These themes constituted the Commission’s plan of action and provide greater accuracy in measuring the Commission’s accomplishments against its goals.

Under the information theme, the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission proclaimed itself to be an agency for disseminating Civil War related data to local groups.⁸⁹ Throughout the course of the centennial, the Commission published *Information Bulletins* most months out of the year, as well as *Special Organizational Bulletins*. In addition, they produced pamphlets to educate local groups on assembling

⁸⁷ Ibid., 592.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Statement of Policy*, 2.

and outfitting re-enactors and holding commemorative events. The Commission's efforts fully succeeded in this objective, with a regular stream of reliable information to local committees.

Under the education theme, the Commission hoped "to encourage an increased interest and, consequently, a more intensive study of Civil War history in both colleges and secondary schools, with particular attention to those events which occurred on the soil of the state."⁹⁰ The policy gave concrete plans to this lofty goal, whereby the Commission would sponsor an essay contest for high school students in conjunction with the Department of Education. The opinions of the Department of Education halted the implementation of this plan because they believed essay contests to be an ineffective means of educating students in history.⁹¹ Instead, as an alternative, the two agencies developed a curriculum on Civil War history in Tennessee to be used by teachers. While the plans of the Commission changed, the goal was nonetheless satisfied, at least in part. The education theme emphasized both college and secondary school. The curriculum was designed only for high school students. The Commission never created a plan to encourage interest and study in the college environment, falling short of their stated objective.

Under the collections theme, the Commission intended to combine efforts with the Tennessee Historical Society, regional historical societies, and the State Library and Archives to preserve and store documentary material related to the Civil War.⁹² This theme relates to the legislative mandate to collect and preserve historical material of the era. As has been discussed, this was never satisfactorily accomplished.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission *Information Bulletin*, no. 1, 1.

⁹² Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, *Statement of Policy*, 2-3.

Under the markers and monuments theme in the *Statement of Policy*, the Commission planned to solicit recommendations from local groups for historical markers as well as establishing new systems of historical markers.⁹³ This theme correlates to the legislative mandate to adequately mark battlefields. As has been discussed, the Commission fully succeeded in fulfilling this obligation.

Under the theme of publications, the Centennial Commission hoped to publish a brief history of the Civil War free to the public for their consumption. The Commissioners also desired to release a roster containing brief information on every Tennessean serving in the war, as well as an anthology of contemporary or historical literature.⁹⁴ All these publications were produced. Additionally, the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission published a book cataloguing all the monuments and markers in the State of Tennessee. In terms of publications, the Commission thus exceeded its duties.

Under the final theme of re-enactments and pageants, the Commission stated it would be its policy to offer advice and information but not supplies or funding for re-enactments.⁹⁵ The Commission published a pamphlet offering information to local committees on how to equip re-enactors, but they never financially sponsored or supplied any re-enactments. For a while, the Commission flirted with the idea of participating in the re-enactment of the First Battle of Manassas at the request of the National Civil War Centennial Commission, but this venture was abandoned. Therefore, the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission achieved a balance of offering advice without offering money.

⁹³ Ibid., 3.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 3-4.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 4.

The legislative act and the *Statement of Policy* set the minimum standard for the Commission. Of the five different duties detailed in the legislative act, the Commission failed on two counts: collection of historical materials and preservation of battlefields. Of the six themes outlined in its *Statement of Policy*, the Commission failed only with the collection of historical materials, though it can be argued that the Commission did not adequately satisfy its educational goals. All other goals and objectives were fully met and in some instances surpassed. While failing on the collection of historical materials, the Commission showed efforts towards achieving this end, but they could not change public sentiment. With the preservation of battlefields, the Commission put forth no effort, and therefore has no excuse for failing to address the issue. Altogether, the Commission fulfilled most of its obligations.

Comparing Tennessee to Other States

The National Civil War Centennial Commission effectively persuaded most states to create State Civil War Centennial Commissions. Like Tennessee who took its structure from Virginia, many States erected a commission that relied upon local centennial committees, thereby increasing the scope of the commemoration. While many of the states plotted projects similar to Tennessee, they also diversified into different ideas and approaches to history and commemoration. Fiscal appropriations were not equal among the states, and some state projects could afford to be grander than Tennessee. By the end of the centennial, Tennessee had clearly proven itself successful in its accomplishments compared to other states.

Most of the projects undertaken by the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission appeared in similar guises in other states; proof that Tennessee was not

unique. Almost every Commission maintained contact with local centennial commissions through regular newsletters. New Jersey produced numerous publications. Virginia, Michigan, and Indiana proliferated historical markers. Florida and North Carolina compiled rosters of soldiers serving from their states in the conflict. Focusing on education, Wisconsin produced a filmstrip for students. Ideas for projects were likely circulated at the National Civil War Centennial Commission's yearly assemblies, creating a fairly open environment for brainstorming.

Despite this swapping of ideas, many states embarked on projects that were uniquely successful or uniquely individual. North Carolina, Tennessee's neighboring state, initiated just such a venture. During the course of the centennial, North Carolina's Civil War Centennial Commission partnered with the United States Navy to salvage blockade-runners sunken during the war. They also ambitiously raised the C.S.S. Neuse from a river bottom. These underwater archaeology expeditions attracted a significant amount of attention and proved that, unlike Tennessee's neglect of preservation, some states valued this aspect of commemoration.

Like North Carolina, Indiana's Civil War Centennial Commission upstaged Tennessee in a different arena. Indiana financed a major campaign to gather and copy historical materials related to the Civil War. By the end of the centennial, they collected over 16,000 manuscript pieces for preservation in the state archives. The success of Indiana contrasts with Tennessee's campaign to collect historical materials, which consistently faced troubles.

Other states launched projects that were quite unique from other centennial commissions. Wisconsin issued eight grants-in-aid to historians to further the study of

Civil War history. Virginia constructed a large Civil War Centennial Center just for the occasion, equipped with museum displays and a documentary educating the public on Virginia's role in the Civil War. The Civil War Centennial Center also served as a launching point for tourists to visit the battlefields that speckle the state.⁹⁶ Florida published a monthly chronology of Civil War events taking place in or affecting Florida on that anniversary, called *Florida A Hundred Years Ago*.⁹⁷ Michigan formed a volunteer research and writers guild that produced short publications on a variety of diverse topics, such as the impact of the Civil War on education, mining, women, labor, manufacturing, religion, farming, higher education, music, African-Americans, etc.⁹⁸ These publications served as a refreshing contrast to the history of other states that focused almost exclusively on battles and officers.

With the diversity of projects among the states, there was also substantial differentiation in terms of money. Tennessee, in this respect, was inferior to many of its neighboring southern states. Many states shared the common trait of menial appropriations in the year or two leading up to 1961. After this date, many of the states rapidly increased their appropriations. Georgia, which started out at only \$10,000 per year, climbed to \$50,000 a year. Texas maintained an appropriation equal to Georgia at \$50,000 per year. Mississippi appropriated \$100,000 per year to its Civil War Centennial Commission. Some of the states also budgeted enormous sums for projects developed by their Centennial Commissions. Virginia, receiving little more than \$25,000 a year,

⁹⁶ James J. Geary, "When Dedication Was Fierce and from the Heart: Planning Virginia's Civil War Centennial Commission, 1958-1965," *Virginia Cavalcade* 50, no. 2 (Spring 2001): 81-83.

⁹⁷ Samuel Proctor, *Florida Commemorates the Civil War Centennial, 1961-5* (Coral Gables: Florida Civil War Centennial Commission, 1962), 5.

⁹⁸ Michigan Civil War Centennial Observance Commission, *Report of the Michigan Civil War Centennial Observance Commission to the Governor, Legislature, and the People of Michigan* (Lansing: Michigan Civil War Centennial Observance Commission, 1966), 14-15.

successfully obtained \$1.25 million for the construction of its Civil War Centennial Center. Arkansas contributed \$500,000 to a battlefield acquisition fund. The only southern states that seemed to be on par with the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission were Alabama at \$30,000 per year and South Carolina at \$25,000 per year.⁹⁹

Despite a fiscal handicap, the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission accomplished a great deal when considering the breadth of its projects. In looking at the other State Centennial Commissions, many of them accomplished interesting and unique projects, but few states accomplished as many projects as Tennessee. The unique and successful projects of other states proved that some of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission's shortcomings, like preservation and collection of historical materials, were not insurmountable tasks. Even with the Commission's failures, the National Civil War Centennial Commission honored the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission with its most prestigious award, the Centennial Medallion. These awards were given only to a small number of recipients, placing Tennessee's accomplishments on a level with the Virginia Civil War Centennial Commission. The receipt of this award recognized not only the scope of Tennessee's different projects, but also their perseverance throughout the centennial in spite of the financial constraints.¹⁰⁰ The Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission accomplished much with little means, thus demonstrating a successful model against other states.

⁹⁹ Col. Campbell Brown to Stanley Horn, 27 May 1964, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 5, Folder 6), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

¹⁰⁰ James I. Robertson to Stanley Horn, 24 February 1965, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 2, Folder 3), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

Yearning for the Sesquicentennial

As the sesquicentennial of the Civil War approaches, Tennessee will be faced with many of the challenges faced by the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission, as well as a whole new set of obstacles specific to the current climate. Can the Centennial Commission serve as an effective model for the sesquicentennial? In some regards, Tennesseans can learn from the successes and failures of the previous Commission, hopefully electing to follow the successes and amend the failures. Yet, in order to be a success in the 21st Century, Tennesseans must also adapt and improve on the work of the Centennial Commission, lest the sesquicentennial become a stagnant branch of state government where goals are as antiquated as the history commemorated.

In this author's opinion, there are a variety of factors that will fundamentally shape the outcome of the sesquicentennial for Tennessee. The first thing to be learned from the Civil War Centennial Commission is that it was hastily thrown together. The executive branch had to be coddled and courted to support the formation of the Centennial Commission, and the legislative branch was only slightly more enthusiastic about the centennial. After acquiescing to the formation of the Commission, there was little time to plan a course of action and implement it before the centennial was at hand. Due to this lack of preparation, half of the publications produced by the commission were not released until after the close of the Centennial when public interest had already waned. More work should have been done at the beginning of the centennial to time the release of these publications to the timetable of the centennial. From reading the material, it seems that public enthusiasm was greatest at the beginning of the centennial not at the

end. The sesquicentennial should thus plan appropriately, even if this entails approaching the executive or legislative branches well in advance of 2011.

This lack of preparation on the part of the Civil War Centennial Commission was plainly visible in some of the existing correspondence. For instance, Karl Betts, executive director of the National Civil War Centennial Commission, wrote to Stanley Horn in March of 1961 requesting information booklets for Tennessee. He stated there was “tremendous demand” for Tennessee’s centennial plans and sites for tourists to visit.¹⁰¹ Horn regrettably replied to Betts that “we have not issued very much literature, due to insufficient funds, but I hope we may be able to do more in the future.”¹⁰² The late establishment of the Commission and its meager initial funding hampered it from making proper preparations for the centennial. The sesquicentennial should avoid the same pitfall.

Tennessee also did not make many preparations for the increased tourism to state sites during the centennial commemoration. Not accounting for and enticing these visitors was one of the greatest missed opportunities of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission. In this regard, Tennessee should have followed the example of the National Park Service, who in the 1950’s instituted their Mission 66 Program. The National Park Service predicted that an unprecedented 80 million people would visit Civil War sites under their care. As early as 1956, Mission 66 began to revamp many of the facilities and battlefield sites in the Park system, timing projects to coincide with their anniversary commemorations. This forethought on the part of the national government

¹⁰¹ Karl Betts to Stanley Horn, 2 March 1961, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 2, Folder 1), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

¹⁰² Stanley Horn to Karl Betts, 8 March 1961, Stanley F. Horn Papers (Box 2, Folder 1), Manuscript Collections, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

allowed a smooth transition into the Civil War centennial and better provision for tourists.¹⁰³

The rebuke for better preparations stirs the issue of appropriations. After all better preparations require earlier and better appropriations. Judging from the current and projected financial climate of the State of Tennessee, the sesquicentennial will face just as many hardships in acquiring appropriations as the centennial. One of the ways in which the sesquicentennial can persuade a reluctant executive branch is the importance of Civil War tourism. In 2001, there were over 5.7 million tourists to Civil War-related national, state, and locally run sites in Tennessee.¹⁰⁴ Tourism is bound to increase during the 150th anniversary as interest in the Civil War crescendos to a new apex. It would behoove the state of Tennessee to invest in these resources and develop tourism for the occasion. Financially, Tennessee will reap the benefits from these tourists, as the primary stream of revenue for the state remains its sales tax. Regardless of how the funding is obtained, more care should be taken to better finance the Commission before the 150th anniversary, rather than during. In 1959 and 1960 the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission received \$10,000, only one-third of the appropriations the Commission received during the Centennial. For this reason, no materials could be printed or resources generated for tourists, leaving Tennessee appalling unprepared.

For the projects to be undertaken during the sesquicentennial, the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission can certainly be a model for coordinating multiple projects with little money. Stanley Horn and Gilbert Govan found their publications to be their greatest monument to the Civil War centennial. The possibilities for the sesquicentennial

¹⁰³ United States Civil War Centennial Commission, *National Press Release*, 27 June 1958 (Washington, D.C.: United States Civil War Centennial Commission, 1958).

¹⁰⁴ Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area, *2001 Civil War Survey*, Murfreesboro, 2003.

at this point are boundless, and it seems somewhat trite to suggest their course of action based on the centennial. If publications are still treasured as the lasting monument of such a Commission, these can certainly be repeated by the sesquicentennial, or capitalizing on the technology at hand, it might be worthwhile to explore the creation of resources for the Internet. Unlike paper publications, the Internet allows access to a much greater audience at a fraction of the time and cost.

One factor that should be noted in the development of projects for the sesquicentennial is the increasing need for preservation, something that was woefully neglected by the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission. Land development around many Civil War battlefields has increased dramatically since the 1960's, as America's suburbs have consumed farmland at an alarming rate. In other words, there is a greater need for preservation now than there was during the centennial of the Civil War. If this component can be incorporated into the sesquicentennial, battlefields will remain for future anniversaries of the Civil War, creating a legacy that will secure the sesquicentennial's place in history.

In terms of projects to be avoided, this author does not believe it would be advantageous to the sesquicentennial to erect historical highway markers like the Centennial Commission. The highway markers program was popular in the 1950's and 1960's, but since that time, the program has dwindled. The markers program was instituted in a time when highways were the major mode of transportation instead of the current interstate system. Highway markers are nearly impossible to read from a moving vehicle and few offer a shoulder so that drivers can stop. The expense for markers has also become more prohibitive because they are not produced in nearly the same quantity

as they once were. In short, the erection of historical markers is out-dated, and its currently dismal state has already been assessed and criticized for its distorted presentation of the past.¹⁰⁵ The sesquicentennial should attempt to find new methods of commemorating and marking the past.

A shortcoming of the Centennial Commission from which the sesquicentennial can learn was its pro-Confederate bias and problems with Civil Rights. Any commemoration of the sesquicentennial must exercise a political sensitivity to these issues. In the current climate where the Senate Majority Leader has lost his position for harkening to the segregation past, it is clear that the wounds inflicted from slavery and civil oppression have not healed. There should be greater effort to incorporate African-Americans into the sesquicentennial and, of equal importance, to incorporate their history into the story of the Civil War. Much headway has already been accomplished on this front since the 1960's, but there is still a distance to travel. A possible project to remedy this historical slight is the commemoration of the many United States Colored Troops from Tennessee, who played a vital role in garrisoning and securing Tennessee during the Civil War.

To ensure that a pro-Confederate bias does not taint the publications of the sesquicentennial, better control standards should be established to prevent gross misrepresentations such as those produced by Col. Campbell Brown. At least one and preferably two different people should review any publication to check for the intrusion of errors or biases. Academics often practice the circulation of materials for review prior to publication, and many corporations institute similar provisions, using the phrase

¹⁰⁵ James B. Jones, Jr., "An Analysis of National Register Listings and Roadside Historic Markers in Tennessee: A Study of Two Public History Programs," *The Public Historian*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (Summer 1988): 19-30.

“quality control.” If the sesquicentennial employs these control measures, the reliability of public history will be greatly enhanced.

The Confederate bias was not the only element of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission that deserves criticism. The Civil War in Tennessee has long dwelled in the shadow of Virginia, with the Centennial Commission throwing Tennessee only further into the darkness. The Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission looked to Virginia for its organization, for its legislation, and for its guidance. There were whole sections in the legislation creating the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission that the commission had no intention of acting upon, such as the purchase of land for preservation and the creation of an insignia to be sold commercially, yet they remained in the legislation because they were taken verbatim from Virginia. The Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission followed the lead of Virginia, but the resources and the needs of the two states are quite different. The State of Virginia has invested time, energy, and money into preserving, developing, and marketing its extensive Civil War resources. Tennessee has not. For the sesquicentennial, Tennessee should be a leader, not a follower, an equal to Virginia instead of a subordinate.

Planners for the sesquicentennial should not overlook the resources currently available to Tennessee. State organizations to support a Civil War anniversary have grown exponentially since the 1960's. Tennessee currently has a staffed Tennessee Wars Commission with a Director devoted to preserving and growing Tennessee's Civil War resources. The Center for Historic Preservation at Middle Tennessee State University successfully obtained federal grants to create the Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area, which offers grants and advice to the further development of the Civil War in

Tennessee. There are other government agencies that could provide key assistance to the sesquicentennial. The Department of Tourism, which did not exist in the early 1960's, can be utilized to market the Civil War in Tennessee and to prepare for the increased tourism spurred by the sesquicentennial. The Department of Environment and Conservation might be a possible partner if land preservation becomes a feasible initiative. In short, it may not be necessary to create a whole new commission to run the 150th anniversary of the Civil War. What will be required is a person or persons to coordinate these different agencies under one coherent plan. Funding is already an issue for most of these organizations, so any projects to benefit the sesquicentennial will need to be appropriately financed by a central organization.

Regardless of the course that the 150th anniversary of the Civil War in Tennessee will choose, the hope is that it will grow on the experiences of the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission. The Civil War continues to entrance and attract America. One only needs to peruse the aisle of a bookstore or their neighborhood video store to see that this critical conflict of the 1860's captivates us even today. Whatever form the sesquicentennial takes, it will have the awesome responsibility of interpreting and presenting this history to the public. Let us hope that they wield their authority with great care towards all, for their actions will affect the history that is transmitted to future generations.

Appendix A: List of Local Centennial Committees

** All local committees may not be listed below

Alamo, Crockett County	Lake County
Bedford County	Lauderdale County
Benton County	Lawrence County
Bradley County	Lewis County
Carroll County	Lincoln County
Carter County	Madison County
Chapel Hill	Marshall County
Chester County	McNairy County
Coffee County	Montgomery County
Cooke County	Obion County
Cumberland County	Perry County
Cumberland Gap	Polk County
Davidson County – Nashville	Putnam County
Davidson County – Goodlettsville	Roane County
DeKalb County	Robertson County
Fayette County	Rutherford County/Murfreesboro
Franklin County	Scott County
Gibson County	Shiloh (Friends Of)
Giles County	Somerville, Fayette County
Hamilton County/Chattanooga	Tullahoma
Haywood County	Trousdale County
Henry County	Washington County
Hickman County	Warren County
Houston County	Williamson County
Jackson County	Wilson County
Knox County/Knoxville	White County

Appendix B: Committees within the Tennessee Civil War Centennial Commission

Budget Committee

Sam Fleming
Vernon Sharp
William Waller
Walter Chandler
Milton S. Ochs

Executive Committee

Mrs. W. Hubert Wyatt
Ralph W. Haskins
Seale B. Johnson
Stanley Horn

Historic Markers Committee

Seale Johnson
Vernon Sharp
Mrs. Mary McCown

Publications Committee

J.P. Lawrence
Robert McGaw
Seale Johnson
Vernon Sharp

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