The Shifting of American Collective Memory
Remembering the Civil War Along the Mason-Dixon Line

ABSTRACT: Recent years have seen waves of vandalism against Confederate memorials throughout America. Rather than condemning the violence, the mayors of Baltimore, St. Louis, and various other cities have chosen to remove the monuments from prominent public spaces. Clearly, the current cultural climate is anti-Confederate. But when did it become this way? By studying six newspapers, three mainstream (the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, *the Indianapolis Star*, and the *Baltimore Sun*) and three of African-American signature (the *St. Louis Argus*, the *Indiana Recorder*, and the *Baltimore Afro-American*), this thesis traces the collective memory of the American Civil War in three cities along the Mason-Dixon Line. The most important finding is that, contrary to the dominant view in the historiography, the 1954-68 Civil Rights Movement did not manifestly alter American collective memory of the Civil War. Whilst relevant changes in collective memory were found in the period 1965-2014, the dominant memory of the Civil War as morally neutral conflict only fell in 2015.

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Preface

During my semester on exchange to Washington University in St. Louis, American hamburgers did all they could to make me fat. In an attempt to halt obesity, I went for a run through Forest Park, about a mile from my home. Suddenly, I stopped running. I didn't quite understand what I saw. There it was, a large Confederate memorial, in the middle of the park. It was bigger than the dozens of Confederate monuments I had seen in the many small Southern towns I had passed through on road trips. But what was it doing here? St. Louis had never joined the Confederacy. I started reading. There were Confederate memorials all over America. Also in places such as Portland and Seattle, which were not even part of the United States when the 1861-65 battle was fought. I was intrigued. I found it fascinating that the memorial was built, despite the Confederacy's loss during the war and despite (or because) the war's estimated 761.000 deaths.[1] But I found it even more fascinating that the monument was still there, standing tall in 2016.

In the first year of my Research Master, I had studied Reconstruction, the 1865-77 period following the Civil War.[2] I wanted to find out how the victorious North laid down the law on the South to tackle racism and inequality, and how the two warring parties were reconciled. I found out that both reform and reconciliation were unsuccessful, at least during Reconstruction. The Northern troops withdrew from the South in 1877. After that came a period in which the South was solidly Democratic and segregated. In the words of historian W.E.B. Du Bois, "the slave went free; stood a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again toward slavery."[3] Painful. But, when did Afro-Americans step *back* into the sun? One of the seminars I followed at Washington University was about the Civil Rights Movement. Entering the class, I assumed that this moment of "sun" was surely before, or at least during the 1954-68 Civil Rights Movement. To a large extent, the class changed my mind. Not only do most scholars understand the Civil Rights Movement to have lasted much longer than the narrow 1954-68 period, the movement left many problems of discrimination and segregation unsolved.

So, when did Afro-Americans – in Du Bois' words – step into the sun? And, why was this Confederate monument (still) there, in St. Louis? In a way, the two questions seemed related to me, as they both had something to do with the long aftermath of the Civil War. These questions kept

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[1] For an estimation, see: J. David Hacker, "A Census-Based Count of the Civil War Dead," *Civil War History* 57, no. 4 (2011): 348.

[2] Some historians argue that reconstruction began in 1863, see: Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (Harper Collins, 2011).

[3] William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America: Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880* (Transaction Publishers, 2013), 30.

troubling me during my stay in the United States. And also back home in Utrecht I kept wondering. In a way, this thesis is an attempt to come closer to answering these questions.

This thesis could not have been written without the help of many people. For supervising my thesis, I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Ido de Haan. As a critical and erudite reader, Prof. De Haan kept pushing me to sharpen my thinking. Others certainly deserving of thanks are Duco, Hans, Paul, and Guus for all the discussions and coffee breaks... There were many coffee breaks. Diederik Stolk and Sabina Beijne also deserve thanks for carefully reading my thesis. But most thanks should go to Sietske, for picking me up when things were down.

Jasper Bongers

Introduction

On June 23, 2015, an activist spray-painted "Black Lives Matter" over the Confederate Memorial in Forest Park, St. Louis, Missouri. In addition, a bucket of blood-red paint was thrown over the monument, as if to say that there is blood on the commemoration of the Confederacy (see image 1). Rather than condemning the act of vandalism, St. Louis' mayor Slay formed a committee to relocate the monument. Preferably, its new place would be less public than St. Louis' major park. Of the parties approached to host the monument, only the Missouri Civil War Museum was willing to accept the controversial memorial. Museum President Mark Trout stated that, "the current hostile and negative political atmosphere will no doubt prevent everyone [else] you have contacted from wanting this monument. As you know, historical monuments relating to the Confederacy are now being vandalized and defaced by radical activists nationwide." Therefore, "the only institution that can justifiably get involved with your committee and even consider taking on the enormous responsibility and political issues associated with the monument in the eyes of the public, is of course a Civil War museum such as ours."[4]

Image 1. *The paint-smeared Confederate monument in St. Louis*

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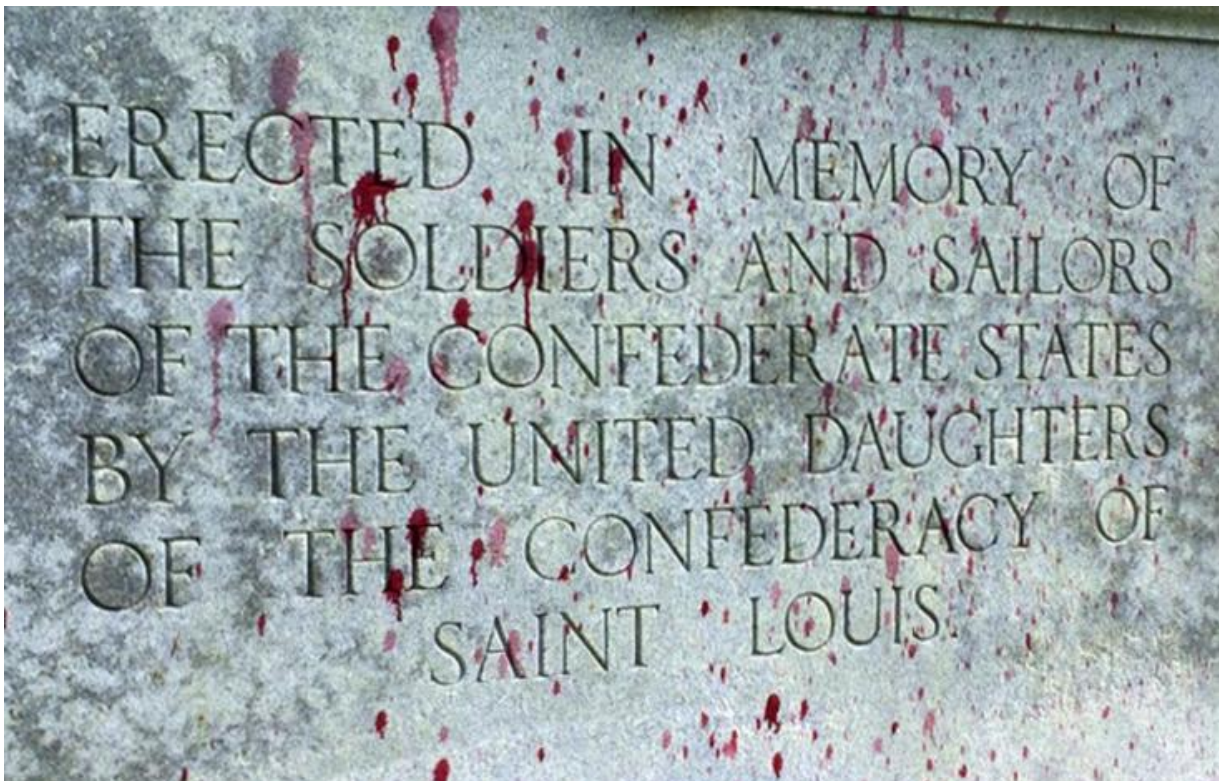
[4] St. Louis, "Report of the St. Louis Confederate Monument Reappraisal Committee," December 10, 2015. The Confederate monument is to be removed by July 2, 2017. See: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. June 26, 2017. St. Louis Today Section.

This recent history of St. Louis' most prominent Confederate memorial is a window into the commemoration of the 1861-65 Civil War. That the monument was in St. Louis in the first place is revealing, as Missouri never joined the Confederate attempt at secession. The memorial being in St. Louis – since 1914 – symbolizes the extent to which Northern and Southern views on the war had been reconciled. Yet, at some time, American collective memory of the Civil War shifted to the anti-Confederate one discussed by Missouri Civil War Museum President Mark Trout. It has been the main aim of this thesis to find out when this change in American collective memory of the Civil War occurred. Many historians have argued that the 1954-68 Civil Rights Movement fundamentally altered Civil War memory, and brought a focus on Afro-Americans' Emancipation from slavery.[5] Yet, the findings of this thesis indicate that a manifest shift in collective memory took place much later than most scholars assume. Whilst relevant changes in collective memory were found in the period 1965-2014, the dominant memory of the Civil War as morally neutral conflict only fell in 2015.

By studying six newspapers, three mainstream papers (the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the *Indiana Star*, and the *Baltimore Sun*) and three of African-American signature (the *St. Louis Argus*, the *Indiana Recorder*, and the *Baltimore Afro-American*) this thesis has traced the trajectory of collective memory from 1954 to 2017. Taken together, the reports of the mainstream and black newspapers provide insight in the extent to which memory was dispersed along racial lines. Although this thesis is primarily concerned with *when* collective memory shifted, reflections on the convergence or divergence of the newspapers under review will also be made.

Interestingly, the three cities hosting the newspapers under review all lie roughly along the 39°43'20" latitude of the Mason-Dixon line, demarcating the Southern from the Northern part of the United States. These three cities – St. Louis (38,6°), Indianapolis (39,8°), and Baltimore (39,3°) – did not only have a geographical, but also a cultural and political middle position in America. As the three cities are not easily defined as either Northern or Southern, they can provide a perspective on the middle of America, where one may expect Civil War memory to be most blurred and contested.[6]

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[5] Scott A. Sandage, "A Marble House Divided: The Lincoln Memorial, the Civil Rights Movement, and the Politics of Memory, 1939-1963," *The Journal of American History* 80, no. 1 (1993): 135–167; Barbara A. Gannon, "A Debt We Never Can Pay, A Debt We Refuse to Repay: Civil War Veterans in American Memory," *South Central Review* 33, no. 1 (2016): 69–83; David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion* (Harvard University Press, 2009), 397; Robert Cook, *Troubled Commemoration: The American Civil War Centennial, 1961-1965* (LSU Press, 2007).

[6] Max Grivno, *Gleanings of Freedom: Free and Slave Labor along the Mason-Dixon Line, 1790-1860* (University of Illinois Press, 2011); Clarence Lang, "Locating the Civil Rights Movement: An Essay on the Deep South, Midwest, and Border South in Black Freedom Studies," *Journal of Social History* 47, no. 2 (2013): 371–400; Russ Castronovo, "Compromised Narratives along the Border: The Mason-Dixon Line, Resistance, and Hegemony," *Border Theory: The Limits of Cultural Politics*, 1997, 195–220; Bill Ecenbarger, *Walkin' the Line: A Journey from Past to Present along the Mason-Dixon* (M. Evans, 2001).

Image 3. *A map depicting the three cities along the Mason-Dixon Line.*[7]

In this thesis, the reports of the *Indianapolis Recorder*, *Baltimore Afro-American*, *St. Louis Argus, Indianapolis Star*, *Baltimore Sun*, and *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* undergo two steps of generalization: first, that the Mason-Dixon Line is indicative for America as a whole; and second, that newspapers' reports and editorials are representative for the collective memory of the inhabitants of cities along the Mason-Dixon Line. The first generalization is arguably most problematic. Although it stands without a doubt that the Mason-Dixon Line, geographically and culturally, lies between the North and the South, this does not mean that it is always *exactly* in the middle. Nor does it mean that all cultural trends, Northern and Southern, reach St. Louis, Indianapolis, and Baltimore. Let alone the West Coast, which was not even fully part of the United States at the end of the Civil War in 1865, and defies the standard North-South dichotomy in many respects.[8] Yet, the representativeness of St. Louis, Indianapolis, and Baltimore will be put between brackets for the moment. In chapter 5, it will be discussed which types of research could confirm the validity of the conclusions of this thesis outside of the Mason-Dixon Line.

The second generalization, that newspapers' reports and editorials are representative for collective memory, has a strong basis in the literature on collective memory. Newspapers reach a broad audience, and generally publish views compatible with their audiences.[9] Moreover, newspapers tend to be long-running sources that roughly report on the same events. This makes

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[7] This map is presented in the format WGS1984, with gratitude to cartographer Sietske Tjalma.
[8] California was admitted to the Union as a state in 1850, Oregon in 1859, and Washington in 1889.
[9] Janice Hume, "Memory Matters: The Evolution of Scholarship in Collective Memory and Mass Communication," *The Review of Communication* 10, no. 3 (2010): 181–196.

systematic comparisons between various newspapers easier than, for example, comparing ego-documents, literature or paintings.[10]

Although one might expect newspapers to report on what is 'new', this is not always the case. Interestingly, sociologists Kligler-Vilenchik, Tsfati, and Meyers make the case that "While intuitively we would expect news to focus solely on the present, the past is nearly omnipresent in journalism."[11] They argue that there is, "a significant correlation between media and public memory-agenda's, one that increases during periods of heightened coverage of past events."[12] According to communications scholar Janice Hume, this is in large part the result of "anniversary journalism", the reflecting on past events at set dates.[13] Throughout this thesis, the six newspapers' reporting on such anniversaries, as Black History Week (and later Black History Month) and Civil War Memorial Day, will be studied. In addition, research has been conducted on articles published on certain crucial historical dates as, for instance, the signing into law of the Voting Rights Act on August 6, 1965, and the assassination of Martin Luther King on April 4, 1968 (see Appendix).

Yet, although the content and subject matter of the newspapers' articles provide an extraordinary wealth of insights on collective memory, it is important to note that the lack of coverage on certain topics can tell just as much.[14] Often, newspapers' positions on the past can be excavated by their silences (an example can be found in chapter 3.2). A major advantage of comparing six newspapers of different signatures in three different cities in roughly the same region is that this allows researchers to find out about which topics the specific newspapers are (relatively) silent about. Notably, the goal of selecting these six newspapers from three different cities in the same region is not to engage in an in-depth analysis of differences between these cities. Rather, a comparison of six newspapers limits the extent to which events, reporting strategies, or prejudices specific to one newspaper or city can bias the research. A last reason for choosing Indianapolis, Baltimore, and St. Louis is pragmatic, these cities host digitally available mainstream and Afro-American newspapers that most other cities don't. Below, a short introduction to the three cities and six newspapers will be provided.

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[10] For an example of collective memory research based on an analysis of art, see: Barbaranne Elizabeth Mocella Liakos, *The American Civil War and Collective Memory: Reconstructing the National Conflict in Paintings and Prints, 1869–1894* (The University of Iowa, 2009); For an example of a collective memory study through literature, see Christina Adkins' PhD project: Christina Katherine Adkins, "Slavery and the Civil War in Cultural Memory" 2014, https://dash.harvard.edu/handle/1/13070064.

[11] Neta Kligler-Vilenchik, Yariv Tsfati, and Oren Meyers, "Setting the Collective Memory Agenda: Examining Mainstream Media Influence on Individuals' Perceptions of the Past," *Memory Studies* 7, no. 4 (2014): 486.

[12] Ibid., 484.

[13] Hume, "Memory Matters," 189.

[14] Adrian Bingham, "The Digitization of Newspaper Archives: Opportunities and Challenges for Historians," *Twentieth Century British History* 21, no. 2 (2010): 225; Roberto Franzosi, "The Press as a Source of Socio-Historical Data: Issues in the Methodology of Data Collection from Newspapers," *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* 20, no. 1 (1987): 5–16.

St. Louis holds the nickname 'Gateway City', and was an important transport hub between the Mid-West and New Orleans in the 19th century. During the Civil War, St. Louis and the surrounding area held strong Confederate sympathies. However, slave-state Missouri did not secede.[15] Also in the history of civil rights, St. Louis played an important and complex role, hosting four important Supreme Court decisions: the Dred Scott decision (1857) which held that "a Negro could not be a citizen"; the Gaines case (1938), which opened the doors of the University of Missouri to Afro-Americans; the Shelley v. Kraemer case (1948), holding that courts could not enforce racial covenants on real estate; and the Jones v. Alfred H. Mayer Co. case (1968) maintaining that Congress may regulate selling private property to stop racial discrimination. These important court decisions make St. Louis "The Number One Civil Rights City" for some observers.[16]

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* is (and was) the major newspaper of the St. Louis metropolitan area, and the fifth largest newspaper in the American Mid-West. Especially before the Civil Rights Movement, the *Post-Dispatch* had little competition from the *St. Louis Argus,* the most veteran of St. Louis' African-American newspapers. Whilst the *Post-Dispatch* mostly appealed to a white audience until well into the 1970s, the *St. Louis Argus* was firmly dedicated to the advancement of black people's societal position and continually worked in that direction in its columns and advices to readers.[17] The *Argus*' rootedness in the Afro-American St. Louis community is exemplified by its returning page on "Igoe News", referring to the St. Louis Pruitt-Igoe high rises, the urban housing project infamous for its poverty and crime.[18]

During the Civil War, non-slave state Indiana was loyal to the Union, to a much larger extent than Missouri was. **Indianapolis** grew into one of the most important railway stations of the Union army. Although Indianapolis abolished segregation before *Brown v. Board* (see chapter 3), race relations were always troubled, with many Indianapolis whites attending Ku Klux Klan meetings. The mainstream *Indianapolis* Star – the city's largest newspaper – consistently renounced the Klan, as did the African-American *Indianapolis Recorder*. The *Recorder* commenced weekly publication in 1895, and is currently the oldest Indiana African-American newspaper in print. During 1950s and 60s, the *Recorder* strongly supported de-segregation, and reported on Malcolm X and the local church side-by-side.

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[15] Robert L. Dyer, *Jesse James and the Civil War in Missouri*, vol. 1 (University of Missouri Press, 2013); James W. Erwin, *Guerrillas in Civil War Missouri* (The History Press, 2012).

[16] *St Louis American*. April 18, 1968. Page: 6.

[17] Vanessa Shelton, *Interpretive Community and the Black Press: Racial Equality and Politics in" The St. Louis American" and" The St. Louis Argus", 1928–1956* (ProQuest, 2007), 172.

[18] See, for instance: *St. Louis Argus*. April 9, 1965. Katharine G. Bristol, "The Pruitt-Igoe Myth," *Journal of Architectural Education* 44, no. 3 (1991): 163–171.

Although **Baltimore** lies closer to Indianapolis than to St. Louis, the history of Baltimore during the Civil War is more similar to that of St. Louis than to that of Indianapolis. Like Missouri, Maryland was a slave state with strong Confederate sympathies which did not secede. Recently (2002-2008), Baltimore's race relations have been brilliantly portrayed by David Simon in *The Wire*, indicating that racial prejudice does not belong to the past. The *Baltimore Sun*, also portrayed in the TV series, was founded in 1837, and has strong roots in Baltimore politics. Its rival, the *Baltimore Afro-American* is the largest weekly black newspaper in Maryland. Founded in 1892 by ex-slave John Murphy sr., the *Afro-American* promoted unity amongst black Americans. The paper was hugely successful, and started branching out to thirteen other major U.S. cities.

There are numerous perspectives on American geography. Some might argue that the three cities are not part of the same region all, because Indianapolis and St. Louis would be part of the Mid-West, and Baltimore of the East Coast region. Yet, these cities clearly have influences from both the North and the South. In a 2010 discussion of Maryland, the *Sun* noted that, "Though Marylanders live just South of the Mason-Dixon Line, their attitudes and even their accents straddle that border."[19] In general, this can be said for all three cities along the Mason-Dixon Line, they straddle the border between North and South (see image 1). For more on understanding the representativeness of St. Louis, Indianapolis, and Baltimore, see chapter 5.

Table 1. *The population of the three cities between 1860 and 2010.*[20]

	St. Louis	Indianapolis	Baltimore
1860	106.773	18.611	212.418
1890	451.770	105.436	434.439
1920	772.897	314.194	733.826
1950	856.796	427.173	949.708
1980	453.805	700.807	786.741
2010	319.294	820.445	620.961

The first chapter of this thesis sets up the research to be conducted in this thesis. It begins by introducing the field of collective memory studies, it moves on to discuss the historiography of Civil War memory, and concludes with a discussion of this thesis' methodology and the newspapers under review. The second chapter provides a short history of the period 1865-1954, and details how the consensus was built that the Civil War was a morally neutral conflict between two equally honourable nations. In the third chapter, the 1954-1968 Civil Rights Movement is discussed. In this chapter, it will be demonstrated that the impact of the Civil Rights Movement on collective memory

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[19] *Baltimore Sun*. March 28, 2010. Page: A4.
[20] United States Census Bureau, see: https://www.census.gov/ (last checked on June 25, 2017).

was less manifest than according to the dominant view in the historiography. The fourth chapter deals with the changes in collective memory occurring between the death of Martin Luther King, and the recent acts of vandalism against confederate memorials. A reading of the newspapers under review indicates that it was only in this 1969-2017 period that the collective memory of the Civil War started to shift, and only around 2015 that this shift was manifest. Chapter five, the last chapter, reflects on the shifting collective memory of the American Civil War and how to study it.

Here, at the end of the introduction, it is fitting to say a few words about the social categories employed in this thesis. Throughout the thesis, the terms "black", "African-American", and "Afro-American" have been used interchangeably. All these terms are used in a neutral manner, to facilitate an analysis of the collective memory of a group that has long been segregated from white Americans. Like "white Americans" does not mean all white Americans at all times, discussions of "black Americans" do not imply that everything was the same for all black Americans. This thesis employs the broad categories of black and white Americans as analytical tools in its analysis of the trajectory of American collective memory of the Civil War.

1. How to Study the Collective Memory of the Civil War

Although memory is commonly related to an individual's lived experience, memory is not purely personal and unmediated for students of collective memory. As historian David Lowenthal argues, "memories are not ready-made reflections of the past, but eclectic, selective reconstructions based on subsequent actions and perceptions and on ever-changing codes by which we delineate, symbolize, and classify the world around us."[21] This chapter introduces the complex field of collective memory studies, and discusses how conceptualizations of collective memories have been put to use in this thesis.

1.1 An Introduction to the Field of Collective Memory Studies

Maurice Halbwachs is often held to have been the founder of collective memory studies. The French sociologist and his 1925 *The Social Frameworks of Memory* remain relevant to this day. Halbwachs viewed memory as an important form of knowledge, and ultimately the background for other forms of human thought. He offers the example that, "the notion of a judge (…) is always accompanied by the recollection of a specific magistrate whom we have known, or at least by the recollection of the judgments of society in regard to this specific magistrate."[22] Collective memories of judges are the background of an individual's perception of a specific judge; to such an extent that Halbwachs argues that, "the memory of the group realizes and manifests itself in individual memories."[23] In fact, the dividing line between individual and collective memories is so blurry for Halbwachs that he holds it to be impossible to completely "distinguish two types of observation, one exterior, the other interior."[24]

Yet, to Halbwachs, these 'group' memories are neither singular nor set in stone. An individual is simultaneously part of many, constantly shifting, groups. The family, nation, sports club, and fraternity of which an individual is a part are not stable entities. When a group's self-definition changes, its memories shift accordingly. In the process, new memories are formed and other memories, fitting the forfeited self-definition, are 'forgotten'. Lewis Coser, Halbwachs' translator and interpreter, emphasizes that, "Halbwachs was without doubt the first sociologist who stressed that our conceptions of the past are affected by the mental images we employ to solve present problems, so that collective memory is essentially a reconstruction of the past in the light of the present."[25]

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[21] David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country-Revisited* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 210.
[22] Maurice Halbwachs and Lewis A. Coser, *On Collective Memory* (University of Chicago Press, 1992), 181.
[23] Ibid., 40.
[24] Ibid., 169, 50.
[25] Ibid., 34.

As collective memories are shaped in the light of the present, discussions over memories can offer a window into understanding how groups view themselves in that present. This point is made implicitly by historians Alice Fahs and Joan Waugh in the introduction to their *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture*, when they argue that, "in any given year since 1865 individuals and social groups have sought to legitimize claims, and even to redefine what is American, by evoking selective memories of the [Civil] war."[26] Studying how groups frame memories can tell something about how they identify themselves.

However, memories are not only relevant to historians because their shifting reveals something about a group's self-definition. Memories can also form the background for political action, making and breaking individuals' relations with one another. Applying this insight to the case of the Civil Rights Movement, sociologist Larry Isaac argues that, "Memory, especially the collective variety, can serve to carry movements across time, even across generations."[27] The memories of slavery and emancipation have served to bind many black Americans together in a search for freedom and equality.

Although historians have written insightful books on the topic of collective memory, there tends to be great variation in the degree of systematism they employ in their research.[28] In general, sociologist Barry Schwartz seems to be right in holding that histories of collective memory tend to focus more on reflecting than on researching. Schwartz argues that, "analyses of commemoration go from conceptions of eras and generations to the contents of memory without showing empirically how that connection is made."[29] However, recent years have seen significant attempts to concretize memory studies and to excavate more precisely how collective memory works.

 In her *Re-framing memory*, Aleida Assmann makes one such attempt, trying to make the insights developed by Halbwachs and other sociologists more analytically applicable. Assmann divides memory into the four categories of cultural, political, social, and individual memory:

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[26] Alice Fahs and Joan Waugh, *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture* (Univ of North Carolina Press, 2005), 1.

[27] Larry Isaac, "Movement of Movements: Culture Moves in the Long Civil Rights Struggle," *Social Forces* 87, no. 1 (2008): 49.

[28] Compare, for example the methodologies of: Catherine Merridale, *Night of Stone: Death and Memory in Russia* (Granta London, 2000); Jan-Werner Müller, *Memory and Power in Post-War Europe: Studies in the Presence of the Past* (Cambridge University Press, 2002); and Barry Schwartz and Howard Schuman, "History, Commemoration, and Belief: Abraham Lincoln in American Memory, 1945-2001," *American Sociological Review* 70, no. 2 (2005): 183–203.

[29] Barry Schwartz, "Collective Memory and History: How Abraham Lincoln Became a Symbol of Racial Equality," *The Sociological Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (1997): 469–496, 471.

1. **Cultural memory** is rather broad, and relates to all that can be recaptured from the past within a given culture.[30]

2. **Political memory** is absolute, official, and institutionalized memory. Assmann states: "political memories are emplotted in a narrative that is emotionally charged and conveys a clear and invigorating message."[31] Political elites tend to frame these memories to suit their needs. As Assmann puts it, ''power desires to legitimize itself retrospectively, and to immortalize itself prospectively.''[32]

3. **Social memory** is – in contrast with both political and cultural memory – rather bottom-up than top-down. Social memory "refers to the past as experienced and communicated (or repressed) within a given society."[33] Although Assmann focusses her discussion of social memory on the memory of generations, social memory can be taken to include, for example, ethnic, class, and family memories. When the official political memory shifts, it is often under the pressure of these unofficial and embodied social memories.[34]

4. **Individual memory** mediates between personal experience, and social, political, and cultural memory. Here Assmann follows Halbwachs, and describes individual memory as "the dynamic medium for processing subjective experience and building up social identity."[35]

In Assmann's framework, memories can move up and down the ladder, with some individual memories becoming broader social memories, which can ultimately acquire the status of a political memory. When such a political memory loses ground to a new political memory, it moves to the realm of cultural memory, and remains within the grasp of what individuals can remember (see image 3). Using Assmann's theoretical framework, the central research question leading this thesis can be formulated with more precision. In Assmann's terminology, the question is *when did the political memory of the Civil War shift?*

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[30] For more, see: Aleida Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives* (Cambridge University Press, 2011).
[31] Assmann, "Re-Framing Memory," 43.
[32] Aleida Assmann, *Cultural Memory* Cambridge University Press, 2011), 128..
[33] Assmann, "Re-Framing Memory," 41.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid., 40.

Image 3: *A graphical representation of Assmann's types of memory.*

Before moving to the next paragraph, it is important to note that political memory is never as singular as implied by Assmann. All political memories have inherent tensions and ambiguities. In the political memory of the American Civil War as a morally neutral conflict between two equally honourable nations, for instance, it remains unclear (1) which side was to blame for the war, (2) whether the outcome of the war was just, and (3) why the North won the war (for instance, because of its numerical strength or because of the Northern attrition warfare). Ultimately, there are many ways in which the Civil War may have been morally neutral and honorable.

Although Assmann's *Re-framing Memory* can greatly help in analytically distinguishing one form of collective memory from the other, her framework does not allow for an easy application. In reality, there is not *one* social memory challenging *one* political memory. We live in a world of what psychologist Kenneth Gergen calls "multiphrenia", where there are multiple identities open to an individual.[36] If group identities are regarded as lenses through which events are remembered, as in Halbwachs' work, it is essential to differentiate between various social memories. Reality offers a vague mess, with all kinds of social memories competing with one another. Whilst this thesis employs Assmann's conceptual framework to distinguish various types of collective memory, it does not take theoretical rigor so far as to hold that all collective memories can be exclusively defined as one of the types discussed above.

In the paragraph below, three ideas about the shifting of the political memory of the Civil War will be discussed. It is the aim of this thesis to weigh these ideas, and to determine which of them finds most support in a reading of the six newspapers.

1.2 Three Ideas About the Shifting Collective Memory of the Civil War

The dominant analysis in historical studies on the American collective memory of the Civil War is provided by David Blight in his 2001 *Race and Reunion*. Blight explains that around 1900, "The ideological character of the war, especially the reality of Emancipation, had faded (…) The reality of

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[36] Kenneth Gergen, *The Saturated Self: Dilemmas of Identity in Contemporary Life* (Basic books, 1991).

war itself, much less its causes and consequences, remained hidden away in packaged sentiment."[37] The Southern and Northern perspectives on the war blended into the collective memory that the war was a morally neutral conflict, in which both sides were equally honorable. Blight explains that, especially during the 1911-15 Civil War semi-centennial, reconciliation of North and South, "joined arms with white supremacism".[38] When 'the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict' became the dominant political memory, black social memory was increasingly marginalized, as the moral goodness of Emancipation was central to thinking about the Civil War in black social memory. Blight's scholarly work was well received, and marked a decisive turn to more scholarly interest in the collective memory of the Civil War. As historian Matthew J. Grow argued in 2003, "The memory of the Civil War has become one of the most vibrant and contested subjects in nineteenth-century American history."[39]

In this thesis, I generally follow Blight's lead for the period 1865-1953, the political memory of the Civil War was indeed that of a morally neutral conflict (see chapter 2). However, I question the timing of the shift in the political memory of the Civil War. Perhaps, it was later than historians often assume that the dominant memory of the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict fell. Hence, a major part of this thesis will be devoted to finding out when the morality of the Civil War and its commemoration became contested in the newspapers under review.

This 'becoming contested' is a process better known as politicization, accurately described by Colin Hay in his *Why We Hate Politics*. Hay states that, "In the most simple terms, issues are politicized when they become the subject of deliberation, decision making and human agency where previously they were not."[40] Below three lines of thought about when the memory of the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict became politicized will be discussed.

According to Blight, the political memory of the Civil War became contested with the coming of the Civil Rights Movement in 1954-68. For Blight, the Civil Rights Movement was a "political revolution", that crushed "the nations racial apartheid system that had been forged out of the reunion [of the North and the South]".[41] In Blight's analysis, the Civil Rights Movement altered America's culture and domestic political power balance, and thereby politicized the (predominantly white) memory of the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict.[42]

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[37] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 217.
[38] Ibid., 397.
[39] Matthew Grow, "The Shadow of the Civil War: A Historiography of Civil War Memory," *American Nineteenth Century History* 4, no. 2 (2003): 77.
[40] This is known as type one politicization. The other types of politicization are not explicitly discussed in this thesis. Colin Hay, *Why We Hate Politics*, vol. 5 (Polity, 2007), 81.
[41] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 397.
[42] See the introduction of: David W. Blight, *American Oracle* (Harvard University Press, 2011).

Many historians have roughly followed Blight in his analysis of the Civil Rights Movement's direct impact on collective memory.[43] Historian Robert Cook, for instance, has argued that the Civil Rights Movement fundamentally altered the way the Civil War was remembered, as it made the 100-year commemoration of the Civil War appear as a "lilywhite pageant" and "a train crash waiting to happen."[44] Because the view that the Civil Rights Movement changed the collective memory of the Civil War in a direct manner is dominant in the historiography, an important part of this thesis will be dedicated to evaluating the idea that *the 1954-68 Civil Rights Movement made the political memory of the Civil War seem old-fashioned and racist.*

But, how to reconcile Blight's analysis of the Civil Rights Movement's direct impact with the fact, discussed in the introduction, that material changes to symbols of the Civil War took place much later than the 1954-68 Civil Rights Movement? Of course, it could be that politicization preceded these material changes. However, the literature on the collective memory of the Civil War has also provided another explanation.

Historian John Coski has offered one solution in his book *The Confederate Battle Flag*. Like Blight, Coski argues that the Civil Rights Movement caused a "considerable increase in African-American political strength and leverage." However, Coski argues that this leverage only truly manifested itself from the late 1980s onwards – in what he calls the second wave of the Confederate flag wars.[45] In other words, it took time for the Civil Rights Movement's gradual impact to be felt. In the literature on the remembrance of the Civil War, there is an undercurrent of support for the idea of a post-Civil Rights Movement shift in collective memory. Interestingly, sociologist Gary Gallagher has argued that (white) interest in the Civil War declined after the 1961-65 Civil War Centennial, but that this interest revived in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when enormous reenactments of the Gettysburg Battle took place, with impressive numbers as 12.000 reenactors and 140.000 spectators.[46] Journalist-historian Tony Horwitz, who traveled the South to understand its relation to the Civil War, also makes the case that important battles over memory took place much later than the 1960s. Horwitz found that, in the late 1990s, "hardly a day (…) passed without some snippet about the Civil War appearing in the newspaper: a school debate on whether to play 'Dixie' at ball games; an upcoming Civil War reenactment; a [newspaper] readers' forum about the rebel flag."[47] The work of Coski, Gallagher, and Horowitz makes studying a second idea about the shifting of

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[43] Another example is: Sandage, "A Marble House Divided."

[44] Cook, *Troubled Commemoration*; Robert Cook et al., "Historians' Forum: The American Civil War's Centennial vs. the Sesquicentennial," *Civil War History* 57, no. 4 (2011): 388.

[45] What is known today as the Confederate flag was originally the Confederate navy battle flag see: John M. Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag* (Harvard University Press, 2009), 183.

[46] Gary W. Gallagher, "Shaping Public Memory of the Civil War: Robert E. Lee, Jubal A. Early, and Douglas Southall Freeman," *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture*, 2004, 39–63.

[47] Tony Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches from the Unfinished Civil War* (Vintage, 1999), 71.

collective memory relevant to this thesis, that *the political memory of the Civil War shifted gradually, decades after the Civil Rights Movement.*

A third idea about the shifting of collective memory is found in the primary sources, rather than in the historiography. The newspapers under review point to the impact of the 2015 shooting in Charleston on Civil War remembrance (see chapter 4.3).[48] During prayer at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina, 19-year old Dylann Roof shot and killed six people, all African-American. Three days later, Roof's website *The Last Rhodesian* was discovered, hosting white supremacist views and various pictures of him posing with Confederate flags. In response to the killing, public opinion turned against Confederate symbols more strongly than ever since the 1861-65 war. When the Black Lives Matter Movement, briefly discussed in the introduction, vandalized Confederate memorials throughout America this spurred a nation-wide call to remove Confederate symbols from public places. The fact that various newspapers under review argue that specific events politicized the collective memory of the Civil War makes a third idea relevant to this thesis, that *events with little relation to longer trends in collective memory have politicized the political memory of the Civil War in recent years*.

These three ideas not only hold different mechanisms to be at play in the shifting of collective memory, they also imply a different taxation of the impact of the Civil Rights Movement. In the first idea, a rapid shift in political relations brought about a rapid change in collective memory. If it is true that power legitimizes itself retrospectively (as discussed in chapter 1.1), and if power relations altered significantly in 1954-68, a shifting perspective on the past would be a logical consequence. In the second idea, political power and collective memory are also strongly related. Yet, here the assumption is that Afro-Americans only acquired a socio-political position strong enough to challenge the political memory of the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict *after* the Civil Rights Movement. In this idea, the result of the Civil Rights Movement is not so much direct political power, as it is a better position to acquire it in later years – for instance through the integration of schools and public places. In the third idea, the impact of the Civil Rights Movement is far less clear than in the previous two ideas. Here, the Civil Rights movement not only furthered racial integration, but also met with strong resistance, known as a whitelash.[49] Indeed, the Black Lives Matter Movement frequently complained that segregation and discrimination did not belong to a passed era, despite the successes of the Civil Rights Movement and despite the 2009 election of Barack

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[48] This case is made in several mainstream newspapers under review in this thesis in their discussions of recent measures against Confederate memorials, as relocating monuments and banning Confederate car plates. see for instance: *Baltimore Sun*. July 9, 2015. Page: 7.

[49] Matthew W. Hughey, "White Backlash in the 'post-racial' United States," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37, no. 5 (2014): 721–730.

Obama.[50] If it is true that the effects of the Civil Rights Movement were diffuse, it could very well be that the integration of black social memory in mainstream political memory was diffuse as well.

In contrast with the other two ideas about the politicization of the collective memory of the Civil War, the literature on collective memory studies does not directly provide a causative mechanism for the third idea. However, does not mean that there is none. It can be put simply: events can alter collective memory by accentuating different aspects of the past than the dominant political memory does. Although this causative mechanism is not explicitly discussed, there are some leads in the literature on collective memory. As discussed in the previous paragraph, the social groups about which Halbwachs writes are not always stable entities. Especially in our age of what Gergen calls 'multiphrenia', various parts of a person's identity can be emphasized at various times. If an event can speak to one part of a person's or a group's identity rather than to another part, and if social memories and social identities are strongly related, one could expect an event to be able to activate a different group identity and thereby alter collective memory. One could argue that the event of the Charleston shooting brought a focus on how the Confederate battle flag is contemporarily used by white supremacists (rather than a focus on what it had represented to ancestors, more than a century ago). Likewise, the event of the vandalism of Confederate memorials may very well have brought a focus on the anger of Afro-Americans.

A schematic presentation of the three Ideas About the Shifting of Collective Memory, their relations to the Civil Rights Movement, and their timeframes is offered below:

Table 2. *A schematic presentation of the three ideas about the shifting of collective memory.*

#	Idea about the shifting of collective memory	Impact of the Civil Rights Movement	Timeframe
1	*The 1954-68 Civil Rights Movement made the political memory of the Civil War seem old-fashioned and racist.*	Direct	1954-1968
2	*The political memory of the Civil War shifted gradually, decades after the Civil Rights Movement.*	Indirect	1954-2017
3	*Events with little relation to longer trends in collective memory have politicized the collective memory of the Civil War in recent years*	Indirect and diffuse	2015-2017

Chapters three and four will trace the development of the political memory of the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict in the six newspapers published along the Mason-Dixon Line. For the shifting of political memory, especially the mainstream *Indianapolis Star*, *Baltimore Sun*, and *St. Louis Post-*

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[50] Russell Rickford, "Black Lives Matter Toward a Modern Practice of Mass Struggle," in *New Labor Forum*, vol. 25 (SAGE Publications, 2016), 34–42; Randall Kennedy, *The Persistence of the Color Line: Racial Politics and the Obama Presidency* (Vintage, 2011).

Dispatch are relevant, as these are used as proxies for the center of the political spectrum in America. The black newspapers, the *Indianapolis Recorder*, *Baltimore Afro* and *St. Louis Argus*, are studied because they embody black social memory. As discussed above, all ideas about the shifting of American collective memory studied in this thesis assert that, at some time, black social memory successfully challenged political memory. The difference between these three ideas is not *what* they hold to have changed in American collective memory, but rather *when* they hold collective memory to have changed. The addition of three black newspapers can arguably reveal more about the shifting of collective memory, as these newspapers can show where the change came from.

In contrast with chapter three on 1954-68 and chapter four on 1969-2017, the following chapter will not build on primary source research. Building on secondary literature, chapter two discusses the formation of the political memory that the Civil War was a morally neutral conflict in the period 1865-1954, and thereby provides essential background for studying the three ideas about the shifting of political memory.

2. How the consensus was built, 1865-1953

On April 9, 1965, general Robert E. Lee surrendered the largest Confederate army to Union lieutenant-general Ulysses S. Grant. The 1861-65 Civil War had come to an end. After the war, various social memories of the conflict competed, roughly corresponding with the political factions present in America before and during the war. As David Blight clarifies in his *Race and Reunion*, there were more memories of the war than just the Northern memory of union and victory, and the Southern memory of states' rights and defeat.[51] As early as 1865, an Afro-American social counter-memory of Emancipation the war was present in the shadows.[52] However, the fact that various social memories of the Civil War existed did not mean that all had the same weight or political relevance. Ann Lynn Heyse, historian of Civil War memory, makes clear that the relevance of memory in day-to-day life was especially high in the South, where most of the war's battles took place. Heyse makes the case that after the war, "The physical and psychological landscapes of the region were left devastated as a traditionally proud people struggled to comprehend their loss, rebuild their environments, adjust to Reconstruction and Emancipation, and restore their collective identity. To help themselves and future generations manage this crisis of defeat, many white ex-Confederates worked to keep alive memories of their Southland and its lost cause."[53] By comparison, memory was less relevant in the victorious North, where people were generally quicker to move their eyes to the future.[54] However, one could argue that the memory of the war had most impact on African-Americans, as it had brought them freedom from slavery.

This chapter discusses the 1865-1954 rise of the consensus that the Civil War was a morally neutral conflict, as well as the first challenges that this political memory faced. Notably, moral neutrality, here, does not imply that there was no morality involved in the war, rather that the morality of both warring parties was seen as equally honorable. As chapters 2.1 and 2.2 will show, this political memory of the war incorporates elements of both white Northern and white Southern social memories of the war, but excludes Afro-American social memory. Chapter 2.3 discusses attempts of activists to bring the 'forgotten' black social memory into the public sphere. These attempts are not discussed because they were successful (most were ignored), but rather because

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[51] Blight, *Race and Reunion*.

[52] David W. Blight, "For Something beyond the Battlefield': Frederick Douglass and the Struggle for the Memory of the Civil War," *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 4 (1989): 1156–1178.

[53] Amy Lynn Heyse, "The Rhetoric of Memory-Making: Lessons from the UDC's Catechisms for Children," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 38, no. 4 (2008): 408–9.

[54] This seems to be a recurring phenomenon for defeated nations, see: Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Culture of Defeat: On National Trauma, Mourning, and Recovery* (Macmillan, 2003).

they provide insight in both how dominant the political memory of the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict was, and how African-Americans sought to bypass this political memory.

2.1 Before the Consensus, 1865-89

Many Americans were quick to realize that the memory of the Civil War would play a crucial role in American culture and politics in the decades to come. Already in April 1865, the famous transcendentalist writer Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote, "the high tragic historic justice which the nation (…) should execute, will be softened and dissipated and toasted away at dinner tables."[55] In other words, Emerson feared that Northern white memory would blend all too easily with the memory of the Southern social memory, and that the moral causes of the war – as racial equality, individualism, and states' rights – would fade away in the process. Emerson turned out to be right.

In general, Southerners tried to regain some of the honor lost in defeat. For them, reconciliation was much further away than for most Northerners. To many post-Civil War Southerners, Generals Lee and Jackson were great American heroes in which the white South could take continuing pride.[56] Understandably, Edward Pollard's book *The Lost Cause* was immensely popular in this climate. Pollard effectively propagated the idea that the South was honorable, gentlemanly, and good for its slaves.[57] However, it should be recognized that the success of the *Lost Cause*'s ideas was not entirely the work of Edward Pollard. Other substantial contributors to these ideas were Confederate General and historian Jubal Early and former Confederate President Jefferson Davis, with his two-volume defense of the Confederacy titled *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*.[58] As historian Wolfgang Schivelbusch states in his *The Culture of Defeat*, "The South may have disappeared as a political entity but it lived on as a kind of national religion or community of faith for which the moment of defeat was as foundational and consecrating as the Crucifixion."[59]

By contrast, many Northerners deeply desired reconciliation. In his 1885 *Personal Memoirs of Ulysses S. Grant*, former President Grant simultaneously made the case for Northern honor and reconciliation. Grant argued that, "we are on the eve of a new era, when there is to be great

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[55] Cited in: Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 31.

[56] Gary W. Gallagher, "Shaping Public Memory of the Civil War: Robert E. Lee, Jubal A. Early, and Douglas Southall Freeman," in *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture*, ed. Alice Fahs and Joan Waugh, 2004, 42.

[57] Edward Alb Pollard, *The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates…* (EB Treat & Company, 1867).

[58] Jefferson Davis, "The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government (2 Vols., New York, 1881)," *Short History of the Confederate States of America*, 1890; Jubal Anderson Early, *War Memoirs: Autobiographical Sketch and Narrative of the War Between the States* (Indiana University Press, 1960); Charles C. Osborne, *Jubal: The Life and Times of General Jubal A. Early, CSA, Defender of the Lost Cause* (Algonquin Books, 1992).

[59] Schivelbusch, *The Culture of Defeat*, 58.

harmony between the Federal and the Confederate. I cannot stay to be a living witness to the correctness of this prophecy; but I feel it within me that it is to be so."[60] Historian Joan Waugh interprets correctly that, "As the extreme bitterness of the war years receded, another interpretation or 'truth' about the Civil War emerged. It took the least controversial elements from both perspectives [Northern and Southern] in an effort to bolster an official national ideology upon which a majority of the citizens could agree." As a result, the role of slavery in the war was all but forgotten. Waugh explains, "the idea that slavery caused the war and that the Union became a revolutionary instrument in bringing freedom to millions of slaves became an embarrassment to the South and therefore an impediment to reconciliation. As such, the African American presence before, during, and after the war was deemphasized."[61]

Many Afro-American leaders, like activist Frederick Douglass (1818-1895), generally chose to publicly romanticize Northern ideals rather than attack the growing consensus of the Civil War as morally neutral conflict head-on. Douglass argued that a just Union army freed and emancipated the slaves, instead of presenting the more self-conscious narrative of African-Americans claiming their own freedom.[62] As David Blight contends, Douglass "did sometimes imbue Union victory with an air of righteousness that skewed the facts. His insistence on the moral character of the war often neglected the complex, reluctant manner in which Emancipation became the goal of the Union war effort."[63] However, Blight convincingly interprets Douglass' moral message as more than a simple belief in the Northern cause. According to Blight, it may very well have been a smart rhetorical strategy to link the Afro-American cause for freedom and equal rights to a compatible social memory that was popular with Northern white Americans.

Ultimately, it is impossible to know the extent of Douglass' belief in the Victorious Cause. Whatever Douglass' intentions may have been, the linking of black memory to the Victorious Cause became less successful in the 1880s, as the white Northern and Southern social memories started to converge. Douglass saw the coming of the washing tide, and knew what it would mean for the position of Afro-Americans. In 1875, he prophetically asked "if war among the whites brought peace and liberty to the blacks, what will peace along the whites bring?"[64]

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[60] Ulysses Simpson Grant, *Personal Memoires* (Century Company, 1895), 779.
[61] Joan Waugh, "Ulysses S. Grant, Historian," in *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture*, ed. Alice Fahs and Joan Waugh, 2004, 22.
[62] David W. Blight, *Frederick Douglass' Civil War: Keeping Faith in Jubilee* (LSU Press, 1991).
[63] Blight, "For Something beyond the Battlefield," 1175.
[64] Frederick Douglass, *The Color Question*, July 5, 1875, in: Frederick Douglass Papers (Library of Congress), reel 15. See also: Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 132.

2.2 The Morally Neutral Conflict as a Political Memory, 1890-1917

The 1898 Spanish-American and the 1914-18 First World War served as catalysts for the reintegration of the United States after the Civil War. According to Schivelbusch, the latter was especially important, "The First World War offered both sides in the Civil War the opportunity once and for all to transfer any lingering resentments to a common enemy."[65] With these wars, the Southern acceptance of federal unity grew into patriotism. With the new peace between North and South, the growing consensus that the Civil War was a morally neutral conflict between two equally honorable armies that took shape in the 1880s became the dominant political memory in 1890-1917. Blight seems right in arguing that by the time that Americans celebrated the Civil War's semi-Centennial in 1911(-1915), reconciliation and white supremacy had pushed out Afro-American perceptions of the civil war.

Yet, it is important to note that it was not only the wars that integrated the white Northern and white Southern social memories. Tellingly, the African-American newspaper *Christian Recorder* stated on July 13, 1890 – eight years before the Spanish-American War – that "The poetry of Blue and Gray [JB: the respective army colors of the Union and Confederate armies] is much more acceptable than the song of the black and the white."[66] Black memory had been 'forgotten' years before the Spanish-American and First World War. And, as historian Patrick Kelly rightly notes, it was also years before these wars, in 1896, that the platform of the Republican Party omitted "any demand that the federal government use its military power to guarantee black suffrage in the South."[67] By doing so, Presidential candidate William McKinley shifted the Republican strategy away from racial integrationists in the North, to 'catch' all white Americans. Kelly describes this as the Republican party's "shift from a sectional [Northern] to a national strategy."[68] The effective Jim Crow segregation that followed is strangely reminiscent of a 1851 speech in which Jefferson Davis, the later President of the Confederacy, addressed Mississippi voters. Davis stated that, "The institution of negro slavery, as it now exists among us, is necessary to the equality of the white race."[69]

Facilitated by the larger political trends of national reconciliation and segregation, Northern and Southern social memories of the war integrated. However, the resulting political memory was rather a flexible framework than a rigid narrative. Within the framework of the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict, different accentuations remained possible. Especially in the South, women's

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[65] Schivelbusch, *The Culture of Defeat*, 88.
[66] *Christian Recorder*. July 13, 1890. Cited in: Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 313.
[67] Patrick J. Kelly, "The Election of 1896 and the Restructuring of Civil War Memory," in *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture*, ed. Alice Fahs and Joan Waugh, vol. 0, 2004, 181.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Davis, Jefferson. Speech at Aberdeen, Mississippi on May 26, 1851. Cited in: Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag*, 25.

memorial associations carried a version of political memory that bordered on the Southern social memory of the Lost Cause. Remarkable, in a time when women were not yet enfranchised.[70] In his *Race and Reunion*, Blight especially highlights the role of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC),

> On a popular level, they [the UDC] may have accomplished more than professional historians in laying down for decades (within families and schools) a conception of a victimized South, fighting nobly for high Constitutional principles, and defending a civilization of benevolent white masters and contented African slaves.[71]

Around the turn of the century, the UDC launched a campaign to designate *War between the States* as the official name for the Civil War. With this framing, the UDC tried to emphasize that the Southern states were sovereign, and that the Confederate attempt at secession from the Union was, therefor, legitimate (see chapter 3.1). This attempt to reframe the political memory of the war in the Southern favor stayed roughly within the boundaries of the morally neutral conflict, but it certainly portrayed the South as the more righteous party.

In contrast with the UDC and other Confederate clubs, Union organizations as the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) became increasingly non-partisan organizations after the 1880s. The GAR was rather broadly committed to "fraternity, charity, and loyalty", than to advocating an idealistic Northern social memory.[72] With Northern memorial organizations distanced from their ideological roots, it became even harder to follow Douglass' strategy of linking black to Northern social memory. Yet, as the following sub-chapter will show, several attempts were made to follow Douglass' strategy in 1918-1953.

2.3 Early Challenges of the Morally Neutral Conflict, 1918-53

By 1918, most of the war's soldiers had died. The individual lived memories of the war had passed, and more recent wars had reunited the nation. As American geopolitical stature kept rising in the interbellum and with the Second World War, the racialization of American patriotism deepened. Blight argues that, "the growing alliance between white supremacy and imperialism, had profound consequences for race relations and the nation's historical memory."[73] At the 1922 decoration of the immense Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., President Warren Harding remarked that "the states

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[70] Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (University Press of Florida, 2003); Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 255–56.
[71] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 278.
[72] Gannon, "A Debt We Never Can Pay, A Debt We Refuse to Repay," 71.
[73] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 352.

of the Southland joined sincerely in honoring him [Lincoln]."[74] The former Confederates were now portrayed as accepting the heroism of the man who waged war against them. By contrast, Afro-Americans were hardly present at the event honoring their emancipator. African-Americans had successfully been written out of the story of the Civil War.[75]

However, despite the strength of the political memory of the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict, social memories of victory and Emancipation remained. With the work of Marxist historian W.E.B. DuBois, the 'forgotten' black social memory explicitly challenged the dominant political memory. DuBois was not afraid of controversy, and argued that Northern capitalism was not much better for Afro-Americans than Southern slavery had been. In his 1935 *Black Reconstruction in America*, Du Bois regarded Reconstruction, the period between Emancipation and the retreat of Northern troops in 1877, as a shining interregnum between two racist-capitalist systems, the preceding Southern and the succeeding Northern. According to Du Bois, 1865-77 was "one of the most extraordinary experiments of Marxism that the world, before the Russian revolution, had seen (...) a dictatorship of labor."[76] Du Bois even goes as far as arguing that, after 1877, Afro-Americans indeed "moved back towards slavery."[77]

Whilst the analysis of Reconstruction as a dictatorship of labor is highly questionable, Du Bois' history of the Civil War and Reconstruction was – at the very least – an explicit attempt to bring Afro-American social memory into the political and academic debate.[78] Initially, this attempt was unsuccessful. Du Bois' insights were generally ignored by fellow historians, and black social memory remained unintegrated in political memory.[79] However, as historian Charles Martin explains, "In the years immediately following World War II, race relations in the United States began to undergo significant change. (…) The rise of the Cold War added a new ideological dimension" to race in the United States.[80] Martin seems right in arguing that, "International trends caused many American liberals and government officials to fear that the subordinate status of black Americans, especially in the Deep South, might become the Achilles heel of American foreign policy." [81]

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[74] *New York Age*. June 10, 1922. image 2.

[75] See: Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 338–81.

[76] Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America*, 358. Historian Noel Ignatiev convincingly makes the case that Du Bois is often portrayed more moderate than he was, especially when compared Eric Foner's history of Reconstruction, which is currently dominant. See: Noel Ignatiev, "' The American Blindspot': Reconstruction According to Eric Foner and WEB Du Bois," *Labour/Le Travail* 31 (1993): 243–251.

[77] Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America*, 30.

[78] William Gillette, *Retreat from Reconstruction, 1869–1879* (LSU Press, 1982).

[79] This was mostly due to the dominance of the so-called Dunning School. See: Eric Foner, *The Dunning School: Historians, Race, and the Meaning of Reconstruction* (University Press of Kentucky, 2013).

[80] Charles H. Martin, "Internationalizing 'The American Dilemma': The Civil Rights Congress and the 1951 Genocide Petition to the United Nations," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 1997, 35.

[81] Ibid., 36.

In this new political context, there seemed to be chances to make black social memory part of the national narrative.[82] Yet, most attempts did not challenge the political memory of the Civil War as radically as Du Bois had done. A major effort to bring Afro-American history to the national attention was Black History Week, established in 1926 by historian Carter G. Woodson. As we shall see later in this thesis, Black History Week – the week coinciding with Lincoln's birthday on 12 February and Frederick Douglass' birthday on 14 February – would be an important reason for black newspapers to reflect on black history. However, like Du Bois' work, Black History Week would be ignored by the majority of white Americans. In fact, the mainstream newspapers under review would only start to report on black history on a large scale after Black History Week changed into Black History Month in 1976.[83]

Especially in the context of the following chapter on the 1954-68 Civil Rights Movement, it is relevant to discuss attempts to link Afro-American protests for equal rights to the name of Abraham Lincoln. Historian Scott Sandage argues that, "Tactically, the modern civil rights movement came of age on Easter Sunday 1939," at the Marian Anderson Concert, held at the Lincoln memorial in Washington D.C. Sandage notes that it was a great musical success, with 75.000 people attending, but that that this concert semiconsciously transformed into a protest against discrimination and segregation.[84] According to Sandage, the linkage to Lincoln legitimized the protests as something thoroughly American.

> In an era obsessed with defining Americanism, activists successfully portrayed their adversary as un-American. It was a formula civil rights activists and other protesters would repeat at the Lincoln Memorial in more than one hundred big and small rallies in subsequent decades - most notably in the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom when Martin Luther King Jr. proclaimed his Dream from the steps where Marian Anderson had sung.[85]

The strategy was akin to Douglass' linking of black social memory to white Northern social memory. These African-American activists emphasized Lincoln's Emancipation of the slaves in the Civil War, rather than his goal of reuniting the states – which President Harding had emphasized at the 1922 dedication of the Washington D.C. Lincoln memorial. The activists emphasized what the North had won in the war, and called upon America to grant Afro-Americans what they earned with the Northern victory. According to Sandage, this strategy ran at least from 1939 to 1963. Hence, its results will be discussed in chapter 3.2 on the period 1961-65.

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[82] For more on Nazism and Jim Crow, see: Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Defying Dixie: The Radical Roots of Civil Rights, 1919-1950* (WW Norton & Company, 2009), 194.

[83] John Hope Franklin et al., "Black History Month: Serious Truth Telling or a Triumph in Tokenism?.," *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, 1998.

[84] Sandage, "A Marble House Divided," 136.

[85] Ibid.

The last strategy of challenging the political memory discussed in this chapter contrasts sharply with the linking of black social memory to white Northern social memory. Besides historian, W.E.B. Du Bois was also an activist. Joined by other radical activists, he accused America of the greatest crime of all, genocide. Rather than 'asking' America to grant rights earned with Emancipation, these activists downplayed the importance of the Civil War, and interpreted African-American history as one of a 300-year genocide. Three accusations of American genocide were made at the United Nations between 1947 and 1951, by the National Negro Congress (NNC), the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples (NAACP), and the Civil Rights Congress (CRC).[86] In 1947, DuBois explained the appeal to the United Nations as "a frank and earnest appeal to all the world for elemental justice against the treatment which the United States had visited upon us for three centuries."[87]

This accusation was not ignored, but interpreted as Soviet propaganda. Raphael Lemkin, inventor of the concept of genocide, argued that the accusation was a maneuver to "divert attention from the crimes of genocide committed against Etonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, and other Soviet-subjugated peoples."[88] Later, Lemkin added that American blacks had not suffered "destruction, death, and annihilation", because their numbers were, in fact, swelling.[89] Historian Charles Martin argues that – whether it was Du Bois' goal or not – Lemkin had a point in noting the international effects of the petition. Martin states that, "Soviet officials did seize upon the petition to embarrass the United States at the United Nations."[90] Although the accusation of genocide was not ignored, it is questionable whether it supported the cause of furthering Afro-American social memory. The perceived linkage with the Soviet Union arguably made Du Bois and his fellow radical activists seem unpatriotic.[91]

2.4 Chapter Conclusion

During 1918-53, the consensual political memory of the Civil War was maintained. The various Afro-American challenges had not succeeded in altering the dominant view that the Civil War was a

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[86] Mary Frances Berry, "Du Bois as Social Activist: Why We Are Not Saved," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 568, no. 1 (2000): 101; Martin, "Internationalizing 'The American Dilemma,'" 39.

[87] Martin, "Internationalizing 'The American Dilemma,'" 39.

[88] *New York Times*. December 18, 1951.

[89] *New York Times*. June 14, 1953.
According to historian John Docker, this is an odd narrowing of Lemkin's own definition of genocide. See: John Docker, "Raphael Lemkin's History of Genocide and Colonialism," *Paper for United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Washington, DC: Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies*, 2004.

[90] Martin, "Internationalizing 'The American Dilemma,'" 40.

[91] Kazuhisa Honda and others, "WEB Du Bois and the Paradox of American Democracy: A Battle for World Peace," *The Journal of Applied Sociology* 58 (2016): 93–104; Martin, "Internationalizing' The American Dilemma.'"

morally neutral conflict.[92] Roughly, the configuration of the most important social memories remained the same in 1918-53 as in 1890-1917. To simplify the spectrum, these three social memories were, (i) the **Southern Lost Cause**, in which Confederacy was formed in a lawful attempt of sovereign states to secede from a tyrannical Union. Ultimately, the South lost due to the numerical strength and the butcherly tactics of the Yankees, despite the much greater bravery of individual Southern soldiers.[93] This Southern social memory contrasted sharply with, (ii) the **Northern Victorious Cause**: The Union had justice on its side, and would not allow the spread of slavery. Northern soldiers were at least as brave as the Southerners, and they successfully squashed the 'rebellion' of the Southern states.[94] And lastly, there was (iii) the **Black Forgotten Cause**, in which Afro-Americans were not emancipated because of Northern ideals, but because of military necessity. Without the fighting strength of blacks, the Civil War would not have resulted in a Northern victory. Ultimately, blacks emancipated themselves. After the war followed not liberty, but a return to servitude. As W.E.B. DuBois states, "the slave went free; stood a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again toward slavery."[95] When the Northern troops left the South in 1877, neither Afro-Americans' liberty nor their suffrage remained.

Arguably, the main development of 1865-1953 has been the integration of the social memories of the Southern Lost Cause and the Northern Victorious Cause into the political memory of the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict. In the process, it became increasingly hard to tie black social memory to Northern Victory memory, as Frederick Douglass had tried throughout his post-war life. The political memory of the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict pushed out the Afro-American social memory of the Forgotten Cause – as it was an inherently moralizing memory about black freedom. As the position of black social memory diminished, some activists as W.E.B. DuBois started advocating a 'pure' version of the Black Forgotten Cause more fiercely; whilst others, as the protesters at the Lincoln Memorial, kept following Douglass' strategy of trying to merge the Black Forgotten Cause with the Northern Victorious Cause. Ultimately, both strategies were unsuccessful in 1865-1953.

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[92] However: For instance with the 1939 movie *Gone With the Wind*, that did much to form a new generation of Americans views on the Civil War. Or with the 1946 States' Rights Democratic Party led by Strom Thurmond, a political movement also known as the Dixiecrats. This faction of the Democratic Party was determined to protect states' rights and racial segregation. See:Kari A. Frederickson, *The Dixiecrat Revolt and the End of the Solid South, 1932-1968* (Univ of North Carolina Press, 2001).

[93] James M. McPherson, "Long-Legged Yankee Lies: The Southern Textbook Crusade," in *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture*, ed. Alice Fahs and Joan Waugh, vol. 0 (The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 68.

[94] See, for example, the earlier statements made by Gen. Grant in: Joan Waugh, "Ulysses S. Grant, Historian," *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture*, 2004, 5–38.

[95] Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America*, 30.

3. Civil War, Civil Rights, and Collective Memory in 1954-68

This chapter traces the trajectory of collective memory during the 'classical phase' of the Civil Rights Movement, beginning with the May 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision (de-segregating schools) and ending with the death of Martin Luther King in April 1968.[96] It is true that the struggle of Afro-Americans to attain civil rights began long before 1954, and continued long after 1968.[97] In the context of some research designs, it is sensible to study the Civil Rights Movement over a longer period of time. Some revisionist scholars have, for instance, included the Black Power Movement of the 1970s, and even the struggles of non-black minorities for equal rights and political power, in their interpretations of the Civil Rights Movement.[98] Yet, as it is the *classical* Civil Rights Movement that plays a crucial role in the historiography of the collective memory of the Civil War, this thesis treats the 1954-68 Civil Rights Movement in a separate chapter.

In contrast with the previous chapter, this chapter will mostly build on a reading of primary sources. Comparisons of the Afro-American newspapers (*Indianapolis Recorder*, *Baltimore Afro American*, and *St. Louis Argus*) and the mainstream newspapers (*Indianapolis Star*, *Baltimore Sun*, and *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*) will allow the evaluation of the idea that *the 1954-68 Civil Rights Movement made the political memory of the Civil War seem old-fashioned and racist.*

3.1 Confederate Symbolism in Responses to De-segregation, 1954-60

As briefly mentioned above, the famous *Brown versus Board of Education of Topeka* case is often held to have sparked the 1954-68 Civil Rights Movement. On May 17, 1954, the United States Supreme Court unanimously decided that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal", and that public schools should be racially integrated. Understandably, all Afro-American newspapers applauded both *Brown v. Board* and the Civil Rights Movement's consequent demands for de-segregation in practice.[99]

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[96] Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *The Journal of American History* 91, no. 4 (2005): 1234.

[97] Sandage, "A Marble House Divided"; Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past"; Aldon D. Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement* (Simon and Schuster, 1986); Sundiata Keita Cha-Jua and Clarence Lang, "The' Long Movement' as Vampire: Temporal and Spatial Fallacies in Recent Black Freedom Studies," *The Journal of African American History* 92, no. 2 (2007): 265–288; Peniel E. Joseph, *The Black Power Movement: Rethinking the Civil Rights-Black Power Era* (Taylor & Francis, 2006).

[98] Sonia Song-Ha Lee, *Building a Latino Civil Rights Movement: Puerto Ricans, African Americans, and the Pursuit of Racial Justice in New York City* (UNC Press Books, 2014); Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," 1254.

[99] See, for instance: *Indianapolis Recorder*. February 6, 1954. Page: 14.

Interestingly, the mainstream newspapers seemed equally positive about de-segregation. The *Indianapolis Star* noted, "The Supreme Court of the United States has unanimously asserted a vital principle of individual equality under the law in its decision outlawing segregation in public education." The *Star* stated that, "With this interpretation [JB: of the 14th Amendment to the constitution, that led to the judicial decision] we do not disagree. Segregation is morally, practically and economically evil." However, the *Star* foresaw "some grave practical consequences from this decision," as, "some Southern states are determined to prevent the introduction of mixed schools."[100] Two years later, the *Star* indeed found proof for this expectation in an article reporting that the American Institute of Public Opinion had polled that, "80 Percent of Whites in the South Oppose De-segregation."[101] The *Star*, fearing violence, argued that these angry whites should not be pressured, "deplorable as it is, ugly and unreasoning as it may appear, the violence nevertheless represents a fact as tangible as a schoolhouse itself. Pressure begets resistance."[102]

With this mounting opposition to de-segregation, the Confederate Flag found a new political meaning. James Forman Jr., a law scholar at Yale, explains that, "In 1956, for the first time in nearly a century, Georgia resurrected the Confederate symbol by changing its state flag in symbolic opposition to *Brown v. Board of Education.* South Carolina followed suit six years later."[103] Although the states along the Mason-Dixon Line did not follow in the resurrection of Confederate symbols, the *Baltimore Afro-American* did clearly see the danger of the Confederate flag,

> Nazi swastikas and yellow signs *Jews Get Out* have reappeared in Germany. They will become more numerous as the Eichmann trial continues in Israel. The Hitler anti-Jewish spirit in Germany is very much alive. The better element of the German people has not been able to kill it any more than we Americans have been able to destroy the Ku Klux Klan, the White Supremacists, and all that the Confederate Flag stands for."[104]

For the *Baltimore Afro-American* it was clear what the Confederate flag – and broader, Confederate heritage – stood for: racism and segregation. Images 4 and 5 indicate that the *Indianapolis Recorder* had similar thoughts (for the *St. Louis Argus* it remains unknown, see appendix). Reading these Afro-American newspapers, historian John Coski seems right in arguing that, "[t]he innocence of the flag ended in the wake of the 1954 *Brown* decision when students and arch-segregationists used the flag as a symbol of massive resistance to integration."[105] Yet, neither the Civil Rights Movement nor the

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[100] *Indianapolis Star*. May 18, 1954. Page: 14.
[101] *Indianapolis Star*. February 27, 1956. Page: 4.
[102] *Indianapolis Star*. September 5, 1956. Page: 15.
[103] Forman, James. "Driving Dixie Down: Removing the Confederate Flag from Southern State Capitols." *The Yale Law Journal* 101.2 (1991): 505-526, 505.
[104] *Baltimore Afro-American*. April 15, 1961. Page: 3.
[105] Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag*, 206.

black press would launch a substantial campaign against the Confederate flag in 1954-61. Arguably, the Civil Rights Movement prioritized combatting actual segregation than challenging its symbols. In effect, the Confederate flag was far from the issue it would become in later years (see chapter 4).

Images 4 and 5. *The KKK was associated with Nazism in the Indianapolis Recorder*.[106]
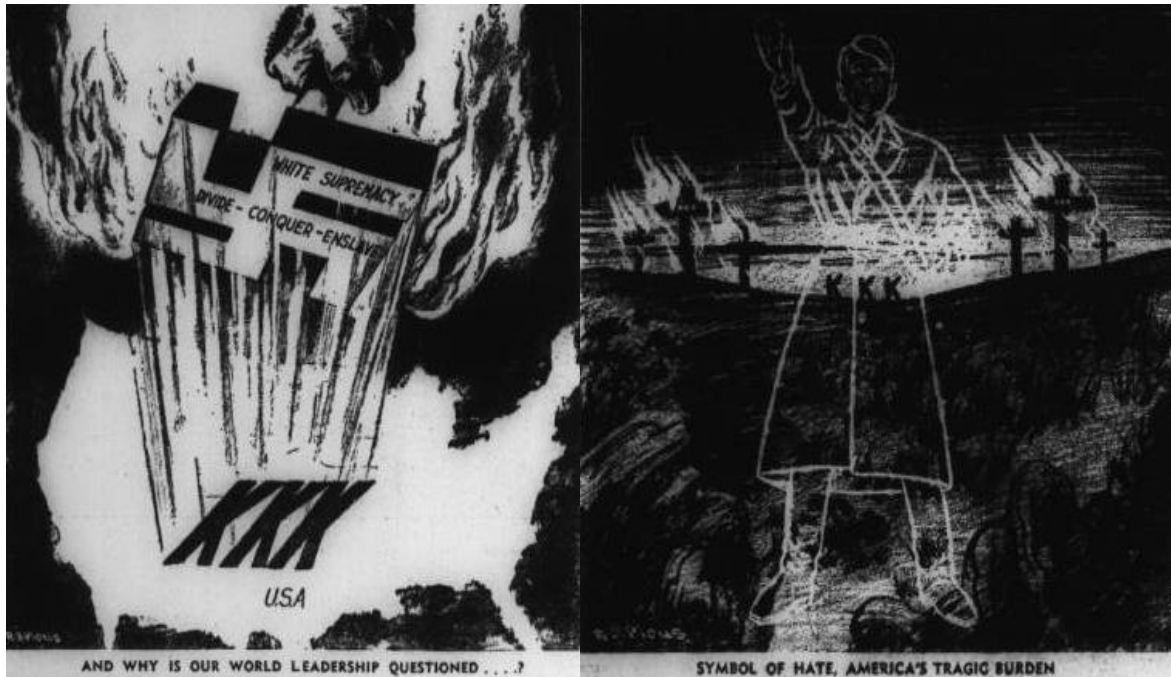
In contrast with Coski's analysis, the mainstream *Indianapolis Star* kept viewing symbols of the Confederacy as innocent. For the *Star*, references to the Civil War were part of day-to-day life. For example, the yearly North-South American football contest referencing the war was still viewed positively in the article "Powerful North Team Outplays South 14-0." In the match, "An unexpectedly powerful Yankee running attack and the constant threat of a passing offensive gave the Northern All-Stars a 14-0 victory over an outplayed Dixie squad in the Blue-Gray football game yesterday."[107] Likewise, the *Star* also saw no evil in car racers decorating their vehicles with Confederate flags (see image 6).

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[106] *Indianapolis Recorder*. May 27, 1961. Page: 10; *Indianapolis Recorder*. February 8, 1958. Page: 10.
[107] *Indianapolis Star*. December 30, 1956. Page: 38.

Image 6. *The Indianapolis Star still considered decorating a car with Confederate flags innocent.*[108]

RAPID REBEL—Frank (Rebel) Mundy points to the Confederate flags that adorn his car. Mundy, a brilliant stock car driver, is making his Indianapolis Motor Speed- way bow this year. The car is owned by John L. McDaniel. (Star Photo by Dale C. Schofner)

Yet, contrary to the casual treatment of Confederate symbols in the *Indianapolis Star,* the other two mainstream newspapers *did* support Coski's assessment that the Confederate flag was no longer regarded as innocent. In 1957, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* noted a correlation between pro-segregation protests and the presence of Confederate flags.[109] A year later, the *Baltimore Sun* reported that protesters were "carrying a Confederate flag and other anti-integration signs", thereby implying that it had the same understanding of the meaning of the Confederate flag as the black newspapers.[110]

Although they assessed the Confederate flag differently, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, *Baltimore Sun* and *Indianapolis Recorder* reported similarly on (Civil War) Memorial Day, the last Monday in May. For all three mainstream newspapers, this was an important occasion to reflect on the battles of the Civil War.[111] Although Baltimore also celebrated Confederate Memorial Day on June 6, 'National' Memorial Day attracted far more references to the Civil War.[112] In their discussions of the war, all mainstream newspapers used Civil War and the more neutral-sounding 'War Between the States' interchangeably. In July 1958, the *Baltimore Sun* explicitly discussed that, "The American

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[108] *Indianapolis Star*. May 12, 1954. Page: 27.
[109] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. September 9, 1957. Page: 2.
[110] *Baltimore Sun*. September 25, 1958. Page: 4.
[111] See, for instance: *The Baltimore Sun*. May 31, 1959. Page: 3.
[112] *Baltimore Sun*. May 30, 1959. Page: 10.

Civil War, [is] better known these days as the War Between the States."[113] The *Sun* used this designation despite previous (January 1958) letters to the editor addressing, "The awkward term War Between the States." According to one *Baltimore Sun* reader, "Civil War was the accepted usage South as well as North until the beginning of the present century" – before the UDC campaign discussed in chapter 2.[114] Yet, the *Sun* ignored this comment, and continued referencing to the Civil War as the War Between the States.

More than for the other mainstream newspapers, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*' reporting on the Civil War was a by-product of its sympathetic publishing on the activities of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Almost every action the UDC undertook was news to the *Post-Dispatch*. For example, on September 23, 1957, it published on a small regular meeting of "Two hundred delegates from the Missouri Division" of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Statler Hotel, St. Louis.[115] On November 10, 1958, the *Post-Dispatch* cited President-General Murray Forbes Wittichen, "leader of the 40.000 United Daughters", who is "Fighting – in a ladylike way of course – to preserve the memory of the men in gray." She argued that, "The men of Troy were defeated, yet they were honored (…) Napoleon was defeated but he wasn't forgotten. The Roman Empire fell, yet the name of Julius Caesar will live forever." So, "why shouldn't we keep alive the memory of the Confederacy?"[116]

An important reason for the UDC to reach the pages of the *Post-Dispatch* was the building of Confederate memorials. In 1914, it had sponsored the building of the Confederate memorial in Forest Park (see introduction); and in the early 60s it had plans to build an additional memorial in honor of General Robert E. Lee. The proposed memorial would be, "a giant memorial clock, to be erected at Main and Vine streets [St. Louis], where Lee and his family lived from 1837 to 1841."[117] The *Post-Dispatch* stated that, "St. Louisans of Southern heritage still revere the gray-clad General from Virginia. To them, he remains a brilliant military strategist who led the Confederate forces."[118] These Southern St. Louisans were part of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*' readership. Perhaps it was with them in mind that the *Post-Dispatch* viewed the UDC, General Lee, and the Confederacy in a positive light.

Criticism of the UDC hardly appeared in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* during the period 1950-61. If it did, it was in a roundabout manner. In a 1958 letter to the editor, a reader comments that,

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[113] *Baltimore Sun*. July 31, 1958. Page: 10; see also: *The Baltimore Sun*. January 26, 1958. Page: 49.
[114] *Indianapolis Star*. April 12, 1967. Page: 22.
[115] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. September 23, 1957. Page: 40.
[116] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. November 10, 1958. Page: 46.
[117] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. July 30, 1957. Page: 35.
[118] Ibid.

If a space traveler had just arrived from another planet and attended the convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy just held in St. Louis and listened carefully to some of the speeches made by some of the descendants of the old South's master race, I think he would have logically concluded that they think that this country would have been better off as a Slave Empire rather than as a Free Republic.[119]

The *Post-Dispatch* did not respond. Of the three mainstream newspapers, none published articles reflecting on the way that the UDC influenced their view on history. However, it is more remarkable that also the Afro-American newspapers did not explicitly discuss the way that history was (mis-) represented by Southern heritage groups.

When black newspapers as the *Indianapolis Recorder* and *St. Louis Argus* discussed the Civil War, their reports were consistently more positive about Afro-American achievements than negative about whites hindering these achievements; whilst the 1954-61 *Baltimore Afro* payed little attention to history at all. In both the *Recorder* and *Argus,* most discussions of the Civil War took place in the context of Black History Week (the week that included Lincoln's and Douglass' birthday, respectively 12 and 14 February). Abraham Lincoln and the Northern Victorious Cause played a prominent role in the *Indianapolis Recorder* and the *St. Louis* Argus' presentation of black history. On Civil War Memorial Day, May 24 1957, the *Argus* published that "30.000 Gather Before Lincoln's Shrine to Arouse Conscience of Nation", about remaining limits of racial integration.[120] On February 1, 1958, the *Indianapolis Recorder* stated that, "This is the Emancipation Edition of the Recorder, published annually in February to commemorate Abraham Lincoln and his Emancipation Proclamation."[121]

The mainstream newspapers also honored Lincoln; especially the *Indianapolis Star*, which frequently emphasized that Lincoln was raised in Indiana.[122] But for these mainstream newspapers, Lincoln´s claim to fame lay more in his reuniting of the nation, than in his Emancipation of slaves. The *Baltimore Sun* even made the case that, "Emancipating slaves did not become an objective until the third year of the war."[123]

Countering this type of 'criticism' of Lincoln, the *Indianapolis Recorder* stated that, "A school of thought has arisen which, from a liberal point of view, criticizes Lincoln as a politician who gingerly issued the Emancipation Proclamation from motives of expediency rather than principle." The *Recorder* firmly dismissed this notion, stating that "There was no one in the United States, unless it be the slaves and other Negroes, who hated slavery more than Lincoln."[124] The *Recorder* hoped that the integration of schools would spread its views about Lincoln and Afro-American history.

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[119] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. November 19, 1958. Page: 39.

[120] *St Louis Argus.* May 24, 1957. Page: 1.

[121] *Indianapolis Recorder*. February 8, 1958. Page: 1.

[122] *Indianapolis Star*. September 6, 1959. Page: 100; see: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. February 8, 1959. Page: 35.

[123] *Baltimore Sun*. May 30, 1993. Page: 2.

[124] *Indianapolis Recorder*. February 13, 1954. Page: 10.

Interestingly, The *Recorder* stated that white children "have just as much, if not more, to gain from a study of Negro History. Knowledge of Negro Americans' achievements is one of the surest ways of preventing the growth of prejudice."[125]

However, despite the hopes the *Indianapolis Recorder* had of black history, the divide between the Afro-American and mainstream newspapers would not be bridged in 1954-61. The Afro-American newspapers advocated the Northern Victorious Cause, with Lincoln as the main emancipator; whilst the reports of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the *Indianapolis Star*, and the *Baltimore Sun*, showed little reflection on Emancipation and other ideological origins of the Civil War. Although they did not explicitly call it that, the Civil War was still a morally neutral conflict in the mainstream newspapers.

3.2 An Attempt to Calm the Nation, 1961-65

As the first year of the Civil War Centennial, 1961 plays a crucial role in the historiography of American collective memory. In an America divided over the consequences of *Brown v. Board* and the Civil Rights Movement, the national Civil War Centennial Commission had high hopes. According to Blight it attempted to use the Centennial to calm the nation by promoting the political memory of the Civil War as a conflict between two equally honorable nations.[126] Historians Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin go much further, and provocatively state that,

> The Centennial Commission preferred to present the Civil War as, in essence, a kind of colorful and good-natured regional athletic rivalry between two groups of freedom-loving white Americans (…) The commission's brochure 'Facts About the Civil War' described the respective military forces of the Union and the Confederacy in 1861 as the *starting line-ups*.[127]

When the long-awaited Centennial started, everything Civil War-related was news to the mainstream *Baltimore Sun* and *Indianapolis Star*. The *Baltimore Sun* reported enthusiastically that, "The official Civil War Medal has just been released to coin departments of department stores and coin dealers around the country." The coin featured bust portraits of U.S. Grant and Robert E. Lee on the obverse, with brotherly sayings as *Let Us Have Peace*, and *Consciousness of Duty Faithfully Performed*.[128] The African-American newspapers were less enthusiastic about the political memory of the Civil War as

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[125] *Indianapolis Recorder*. February 6, 1954. Page: 14.
[126] Blight, *American Oracle*, 12.
[127] Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin, *America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s* (Oxford University Press, 1999), 1.
[128] *Indianapolis Star*. June 4, 1961. Page: 62.

symbolized in such memorabilia, and did not report on the Civil War Centennial Commission and its new commemorative coins and stamps as much as the mainstream newspapers.

With the *Baltimore Sun* and *Indianapolis Star* positive about the Civil War Centennial, and the black papers generally ignoring it, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* was the only paper that frequently criticized the Centennial Commission. Its main critique was that references to the Civil War should not be used lightly. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* complained that under the chairmanship of Ulysses S. Grant III (the grandson of the famous Civil War general), the Civil War Centennial underwent "crude commercialization (…) degenerating into a series of tawdry mock-battles [Civil War reenactments], conceived as Southern tourist attractions." The *Post-Dispatch* had even found vulgar memorabilia as "Robert E. Lee buckles and Stonewall Jackson ashtrays."[129]

However, this criticism was nothing compared to the pressure on the Civil War Centennial Commission that was to come. Where the Civil Rights Movement and the political memory of the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict existed side-by-side without colliding in 1954-60, the two clashed in 1961. As historian Jon Wiener states, during the Centennial "Civil War commemoration became a political battlefield."[130] Matters came to a head over a centennial commission meeting in South Carolina. Ultimately, this meeting would lead to the resignation of the committee's leaders Karl Betts and General Ulysses Grant III.[131] However, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and the *Baltimore Afro-American* would disagree over how this fall came about.

Despite the *Post-Dispatch*' criticism of the Commission, it remained silent about a major reason of Grant III's removal. The *Post-Dispatch* only reported that New Jersey delegates to the National Civil War Centennial Commission have "called for removal of the chairman, Gen. Ulysses S. Grant III, for sponsoring a Southern speaker" who had insulted the New Jersey delegation; and that the New Jersey delegation included an Afro-American member who "caused President Kennedy to order national sessions held at the integrated naval base."[132] Remarkably, the *Post-Dispatch* failed to report that the centennial commission meeting was not an 'integrated' meeting, and that the black member was not allowed to attend the meeting in South Carolina on racial grounds.

A reading of the *Baltimore Afro* shows that, nudged by Civil Rights protests, President Kennedy ordered the meeting to be relocated to the integrated military base; and that Kennedy ordered the Civil War Centennial Commission's leadership to be replaced. The furious *Baltimore Afro* took a very different tone than the *Post-Dispatch*, and noted that, "General Grant [III], as chairman of the Civil War Commission, seems to have forgotten what the bloodiest history was all about." Here,

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[129] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. August 6, 1961. Page: 79.
[130] Jon Wiener, "Civil War, Cold War, Civil Rights: The Civil War Centennial in Context, 1960-1965," *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture*, 2004, 237.
[131] Cook et al., "Historians' Forum."
[132] *St Louis Post-Dispatch.* April 12, 1961. Page: 29.

the *Baltimore Afro* clearly attacked the notion that the Civil War was a morally neutral conflict – a scarce exception of Afro-American newspapers' general ignoring of the centennial.

The new commission, under the leadership of historian Allan Nevins, had to maintain the calm. When chairman Grant III was replaced, the *Post-Dispatch* applauded this decision, and stated that it could help in restoring the centennial to "a befitting dignity." The *Post-Dispatch* argued that "It is to the credit of President Kennedy that he named Prof. Nevins to the commission, thus showing sensitivity to the nation's deepest tragedy." The paper applauds Nevins because he had, "indicated that, so far as this official body [Nevins' Centennial Commission] is concerned, there will be no huckstering of Confederate flags and souvenirs."[133] However, although the new commission leadership could calm the *Post-Dispatch'* criticism of vulgarization, it could not keep the Civil Rights Movement from having an impact on the Civil War Centennial.

Although it was not officially related to the Civil War Centennial, Martin Luther King's August 28, 1963 speech – given in front of the Lincoln memorial in Washington – may well have been the most important of the whole Centennial. The three Afro-American newspapers certainly thought so, printing the full speech. The speech, following the March on Washington, was full of references to Emancipation, slavery, and Lincoln. In King's view of black history, Emancipation was by far the most important event,

> It [Emancipation] came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of captivity. But one hundred years later, the Negro is still not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on an island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languishing in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land.[134]

King argued that although Lincoln freed the slaves, and that America had failed to live up to its promise of actually granting that freedom; in this sense, King's argument is very similar to the argument made by protesters at the Lincoln memorial in 1939 discussed in chapter 2.3.[135] However, like the previous Lincoln memorial protests, King's speech did not alter mainstream America's perception that the Civil War was a morally neutral conflict. Rather than hearing the pain of black history, the mainstream newspapers reported on King's optimistic dream, and the famous lines, "I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood."[136] As seen in

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[133] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. August 6, 1961. Page: 79.
[134] Speech King. Baltimore Afro-American. August 31, 1963. Page: 1, 24.
[135] See also: Sandage, "A Marble House Divided."
[136] See: *Baltimore Afro-American*. August 31, 1963. Page: 1, 24.

chapter 3.1, the mainstream newspapers could agree with such dreams of integration. Consequently, the more optimistic elements of King's speech that would be remembered by the mainstream newspapers, rather than the parts critical of black history.[137]

This is not to say that King and other Civil Rights Activists had no impact on collective memory during the Civil War centennial. Following King's speech, the Afro-American newspapers started to publish on black history more frequently. The *St. Louis Argus*, for instance, increased its publishing on the "Heroes of Emancipation", including David Walker, Benjamin Banneker, and Nat Turner.[138] Later, these articles would even grow into the recurring column titled "Highlights of Negro History".[139] Like Martin Luther King, the *Argus* held that the anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation was the most important moment in the centennial, by far. The *Argus* makes the case that "This historic occasion [the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation] provides an unique opportunity to project to the world the true image of the Negro and to establish forever the TRUTH regarding heritage and contributions to America's independence and prosperity."[140] What exactly this 'truth' is, is unknown. However, the *Argus* clarifies some of its views on history in its report on "15 points of progress" for the black race. Aside from the official Emancipation itself, this list also notes the "Founding of the National Urban League Movement with its constructive health, welfare, and economic racial services." Interestingly, this decision meant the "start of *interracial* cooperation and teamwork in social work."[141]

The fall of the centennial commission and the increased attention for Emancipation and integration in 1961-65 black newspapers could potentially point to the politicization of the political memory of the Civil War. However, the mainstream newspapers kept ignoring Afro-American (and interracial) history. At least at face value, they remained unaffected by the views prevalent in the black newspapers, such as that slavery was the most important consequence of the Civil War and that integration was the most important political issue of 1960s America. A striking example is the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*'s "Special Progress Section; St. Louis, Today and Tomorrow", a progress-list that compares starkly to that published in the *St. Louis Argus*. In its list, the *Post-Dispatch* discussed progress of all kinds, including those in industry and urban development. However, (inter-)racial relations are absent – despite *Brown v. Board*, and despite the Civil Rights Movement.[142] The *St. Louis*

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[137] For more on the de-politicization of King's speeches, see: David Howard-Pitney, Martin Luther King, and X. Malcolm, *Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, and the Civil Rights Struggle of the 1950s and 1960s: A Brief History with Documents* (Bedford/St. Martin's, 2004).

[138] *St Louis Argus*. April 26, 1963. Page: 9B, 7B.

[139] *St Louis Argus.* December 22, 1967. Page: 2B.

[140] *St Louis Argus*. April 14, 1961. Page: 4B.

[141] *St. Louis Argus*. January 4, 1963. Page: 2B.

[142] *St Louis Post-Dispatch.* May 7,1961. Special Progress Section; St. Louis, Today and Tomorrow.

Post-Dispatch was still essentially a white newspaper, not the mainstream paper it would become in 1968-2017 (see chapter 4). The same can be said for the *Indianapolis Star* and the *Baltimore Sun*.

When the tumultuous Civil War Centennial ended, a bronze plaque was placed in Baltimore. The mainstream *Baltimore Sun* reported that, "The dedication by the Governor and the unveiling of the plaque by Miss Ruby Duval, past president of the Daughters of the Confederacy of Maryland, will mark the final state-wide ceremony to the Civil War Centennial observance."[143] With the placing of this plaque the centennial ended, but much in the collective memory of the Civil War remained the same. The mainstream newspapers still reported frequently on the UDC, and still paid little attention to black social memory of the Civil War.

The analysis made by historian Robert Cook, that the centennial "served mostly to highlight how deep the sectional and racial scars remained a hundred years after the war" seems justified.[144] The centennial certainly did not calm the nation. However, the claim that the Civil Rights Movement fundamentally altered the way that the Civil War was remembered, and that it made the Centennial appear as a "lilywhite pageant" and "a train crash waiting to happen" does not find a basis in this thesis' reading of the *Indianapolis Star*, *Baltimore Sun*, and *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.[145] Despite the fact that the Centennial Commission's leadership was replaced, the notion that the Civil War was a morally neutral conflict remained the dominant view in the mainstream newspapers. By contrast, black newspapers mostly ignored the Centennial. The *Baltimore Afro-American*'s lashing out at Grant III's centennial committee in 1961 is a notable exception. But, also the *Afro* did not fundamentally challenge the political memory of the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict after Nevins took control of the commission.

Although the Civil War centennial would seem an excellent chance for the Civil Rights Movement to politicize collective memory, it hardly did so in a manifest way. To be sure, Civil Rights Activists' calls for integration played an important part in the removal of Grant III, and Martin Luther King's *I Have a Dream* speech provided a new impulse for Afro-American newspapers to write about Emancipation. But the 1961-65 Civil Rights Movement did not launch an all-out attack on Confederate heritage as the Black Lives Matter Movement would in 2015. Arguably, the Civil Rights Movement aimed to use the political leverage it had for more concrete achievements, such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.[146] Chapter five, at the end of this thesis,

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[143] *Baltimore Sun*. October 4, 1964. Page: 159.

[144] Cook et al., "Historians' Forum," 390.

[145] Ibid., 388.

[146] Kenneth T. Andrews, "The Impacts of Social Movements on the Political Process: The Civil Rights Movement and Black Electoral Politics in Mississippi," *American Sociological Review*, 1997, 800–819; Aldon D. Morris, "A Retrospective on the Civil Rights Movement: Political and Intellectual Landmarks," *Annual Review of Sociology* 25, no. 1 (1999): 527.

will reflect on differences between the political climates in which the Civil Rights Movement operated in 1965 and the Black Lives Matter Movement operated in 2015.

3.3 Diverging Social Memories, 1966-68

In 1966, Stokely Carmichael (later called Kwame Ture) popularized the term *Black Power*, a term that would impact the reporting of all six newspapers under review.[147] In some ways, the following Black Power Movement was a continuation of the Civil Rights Movement. Also because, as historian Clarence Lang argued, "Civil Rights and Black Power drew adherents from similar, overlapping constituencies."[148] Maybe historian Peniel Joseph put it better, when he argued that, "although occupying different branches, both civil rights and Black Power grew on the same historical family tree [which Joseph calls the Black Freedom Movement]."[149] Under influence of the Black Power Movement – that coexisted with the last phase of the classical Civil Rights Movement – the black newspapers would increasingly move towards the social memory of the Afro-American Forgotten Cause.

The *Baltimore Afro* was decidedly positive about the racial pride that accompanied Black Power. The *Afro* admiringly described a common street scene, "you see a sister walking down the street, her head proudly back, her natural hairstyle shaped neatly, her whole mental and physical attitude saying, *it's beautiful to be black*." Yet, in the same article, the *Baltimore Afro* also noted that, "It was an emotionally difficult act then for a young woman to stop straightening her hair and let remain in kinky curls. She had to defy her parents, her middle-class upbringing, her co-workers or co-students and throw aside the previous standards by which she judged her own beauty."[150]

The mainstream *Baltimore Sun* had an entirely different opinion, holding that Black Power was "sophomoric revolt against reason."[151] Like the *Sun*, the mainstream *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* was also strongly opposed to the Black Power Movement. It complained that in the army, "the demeanor of many younger, black soldiers is far more black than it is military. (…) The Afro hairstyle, on which the military has long equivocated is invariably worn by the younger men." In response, whites were speaking "more freely of their dislike for blacks." As a logical consequence of black people's

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[147] Kwame Ture, Charles V. Hamilton, and Stokely Carmichael, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America: With New Afterwords by the Authors* (Vintage Books, 1992).
[148] Clarence Lang, "Between Civil Rights and Black Power in the Gateway City: The Action Committee to Improve Opportunities for Negroes (Action), 1964-75," *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 3 (2004): 725–754.
[149] Peniel E. Joseph, "Rethinking the Black Power Era," *The Journal of Southern History* 75, no. 3 (2009): 715.
[150] *Baltimore Afro-American*. January 4, 1969. Page: 4.
[151] *Baltimore Sun*. July 26, 1967. Page: 12.

adherence to the Black Power Movement, "the Confederate flag is prominently displayed in the window of the military police headquarters."[152]

Although the political symbolism of the Confederate flag was already noted by the *Post-Dispatch* in 1954-68, its waving was now seen as a normal response to non-conformism of Afro-Americans. Interestingly, the black *St. Louis Argus* shared some of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch'* reservations about Black Power.[153] In an editorial, it noted that there were two groups with the intention to "burn America down". Arguably, both these groups were formed in response to the Civil Rights Movement, the first holding that it did not go far enough, the second that it went much too far. "The one group is the 'Black Revolutionary' group, and isn't it high time we no longer referred to them as a 'Civil Rights' type of Movement." And the other were the Confederate flag waving segregationists, "Their answer to law and order in the streets is to summarily deal out 'justice' to all blacks with the working end of the weapon."[154] Arguably, this second group is part of the white backlash (or whitelash) that followed the 1954-68 Civil Rights Movement (see chapter 4).

The black newspapers clearly disagreed in their assessment of Black Power, but during 1965-68 they increasingly met in their prioritization of black history, which was an important source of pride. Ignoring its own previous neglect of history, the *Afro* stated that,

> By and large, white historians and the nations' educational systems have ignored the colored man's contribution and significance to the development of the world's richest and most powerful country. This tragic omission aimed at accomplishing two ignoble things: 1) making it easier to oppress a minority group stripped of knowledge and pride in itself and, 2) making it easier to sell to members of the majority group the lie about colored people being inferior.[155]

Unlike the other black newspapers, the *Baltimore Afro* did not award Lincoln a starring role in its presentation of black history. Douglass was the most important figure in black history according to the *Baltimore Afro*. The *Afro*, for instance, stated that, "when we think of February birthdays, our thoughts go immediately to Frederick Douglass."[156] As will be discussed in the following chapter, this insight would be increasingly shared by the other black newspapers in 1968-2017.

If a major challenge of the political memory of the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict occurred in 1965-68, it was after the death of Martin Luther King in April 1968. The *Baltimore Afro-American* spoke of the "Nation's Blackest Hour."[157] The *Indianapolis Recorder* took a similar tone, and

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[152] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. November 24, 1970. Page: 16.
[153] The Argus was bit more positive. See: *St Louis Argus*. 23 June, 1967: 12.
[154] *St Louis Argus*. January 5, 1968. Page: 1; see also: *St Louis Argus*. 23 June, 1967: 12.
[155] *Baltimore Afro-American*. February 11, 1969. Page: 4.
[156] *Baltimore Afro-American*. February 15, 1969. Page: 4.
[157] *Baltimore Afro-American*. April 6, 1968. Page: 3.

headlined "Dr. King Apostle of Our Times Passes."[158] A front-page *Recorder* editorial wondered, "is any black leader of any philosophical persuasion safe in America?"[159] But it was arguably the *Argus* that was most bitter. Placing King's death in a bitter historical context, it stated that "one of the most important factors that must have some bearing on the situation is the over 300 years of there being an 'open' season on Negroes. His [King's] life has meant very little in the eyes of the Caucasians, and his death even less. Whether it has been North or South, the Negro has been murdered and maimed at will."[160] Whilst King had always tried to emphasize the promises of freedom made with Emancipation during the Civil War, the *St. Louis Argus* now saw three hundred years of darkness between the Afro-American slaves' arrival in America and the present – as Du Bois and his fellow genocide accusers had done in their 1947 genocide petition.

Although the mainstream newspapers also grieved over King's death, it did not make them rethink their view of history.[161] The *Indianapolis Star* still tried to de-politicize the Confederate flag, making the case that Southerners (in this case from Alabama), had no racial-political intentions in flying the flag. The *Star* noted that, "Alabamians can't for the life of them understand why all the fuss about the Confederate flag flying with the state flag over their capital, which was the first capitol of the Confederacy. They regard the banner as a proud bit of heraldry no more dangerous than the moldy old canons on the lawn below – and resent anyone questioning their patriotism on account of their reverence for it."[162] However, although these symbols of the Confederacy were to be respected according to the mainstream newspapers, even the *Indianapolis Star* opposed using them lightly in political protests (a position that the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and *Baltimore Sun* already had in 1951-61). The *Star* complained that, "the Confederate flag was flown in Mississippi by mobs and defiant groups in the towns where murder, dynamiting, and physical assaults were commonplace."[163] And continued to argue, "that a flag, carried in honor and honorably lowered at the end of the Civil War, should now be appropriated by persons committed to lawless crimes is one of the melancholy stories of our time."[164] For all 1966-68 mainstream newspapers, the Confederate flag was still to be respected when presented outside of racial-political contexts. As the *Post-Dispatch* put it, both Union and Confederate commemoration were still "an agency for reconciliation."[165]

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[158] *Indianapolis Recorder*. April 13, 1968. Page: 1.
[159] Ibid.
[160] *St Louis Argus.* April 19, 1968. Page: 12.
[161] *Indianapolis Star*. April 6, 1968. Page: 1; *Baltimore Sun*. April 5, 1968. Page 1 and 6.
[162] *Indianapolis Star*. May 16, 1965. Page: 33.
[163] *Indianapolis Star*. July 25, 1965. Page: 27.
[164] Ibid.
[165] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch.* May 27, 1969. Page: 63.

3.4 Chapter Conclusion

Also in 1966-68, the collective memory of the Civil War was not politicized in the mainstream newspapers. Although black newspapers started to move towards the social memory of the Black Forgotten Cause, especially after the death of Martin Luther King, the mainstream newspapers did not follow this lead. Although the Civil Rights Movement may have produced important steps in the direction of de-segregation, it did not directly lead to an integration of memories. Throughout 1954-68, the mainstream newspapers remained committed to the political memory of the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict, did not criticize the Southern Lost Cause, and paid virtually no attention to the social memory of the Black Forgotten Cause. It would only be after 1976, that the mainstream newspapers explicitly paid attention to black history (see chapter 4).

4. The Decline and Fall of Political Memory, 1969-2017

Whilst the previous chapter has concluded that it is highly doubtable that the Civil Rights Movement has altered the political memory of the Civil War in a direct manner, it may still have played a crucial role by laying the groundwork for a gradual change in later years. If political memory declined manifestly throughout 1969-2017, this would support the idea that *the political memory of the Civil War shifted gradually, decades after the Civil Rights Movement.* However, if there is no such trend, and if the assumed disintegration of political memory was the result of events independent of long-term developments, this would support the idea that *events with little relation to longer trends in collective memory have politicized the collective memory of the Civil War in recent years*.

To set the stage for analyzing these lines of thought about the shifting of collective memory, this chapter will start with an overview of the years 1969-1980, following Martin Luther King's death. Then, an analysis of the period 1981-2010 is provided, when Civil War reenactments became increasingly popular. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the 2011-15 sesquicentennial and events in the period 2015-2017. Chapter 4 builds on five newspapers instead of six, as it has not been possible to access the 1969-2017 *St. Louis Argus*. The *Baltimore Afro* has been studied until 2003, the *Indianapolis Recorder* until 2014, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* until 2017, the *Baltimore Sun* until 2017, and the *Indianapolis Star* until 2017 (all for reasons of availability, see appendix).

4.1 The Civil War in an Era of Colorblindness, 1969-80

After the death of Martin Luther King came what historian Jacqueline Dowd Hall calls the long backlash of the New Right, otherwise known as the white backlash or whitelash.[166] Hall argues that "the architects of the New Right" were "an alliance of corporate power brokers, old-style conservative intellectuals, and neoconservatives (disillusioned liberals and socialists turned Cold War hawks)."[167] According to Hall, "The Old Right, North and South, had been on the wrong side of the revolution, opposing the civil rights movement and reviling its leaders in the name of property rights, states' rights, anticommunism, and the God-given, biological inferiority of blacks. Largely moribund by the 1960s, the conservative movement reinvented itself in the 1970s." They did so, "first by incorporating neoconservatives who eschewed old-fashioned racism and then by embracing an ideal of formal equality, focusing on blacks' ostensible failings, and positioning itself as the true inheritor of the civil rights legacy."[168] Hall argues that the great "trick" of these New Rightists was that, "they

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[166] Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," 1239.
[167] Ibid., 1237.
[168] Ibid.

insisted that color blindness—defined as the elimination of racial classifications and the establishment of formal equality before the law—was the movement's singular objective, the principle for which King and the *Brown* decision, in particular, stood."[169] Despite this attempt to depoliticize the legacy of the Civil Rights Movement, many African-Americans, Latinos, and pro-integration whites kept calling for de-segregation and affirmative action in 1969-80.[170]

However, Hall convincingly interprets the New Right's reframing of the Civil Rights Movement as symbolic for racial politics in the 1970s.[171] In the new 'colorless' paradigm of racial politics, African-Americans were increasingly held responsible for their own successes and failures. Now that the legal playing field was supposedly levelled, differences in degrees of socio-economic success were to be explained without referring to discrimination.[172] An example is a notorious book titled *The Bell Curve,* in which Charles Murray and Richard Hernstein attempt to explain variation in socio-economic success by referring to intelligence.[173] In an interview, Murray explains differences in affluence by pointing to, "a mean difference in black and white scores on mental tests, historically about one standard deviation in magnitude on IQ tests [or 15 IQ points]." For Murray, "This difference is not the result of test bias, but reflects differences in cognitive functioning."[174] Ironically, the 1970s were simultaneously characterized by the beginning of actual racial integration and the neglect of continued discrimination – which was in many respects the same as ever.[175]

In the 1970s, the mainstream newspapers increasingly became multi-racial, hiring African-American, Hispanic, and Asian journalists, rather than sticking to an (almost) exclusively white body of journalists as in 1954-68. Ironically, the *Indianapolis Recorder* would later complain that the African-American press lost much of its talent to mainstream media when integration opened newsrooms of mainstream media.[176] Arguably, the integration of the newsroom brought the integration of historical perspectives to the mainstream newspapers. Afro-American journalists, columnists, and editors brought an interest in black history with them to their new employers, thereby altering their reporting. When Black History Week was transformed into Black History Month

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[169] Ibid.

[170] Christopher F. Edley, *Not All Black and White: Affirmative Action, Race, and American Values* (Macmillan, 1998); Lee, *Building a Latino Civil Rights Movement*; Jeanne Theoharis and Komozi Woodard, *Freedom North: Black Freedom Struggles Outside the South, 1940-1980* (Springer, 2016).

[171] Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," 1234.

[172] Ibid.

[173] Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray, *Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life* (Simon and Schuster, 2010).

[174] Interview Charles Murray on October 16, conducted by the American Enterprise Institute. http://www.aei.org/publication/bell-curve-20-years-later-qa-charles-murray/ (last accessed on June 28, 2017.

[175] For an analysis of racial politics in the seventies, see: Charles L. Ponce de Leon, "How Pivotal Were the Seventies?," *Reviews in American History* 40, no. 1 (2012): 128–138.

[176] *Indianapolis Recorder*. January 27, 1990. Page: 20. However, some columnists published their columns in multiple papers, as Roy Wilkins, the former director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People: see, *Indianapolis Star*. May 14, 1979. Page: 15.

in 1976, mainstream newspapers started reporting on the commemorative occasion. Historian Alfred Young argues that Black History Month's primary purpose was: "to instill within Afro-Americans a sense of pride and accomplishment and to inform the general public of Black America's glorious past."[177] This would assumedly be easier in a month than in a week. The change from Black History Week to Month seemed successful. The mainstream *Indianapolis Star*, for example, noted that, "for both black and white Americans, black history provides an interpretation of present events and a mandate for future actions."[178]

Also black newspapers applauded the decision to transform Black History Week into Black History Month, as one week was considered far too short for the topic.[179] The *Baltimore Afro* now presented Emancipation and Lincoln's role in it, as follows: "The slave trade begun in Europe, was then brought to the New World where it became a way of life until that historic day when Abraham Lincoln knee-deep in a Civil War, signed the now-famous Emancipation Proclamation."[180] The *Indianapolis Recorder* awarded Lincoln a more flattering role. Interestingly, the *Recorder* still focused its entire presentation of black history on Lincoln's Emancipation of the black race.[181]

Besides the long period of enslavement and the glorious moment of Emancipation, Afro-American newspapers also found a new focal point for discussions of black history in 1968-80. Shortly after King's death, Civil Rights Movement memorialization took off.[182] This became an important part of the Black History Month. The *Baltimore Afro-American* reprinted the entirety of King's 1963 "I Have a Dream" speech in 1975.[183] Later, in 1990, the *Indianapolis Recorder* even dedicated the entire Black History Month to King.[184]

As in 1965-68, the black newspapers did not explicitly challenge the mainstream newspapers depiction of the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict. Although 1969-80 were years in which the Black Power Movement and the Black Panthers flourished, their provocative attitude was hardly reflected in the black newspapers under review. However, the Afro-American newspapers did increasingly offer a presentation of black history that bordered on the Black Forgotten Memory, discussed in chapter 2.4. More and more, slavery overtook Emancipation as the prime point of focus in black history.

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[177] Alfred Young, "The Historical Origin and Significance of National Afro-American (Black) History Month Observance," *Negro History Bulletin* 43, no. 1 (1980): 7.

[178] *Indianapolis Star*. February 25, 1979. Page: 50. See also: *Indianapolis Star*. February 3, 1979. Page: 11.

[179] *Baltimore Afro-American*. February 10, 1976. Page: 19.

[180] *Baltimore Afro-American*. January 4, 1975. Page: 23.

[181] *Indianapolis Recorder*. Section 2. February 14, 1970. Page: 1.

[182] Derek H. Alderman, "Street Names and the Scaling of Memory: The Politics of Commemorating Martin Luther King, Jr within the African American Community," *Area* 35, no. 2 (2003): 164.

[183] *Baltimore Afro-American*. January 4, 1975. Page: 15.

[184] *Indianapolis Recorder*. Black History Month Segment. January 27, 1990. Page: 1.

If a significant change in the reporting of the mainstream newspapers along the Mason-Dixon Line occurred, it was in the frequency of reporting, rather than in its tone or content. As the graph below shows, the mainstream newspapers reported far less on the Civil War after 1954-68 (for more on quantifying the newspaper reports, see appendix). This arguably had much to do with the end of Civil War centennial, which had brought newspapers to publish more – and more explicitly – on the war than they regularly did.

Graph 1. *Trends in mainstream newspaper reporting on the Civil War, 1951-85.*[185]
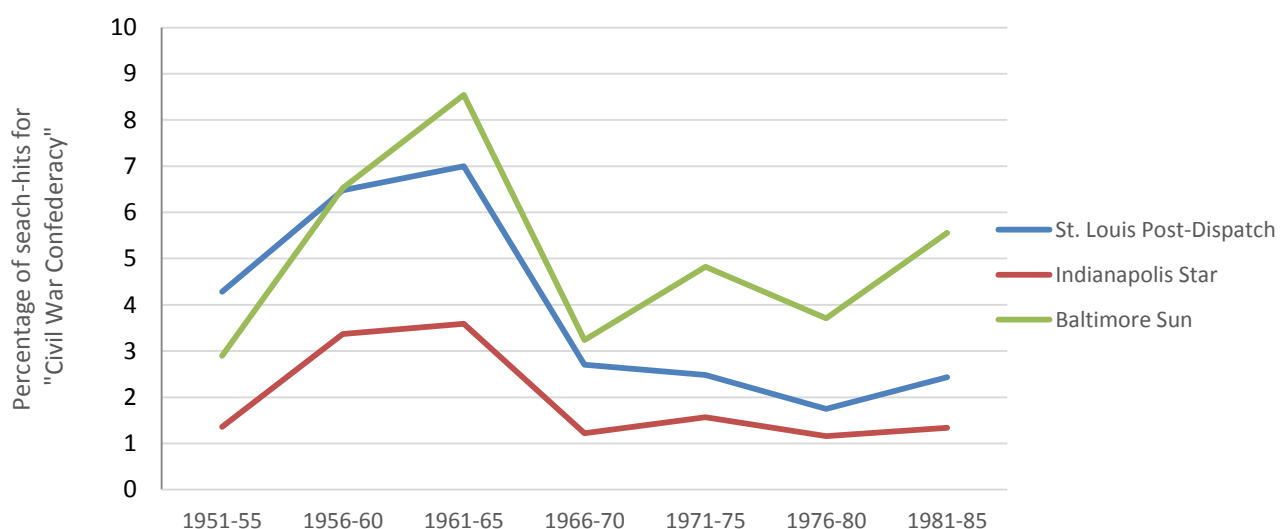
The relatively few articles that appeared on the Civil War in the 1969-80 newspapers (see graph 1) cannot provide evidence for a politicization of the political memory of the Civil War as morally neutral conflict. However, the mainstream newspapers' reports do indicate the beginnings of a trend in the direction of a change in the political memory of the Civil War. Rather than *only* presenting the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict, as in 1954-68, the 1969-80 mainstream newspapers now also presented the perspective of black history, albeit not yet the challenging social memory of the Black Forgotten Cause. The following sub-chapter will discuss the extent to which this beginning integrative trend continued in 1981-2011.

4.2 Southern Heritage on the Defensive, 1981-2010

Although 1969-80 saw the beginning of mainstream newspapers' acceptance of black perspectives on history, it did not see a full-blown challenge of the political memory of the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict. This sub-chapter will trace the newspapers' publishing on Black History Month, Civil

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[185] Searches conducted on May 20, 2017, see Appendix.

War reenactments, the Confederate flag, and Civil War monuments in the period 1981-2010. Taken together, the newspapers' reporting on these four indicators of the collective memory of the Civil War will present a complex picture on the evolution of collective memory. Whilst some aspects of political memory were politicized, other aspects remained taboo. The ambiguity of this development will be discussed at the end of this sub-chapter.

Although there were various riots in 1981-2010, such as the 1992 Los Angeles riots that followed the acquittal of four police officers who had beaten a man called Rodney King – an important precedent for the Black Lives Matter Movement – the shift towards the de-politicization of racial discrimination continued. Mathew Hughley explains that since the 1980s, color-blindness found a new form, now "neo-liberal laws and policies reframed affirmative action, busing or social welfare as group entitlement programs that were little more than handouts paid for by hard-working (white) individuals."[186] Hughey calls this, a "White backlash in the post-racial United States."[187]

Yet, a reading of the mainstream newspapers' reports on Black History Month challenges this notion. Rather than becoming "post-racial", the mainstream newspapers became full-blown advocates of integrating black and white historical perspectives. The *Indianapolis Star* explicitly politicizes black history, when noting that, "as long as history is written and recorded mostly by those who dominate the stage, the whole and true story will not be told. Hence the need, still, for a month that celebrates the contributions of black people in the world and this nation in particular."[188] The *Baltimore Sun* thought similarly, printing elaborate agendas for Black History Month activities. Also *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* columnist Walle Amusa stated that, "eliminating Black History Month without the power to infuse private and public school curricula with the truth about contributions of Africans and African-Americans to world civilizations would tragically result in wholesale miseducation of all Americans."[189] This reporting in the mainstream newspapers provides a stark contrast with that of 1954-80, especially in the *Post-Dispatch*. In earlier periods, the *Post-Dispatch* showed virtually no mentions of Black History Week. And, as late as 1973, two St. Louis high school teachers had been fired for sponsoring a black history program – which, school officials said, produced racial disharmony.[190]

In their Black History Month discussions, the black newspapers presented black history as 300 years of mistreatment by whites. In their narratives, the focus was increasingly on slavery and black honor, instead of on Emancipation and Lincoln (see image 7).[191] Thereby the *Indianapolis*

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[186] Hughey, "White Backlash in the 'post-racial' United States."

[187] Ibid.

[188] *The Indianapolis Star*. March 7, 1998. Page: 45.

[189] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. February 17, 1992. Page : 17.

[190] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. January 12, 1973. Page: 17.

[191] *Indianapolis Recorder*. Black History Month Segment. February 4, 2011.

Recorder and the *Baltimore Afro* continued on the path they had taken since 1968. For the *Baltimore Afro-American,* Black History Month was an instrument to show the "glorious American heritage" of blacks since the 17th century.[192] The *Indianapolis Recorder* agreed, and made the case that America was largely built by Afro-American labor.[193] For the *Baltimore Afro-American* it would be a terrible crime if people did not know these facts. The *Afro* went as far as stating that, "To rob a people of their history is as great a crime as slavery."[194]

Although the mainstream newspapers did not go quite as far as the Afro-American newspapers, black history was thoroughly politicized by 2000. The mainstream newspapers had fully come to terms with the idea that black history was a part of American history.

Image 7. *An Afro-American Black History Month Special, note the absence of Lincoln's face*.[195]

It is remarkable that although the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, *Indianapolis Star*, and *Baltimore Sun* now explicitly acknowledged the ills of slavery, they did not yet renounce all forms in which the memory of the Confederacy was kept alive. This is clear in their discussions of Civil War reenactments, the

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[192] *Baltimore Afro-American*. February 9, 1980. Page: 4.
[193] *Indianapolis Recorder*. Black History Review. January 1980.
[194] *Baltimore Afro-American*. February 13, 1993. Page: A6.
[195] *Baltimore Afro-American*. February 13, 1999. Page: B1.

second indicator of collective memory to be discussed in this paragraph. Although reenactments were far from new in 1981-2010 (see chapter 3.2) they were increasingly popular.[196] As historian Farmer put it, "by the 1980s the Civil War reenactment hobby had become a phenomenon."[197]

Historians have come to widely diverging analyses of the rise of reenactments in the 1980s. Farmer places them firmly in the context of the white backlash, when he argues that "the rising popularity of the Confederate reenactor hobby is more than just coincidental with the tense battles over the symbols connected with the war."[198] For Farmer, the culture of reenactments is related to the Confederate flag and other segregationist symbols. By contrast, David Lowenthal offers a more sympathetic assessment in his famous *The Past is a Foreign Country*, arguing that "in the United States, re-enactments are a *sine qua non* of popular participation in history."[199] According to Lowenthal, "re-enactments enliven history for millions who turn a blind or bored eye to ancient monuments, not to mention history books." Reenactments allow people to "act out fantasies denied them in the contemporary world."[200] Indeed, it were often the Confederates that won the 1980-2010 reenacted battles, in contrast with actual historic battles.

However, there comes a point at which a focus on heritage becomes escapist nostalgia.[201] Tony Horwitz makes this case humorously in his 1998 *Confederates in the Attic*. Horwitz states that "awakening the next morning in a $27 room at Slaisbury's Econo Lodge ("spend a night, not a fortune"), I recognized the appeal of dwelling on the South's past, rather than its present.[202] Elsewhere in his book, Horwitz emphasizes that the desire to relive the 1861-85 conflict has much to do with its human-scale, and that for many Americans, reenacting had become, "a talisman against modernity."[203]

Whether the comeback of reenactments was driven by Farmer's forces of segregation, Lowenthal's attempts to enliven history, or Horwitz' escapism, all three mainstream newspapers were evidently fans of reenactments. The *Indianapolis Star*, for example, stated, "forget plastic soldiers and GI Joes. When adults want to play war, they go all out. At least that's the case when Hoosiers gather to conduct reenactments of famous Civil War battles."[204] These reenactments often showed a remarkable take on historical events. For instance, Confederates usually far outnumbered

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[196] There were, of course, also earlier references, see: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. May 11, 1978. Page: 88.

[197] James Oscar Farmer, "Playing Rebels: Reenactment as Nostalgia and Defense of the Confederacy in the Battle of Aiken," *Southern Cultures* 11, no. 1 (2005): 49–50.

[198] Ibid., 58.

[199] Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country-Revisited*, 295.

[200] Ibid., 301.

[201] John R. Gillis, "Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship," *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* 3 (1994): 42–43.

[202] Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic*, 27.

[203] Ibid., 386.

[204] *Indianapolis Star*. April 1, 2004. Page: 85.

the Unionists, whilst the opposite had been the case in reality. The *Indianapolis Star* noted that, "curiously, rebels are in short supply at Northern re-enactments." [205] As one reenactor stated, "the Confederates are more glamorous. Hollywood has given the Federals a bad rap. In movies, we're [the 'Union' soldiers] always burning down widow's houses."[206] The *Star* made the case that Union reenactors were resented. A reenactor even reported to the *Indianapolis Star* that once, when he entered "a restaurant in Union uniform, they wouldn't even wait on us. We insisted, so finally they sent the (black) cook out to take our order. The white waitresses wouldn't serve us. It was pretty insulting."[207] However, in general the reenactments were regarded as politically neutral by the mainstream newspapers. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* for instance, reported that reenactors are more interested in history than in racial politics. A respondent in a large report written by Ann Oberle-DeGroodt argues that "What you find is not so much politics (…) as much as a love for history."[208]

Unlike reenactments, the Confederate flag was increasingly politicized, especially in the 1990s. Geographic historians Webster and Leib indicate that, "between the early 1960s and early 1990s the flying of the Confederate battle flag over the South Carolina state capitol appears to have created little public controversy."[209] An important reason for the politicization of the Confederate flag was an economic boycott of South Carolina, proclaimed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). With this boycott, the NAACP aimed to force South Carolina to lower its flag.

This 2000 boycott-call was not the first of its kind. The *Baltimore Sun* noted an early call by the President of South Carolina's NAACP, Dr. William Gibson, to remove the Confederate flag from the state capitol.[210] However, previous attempts to make Southern states lower their flag were mostly ignored by the mainstream newspapers. The difference with 2000-01 is remarkable. The *Indianapolis Star* approvingly stated that the measure dragged the South "kicking and screaming" into the twenty-first century.[211] With genuine compassion, the *Indianapolis Star* noted that, "Blacks have long felt that they were barely tolerated as political equals, and saw every reference to Southern heritage as scarcely hidden nostalgia for the days of white supremacy." However, the *Star* balanced this insight with the fact that, "White legislators, on the other hand, believed the flag was a

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[205] *Indianapolis Star*. December 21, 1986. Page: 131
[206] Ibid.
[207] Ibid.
[208] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. September 28, 1989. Page: 113.
[209] Gerald R. Webster and Jonathan I. Leib, "Whose South Is It Anyway? Race and the Confederate Battle Flag in South Carolina," *Political Geography* 20, no. 3 (2001): 276.
[210] *Baltimore Sun*. July 31, 1994. Page: 200. See also: *Baltimore Sun*. July 31, 1994. Page: 20.
[211] *Indianapolis Star*. April 19, 2001. Page: 4.

legitimate expression of honor for ancestors who died fighting for the South, and resented being lumped in with the racists and Klansmen who had expropriated the flag for their own purposes."[212]

The *Indianapolis Star* desperately sought a middle ground between those pro- and contra the Confederate flag – and in doing so, between two parts of its own readership. Eventually, the *Star* tried to depoliticize the Confederate flag by arguing that it was a matter of First Amendment speech rights if the flag flown on private grounds, but not when flown on public grounds.[213] Although the *Star* had reserves about the flying of the Confederate flag, it held it to be an individual choice.[214] This position was compatible with that of the NAACP, which (only) wanted the flag to leave the South Carolina state capitol. However, despite this attempt by the editors of the *Star*, the Confederate flag was (re-) politicized none the less.

Taking a stronger stance than the editors of the *Indianapolis Star*, columnist William Raspberry – who wrote for both *Indianapolis Recorder* and *Indianapolis Star* – argued that, "for many black Americans, the Confederate flag, under which the secessionist South marched into the war to preserve slavery, has become the symbolic equivalent of the *N* word; its meaning is uniform and negative, no matter how those who use it describe their intent."[215] Likewise, a *Baltimore Sun* columnist wondered "is damn foolishness a recessive gene?", because Southerners kept flying their Confederate flags.[216] In 2000, the *Baltimore Sun* published an article on the Confederate flag's flying on top of the South Carolina capitol building. The article's title, "South Carolina's Confederate Pride Reflects Racist Past", says it all.[217] Also the *Post-Dispatch* noted that for black men and women the Confederacy stands for an attempt "to keep their ancestors in slavery."[218]

Coski places the politicization of the Confederate flag in the context of a broader attack on Civil War heritage, "the limited campaign against battle flags seemed to mask a deep-seated hatred of flags, monuments, and any tangible evidence of Confederate memorials on the public landscape. (…) It played into Confederate heritage warnings about a hidden agenda and, indeed, into their claims of cultural genocide."[219] However, politicization of the Confederate flag did not spark a politicization of Confederate monuments, which were hardly attacked on a national scale in 1981-2010.

Remarkably, Confederate memorials still had a more-or-less protected status in the period 1980-2011. In contrast, Confederate sympathizers did vandalize African-American monuments. The

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[212] *Indianapolis Star*. May 11, 2000. Page: 13.
[213] *Indianapolis Star*. August 30,2004. Page: 9.
[214] *Indianapolis Star*. August 25, 2004. Page: 10.
[215] *Indianapolis Star*. August 5, 1999. Page: 16.
[216] *Baltimore Sun*. January 8, 1997. Page: 15.
[217] *Baltimore Sun*. January 16, 2000. Page: 30.
[218] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. April 3, 1994. Page: 47.
[219] Coski, *The Confederate Battle Flag*, 201.

mainstream *Baltimore Sun* rejected such vandalism, for instance in an article titled "Vandalizing of statue of black politician treated as hate crime" about an attack on a monument dedicated to Aris T. Allen, a black physician and politician, on Independence Day. "A white hood had been placed on the statue's head, and Confederate flags had been taped to its hands."[220] Yet, even this vandalism did not provoke the response of attacking Confederate memorials. Eugene Bryant Sr. of Monticello, president of the Mississippi NAACP stated that "There is no desire on the NAACP's part to go through the South tearing down Confederate monuments."[221] It seems as if the NAACP thought that challenging Confederate memorials was still a bridge too far in 1980-2011.[222]

However, despite lack of a large-scale assaults on Confederate memorials, some acts of vandalism did occur on the lower levels of student-protests and local petitions. Historian Leeann Whites discussed the case of a campus memorial 'Rock' in Colombia, Missouri, the home-state of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. Remarkably, no *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reports on the event were found. Also in other newspapers, black or white, no mention of this event or similar ones was made.[223] As a result, it remains largely unknown how widespread the local challenging of Confederate memorials was in 1981-2010.

This sub-chapter has traced the newspapers' reporting on four indicators of collective memory, and noted manifest shifts in mainstream newspapers' discussions of two of them. The articles published in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the *Indianapolis Star*, and the *Baltimore Sun* indicate that whilst Black History Month and the Confederate flag had become politicized, Civil War reenactments and Confederate memorials had not. Towards the end of 1981-2010, the shift in political memory was underway, but not yet complete. The idea that the Civil War was a morally neutral conflict had declined, but it had not yet fallen. Although slavery now played an increasingly important role in the public debate, and the Confederate flag was now openly renounced by all newspapers, the political memory of the Civil War as morally neutral conflict was not fully politicized. Arguably, it would only be in 2015 that a third indicator (Confederate monuments) would be politicized, and – more importantly – it would only be in 2015 that a large-scale public discussion on the political memory of the Civil War would occur.

Also in American race relations, considerable changes had taken place in the period 1981-2010. Despite continued segregation and often lacking affirmative action, many Afro-Americans had

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[220] *Baltimore Sun*. July 6, 2000. Page: 21.
[221] *Clarion-Ledger*. November 25, 2000. Page: 16.
[222] However, despite lack of a large-scale national assault on Confederate memorials, some acts of vandalism did occur on the lower levels of student-protests and local petitions. See: Whites, LeeAnn. "'You Can't Change History By Moving a Rock': Gender, Race, and the Cultural Politics of Confederate Memorialization." In *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture*, by Alice Fahs and Joan Waugh. University of North Carolina Press, 2004.
[223] Searches made on newspapers.com (May 24, 2017).

risen to prominent political places. Most notably, Barack Obama was elected President in 2009 and remained in office until 2017. Although a black man in the White House would arguably have been highly unlikely in 1960, its occurrence in 2009 need not mean that the story of integration had come to a successful close. As the following sub-chapter will show, enough racism remained to be challenged.

4.3 The Sesquicentennial and Recent Acts of Terrorism, 2011-17

Whilst collective memory started to shift in 1980-2011, the consensus that the Civil War was a morally neutral conflict would only be completely overturned in 2015. Remarkably, the 150-year commemoration of the Civil War in 2011-15 saw the reoccurrence of some elements of the 1961-65 centennial. In the spirit of the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict, the *Baltimore Sun* noted that, "as the nation prepares to mark the sesquicentennial of that conflict [the Civil War], it's entirely fitting that Marylanders find some way to reflect upon that momentous time and honor those who died in the line of duty."[224] During the sesquicentennial, mainstream newspapers still made plenty of effort to discuss the battles of the Civil War. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, for instance, reported that, "You can argue all night about which was more important. Vicksburg's surrender made the Mississippi River a Union waterway, effectively splitting the Confederacy in two. Gettysburg was the bloodiest battle on United States soil."[225] Naturally, also the sesquicentennial was commemorated with many reenactments.[226]

However, there were also important differences between the centennial and sesquicentennial. For instance, there was far less publicity for the sesquicentennial than for the centennial.[227] Another important difference was that the mainstream newspapers now (almost) always referred to the Civil War as "Civil War", rather than as "the War Between the States". Yet, the most important difference was that during the sesquicentennial, mainstream newspapers frequently printed articles making the case that the Civil War was a battle over slavery.[228] For instance in the *Indianapolis Star*, the historians Eric Foner and Edward Ayers explicitly made the case that the most important consequence of the Civil War was the ending of the world's largest and most powerful system of slavery.[229]

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[224] *Baltimore Sun*. April 10, 2011. Page: A19.
[225] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. April 28, 2013. Page: H001.
[226] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. June 19, 2011. Page: A003.
[227] See, for instance: *Indianapolis Star*. April 12, 2011. Page: A2.
[228] See: *Baltimore Sun*. April 10, 2011. Page: A19.
[229] *Indianapolis Star*. February 1, 2016. Page: B2.

African-American newspapers had also altered their perspectives since the Centennial. In a 2014 story in the *Indianapolis Recorder*, titled "Journey to the Promised Land: A first hand overview of the African-American Experience", editors of the *Recorder* shared their views on history. They divided black history in four parts: (1) the 1600s-1860s Slavery Era, (2) the 1870s-1950s Jim Crow Era, (3) the 1950s-1980s Civil Rights Era, and (4) the 1990s-present Millennial Era.[230] In this representation of black history, two things stand out. First, whereas Emancipation and Lincoln were central in 1961-65, they were far less so in 2011-15. In the 1600-1860 Slavery Era, Lincoln is no longer noted as the most important mover of change, Frederick Douglass is now regarded as such. And second, the 1870s-1950s era, following Emancipation, was no longer regarded as one of African-American freedom, but of repression and segregation. This indicates a shift towards the black social memory of the forgotten cause, a trend that has also been discussed in chapters 4.1 and 4.2. Although some articles in the mainstream newspapers approached African-American newspapers' sentiments about black history – as the one featuring Foner and Ayers discussed above – there remained a significant gap between topics discussed in the mainstream and African-American newspapers.

Arguably, this would change in 2015, under the influence of a process set in motion by the murder of nine innocent African-Americans in Charleston, South Carolina. The killer, a 19-year old man named Dylann Roof, had left a webpage with multiple pictures of himself posing with a Confederate flag. On this website, Roof also left a manifesto in which he explained that his acts were guided by white supremacist ideas.[231] The Charleston shooting seems to have caused a rupture in American public opinion on the Confederate flag. In his eulogy for the victims of the shooting, President Obama argued that, "removing the flag from this state's capitol would not be an act of political correctness; it would not be an insult to the valor of Confederate soldiers. It would simply be an acknowledgment that the cause for which they fought – the cause of slavery – was wrong."[232] Although the Confederate flag was already politicized and regarded as hurtful to African-Americans, it was now regarded as so deplorable that private companies were pressured not to sell it anymore. In 2015, EBay, Amazon, and Wal-Mart stopped selling Confederate merchandise, and NASCAR called on its fans to stop flying Confederate flags.[233]

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[230] *Indianapolis Recorder*. Special Black History Month Edition. February 17, 2014. Page: 3.
[231] Roof, Dylann. Website containing manifesto. See: http://web.archive.org/web/20150627160020/http://lastrhodesian.com:80/data/documents/rtf88.txt last accessed on June 27, 2017.
[232] Obama, Barrack. Speech on June 26, 2015. Accessed through: https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/06/26/remarks-president-eulogy-honorable-reverend-clementa-pinckney last accessed on June 27, 2017.
[233] *Indianapolis Star*. June 24, 205. Page: B3; *Indianapolis Star*. July 28, 2015. Page: A5. *Indianapolis Star*. July 25, 2015. Page: A12; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. July 6, 2015. Page: B003.

Shortly after the Charleston shooting, Black Lives Matter activists spray-painted and vandalized Confederate memorials (see introduction). The Black Lives Matter Movement was, as historian Russel Rickford argues, born as a Twitter hashtag in protest against the acquittal of police officer George Zimmerman, after he had killed a young Afro-American called Trayvon Martin. Rickford states that "Black Lives Matter has evolved into a potent alternative to the political paralysis and isolation that racial justice proponents have faced since the election of Obama. (…) With continued momentum, Black Lives Matter may help reverse the counteroffensive against workers and people of color that has defined the long aftermath of the 1960s and 1970s liberation struggles."[234] As described in historian Randall Kennedy's *The Persistence of the Color Line* the Obama administration had not brought an end to segregation and discrimination.[235] For the Black Lives Matter activists, Confederate memorials represented just that, the forces of slavery in modern-day America.[236]

The attack on Confederate monuments sparked great debate throughout the country. The vandalism caused many Americans to rethink their views on Confederate symbols of the past. In an article titled "Memorial Defaced: Controversy over Flag Spreads to Other Confederate Symbols", the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reported a growing call to remove Confederate memorials. In October 2015, the St. Louis Board of Aldermen approved a bill to hand control of the Downtown Soldiers' Memorial to the Missouri History Museum."[237] Two months later, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* noted that also the Forest Park monument (see introduction) would "be turned over to the Missouri Civil War Museum or stored in a secure location owned by the city."[238] Not all *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* columnists applauded these decisions. For instance, columnist Ben Jones stated that, "The idea of a mayoral panel removing or rewriting the inscription on the century-old Confederate memorial in Forest Park seems at best to be just another good intention on the proverbial path to hell and at worst to be an action that reeks with an Orwellian stench." Jones continues to state that, "In China, it was labeled Cultural Cleansing. In the Soviet Union, it was called re-education. And right now in Iraq, ISIS is destroying ancient statuary. Doesn't good old American common sense dictate that the best action in this case is no action?"[239] Although columnists as Ben Jones might not have wanted the Confederate memorials to be politicized, the explicit discussion of Confederate memorials in the public sphere indicates that the process of politicization had already taken place.

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[234] Rickford, "Black Lives Matter Toward a Modern Practice of Mass Struggle," 35.
[235] Kennedy, *The Persistence of the Color Line*. See also: Luigi Esposito, "White Fear and US Racism in the Era of Obama: The Relevance of Neoliberalism.," *Theory in Action* 4, no. 3 (2011); Monika L. McDermott and Cornell Belcher, "Barack Obama and Americans' Racial Attitudes: Rallying and Polarization," *Polity* 46, no. 3 (2014): 449–469.
[236] Alicia Garza, O. Tometi, and P. Cullors, *A Herstory of The# BlackLivesMatter Movement*, 2014.
[237] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. October 17, 2015. Page: A003.
[238] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. December 25, 2015. Page: A001. The monument is expected to be removed on July 2, 2017, see: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. June 26, 2017. St. Louis Today Section.
[239] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. May 10, 2015. Page: A019.

Baltimore had issues similar to those in St. Louis. The *Baltimore Sun* reported that, "Mayor Stephanie Rawlings-Blake announced that she will convene a commission of experts representing art, history and community to lead research and public conversation about the city's Confederate monuments and other historical assets."[240] The *Sun* reported that such actions took place throughout the nation. For instance, "in New Orleans, Mayor Mitch Landrieu asked the City Council to relocate four monuments and rename the Jefferson Davis Parkway after someone other than the slavery-defending Confederate President." And, on the other side of the country, "In Long Beach, Calif., state senator Steve Glazer, a Democrat, introduced a bill that would ban naming local and state properties after Confederate leaders."[241]

Also *Baltimore Sun*'s staff was not unanimously in favor of these decisions. Columnist Tom Harbold argued that tragedy is a bad excuse for change. "I am referring specifically, to the defacement of a monument to Maryland's CSA war-dead, that is to say, those Marylanders who died fighting on the side of the Confederate States of America in the War between the States."[242] By vandalizing the monument, the activist is "stating by his actions that the lives the monument honors do not matter to him."[243] Whilst, "anyone who knows anything at all about the person and character of Gen. Robert E. Lee would know that he would never under any circumstances have condoned the murder of nine innocent people in a church." The author concludes that, "It seems to me that the sad and horrible mass-murder in Charleston is not a reason, but rather a rationalization, a justification, and excuse for such actions as those described above."[244] The debate attracted far less hostile comments in the *Indianapolis Star*, perhaps because of Indiana's lacking Confederate history. Yet, some columnists in the *Indianapolis Star* still described the flag with the phrase, "heritage not hate."[245] Columnist Jonah Goldberg noted that, "I'm no fan of the Confederate flag, but do serious people believe that if Roof didn't have access to the banner, he would have pursued a life of peace?"[246]

Despite the fact that all three mainstream newspapers were skeptical about removing Confederate symbols, all agreed that there were different sides to the issue. An increasing amount of political commentators, scholars and authors advocated bringing down Confederate commemoration.[247] The mainstream newspapers along the Mason-Dixon Line, at the very least,

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[240] *Baltimore Sun*. July 9, 2015. Page: 7.
[241] *Baltimore Sun*. July 10, 2015. Page: A2.
[242] *Baltimore Sun*. June 29, 2015. Page: A6.
[243] Ibid.
[244] Ibid.
[245] *Indianapolis Star*. August 21, 2015. Page: B2.
[246] *Indianapolis Star*. July 16, 2015. Page: A19.
[247] See, for instance: A like-minded reaction in the *Baltimore Sun* was written by author Ta-Nehisi Coates, in his piece "Take Down the Confederate Flag-Now." In: *Baltimore Sun*. June 24, 2015. Page: T56.

recognized that many African-Americans thought the removal of references to the Confederacy was long overdue.[248] The *Post-Dispatch'* summary is correct, "For many, these changes can't happen quickly enough. For many others, it's all too fast."[249] Perhaps the *Baltimore Sun* said it best in June 2015, the Confederacy simultaneously stood for, "Heritage *and* Hate."[250] The reporting of the mainstream newspapers in this period shows that Confederate memorials were thoroughly politicized within a short period of time.

4.4 Chapter Conclusion

Whilst black history had already become politicized in the late 1970s, and the Confederate flag in the 1990s, it was only with the discussions about the removal of Confederate memorials in 2015 that the political memory of the Civil War had manifestly shifted. The 2015 events have happened too recently to fully comprehend their long-term impact on the collective memory of the Civil War. However, a reading of the mainstream newspapers indicates that a significant shift in collective memory has occurred, especially because the politicization of Confederate memorials was followed by the concrete political action of removing Confederate memorials. It is safe to say that, by 2015, the political memory of the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict had fallen. By 2017, the only indicator of collective memory that was not politicized in the mainstream newspapers was Civil War reenactments.

However, the question remains whether the change in collective memory can be attributed to the longer trend of converging social memories, or to the recent events of violence and vandalism. In the conclusion, the three lines of thought about the shifting of collective memory will be evaluated.

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[248] *Baltimore Sun*. June 25, 2015. Page: T14.
[249] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. June 25, 2015. Page: A007.
[250] *Baltimore Sun*. June26, 2015. Page: A4.

5. Interpretation, Conclusion, and Further Research

This last chapter will round up the previous chapters, weigh the relative merit of the three ideas about the shifting of collective memory, and suggest several routes for further research. At the beginning of this thesis, in chapter one, the field of collective memory studies has been introduced. Following Assmann's lead, this thesis has distinguished four types of memory: cultural, political, social, and individual memory. Put simply, the goal of this thesis was to find out when the political memory of the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict fell.

Building on the dominant view in the historiography, the idea was studied that *the 1954-68 Civil Rights Movement made the political memory of the Civil War seem old-fashioned and racist*. Newspaper research on the period 1954-68, conducted in chapter three, has not supported this assumption. Remarkably, the political memory of the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict was hardly challenged during the classical phase of the Civil Rights Movement. Whilst the mainstream newspapers supported the political memory, the black newspapers mostly ignored it. In the African-American newspapers, the Civil War was mostly regarded as a morally charged battle about slavery, a view that, in turn, was mostly ignored in the mainstream newspapers. Apparently, the Civil Rights Movement stopped *de jure* segregation in the public places, but did not stop the segregation of memories.

The second idea about the shifting of the collective memory of the Civil War was that *the political memory of the Civil War shifted gradually, decades after the Civil Rights Movement.* Indeed, research on the period 1969-2017, conducted in chapter four, has shown support for this view. Arguably, black history had become politicized in the late 1970s, and the Confederate flag in the 1990s. However, chapter 4 has also found support for the third idea, that e*vents with little relation to longer trends in collective memory have politicized the collective memory of the Civil War in recent years*. It was only after the 2015 Charleston Shooting and the vandalism of the Black Lives Matter Movement that the commemoration of the Civil War became thoroughly contested in the mainstream newspapers; and only then that Confederate memorials became politicized. A reading of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, *Indiana Star*, *Baltimore Sun*, *St. Louis Argus*, *Indiana Recorder*, and *Baltimore Afro-American* supports both the second and third idea about the shifting of collective memory. These ideas can be combined in the notion that political memory shifted gradually since the 1970s, but that the 2015 events that made the fall of the dominant memory of the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict manifest.

The most important finding of this thesis is that political memory shifted much later than assumed by most historians. Contrary to the most common view in the historiography, it was not in the period 1954-68, but decades later that the political memory of the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict declined, and only very recently that it had manifestly fallen. These findings could potentially alter the scholarly understanding of the trajectory of American collective memory.

However, further research will have to determine whether the results of this thesis, which has focused on cities along the Mason-Dixon Line, can be extrapolated to other parts of America. Analyzing a wide range of newspapers from different geographical regions, political ideologies, and ethnical signatures could elucidate just how representative the newspapers under review in this thesis are. Although the Mason-Dixon Line undoubtedly lies between the North and the South in geographical and cultural respects, this does not mean that it is always exactly in the middle. Nor does it mean that all cultural trends, Northern and Southern, reached St. Louis, Indianapolis, and Baltimore. Not to speak of the West Coast, which was not even fully part of the United States at the end of the Civil War in 1865, and is in many respects a region that stands apart from the standard North-South dichotomy.[251] Comparing newspapers from different geographical regions could help establish just how mainstream the *Baltimore Sun*, *Indianapolis Star*, and *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* were.

Yet, although newspapers are useful sources to study for understanding *when* shifts in political memory occurred, they are less revealing about the underlying causes of these shifts. If it is true that the socio-economic effects of the Civil Rights Movement were diffuse, it could very well be that its influence on the integration of black social memory and mainstream political memory was diffuse as well. One route further research could take, is excavating just how long-term trends in political, social, and economic data relate to collective memory. Comparing such trends to the trajectory of collective memory – established through newspaper studies – could enhance our understanding of the underlying causes of shifts in collective memory.[252]

A combination of socio-economic data a with wider reading of American newspapers would also allow greater precision for assessing the current position of the fading political memory of the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict. The memory of the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict remains one of the strongest collective memories in contemporary America. Perhaps, this political memory has now moved to the realm of cultural memory, of all that can be recollected within a given society. Or, one could argue that it is now best regarded as a social memory, belonging to the social group of what one might call conservative Americans.

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[251] California was admitted to the Union as a state in 1850, Oregon in 1859, and Washington in 1889.
[252] Available at the United States Bureau of Census.

The 2015 politicization of Confederate memorials was too recent to know exactly how the trajectory of collective memory will be impacted. However, although the six newspapers studied in this thesis do not indicate how collective memory will develop in the future, it seems highly unlikely the memory of the Civil War as a morally neutral conflict will ever become dominant again. At least along the Mason-Dixon Line, political memory has fallen.

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Appendix

The *Indianapolis Star*, *Baltimore Sun*, and *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* have been accessed through the payed website newspapers.com, which offers 4,789 (mostly American) newspapers published between 1700 and 2017. Despite variations between the growing amount of newspapers in the database, this website did not offer much long-running Afro-American papers. The *St. Louis Argus* has been accessed in the library of Washington University in St. Louis, the *Indianapolis Recorder* through the website of Purdue University, and the *Baltimore Afro-American* through Google News (see Sources).

The mainstream newspapers were available until 2017, the *Indianapolis Recorder* until 2014, and the *Baltimore African-American* until 2003. Unfortunately, the *Argus* could only be accessed for the period 1955-68. Research on the *Argus* had been conducted in St. Louis during the first semester of 2016-17, before research for this thesis began. The *Argus* was not available online, and the Washington University microfilm disc containing most 1954 articles was reported lost.

Compared to the websites through which the *Indianapolis Recorder* and *Baltimore Afro-American* have been accessed, newspapers.com was more user-friendly and easier to conduct searches with. The most important difference was that newspapers.com allowed for keyword searches. Because of this difference, different research strategies have been used throughout this thesis. All newspapers were searched on recurring and specific dates determined before the thesis research commenced (see tables 3 and 4).

Table 3. *A list of recurring dates, sought for in all available newspapers*.

January 1	Wishes for the new year
January 19	Birthday of Confederate General Robert E. Lee
February	Black History Month
April 12	First battle of the Civil War
April 16	Emancipation Day
April 26	Surrender of last major Confederate army
Last day of May	Civil War Memorial Day
June 6	Confederate Memorial Day in Maryland (Baltimore)
December 31	Reflection on previous year

Table 4. *A list of specific dates, sought for in all available newspapers*.

May 17, 1954	*Brown v. Board*
April 18-24, 1955	Bandung Conference
January 14, 1963	Gov. Wallace *Segregation Forever* speech
June 11, 1963	Gov. Wallace blocking segregation
August 27, 1963	Death W.E.B. DuBois
August 28, 1963	Speech King
July 2, 1964	Civil Rights Act
August 6, 1965	Voting Rights Act
April 4, 1968	Assassination Martin Luther King
February 21, 1965	Assassination Malcolm X
February, 1976	Shift to Black History Month
January 20, 1981	Begin Presidency of Ronald Reagan
February 11, 1990	Release of Nelson Mandela
September 13, 1998	Death of George Wallace
January 20, 2009	Begin Presidency of Barack Obama
June 17, 2015	Charleston church shooting

In addition, the mainstream newspapers have also been searched on the keywords "Confederate", "Confederate Memorial", "Civil War Memorial", "Civil War Monument", "Confederate Commemoration", "Civil War history", "Civil War Memory", "United Daughters Confederacy". Although the broader searching of the mainstream newspapers has made my interpretation of mainstream newspapers slightly more reliable, I have tried to make up for this variation by looking up the *Indianapolis Recorder* and *Baltimore Afro-American* on the dates of relevant hits in the keyword search of mainstream newspapers.

Because newspapers.com allows users to view the amount of 'hits' on each search some quantitative analyses have been conducted. The automatically generated graphs on newspapers.com show only the absolute number of keyword-search hits, but not the relative number of hits. Therefore, the more time-consuming method of dividing the number of hits for a specific search by the total amount of hits for a newspaper (found by doing a blanc search) had to be employed. Below, an example of this method is provided for the search "Civil War Confederacy":

Table 5. *Number of newspaper.com keyword search hits for "Civil War Confederacy", blanc searches, and "Civil War Confederacy" divided by blanc.*

	St Louis Post Dispatch			Indianapolis Star			Baltmore Sun		
Year	Civil War Confederacy	Total	%	Civil War Confederacy	Total	%	Civil War Confederacy	Total	%
1951-55	86	2011	4,28	29	2143	1,36	53	1825	2,90
1956-60	132	2036	6,48	68	2023	3,37	120	1837	6,53
1961-65	142	2032	7,00	120	3347	3,59	153	1792	8,54
1966-70	55	2031	2,70	56	4578	1,22	57	1760	3,24
1971-75	53	2135	2,48	64	4081	1,57	88	1826	4,82
1976-80	56	3205	1,75	46	3949	1,16	68	1835	3,71
1981-85	87	3574	2,43	54	4031	1,34	102	1836	5,56
1986-90	97	3754	2,58	73	4573	1,60	118	1758	6,71
1991-95	183	3831	4,78	41	3109	1,32	301	2405	12,51
1996-00	140	3715	3,77	61	2933	2,01	554	3396	16,31
2001-05	105	15377	0,68	79	3873	2,04	163	25888	0,63
2006-10	53	22230	0,24	8	17664	0,04	60	19365	0,31
2011-15	86	14948	0,58	16	15465	0,10	195	26500	0,74
2016-17	14	2958	0,47	4	5132	0,08	35	4297	0,81

The added search-term "Confederacy" to "Civil War" has ensured that no references to Civil Wars other than the 1961-65 American Civil War were counted. However, it must be acknowledged that these quantitative searches are far from complete. Several articles which were not found through this method have discussed the American Civil War, but without mentioning "Confederacy". There, Confederates are, for instance, referred to as "Southerners." Another problem was that, in some cases, newspapers.com counted articles twice, or even three or four times. Especially in the 2000 *Baltimore Sun*, there were lot of 'doubles' and mistakes. In effect, the graph shown below is surely biased (the graph at the end of chapter 3.3 is an excerpt for the years without notable bias).

Graph 2. *The complete graph corresponding with table 5.*
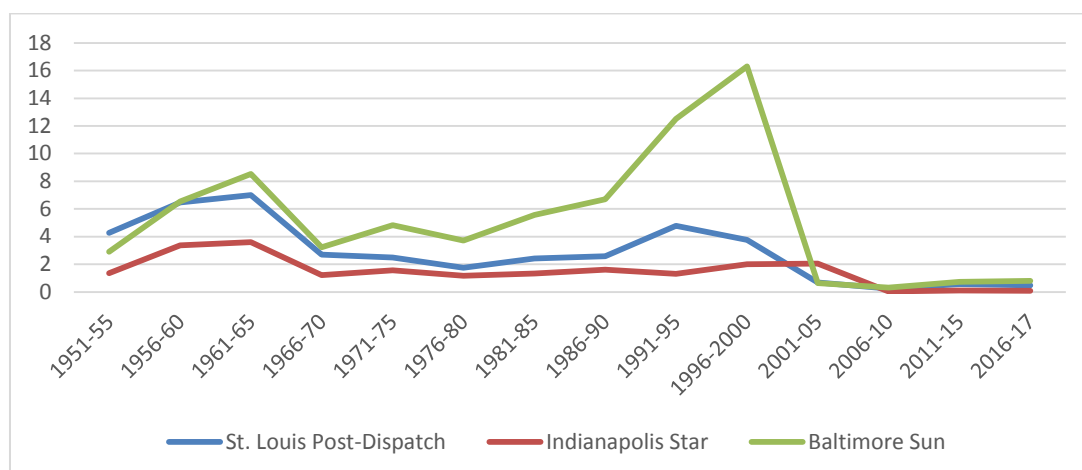
Apart from the routes for further research mentioned in chapter 5, quantitative research could also enhance scholarly understanding of the collective memory of the Civil War. If one would conduct quantitative research on the collective memory of the Civil War using newspapers.com or a similar website, matters to consider are: (1) the criteria the database had for digitalizing newspapers, as selection bias on behalf of the database can lead to biases in the researchers' results; (2) if the database is stable or in transition, many databases are updated continually which might result in different amounts of hits at different moments that searches are conducted; (3) if the keyword searches and OCR are reliable, so that 'should-be' hits are not missed; and (4) whether there are synonyms discussing the same object of inquiry under a different name, as "blacks", "Afro-Americans", "African-Americans", and (previously) "Negroes" have all been used to refer to the same group of people.[253] If these matters are accounted for, quantitative newspaper research is sure to be welcome addition.

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[253] For more on quantifying newspaper research, see: Senja Pollak et al., "Detecting Contrast Patterns in Newspaper Articles by Combining Discourse Analysis and Text Mining," *Pragmatics* 21, no. 4 (2011): 647–683; Kligler-Vilenchik, Tsfati, and Meyers, "Setting the Collective Memory Agenda"; Adrian Bingham, "The Digitization of Newspaper Archives: Opportunities and Challenges for Historians," *Twentieth Century British History* 21, no. 2 (2010): 225–231; Roberto Franzosi, "The Press as a Source of Socio-Historical Data: Issues in the Methodology of Data Collection from Newspapers," *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* 20, no. 1 (1987): 5–16; Joris Van Eijnatten, Toine Pieters, and Jaap Verheul. "Big data for global history: The transformative promise of digital humanities." *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review* 128.4 (2013).