Northam Administration Announces $1.15 Million in Grants to Protect Battlefield Land in Virginia

Northam Administration Announces $1.15 Million in Grants to Protect Battlefield Land in Virginia. Virginia Battlefield Preservation Fund will help preserve more than 500 acres of hallowed ground at 10 Virginia historic sites
American Battlefield Trust
Jim Campi & Keven Walker
October 22, 2018

(Richmond, Virginia) — Today, the Virginia Department of Historic Resources announced it will award $1.15 million in state grants to protect battlefield land at 10 battlefields in the Old Dominion.

The sun rises over one of the British redoubts on Virginia's Yorktown battlefield. French and American troops captured the earthen fortifications during the Battle of Yorktown in October 1781. Yorktown's Battlefield Bluffs site, next to Colonial National Historical Park, will be awarded a Virginia Battlefield Preservation Fund grant, the Virginia Department of Historic Resources announced Monday.
Laurel Housden Photography

The grants will come from the Virginia Battlefield Preservation Fund, a state program that has helped nonprofit organizations protect more than 8,500 acres of hallowed ground throughout the Commonwealth. The first of its kind in the nation, the fund helps save sites from the Revolutionary War, War of 1812, and Civil War. This year's grants will be awarded to two of the state's most active nonprofit partners in battlefield preservation — the American Battlefield Trust and the Shenandoah Valley Battlefields Foundation.

The nonprofit groups will use the state money, leveraged with federal grant funds and private donations, to protect more than 562 acres at nine Civil War battlefields and the Revolutionary War's Yorktown battlefield. Virginia has provided matching grants for battlefield preservation since 2006.

"As a result of the Commonwealth's sustained commitment to the preservation and stewardship of historic battlefields, Virginia is recognized as the national leader in battlefield preservation, and battlefield preservation is among DHR's highest priorities," said Julie Langan, director of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources. "Through the Virginia Battlefield Preservation Fund, historically-significant open space has been protected, in perpetuity, for the benefit of current and future generations of residents and tourists."

Since the fund's creation, the $17.5 million in grants awarded by the state have helped to preserve 8,542 acres of battlefield land worth more than $90 million, representing a greater than 5-to-1 return on the state's investment. The acreage preserved using Virginia Battlefield Preservation Fund dollars is located on more than 40 nationally significant battlefields — geographically and militarily diverse sites from the striking landscapes of the northern Shenandoah Valley to Henrico County wetlands just east

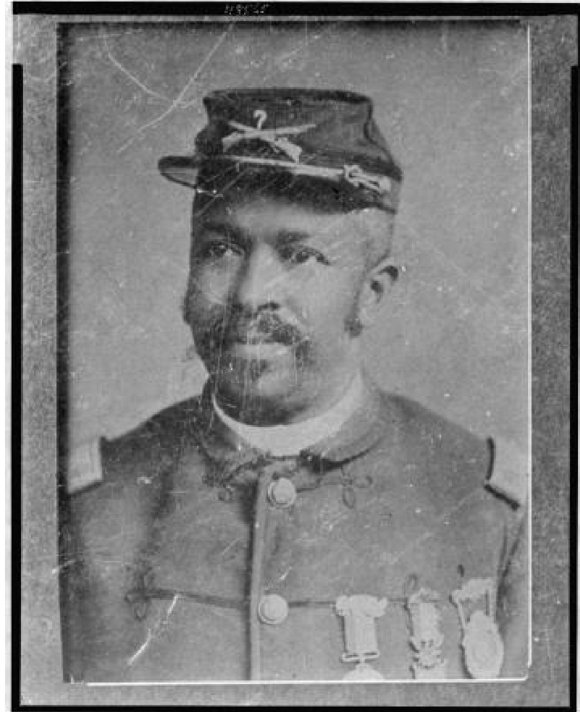
of Richmond to the rolling fields of the Virginia Piedmont.

Cannon adorn part of the Opequon (Third Winchester) battlefield in the Shenandoah Valley.
Buddy Secor

In the 2018 grant round, the Shenandoah Valley Battlefields Foundation will be awarded $255,000 to purchase an easement over 130 acres of farmland in Shenandoah County that figured in the Battle of Tom's Brook and to purchase outright a two-acre tract in Frederick County that witnessed the Battle of Opequon (Third Winchester).

"The Virginia Battlefield Preservation Fund has been and continues to be indispensable to efforts to save threatened battlefield land in the Shenandoah Valley," said Keven Walker, CEO of the Valley's National Historic District. "Funding from this program has been instrumental in helping to save thousands of acres of hallowed ground in the Valley, honoring the sacrifice of generations of American servicemen and women, while also protecting critical open space that enhances the lives of local residents and entices millions of visitors to the Valley each year."

The American Battlefield Trust will be awarded $895,000 to acquire 430 acres at the battlefields of Cold Harbor and North Anna (both in Hanover County), Second Deep Bottom and New Market Heights (Henrico County), Reams Station (Dinwiddie County), Rappahannock Station II (Culpeper County), Petersburg and Yorktown.



Sgt. Maj. Christian A. Fleetwood of the 4th United States Colored Cavalry received the nation's Medal of Honor for his courageous actions in the Battle of New Market Heights near Richmond.
Library of Congress

This year marks the first time the fund has been applied to a Revolutionary War battlefield, helping to preserve key acreage at Yorktown that figured in the October 1781 siege that secured American independence. In the Richmond area, grant funds will help protect a portion of the New Market Heights battlefield where United States Colored Troops fought with great courage against entrenched defenders,

briefly opening the way to the Confederate capital. Fourteen of these men were presented the nation's Medal of Honor, the greatest number awarded to African-American soldiers for any battle of the Civil War.

"I applaud the Northam Administration for continuing to advance Virginia's steadfast commitment to preserving its historic battlefields," American Battlefield Trust President James Lighthizer said. "The grants announced today will serve to protect threatened hallowed ground that may have otherwise been lost forever to development and urban sprawl."

This year, the Virginia Department of Historic Resources received applications requesting more money in grants than the allocation to the Virginia Battlefield Preservation Fund could provide, a long-term trend captured in a recently completed study of the program commissioned by the American Battlefield Trust and the Shenandoah Valley Battlefields Foundation.

Autumn colors tint trees along the North Anna River on some of the land protected by the American Battlefield Trust.
Kelly Schneider

The report — undertaken for the two nonprofit groups by STACH pllc of Asheville, N.C., and the Community Land Use and Economics Group of Arlington, Va. — was completed prior to the announcement of this year's grant awards. It describes the successes and economic impact of the Virginia Battlefield Preservation Fund and outlines the urgent need for continued support of this crucial program.

The report also highlights the vital role that Virginia's state and national battlefields play in the Commonwealth's $6.5 billion heritage-tourism industry, which supports more than 105,000 jobs and provides $1.3 billion in tax revenue. Together, Virginia's state and federal battlefield parks generate about $6,772 per acre in economic output annually, making the Virginia Battlefield Preservation Fund one of the Commonwealth's best economic investments.

About the American Battlefield Trust
The American Battlefield Trust is dedicated to preserving America's hallowed battlegrounds and educating the public about what happened there and why it matters today. The nonprofit, nonpartisan organization has protected more than 50,000 acres associated with the Revolutionary War, War of 1812, and Civil War, including more than 25,700 acres in Virginia. See www.battlefields.org.

About the Shenandoah Valley Battlefields Foundation
The Shenandoah Valley Battlefields Foundation protects the hallowed ground of the Valley's battlefields, shares its story with the nation, and encourages travel to its Civil War sites. The Foundation has directly preserved 5,264 acres of battlefield land in the historic Shenandoah Valley, and helped to preserve more than 8,000 acres in total in the Valley's National Historic District. See shenandoahatwar.org.

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Women Soldiers of the Civil War

Prologue Magazine Spring 1993, Vol. 25, No. 1
By DeAnne Blanton
© 1993 by DeAnne Blanton

Disguised as a man (left), Frances Clayton served many months in Missouri artillery and cavalry units. (By courtesy of the Trustees of the Boston Public Library)

It is an accepted convention that the Civil War was a man's fight. Images of women during that conflict center on self-sacrificing nurses, romantic spies, or brave ladies maintaining the home front in the absence of their men. The men, of course, marched off to war, lived in germ-ridden camps, engaged in heinous battle, languished in appalling prison camps, and died horribly, yet heroically. This conventional picture of gender roles during the Civil War does not tell the entire story. Men were not the only ones to fight that war. Women bore arms and charged into battle, too. Like the men, there were women who lived in camp, suffered in prisons, and died for their respective causes.

Both the Union and Confederate armies forbade the enlistment of women. Women soldiers of the Civil War therefore assumed masculine names, disguised themselves as men, and hid the fact they were female. Because they passed as men, it is impossible to know with any certainty how many women soldiers served in the Civil War. Estimates place as many as 250 women in the ranks of the Confederate army.(1) Writing in 1888, Mary Livermore of the U.S. Sanitary Commission remembered that:

Some one has stated the number of women soldiers known to the service as little less than four hundred. I cannot vouch for the correctness of this estimate, but I am convinced that a larger number of women disguised themselves and enlisted in the service, for one cause or other, than was dreamed of. Entrenched in secrecy, and regarded as men, they were sometimes revealed as women, by accident or casualty. Some startling histories of these military women were current in the gossip of army life.(2)

Livermore and the soldiers in the Union army were not the only ones who knew of soldier-women. Ordinary citizens heard of them, too. Mary Owens, discovered to be a woman after she was wounded in the arm, returned to her Pennsylvania home to a warm reception and press coverage. She had served for eighteen months under the alias John Evans.(3)

In the post - Civil War era, the topic of women soldiers continued to arise in both literature and the press. Frank Moore's *Women of the War*, published in 1866, devoted an entire chapter to the military heroines of the North. A year later, L. P.

Brockett and Mary Vaughan mentioned ladies "who from whatever cause . . . donned the male attire and concealed their sex . . . [who] did not seek to be known as women, but preferred to pass for men."(4) Loreta Velazquez published her memoirs in 1876. She served the Confederacy as Lt. Harry Buford, a self-financed soldier not officially attached to any regiment.

The existence of soldier-women was no secret during or after the Civil War. The reading public, at least, was well aware that these women rejected Victorian social constraints confining them to the domestic sphere. Their motives were open to speculation, perhaps, but not their actions, as numerous newspaper stories and obituaries of women soldiers testified.

Most of the articles provided few specific details about the individual woman's army career. For example, the obituary of Satronia Smith Hunt merely stated she enlisted in an Iowa regiment with her first husband. He died of battle wounds, but she apparently emerged from the war unscathed.(5) An 1896 story about Mary Stevens Jenkins, who died in 1881, tells an equally brief tale. She enlisted in a Pennsylvania regiment when still a schoolgirl, remained in the army two years, received several wounds, and was discharged without anyone ever realizing she was female.(6) The press seemed unconcerned about the women's actual military exploits. Rather, the fascination lay in the simple fact that they had been in the army.

The army itself, however, held no regard for women soldiers, Union or Confederate. Indeed, despite recorded evidence to the contrary, the U.S. Army tried to deny that women played a military role, however small, in the Civil War. On October 21, 1909, Ida Tarbell of *The American Magazine* wrote to Gen. F. C. Ainsworth, the adjutant general: "I am anxious to know whether your department has any record of the number of women who enlisted and served in the Civil War, or has it any record of any women who were in the service?" She received swift reply from the Records and Pension Office, a division of the Adjutant General's Office (AGO), under Ainsworth's signature. The response read in part:

I have the honor to inform you that no official record has been found in the War Department showing specifically that any woman was ever enlisted in the military service of the United States as a member of any organization of the Regular or Volunteer Army at any time during the period of the civil war. It is possible, however, that there may have been a few instances of women having served as soldiers for a short time without their sex having been detected, but no record of such cases is known to exist in the official files.(7)

This response to Ms. Tarbell's request is untrue. One of the duties of the AGO was maintenance of the U.S. Army's archives, and the AGO took good care of the extant records created during that conflict. By 1909 the AGO had also created compiled military service records (CMSR) for the participants of the Civil War, both Union and Confederate, through painstaking copying of names and remarks from official federal documents and captured Confederate records. Two such CMSRs prove the point that the army did have documentation of the service of women soldiers.

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American Battlefield Trust Praises Designation of Camp Nelson National Monument

American Battlefield Trust Praises Designation of Camp Nelson National Monument

Kentucky's first national monument served as an important training center for African-Americans serving in the Union Army and fighting for their freedom

American Battlefield Trust \Jim Campi & Clint Schemmer

October 27, 2018

James Hunn of Danville, Ky., wearing the uniform of the 12th U.S. Colored Heavy Artillery, reads the plaque that was unveiled as Camp Nelson near Nicholasville, Ky., was designated a National Historic Landmark in 2014. The 12th Heavy Artillery was one of eight black regiments founded at Camp Nelson, and five others trained there. Mark Cornelison/Lexington Herald-Leader / Lexington Herald-Leader

(Camp Nelson, Ky.)— The American Battlefield Trust today applauded the designation of Camp Nelson National Monument in historic Jessamine County, Kentucky. A Union supply depot, training ground and hospital during the Civil War, Camp Nelson grew into a busy recruitment center for African-American soldiers and an emancipation site for them and their families. Designated by President Donald J. Trump on Friday, the move establishes the first national monument in the Bluegrass State.

American Battlefield Trust President James Lighthizer praised the announcement.

"Camp Nelson played an important and often forgotten role in the Civil War, and its addition to the national park system will broaden the interpretation of America's history," Lighthizer said. "This site was among the nation's largest recruitment and training centers for African-American soldiers during the Civil War and shines a light onto the legacy of these soldiers. In few other places are the stories of these soldiers and their families, journeying on the difficult road to freedom, so well told."

The American Battlefield Trust and the National Park Foundation helped facilitate the 380-acre donation of the site — previously known as Camp Nelson Civil War Heritage Park, a National Historic Landmark near Nicholasville in central Kentucky — to the National Park Service.

African-American soldiers, known during the Civil War as U.S. Colored Troops, stand in formation outside their barracks at Camp Nelson, Kentucky. Some 10,000 black soldiers enlisted in the Union army at Camp Nelson, and thousands of their wives and children lived there.
Camp Nelson Education Foundation

The fortified camp began in 1863 as a Union Army supply depot, training ground and hospital. As Union policy changed to allow enlistment of black soldiers, it grew into the third-largest recruitment and training center for African-American regiments — referred to as United States Colored Troops — during the Civil War.

By the end of 1865, when ratification of the U.S. Constitution's 13th Amendment ended slavery in Kentucky, some 10,000 African-American men had enlisted and been emancipated at Camp Nelson. Crucially, it served as a sanctuary for these soldiers' wives and children — more than 3,000 by war's end — as they found freedom in what was a slaveholding state.

Events at the camp encouraged many more African-American soldiers to enlist in Kentucky and other border states critical to the Union, which prompted Congress to emancipate the families of all black Union soldiers, and led the Union army to reform how it cared for refugees at its posts.

After the war, former slaves were issued their emancipation papers at the camp, and many men and women considered Camp Nelson to be their cradle of freedom. In postwar years, the U.S. Sanitary Commission operated a soldiers' home in former barracks there.

Camp Nelson National Monument in Jessamine County, Kentucky, includes this earthen fort, one of the Union army post's defenses that survives from the Civil War.
Bruce Guthrie

Today, the historic site includes earthen fortifications, entrenchments, a depot magazine, building foundations, historic road remnants, and the pre-war Oliver Perry House (now a museum). Together with Jessamine County Fiscal Court, the Camp Nelson Restoration and Preservation Foundation — a local not-for-profit organization — has played a key role in the site's restoration and interpretation, encouraging and enabling visitation.

The American Battlefield Trust is dedicated to preserving America's hallowed battlegrounds and educating the public about what happened there and why it matters today. The nonprofit, nonpartisan organization has protected more than 50,000 acres associated with the Revolutionary War, War of 1812, and Civil War, including 2,476 acres in Kentucky. Learn more at www.battlefields.org.

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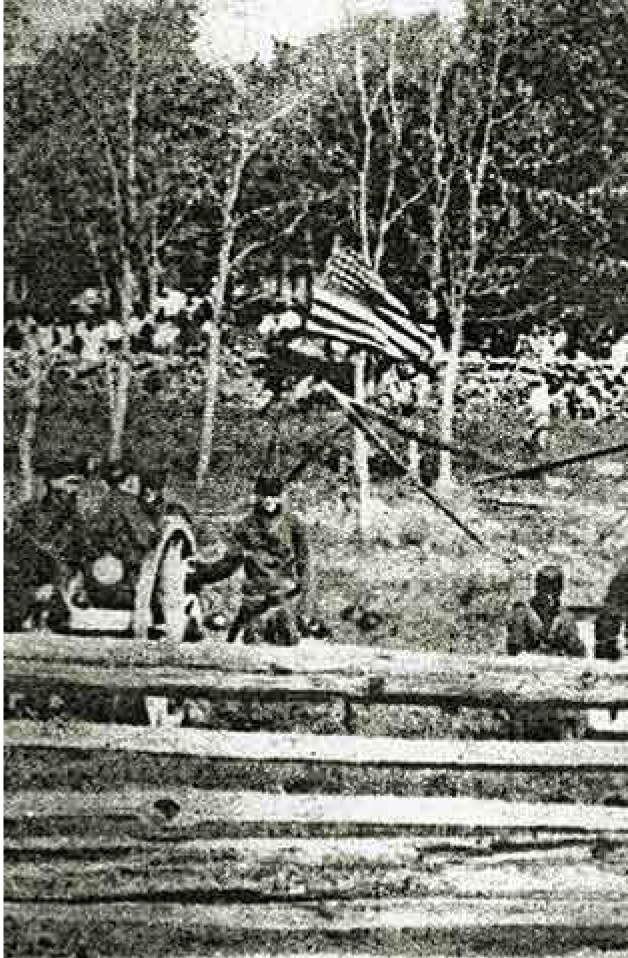

Action! Authenticity was critical for director Allen Holubar in re-creating the Battle of Franklin for his 1923 film The Human Mill. Here, extras portray Union artillerymen—some of them Southerners grudgingly wearing blue to the horror of their own families.

'Confederates Badly Needed'

By John Banks
FEBRUARY 2019 • CIVIL WAR TIMES MAGAZINE

And Union Troops, Too, For A Long-Lost 1923 Movie About The Battle of Franklin

Under high-piled clouds, soldiers in blue and gray clashed on a hot morning on the killing field of Franklin, Tennessee. Flags aflutter, gritty Confederates repeatedly charged as huge explosions sent "great geysers" of dirt flying. The wind carried battle smoke across the field, a witness wrote, in a "never-ending current."

"Federal gunners, stripped to the waist, sweated and cursed at their flaming field pieces," according to an account. When the Confederate flag fell to the turf during an attack, an eager Southerner was there to swoop up the treasured flag. In an odd twist, a Federal sharpshooter wearing a curly blond wig squeezed off shots from behind a low stone fence.

Above the wild fray, a commander could be heard barking out orders: "Tell them to fall back! Make them retire! Retreat, retreat, retreat!" On the Union left flank, intense hand-to-hand combat broke out, and after ammunition ran out, soldiers grappled in "desperate wrestling matches."

This Battle of Franklin was all Hollywood

As the battle reached a crescendo, the commander demanded both sides cease fire. The soldiers grudgingly complied. In fact, the begrimed combatants eventually joined each other for a huge barbecue lunch, courtesy of the local Kiwanis Club. Casualties were extremely light—several sprained ankles, a few black eyes, and at least one case of sunstroke. After the last gun had been fired, 10,000-12,000 spectators—vastly more than the number of civilians who witnessed the First Battle of Bull Run—headed home. These scenes were not the least bit surprising.

After all, this Battle of Franklin was fought September 27, 1923, and it was all Hollywood.

If you're looking for evidence of the real Battle of Franklin, fought on November 30, 1864, you can easily find it on Fountain Branch Carter's bullet-scarred house and outbuildings on Columbia Pike or on the bloodstained floors of nearby Carnton, the stately ancestral home of the McGavock family. If you're looking for the Hollywood movie version of the great battle, you won't find it on YouTube, Netflix, HBO, or anywhere else. But we're getting ahead of ourselves. Grab a cold drink and some popcorn, and let's hold off before we roll the credits.

Prime Time The lead duo for Holubar's film were Hollywood actors Blanche Sweet and Henry B. Walthall. (Library of Congress)

Sixteen years before the epic Gone With the Wind debuted, production began on *The Human Mill*, an adaptation of Alabama native John Trotwood Moore's 1906 historical novel The Bishop of Cottontown. Moore, Tennessee's state librarian and archivist, based the book around his state's cotton industry. One of the main characters was "General Jeremiah Travis," who, along with his stereotypical faithful slave "Bisco," figured significantly in the book's chapter on the Battle of Franklin.

Shot on location in middle Tennessee, the movie about the Old South featured in leading roles Blanche Sweet and Henry B. Walthall, the son of a Confederate captain who had fought at Franklin. In 1915, Walthall played "The Little Colonel" in Birth of a Nation, the highly controversial, Civil War–themed silent film. But the real star of *The Human Mill* was 33-year-old director Allen Holubar, a former silent movie actor and husband of famed actress Dorothy Phillips.

A "man of easy and immediate personal charm, with piercing quick eyes," the California native was the stereotypical Hollywood movie man of the era. Holubar "offered his public gray whipcord riding breeches, high-laced boots, multi-colored silk sport shirts, a pipe, and a jaunty panama," Marshall Morgan wrote in 1950 in an excellent, two-part retrospective for *The Nashville Tennessean Magazine* about the making of *The Human Mill*.

Arriving in Tennessee in mid-September, his first trip to the South, Holubar initially made his headquarters at the Hermitage Hotel in Nashville, the city's first million-dollar hotel. The region, unfamiliar with big-time Hollywood movie making, was "agog" by the presence of the director and his crew, according to the local newspaper. "Fully half the population of middle Tennessee seems intent on helping us film the scenes," noted Holubar, a director of nearly three dozen films, "and the other half wishes to appear in them."

For the Battle of Franklin, the major scene in the movie, Holubar wanted to shoot on the actual battlefield. In 1923, the bloody plain upon which John Bell Hood's Army of

Tennessee charged was largely open fields. Today, it's a hodge-podge of office parks, convenience stores, strip malls, and neighborhoods, with little open space at all. Holubar chose J.W. Yowell's farm a half-mile west of Columbia Pike and about a mile south of the wartime Carter House, the epicenter of the real battle where nearly 10,000 men became casualties. About a mile farther south loomed tree-covered Winstead Hill, where Hood watched the battle unfold.

Henry *B. Walthall, in fact, already had a Civil War film on his resumé—the controversial Birth of a Nation. (Glasshouse Images/Alamy Stock Photo)*

Holubar needed thousands of extras for the battle scenes, and he found no shortage of men and boys willing to play army for a day of shooting film and firing blanks. A military academy in Columbia as well as two schools in Spring Hill supplied their entire student bodies. Franklin's Battle Ground Academy and high school also offered up their male students for the big show. To supplement the youthful ranks, Holubar sought area veterans, many of whom eagerly volunteered.

"I simply sent out cards to all ex-servicemen in the county," recalled a local attorney who commanded a U.S. artillery battery in France during World War I. "I told them, in substance, that unless they showed up early on the morning of the film battle, there could be no assurance that they could take part."

Seeking a double for Blanche Sweet, Holubar, a master of public relations, put out word he wanted a local. "If you believe there is a resemblance between yourself and this well-known screen star," *The Tennessean* noted under a large, published photo of the actress, "get in touch with Mr. Holubar immediately at the Hermitage hotel." To ensure historical accuracy, the president of the Tennessee Historical Society, a WWI brigadier general, author Moore, and 91-year-old John A. Fite, who served under Robert E. Lee in Virginia as a colonel of the 7th Tennessee, made themselves available to the director.

On the day of filming, a holiday was declared in Franklin. Stores were closed, and doors of the county's schools were shut so students could "see how a big motion picture is actually made." Thousands of visitors jammed the town, population about 3,200. "It seems an uncanny thing," the local newspaper wrote. "But the filming of this principal scene in the 'Human Mill' picture, will, doubtless, be one of the most interesting events the historic little city has ever witnessed."

On the morning of filming, the most thankless job fell to "Captain" Koch, real first name unknown, "a thick-guttaralled, red-faced" German WWI veteran. He was in charge of movie wardrobes, stored in Franklin's historic Masonic Lodge, completed in 1826. During the Battle of Franklin, the building was struck by Union

artillery fire, and in the aftermath of the fighting, it was used as a hospital for Federal wounded. In what is today a Masonic Lodge restroom, you can still see the scrawling of Union soldiers on a wall.

Disastrous Battle of Franklin Will Be Re-enacted for Screen Thursday

City and County Has Declared Holiday and Thousands Are Expected to Witness Work Picture Making

BY FRANCES MORGAN.
(Special to The Tennessean.)

Franklin, Tenn., Sept. 24.—On Thursday the little town of Franklin will again live over one of the most momentous events in the history of the whole South—the battle of Franklin, conceded to be one of the most cyclonic and bloodiest of modern times known to any civilized nation.

From far and near, from the Harpeth hills and valleys, from hamlet, town and city, there will foregather thousands of men and boys, some driving handsome motor cars, some belaboring the old gray family horse, others trudging afoot, but all upon the same errand bent—to participate in the filming of the first motion picture ever made in this section.

On the day designated, the principal scene in the picture, "The Hi[illegible] Mill," the screen version of "The Bishop of Cottontown," by [illegible] picture and has sent notices to all ex-soldiers in the county asking that they take part in the filming of the battle scene. However, the request has not been limited to the ex-soldiers; all men and boys of proper age and physical condition have been asked to meet with the picture directors on Thursday morning.

Holiday Declared.

Franklin has declared the day a holiday. Stores will be closed and business men will turn the keys in their office doors for the day. The county and city schools, B. G. A. and Branham and Hughes, of Spring Hill, will close in order that the students may see how a big motion picture is actually made. Many thousands of visitors will be in Franklin. It is expected that many will travel in this direction from Nashville on Thursday morning, friends of the ex-service men of the city who will participate in

The film drew the attention of The Tennessean newspaper, and a local reporter noted: "The directors [came] all the way from the Pacific Coast to secure the correct acting and 'atmosphere' for their gigantic production." (The Tennessean)

Yankees, however, were the furthest thing from the minds of most soldier extras—a mob, really—who early that morning in 1923 charged into the three-story brick building on what is now 2nd Avenue South. Intrepid reporter Marshall Morgan described the scene:

"Give us Confederate uniforms!' members of the crowd yelled, surging forward. 'We don't want any damn Yankee uniforms!' The redoubtable captain, bracing himself against the onrush, wiped his crimson brow. 'Gentlemen please, gentlemen!' he roared. 'How vill de pig-ture be made if no vun vill be a Vederal?' In what was presumably a burst of inspiration, Captain Koch allowed the first 15 or 20 insurgents to seize Confederate uniforms. After that, with the aid of assistants, he rushed men through the hall so rapidly, and piled uniforms into their arms so vigorously, that hundreds of malcontents emerged to find themselves equipped with rifles, blank cartridges and blue uniforms before they could realize the extent of their humiliation."

Even nearly 60 years after the battle, feelings ran especially high in the South about the Civil War. When a Confederate veteran saw his grandson emerge from the Masonic Lodge with a blue Yankee uniform, he became enraged, growling, "Go take those damn rags off!"

Trampling fencing and cornfields, battlefield spectators were everywhere. "The Columbia Pike leading out of Franklin was literally jammed with traffic for more than three hours before the spectacle," according to a Page 1 *Tennessean* account about the battle action. "The spectators came in almost every conceivable sort of vehicle. Autos were parked in cornfields, in wood lots and anywhere else that space could be found." Ropes held the throng back from a small platform on a hillside where the battlefield commander, director Holubar, and his assistants made movie magic.

To prepare the battlefield for the film, trenches were dug and fake houses and barns were constructed. Rail fences were laid, and white flags marked the boundaries of the "killing zone." Federal cannons came from sources throughout Tennessee, including the state capitol. The technical star of the operation was powder and explosives expert Carl Hernandez, "the master of the minefields." Beginning about daybreak, the field was mined with explosives that, when exploded, simulated the results of artillery

fire. Hernandez controlled that action from a switchboard.

In a touch of movie-making genius, the director invited Confederate veterans to the set, most probably in their late 70s and early 80s. “After that,” Morgan wrote, “the ghostly lilt of Dixie would ride the winds.” At least one of the old soldiers participated in the final charge scene.

Colonel Emerson Opdycke‘s 125th Ohio engages Confederates near the Carter House at a critical point of the fighting, in a painting by Don Troiani. (Troiani, Don (B.1949)/Private Collection/Bridgeman Images)

A stickler for details, Holubar, called “Mars, the God of War” by a local reporter, complained that a Union gun crew appeared to be too young. An assistant told the director the gunners had fought during World War I. The director smiled and walked away. When battle flags appeared to be too new, Holubar had them replaced with scruffier versions. His vision, of course, was to make the battle action as realistic as possible.

Unsurprisingly for a complicated project with thousands of moving parts, the day got off to an inauspicious start. The Franklin mayor—an adviser for the film and witness to the battle when he was 10—stormed off the massive outdoor set because he thought the location was not historically accurate. But Holubar stuck to his guns; the location he chose would remain. After several fits and starts, soldiers found their zone. The result was magnificent, a stunningly realistic 500 feet of movie film. Wrote Morgan about the “ear-splitting inferno of thunder, flame, smoke…”:

“Individual participants, swallowed up in the billowing smoke, blinded by rifle flashes and borne to earth under cascading tons of dirt, remember shreds of their own experiences. The immediate and first general reaction among the troops was the shocked realization that the thing was terrific, far more realistic and hazardous than anyone had foreseen. One astonished Confederate soldier, struggling to his knees under a deluge of dirt, expressed the overall reaction of the combatants when he shouted to the companion lying beside him: ‘My God, I didn’t know it was going to be like this!”

A Confederate veteran, a spectator, was consumed by the action: “Let me at ’em, boy!” he said from behind ropes during a scene. “I fit ’em in ’64, and I ain’t afraid to fight ’em

now!"

In focus Director Allen Holubar (right) looks much the picture of health in a photo taken during filming, but became ill and died in late 1923, before completing his movie. (The Nashville Tennessean Magazine)

After the soldiers got their post-battle chow, another veteran who had a bit part in the charge thanked Holubar for his role in the film. It was a touching moment. "The gray-clad veteran," The Tennessean reported, "asked if the director needed 'the boys' for more scenes." No, Holubar replied with a smile, the battle was over for "the boys." The director knew he'd created a winner. "For its explosive effects," Holubar said, "this battle scene surpasses any I have ever seen taken." Days later, a writer who witnessed the faux battle marveled at what was an almost mystical experience for him. "The past itself was here," he wrote in *The Tennessean*. "What had been done to bring it back was a matter of little moment. All the more praise for [Holubar] that he made us forget the quick fire of his imagination, his art, and all his dominance of a thousand details, in the grip of the thing he had produced."

"It is not Allen Holubar that we remember as the thrill of the scene still strikes at our hearts," he added, "but the gray ghosts that he brought to life and the old battle that roared again across a famous field because of him."

Sadly, Allen Holubar's masterpiece never made it into a theater. Apparently under severe mental and physical strain during filming in Tennessee, the director returned to California, where he underwent a gallstone operation. While convalescing at his Hollywood home, he died on November 20, 1923, with his wife, 7-year-old daughter, and his mother at his bedside. "Stricken while filming his greatest picture," read a headline on his obituary in the *Los Angeles Times*.

"All Tennessee grieves with you," Moore wrote in a telegram to Holubar's wife. "No one ever so completely won our hearts…." Production on *The Human Mill* had been suspended, and ultimately, the movie was never completed.

Spurred on by *Second Hour of Glory*, Morgan's 1950 newspaper series on the film, Tennessee officials tried to secure a copy of the battle scenes from MGM to show at a local fair. But the studio's search was fruitless. "We have several contacts in Hollywood," a fair official said after receiving the bad news, "and it's possible the film may be in a private film library."

Since then, no trace of *The Human Mill* has surfaced. Like the gray ghosts on Franklin's Bloody Plain, it has vanished into the mists of history.

John Banks is a regular columnist for Civil War Times and the author of a popular Civil War blog (john-banks.blogspot.com). Banks lives in Nashville, Tenn.

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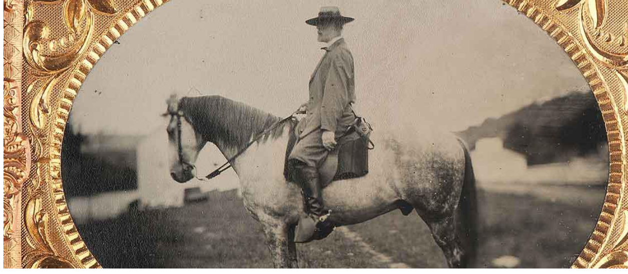

"Marse Robert": A photographer captured Robert E. Lee astride "Traveller" at Rock Springs Bath, Va., in 1866.

Insight: The Desperate Gamble

By Gary W. Gallagher
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No part of Robert E. Lee's record as a Confederate general has occasioned more criticism than his decision to launch Pickett's Charge

Following the carnage of Maj. Gen. George Pickett's failed frontal assault against the Union center at Gettysburg on July 3, 1863, General Robert E. Lee rode among survivors of Pickett's Division as they returned to the sheltering slopes of Seminary Ridge. Luckily for future students of the battle, Sir Arthur James Lyon Fremantle, the British observer and diarist temporarily attached to James Longstreet's headquarters, was on the scene to record Lee "engaged in rallying and in encouraging the broken troops." When Brig. Gen. Cadmus M. Wilcox approached the commanding general, "almost crying" in Fremantle's judgment, "Lee immediately shook hands with him and said, cheerfully, 'Never mind, General, all this has been MY fault—it is I that have lost this fight, and you must help me out of it in the best way you can.'" This example of Lee's willingness to take responsibility for his own decisions—it was his fault—provides powerful evidence of his style of generalship's gruesome cost.

As friendly a witness as Edward Porter Alexander, who considered Lee a supremely gifted officer, judged his old chief's tactical offensive on the third day at Gettysburg harshly: "[C]ertainly in the place & dispositions for the assault on the 3rd day, I think, it will undoubtedly be held that he unnecessarily took the most desperate chances & the bloodiest road." Confederate cavalry general Wade Hampton, while recovering from wounds incurred at Gettysburg, wrote that the Pennsylvania Campaign was a "complete failure" during which Lee resorted to unimaginative offensive tactics. "The position of the Yankees there," the South Carolinian insisted, "was the strongest I ever saw & it was in vain to attack it."

Fury on the Third Day: Pennsylvania artist Peter Rothermel completed this depiction of Pickett's Charge 1n 1870. This is a copy print of the original painting, which is still displayed in the State Museum of Pennsylvania. (Chronicle/Alamy Stock Photo)

Why did Lee select such a risky and potentially costly course? The prudent decision, as Porter Alexander pointed out, would have been to shift to the defensive

following the Confederate tactical victory on July 1. But Lee overlooked the Federals' superior ground, waived off objections from James Longstreet, and, frustrated by what he considered substandard performances from J.E.B. Stuart, Richard S. Ewell, and A.P. Hill, decided to risk a great deal on the afternoon of July 3. In the end, a breathtaking confidence in his infantry likely proved the decisive factor in dictating Lee's course on July 3.

A memorable episode at Chancellorsville two months earlier helps explain Lee's behavior at Gettysburg. Heavy fighting forced a Federal withdrawal on the morning of May 3, and Lee rode northward from Hazel Grove to the Plank Road, then turned east toward Chancellorsville crossroads. A mile's ride carried him to a scene that no artist could improve. Confederate artillery south of the Plank Road sent deadly missiles into the ranks of retreating Federals. Smoke from woods set afire by musketry and shells drifted skyward. Just north of the Plank Road, in a clearing that had been the center of Hooker's line, stood the Chancellor House, itself ablaze with flames licking at its sides. Lee guided Traveller through thousands of Confederate infantrymen, general and mount dominating a remarkable tableau of victory. Emotions flowed freely as the soldiers, nearly 9,000 of whose comrades had fallen in the morning's fighting, shouted their devotion to Lee, who acknowledged their cheers by removing his hat.

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Seldom has the bond between a successful commander and his troops achieved more dramatic display. Colonel Charles Marshall of Lee's staff captured the moment: "The fierce soldiers with their faces blackened with the smoke of battle, the wounded crawling with feeble limbs from the fury of the devouring flames, all seemed possessed with a common impulse. One long, unbroken cheer, in which the feeble cry of those who lay helpless on the earth blended with the strong voices of those who still fought, rose high above the roar of battle, and hailed the presence of the victorious chief." Lee basked in "the full realization of all that soldiers dream of—triumph." Chancellorsville marked the apogee of Lee's career as a general and cemented the reciprocal trust between him and his men that helped make the Army of Northern Virginia a formidable military instrument.

Namesake: Though Maj. Gen. George Pickett was just one of three Rebel division commanders in the famous Gettysburg charge, his name is most closely linked to the attack. (Library of Congress)

That trust impressed many observers as the Confederates entered Pennsylvania in June. Ample testimony about soaring confidence in the Army of Northern Virginia lends credence to the idea that Lee believed his infantry could do anything he asked.

Fremantle addressed morale in his diary. Over supper on the evening of July 1, Longstreet discussed the reasons attacks might fail; however, added Fremantle, in the ranks "the universal feeling in the army was one of profound contempt for an enemy whom they have beaten so constantly, and under so many disadvantages." The men's attitude, together with Lee's great faith in them, implied a degree of scorn for the Federals noted by Fremantle's fellow foreign observer, Captain Justus Scheibert of the Prussian army: "Excessive disdain for the enemy…caused the simplest plan of a direct attack upon the position at Gettysburg to prevail and deprived the army of victory."

Two of Lee's statements at the time suggest the centrality of his unbridled confidence in the army's rank-and-file. He wrote his wife on July 26 that the army had "accomplished all that could reasonably be expected. It ought not to have been expected to perform impossibilities," he admitted in a sentence that could be taken as self-criticism, "or to have fulfilled the anticipations of the thoughtless and unreasonable." Five days later, Lee wrote in the same vein to Jefferson Davis: "No blame can be attached to the army for its failure to accomplish what was projected by me….I am alone to blame, in perhaps expecting too much of its prowess & valour."

On July 3, Lee concluded that his infantry could overcome the recalcitrance of his lieutenants, difficulties of terrain, and everything else to achieve great results. Fourteen years after the battle, former division commander Henry Heth succinctly summed up what had happened in Pennsylvania: "The fact is, General Lee believed the Army of Northern Virginia, as it then existed, could accomplish anything."

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***(Washington Post Editorial by three Washington and Lee University Professors. No editorial reflects the views of the BCWRT)*)**

Made by History Perspective

Why universities should be on the front lines of the monument wars

Scholars know historical actions can — and should — be judged.

Supporters of Confederate monuments are escorted by police Aug. 30 during a rally regarding the recently toppled statue known as Silent Sam at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. (AP) (Gerry Broome/AP)

By Michelle D. Brock, Molly Michelmore and Sarah Horowitz
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After years of protest, students and activists finally toppled the statue of a Confederate soldier prominently displayed on the University of North Carolina's Chapel Hill campus. University leaders immediately vowed to restore the statue, while others on campus, including the history department,

have urged its permanent removal. Meanwhile, UNC-Chapel Hill has become a battleground for a larger fight, as a local group dedicated to defending Confederate statues marched across campus with a large Confederate flag and signs saying, "Save our monuments. Preserve our history."

Colleges and universities have become flash points for the debates over the meanings of monuments and in the larger question of how the past shapes the present and the future. Rather than a problem to be overcome, these "monument wars" should be seen as an opportunity for students, faculty and administrators to think about how universities can lead a conversation about the darkest parts of our past that is nuanced rather than simplistic, honest rather than whitewashed. Contemporary politics too often devolves into talking points, focus-group-tested slogans or even propaganda. What better place to have difficult, but critically important, conversations than university campuses?

Many institutions have taken seriously the challenges posed by their history. For some, including Brown, Georgetown and Princeton, answering these questions has meant unearthing and acknowledging the universities' long-hidden historical ties to slavery and the transatlantic slave trade. For others, it has meant addressing public memorials, including chapels, statues and buildings, honoring the Confederacy and the Lost Cause. Our own Washington and Lee University, which owes its survival to Robert E. Lee and the pernicious "Lost Cause" mythology, has also struggled to address its own troubled past.

This historical investigation is an opportunity to expose the difference between history and commemoration and show that monuments are not neutral historical artifacts. Defenders of Confederate memorials say they are simply preserving history by protecting spaces or statues from the excesses of contemporary political correctness. In reality, they are making their own political statements and promoting a distorted and often whitewashed version of the past.

That position does not honor history but ignores it. For thousands of years, monuments have served not to educate but to honor a particular vision of the past and in so doing shape the present and the future — and who that future is for.

And far from being a product of "woke" college campuses, monument wars are a tradition older than the American republic itself. On July 9, 1776, after hearing the Declaration of Independence publicly proclaimed, a group of American soldiers and sailors tore down a statue of George III. The act did not remove George III from history, but it simply removed his image from a place of honor in the public square.

The same groups that often claim the mantle of history's defenders also insist that we cannot judge historical figures according to contemporary moral codes. Such concerns have no place on university campuses whose mission is to promote complex critical thinking and honest engagement.

Understanding history requires us to make judgments about the past. In our courses, we teach students to identify and evaluate historical sources but also to understand how these sources might be biased toward one group or another. We ask how other viewpoints — from marginalized or disempowered groups, for example — might be obscured by these sources.

Memorials also make judgments. Who or what gets memorialized tells us less about the past than about the present, and too often silences dissident voices. It speaks volumes, for example, that Confederate Gen. James Longstreet is nowhere memorialized in the South. A remarkable soldier, once referred to as "Lee's Old War Horse," Longstreet was also an agent of Reconstruction and of black civil rights. For this, he has been all but erased not from history but from a Southern landscape pockmarked by memorials to the "heroes" and "martyrs" of the "Lost Cause."

Not all historical judgments require moral pronouncements. But they sometimes do. Done right, such judgments do not hamper historical understanding but, rather, help to get the story straight. In teaching about 16th- and 17th-century witch hunts, for example, we can seek to understand pre-modern modes of thought while still lamenting such miscarriages of justice and paying closer attention to the voices of the (mostly female) victims. We can understand the democratic ideas that inspired the French Revolution while also recognizing that its leaders committed gross human rights violations in pursuit of these ideals. Judging individuals by modern standards doesn't impede historical understanding. It adds to it.

Claims that we should not judge historical figures also ignore the contemporaries who understood well the evils of their time. At any moment of systemic oppression, there were members of the dominant class — to say nothing of victimized or marginalized groups — who chose to resist. From the white Southerners who were also emancipationists to members of the French civil service who worked for the Resistance during the Vichy era, there have always been people who made hard choices, some at the cost of their own lives.

Understanding people in their own contexts therefore does not, and should not, mean excusing morally reprehensible actions. Recognizing the human tragedies of the past, and actively condemning those who did wrong, mourning for their victims and celebrating those who made righteous but difficult decisions does not mean that we don't understand history in its context. It means that we understand fully not only what happened, but also how that past continues to shape the present and the future.

In the end, how an institution does or does not present its history always, always entails judgments. Equivocation and continued condoning of past evils because of "context" are, in fact, judgments, too — ones that speak loudly and clearly. We expect students to understand this; it is not too much to expect leaders to do so, as well.

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