



THE "OLD LINER" NEWSLETTER

Restored Monument Reflects Md. Unity

by ROBERT SNYDER, Hagerstown Herald-Mail, June 3, 2006

Standing before the classical Greek-styled Maryland Military Monument at Antietam National Battlefield Saturday, June 3, Civil War author and historian Susan Soderberg recalled the story of Antigone, who defied an order to leave unburied the body of her brother, Polyneices, after he led an uprising against the city of Thebes.

Soderberg, whose remarks closed a rededication ceremony at the park that capped a \$300,000 restoration project for the 106-year-old marker, said the erection of the Maryland monument echoed the defiance of Antigone, and serves today as a symbol for the growing friendship between the two sides in the years after the war.

The monument, which was constructed in 1900, alone is among such markers because it honors Maryland Civil War dead who fought for both the Union and Confederate armies, author Dan Toomey said.

"It's unique because only Maryland had armies where soldiers from both sides fought each other," said Toomey, the author of "The Civil War in Maryland." "(The monument) showed the reunification of the country."

The Battle of Antietam, which was fought on Sept. 17, 1862, was one of the bloodiest battles in the country's history, said Secretary of Veterans Affairs George Owings, who said he first visited the battlefield as a teenager on a field trip.

"The sum total in that day resulted in more bloodshed than any single-day battle in the history (of the United States)," Owings said.



Maryland National Guard Adjutant General Maj. Gen. Bruce Tuxill speaks at the rededication of The Maryland Military Monument at Antietam National Battlefield. (Photo credit: By Yvette May / Herald-Mail Staff Photographer)

hadn't been as kind as the good will that built the marker, said Nancy Kurtz, a member of the Maryland Military Monuments Commission, which has been responsible for restoration projects throughout the state and at Gettysburg, Pa., Stephenson, Va. and Brooklyn, N.Y. Kurtz, who works for the Maryland Historical Trust, said the small octagonal temple had suffered corrosion from moisture to the iron framework beneath its copper-paneled dome, requiring its replacement with a modern steel framework.

The project was funded by a partnership between the National Park Service, the monuments commission, The Herald-Mail, Antietam Partners and private donations, according to a news brief released by the battlefield.

Originally built for \$10,000, the monument has been closed since 2003, Secretary of State spokeswoman Marina Harrison said.

The rededication ceremony included a rifle salute by the Maryland National Guard Honor Guard and music by the

state's National Guard 229th Army Band.

Gettysburg Battlefield Parking to be Limited This Summer

By SCOT A. PITZER – *Gettysburg Times*, May 2, 2006

Summer parking at Gettysburg National Military Park's welcome center, Park Service officials say, will be limited. Construction work is underway at the park's primary overflow Taneytown Road vehicle lot. The overflow site, conveniently located within two blocks of the Visitor Center, is known locally as the "Fantasyland" lot. "Parking will be at a premium this summer," said John Latschar, Park Service superintendent, at an April meeting. Lot spaces at the Visitor Center and Cyclorama facilities, according to park spokeswoman Katie Lawhon, total just under 300. There are also 32 bus and RV spaces.

The overflow Fantasyland lot can accommodate up to five dozen cars. But the parking area is closed, as crews are excavating dirt for the construction of a new \$70 million museum and Visitor Center complex. As a result, summer visitor parking will be a challenge.

"If you have guests coming in, please car-pool," said Latschar.

After paved lots are at capacity, the Park Service will direct vehicles to the Wright House lot, located at the corner of Taneytown Road and Hunt Avenue, and to the former Home Sweet Home motel site, at the corner of Steinwehr Avenue and Long Lane. Overflow vehicles will also be parked on the grounds between Steinwehr and the present Visitor Center.



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When the new multi-million dollar complex is complete, likely in early 2008, the facility's number of parking spaces will more than double. Park Service officials estimate there will be a total of 660 car spaces, and room for up to 60 buses and RVs.

Compared to the current complex, the state-of-the-art 139,000 square-foot facility — to be situated between Baltimore Pike, Taneytown Road and Hunt Avenue — will be almost double in size.

The facility will provide care for the park's collection of 38,000 Civil War artifacts, 700,000 archival items, and a refurbished Cyclorama.

In other Park Service news the Cyclorama building, but not the historic painting, is reopening to the public today. Restoration crews are currently doctoring the painting, which has worn and buckled over time. The patched canvas will be available for public view when the new museum complex opens.

Franklin Battle Flag Discovered after 130 Years in Cigar Box

BY BECCY TANNER, The Wichita Eagle, May 16, 2006

Rob Swinson believes he has found a Civil War treasure.

It's a regimental Confederate Civil War flag that flew in the western theater of the war in five major battles: Shiloh, Perryville, Murfreesboro, Chickamauga and Ringgold Gap.

It fell at the Battle of Franklin, was taken as a souvenir by a 17-year-old Union soldier and spent 130 years stuffed in a cigar box, nestled in the drawer of a treadle sewing machine in Sedgwick County.

Swinson, the owner of RidesUSA, an amusement ride business, bought the

flag at a McCurdy Auction estate sale in 2002.

He had no idea whether it was authentic.

But he had a feeling, and a willingness to go to any length to get the fragile, tattered cloth. He paid \$3,600 for something that most people would have thrown away.

Four years later, after learning who carried it and who fought under it, he's selling it for \$160,000.

Internet sensation

At first glance, it could be anything.

To most people, the pale blue-green flag with unfamiliar words on it looks like a piece of gauze.

It doesn't look like what most people think is a Confederate war flag, said Blair Tarr, Kansas State Historical Society's curator of decorative arts. It's not the St. Andrews cross carried by the Army of Northern Virginia, Robert E. Lee's army.

This flag, known as an 1864 Hardee-Cleburne flag, was one of 22 carried by the 32nd & 45th Mississippi Volunteer Infantry regiments.

The flag has battle damage and evidence of field repair where bullets and shrapnel pierced it.

And yet it is causing a stir among Civil War buffs across the country.

Greg Biggs of Clarksville, Tenn., part of an online group whose members are some of the nation's top flag scholars, said he saw a picture of the flag and knew immediately it was real.

"With all the fake flags showing up on eBay, there is this guy in Kansas with the real deal," Biggs said. "Stories like this are rare but not out of the question."

Howard Michael Madaus, author of the book "Battle Flags of the Confederate Army of Tennessee," was the first to verify the flag's authenticity. He said the flag is rare --

one of only 13 known to survive today, and one of only two in private hands.

The rest are in museums.

"This flag has sent shock waves through the Civil War arena," said John Beck, past commander of the local chapter of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, who has collected Civil War items for more than three decades.

"I see lots of things in the Wichita area, but -- oh, come on -- a genuine regimental flag?" Beck said. "I had heard there might be such a flag somewhere, but oh my God, here it is in Wichita! I am a genuine Civil War fanatic and I just went ballistic."

Flag's first caretakers

The flag was issued in February 1864 and was carried at the front of one of Mississippi's most famous regiments, under Lt. Gen. William Joseph Hardee and Maj. Gen. Patrick Ronayne Cleburne.

Carrying the flag was Cpl. Joseph T. McBride. He was killed at the Battle of Franklin while attempting to breach the Federal Works near Fountain B. Carter's cotton gin.

The gun smoke was so thick, soldiers walked with their hands in front of their faces to help them breathe.

"It was a deadly honor to be a color guard because he was the first person people shot at," Tarr said. "The other side would want to try and cause confusion. No matter what side of the war you fought on, the flag was about gallantry and bravery in fighting."

Lose the flag, and morale was lost.

Somehow, a 17-year-old union private named John Gregory with the 2nd Indiana Light Artillery came across the flag.

By Dec. 18, 1864, Gregory was sent home to Indiana with symptoms of



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typhoid fever. With him, he carried the flag.

By the early 1870s, Gregory had recovered and moved his family to Sedgwick County.

Gregory's descendants had no idea they had a relative who served in the Civil War, let alone knew that a flag existed from that time.

"It's amazing they found the flag," said Myrna Gregory of Rose Hill, who has kept in touch with Swinson since he bought the flag at an estate sale for one of her relatives four years ago.

Swinson's search

Since he bought the flag, Swinson has been intensely researching its history.

He has traveled throughout the nation, researching pieces of the story to add to the flag's provenance.

He has taken the flag to a flag preservationist in Keedysville, Md., and to Pennsylvania State University, where backlight and computer enhancement revealed even more information about the flag.

He's discovered that the off-white cotton disc in the middle of the flag once held a design that was hand-painted in black. It once showed an inverted crossed cannon with the numbers of the 32nd and 45th Miss.

Swinson's voice breaks and tears come to his eyes when he talks about the pilgrimage he and his mother took to find flag-bearer McBride's grave.

At age 95, Polly Swinson helped participate in a graveside service for McBride at the McGavock Confederate Cemetery in Franklin, Tenn.

The next day -- Veterans Day 2002 -- she suffered a massive stroke and died, just miles from where McBride had died. She was buried in the McGavock cemetery.



Travis Heying/The Wichita Eagle
Rob Swinson bought this flag at an estate sale in 2002. It turned out to be one of 22 1864 Hardee-Cleburne flags, carried by the 32nd & 45th Mississippi Volunteer Infantry regiments during the Civil War

Swinson and Beck are now working on a book telling the flag's history.

And he has found a new caretaker for the flag.

The flag is being sold for more than \$160,000 to a private collector in Florida who promises that it will be on public display at a museum in Franklin -- where the flag fell in 1864. But it's more than that, Swinson said.

"This flag is a sacred object," Swinson said. "So many people have fought and died for this flag. So many lives have been touched by this flag. For the past four years it's been my life.... I've been the caretaker of a lost national treasure."

Interest in Civil War Vintage "Base Ball" Continues to Spread

Ryan Heinz., the Suburban Journals Citizen Journal, 05/24/2006

"Striker to the line," calls out a dapper man who, despite the summer heat, is dressed in an un-baseball-like five-piece suit and top hat. A burly man outfitted in Civil War garb steps up to home plate and awaits the pitcher's underhanded toss of a peculiar-looking baseball with seams crisscrossing at a 45-degree angle. The

batter's team is down by one run with runners on second and third base with two outs left in the bottom of the ninth. As the ball is lofted toward him, the man swings, smashing a line drive to the shortstop's right. The gloveless fielder dives, snagging the ball on a single hop, although it would appear the batter is going to beat out a possible throw. It would also seem as though the run from third would easily score, effectively tying the game.

Then something strange occurs. The top-hatted man shouts out "three hands dead," apparently signaling the end of the inning and game. To this, a handful of fans cheer "Huzzah!"

Although the burly hitter looks capable of killing a grizzly bear with his bare hands, he turns to the first baseman and says in a gentlemanly tone, "Splendid match, Mr. Smith." "And a brilliant game to you as well, good sir," returns the fielder. What in the name of George Herman Ruth just happened?

This is a scenario that easily could have occurred during a game of Vintage Base Ball (yes, that's right, two words). The game is basically a modern take on the game of baseball as it was played according to the rules of the Civil War era.

For example, one area team abides by the "Rules and Regulations of the Game of Base Ball" as adopted by the National Association of Base-Ball Players Dec. 11, 1861, for the following season. This makes for some distinctive variations from the game as we know it today, both in regard to the rules and the jargon.

The Vintage Base Ball Association lists more than 125 known teams throughout the United States -- not updated to include the St. Louis Unions, but including the Washington (Mo.) Eagles, Hannibal Nationals and St. Louis Perfectos. The Perfectos' home field is in Lafayette Park in St. Louis, while the Unions are based in Florissant. Among the Vintage Base Ball rules is



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the aforementioned catching of the ball (or "apple," "pill," "horsehide," "onion," etc.) on a hop, which is every bit as much an out (or "player dead") as catching a fly ball (known as a "sky ball" or "skyer"). Also, a batter (or "striker") can be called out on three strikes like today, including if the third strike is fouled (a "foul tic," if you will) and caught by the catcher (or "behind") whether it be in the air or on the bounce (or "bound"). No walks are issued and a batter is not to take strikes. A warning is issued for the first strike taken and a strike is called for each taken thereafter.

Since the Vintage Base Ball players follow the roughly 140-year-old version of the game, they also do not use gloves or any safety equipment. And the pitcher (or "bowler," "hurler," "feeder," "thrower," etc.) lofts the ball underhanded, with the object actually being to give something the batter can hit. Furthermore, the runner cannot overrun first base without being in danger of getting tagged out. As for the ball itself, it is perhaps best described as being slightly softer than a modern baseball. The cross-seamed orb is actually designed to soften up as the game progresses.

The players who indulge in this physical history lesson come from a wide range of backgrounds. They include teachers, police officers, journalists and more — all of whom are baseball fanatics, history buffs or some combination of the two.

"I've been a baseball fan my entire life, and I like history," said Capt. Brian "Ricochet" Robison, founder of the St. Louis Unions, one of two vintage base ball teams in the immediate St. Louis region. "So I thought it was a perfect blend of two things I really liked." All Unions players carry military titles in keeping with the team's theme. Robison, a Florissant resident, originally read about the retro sport in a Smithsonian magazine article. Then, three summers ago, he saw an

announcement about the St. Louis Perfectos playing in Lafayette Park. Attending the game, Robison saw played out before his eyes the very thing he read in the article. Naturally, he could not resist joining the team. "But I knew I wouldn't be satisfied by just playing because I loved it so much," he said. "So I formed the second team in the St. Louis area." With a fondness for Civil War history, his team, the Unions, took on the appearance of the soldiers from that time, although they do plan on purchasing vintage replica uniforms worn by the real St. Louis Unions during the late 1800s. Ed "Buffalo" Nickels discovered Vintage Base Ball in a similar fashion. With a penchant for 19th-century and early 20th-century board games and a baseball card collection boasting almost every one of the disgraced 1919 Chicago "Black Sox," Nickels immediately fell in love with Vintage Base Ball. Working in advertising by day, he became a 60-year-old rookie last year with the Perfectos before an ankle injury cut short his season. He points out that one of the biggest differences between base ball and baseball is the gentlemanly component of the former.

"It's not whether you win or lose, it's how you play the game," Nickels said of Vintage Base Ball. "You want it to be the kind of game where you wouldn't be afraid to bring children to watch." "It's for the love of the game," added David Torrence, a Shrewsbury photographer who, in keeping with the theme, has documented several games using purposely grainy still shots to do so.

"There's no multi-million dollar contracts or steroid abuse — just nostalgia and fun," Torrence said.

When asked what he thought was most difficult to get used to when playing Vintage Base Ball, Robison initially said not being able to safely overrun first base.

"That one in particular is hard to get used to because you're running full tilt to first base and then you have to slam on the brakes or you'll be tagged out if you overrun it," he said. "But not playing with a glove is probably the hardest to get used to."

Maryland Group pays for Vicksburg Monument Restoration

By Sam Knowlton, Vicksburg Post, May 10, 2006

A Maryland group is paying to preserve a Vicksburg National Military Park monument to a Civil War officer killed near here 143 years ago Tuesday.

As a side benefit, the \$5,000 grant from the Maryland Military Monuments Commission is also helping train staff for future maintenance.

The statue of Maryland native and Confederate Brig. Gen. Lloyd Tilghman is one of the more dramatic in the battlefield. It is also nearing an anniversary, having been erected 80 years ago May 6.

The experts on the rewaxing job are Dr. Dennis Montagna of the National Park Service's regional office in Philadelphia, Pa., and conservator Ronald S. Harvey of Tuckerbrook Conservation in Lincolnville, Maine. Montagna said he's an art historian by training and that he got the idea for the project while visiting the VNMP several years ago. Tilghman, depicted standing with his arms spread in front of his rearing horse, died when struck by cannon fire in the Battle of Champion's Hill, a pivotal battle in the Vicksburg campaign fought near Raymond.



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The Maryland Military Monuments Commission has been in operation about 15 years and its mission is to

preserve or restore military monuments to Marylanders "wherever you may find them," Montagna said.

The project began Monday and was expected to be complete by Friday. VNMP employees Garry Lee and Bendel White were doing most of the waxing as they were being trained in the technique by the experts. The technique can be applied to other monuments and plaques in the park, Montagna said.

"There's so much bronze here," Montagna said.

If such waxing is not done by park maintenance staffs it must be done by outside firms and is "prohibitively

expensive," Harvey said.

In the process, two coats of the same kind of wax are applied, the first using a propane torch and small brush and the second with wax applied cold and flame-polished.

The workers had applied most of the base coat Tuesday.

"From here on out it's just keeping an eye on it - just touch-up," Montagna said of at least the next several years. To wax the entire statue and base would take about three to four quarts of wax, Harvey said. The wax melts at an average of about 175 degrees, he added.

VNMP was established by Congress in 1899 to commemorate the 1863 Vicksburg campaign. The campaign included battles in west-central

Mississippi at Port Gibson, Raymond, Jackson, Champion's Hill, Big Black River and 47 days of Union siege operations against Confederate forces defending the city of Vicksburg until the city fell on July 4.

Documents emerge in Va. Capitol makeover

By BOB LEWIS, AP, May 19, 2006

RICHMOND, Va. - The construction dust inside Virginia's 18th century Capitol is still so thick, the stately House of Delegates chamber is barely discernible.

But from the mess and debris, hidden texts have emerged that afford a fresh glimpse into forgotten times - and the issues that dominated debate on Capitol Square.

The books and documents were discovered during the ongoing \$99 million foundation-to-roof makeover of

Virginia's 200-year-old Capitol, said Richard F. Sliwoski, who is overseeing the project for the Department of General Services.

One discovery, a yellowing, cardboard-bound volume of thousands of pages of legislative and executive branch reports from 1863 contains Gov. John Letcher's order that 5,340 slaves from across the state be used to dig fortifications around Richmond, the Confederate capital, during the height of the Civil War.

It documents that the Virginia Military Institute consumed 5,250 pounds of bacon and just three-fourths of a pound of tea in June of 1863. And salt - then the primary preservative of food - was so scarce the Joint

Legislative Committee on Salt decreed that the mineral be rationed: 30 pounds per year for each man, woman and child in Virginia.

Construction workers discovered the book and other documents behind ceiling tiles in what had been the governor's third-floor suite of offices.

"As they were taking down the ceilings, the book fell with it," Sliwoski said.

The book is not unique: The Library of Virginia turned it down because it already has a copy. It is also not likely that it was hidden away to keep it out of Yankee hands as Richmond fell in 1865 because the Capitol was gutted and renovated in 1906, Sliwoski said.

Another report breaks down by gender the causes of insanity for scores of people committed to the state asylum over two years. One man was committed for "fever and



Vicksburg National Military Park employees Garry Lee, foreground, and Bendel White, work to apply a wax coating on the Brig. Gen. Lloyd Tilghman monument. (Photo by Brian Loden • The Vicksburg Post)



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loss of law suit," two men and one woman for love, one man and three women for jealousy and 11 men and three women for "pecuniary troubles." Some of the documents suggest the same issues are still under debate - a report to the General Assembly in early 1864 by newly inaugurated Gov. William "Extra Billy" Smith proves that transportation funding isn't just this year's problem.

"The demands for the transportation of passengers and freight over this and other railroads of the state has been very good, and the roads have been taxed severely to meet them," he wrote.

Virginia's Capitol was designed by Thomas Jefferson, based on a Roman temple in France, and completed in 1788. It was home to the Confederate Congress. New House and Senate wings were added in the early 1900s.

Craig Symonds Wins Roosevelt Prize for Naval History Book

May 17, 2006- CWi -The 2005 Theodore and Franklin D. Roosevelt Naval History Prize will be awarded to acclaimed naval and Civil War historian Craig L. Symonds for his illuminating and well-researched book: "Decision at Sea: Five Naval Battles that Shaped American History" (Oxford University Press). In this work, Symonds examines in riveting detail how five crucial engagements -- the Battle of Lake Erie; the duel between the Monitor and the Virginia; Manila Bay; Midway; and the Persian Gulf operation, Praying Mantis -- manifest the transformation of technology and weaponry that revolutionized naval combat. Sea battles, that as Professor Douglas Brinkley writes,

"shaped the course of American history."

The announcement of the prize is being issued by the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, which awards the prize annually in cooperation with the Theodore Roosevelt Association and the New York Council Navy League of the United States. The award will be presented to Craig L. Symonds at the annual Roosevelt Naval History Prize Luncheon on Thursday, June 8th at the New York Athletic Club.

Craig L. Symonds served as Professor of History for more than 30 years at the U.S. Naval Academy and is now the Chief Historian of the USS Monitor Center at the Mariners Museum in Newport News, Virginia.

The Theodore and Franklin D. Roosevelt Naval History Prize was established in 1984 by the Theodore Roosevelt Association, the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, and the New York Council Navy League of the United States. Both Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt belonged to the New York Council. The judges are historians from the three organizations along with historians from the three maritime academies, the Naval War College, Virginia Military Institute, and Princeton University.

Gettysburg Park Seeks Volunteers for "Ambassadors" Program

May 16, 2006--As a pilot program for the summer of 2006, Gettysburg National Military Park is creating a new volunteer program called the Ambassador Corps. The new volunteer program will be in addition to the park's popular Park Watch volunteer patrol program, Adopt-a-

Position program, and the Civil War Living History volunteer program. Ambassador Corps volunteers will roam on foot in areas between the Visitor Center and Cyclorama Center parking lots, the Visitor Center front porch, and within the museum itself during the park's busiest season.

New volunteers will likely serve three primary functions: provide visitor services at a point of contact away from the Visitor Center information desk; monitor visitor activities before problems arise; and walk through the current museum to answer questions about the museum collection, displays, the battle, the war, as well as about the new museum and visitor center.

The park is looking for individuals who would be able to volunteer at least one four-hour shift each week during the summer months. These four-hour shifts will be divided between indoor and outdoor stations, and may possibly involve an outdoor covered booth for those concerned with sun and rain and other effects of being outdoors. Training will be provided.

Applicants do not need to be "experts" on the Battle of Gettysburg or the park--although an interest in the place and in people is certainly helpful.

Anyone who may be interested in this new volunteer opportunity, please contact Barbara Sanders by email at Barbara_Sanders@nps.gov or call at 717/ 334-1124 x420.

Note from the Editor

There were two stories that I had hoped to include in this issue of the "Old Liner" Newsletter. One discussed in detail the controversy surrounding the political and financial dealings in connection with the Hunley Museum in Charleston, SC.



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The other examined the story and contents of letters written by Mary Todd Lincoln during her hospitalization for insanity. These letters were recently discovered in a steamer trunk. It was long thought they had been destroyed by her son Robert.

Unfortunately, there was not adequate space to run these stories as each would have taken up the entire newsletter. You can read these stories in the newsletter at our website: <http://bcwrt.nalweb.net>

The web site edition of the newsletter is not as restricted by space concerns as the mailed version of the newsletter and often contains additional or longer versions of stories printed in the newsletter.

If you wish to be notified by email when the newsletter has been posted to the website, send an email to me at: sawred66@yahoo.com. Put BCWRT in the subject line.

History of Washington's Ring Fort System Explored

By Karen Goldberg Goff, THE WASHINGTON TIMES, May 7, 2006

The big map on the wall at the Fort Ward Museum shows exactly where the forts were in the Defenses of Washington. Sixty-eight major forts circled Maryland, Virginia and the District during the Civil War, similar to a 19th-century Beltway.

Most of the forts are gone, but Alexandria's Fort Ward has been restored to a level that can convey its history all these years later.

"What is kind of special about our site is that we are the only place in the D.C. area where you can see an actual restoration of a Civil War fort," says Susan Cumbey, director of the Fort Ward Museum & Historic Site.

"When you visit here, you can see

about 90 percent of the original fort walls."

The Defenses of Washington were built starting at the outbreak of the war, when it was realized that the District was almost defenseless against an attack from the Confederate Army. On May 24, 1861, the day Virginia's vote of secession took place, Union troops occupied Arlington and Alexandria and began building several forts to act as supply bases for the Union troops, Ms. Cumbey says.

Eventually, the forts stretched more than 37 miles, making an unbroken line of protection for the nation's capital. At the time, Washington was the most heavily fortified city in the Western Hemisphere, with 800 mounted cannons and 1,120 gun emplacements.

Fort Ward, named for Cmdr. James Harmon Ward, the first Union naval officer to be killed in the war, was the fifth-largest fort in the network.

As part of the fort's centennial celebration in 1961, the city of Alexandria began a preservation project, restoring the fort's northwest bastion and reconstructing the ceremonial gate and officer's hut.

A visit to Fort Ward should start in the museum, which opened in 1964. There, visitors can see the map of the fort system and read about how forts were constructed and how Fort Ward was restored.

The museum houses many Civil War artifacts, including artillery and uniforms. Display cases feature music and the military during the Civil War and also the tough conditions for wartime doctors and surgeons. The latter case contains several surgical tools and an explanation of military hospitals and their locations in Alexandria.

A new exhibit, "Off the Pages of

Godey's: A Guide to the Domestic Sciences," features pages and drawings from the Godey's Lady's Book, the most popular women's magazine from the era. The fashions on display, as well as recipes and household items, give a glimpse into domestic life during the mid-1800s.

The outdoor portion of Fort Ward is lovely this time of year, with lots of grassy areas, paved paths and mature trees. On a spring afternoon, many visitors can be found on in-line skates, jogging or pushing strollers. There are several picnic areas and a large playground. The playground features the typical equipment -- and a cannon.

Markers at strategic points around the area explain the role that area played when Fort Ward was an active fort. The markers point visitors on a self-guided tour in the proper direction to get the most out of the historical visit. The restored northwest bastion features six cannons and marked doors to the underground filling rooms where the ammunition was kept. Another marker explains how dangerous a job it was for the soldier stationed down below.

Grade school children studying the Civil War will appreciate the information at Fort Ward. The outdoor markers and the placards in the museum are full of the kind of "by the numbers" fun facts children enjoy. They'll learn that the walls of the fort were 20 feet high and 12 to 14 feet thick and that a dry moat surrounded the fort.

They also will learn that the fort was dismantled in December 1865. It was never used for the defense of Washington. In fact, there was only one battle in the Defenses of Washington, when Confederate soldiers attacked Fort Stevens, seven



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miles north of the White House.

When you go

Location: Fort Ward Museum & Historic Site is located at 4301 W. Braddock Road in Alexandria.

Directions: Take Interstate 395 to the Seminary Road exit. Turn left at North Howard Street, then right on West Braddock.

Hours: Tuesday through Saturday, 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.; Sunday, noon to 5 p.m. Closed Mondays.

Admission: Free

Parking: Plenty of parking in lots.

More information: 703/838-4848 or www.fortward.org

Upcoming events: Several living-history special events are planned at Fort Ward, including 1st Connecticut Heavy Artillery Re-enactors doing cannon and camp-life activities from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. May 20, and Civil War Camp Day from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. and 7 to 9 p.m. June 17.

Additional material

Newly Found Letters Shed Light on the Madness of Mary Lincoln

By *Jason Emerson*, American Heritage.com, June 1, 2006

In August 1875, after spending three months in a sanitarium in Batavia, Illinois, put there by her son against her will, Mary Todd Lincoln, wife of the martyred President, wrote: "It does not appear that God is good, to have placed me here. I endeavor to read my Bible and offer up my petitions three times a day. But my afflicted heart fails me and my voice often falters in prayer. I have worshipped my son and no unpleasant word ever passed between us, yet I cannot understand

why I should have been brought out here."

This letter, along with 24 others, completely unknown and unpublished, was recently discovered in a steamer trunk owned by the children of Robert Todd Lincoln's attorney. They are known as the "lost" insanity letters of Mary Lincoln, and their discovery will forever rewrite this famous—and infamous—chapter in the Lincoln-family history.

The newly discovered letters document a long and intimate correspondence between Mary Lincoln and Myra and James Bradwell, Mary's legal advisers and the people most responsible for getting her out of the sanitarium. The letters were known to have existed. It was assumed Robert Lincoln burned them; he had admitted attempting to destroy all of his mother's correspondence from the insanity period.

Many historians have tried and failed to find the letters. The biographer W. A. Evans wrote in 1932, "It is to be regretted that we have nothing of the Bradwell correspondence except the tradition." In 1953 the most respected Mary Lincoln biographer of all, Ruth Painter Randall, dismissed them in a single sentence: "Her letters to the Bradwells have vanished." The compilers of Mary's life and letters, Justin G. and Linda Levitt Turner, wrote in 1972, "None of Mrs. Lincoln's letters to the Bradwells remains, and there is reason to believe Robert had theirs to her destroyed, so damning were they to him."

Prior to the finding of these letters, only 11 Mary Lincoln letters were known to exist for the period from 1874 to 1875. This cache adds 8 more, but it also includes letters from 1872 to 1873 and 1876 to 1878. This is important because, as the Turners

wrote, "Letters written by Mary Lincoln in the period between 1871 and 1876 are today the rarest of items," while nearly all extant letters from 1877 until her death in 1882 were solely about financial matters.

In addition to the letters, the steamer trunk contained a 111page unpublished manuscript about the insanity case, "The Dark Days of Abraham Lincoln's Widow, as Revealed by Her Own Letters," written in the late 1920s by a descendant of Myra and James Bradwell. It is because of this manuscript that the lost letters were hidden from history.

In October 1927, a little more than a year after the death of Robert Lincoln, his wife, Mary Harlan Lincoln, received an unexpected visitor to her home in Manchester, Vermont. Myra Pritchard, the granddaughter of James and Myra Bradwell, called as a courtesy to inform Mrs. Lincoln she was about to publish a book on Mary Todd Lincoln. Pritchard's personal papers show that Myra's mother, Bessie Bradwell Helmer, gave 37 letters by or about Mary Lincoln to her daughter with the stipulation that they be published, but not until both Bessie Helmer and Robert Lincoln had died. "My mother was most anxious that these letters be published," Pritchard wrote, "because she felt that Mrs. Abraham Lincoln had been maligned and that these letters would explain much of the real Mrs. Lincoln to the world and place her in a more favorable light."

Mary Harlan Lincoln not only agreed to have her attorneys meet with Mrs. Pritchard in Washington, D.C., and inspect the manuscript but also suggested that she might be able to add information from her own files. This offer, later events made clear, was intended as a delaying action.



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Far from helping Myra Pritchard, Mary Harlan Lincoln thwarted her. After examining the manuscript, and knowing full well that throughout his entire life Robert Lincoln had sought to suppress or discourage publication of his mother's letters, Mary's attorneys, Frederic Towers and Norman Frost, told Pritchard that three letters quoted in the manuscript were "objectionable" to Mrs. Lincoln. Myra Pritchard was unwilling to omit them but found herself threatened with a lawsuit if she did not (similar cases had established that the writer of a letter—and his or her heirs—not the recipient, was the actual owner). Her only recourse, she realized, was to accept an offer made by Towers and Frost: sell the letters and the manuscript to the Lincoln family for \$22,500. The contract stated that all materials and copies in Myra Pritchard's possession be handed over, that no other copies exist, and that she turn over any subsequently obtained letters.

As unhappy as Myra Pritchard was about the sale, she upheld her agreement of silence. But her silence was not a complete acquiescence, for she had secretly kept typewritten copies of all the Mary Lincoln letters along with her book manuscript. When Myra Pritchard died in February 1947, her sister-in-law, Margreta Pritchard, burned the 1928 manuscript, as Myra had requested. But she didn't destroy the copies of the letters. She approached Oliver R. Barrett, a prominent Chicago attorney and one of the foremost Lincoln collectors in America at the time, to ask his advice on whether or not they should be published. Barrett felt it would not be "exactly morally right" to reveal letters that Robert Lincoln had so aggressively sought to keep private during his life and which his

family had taken the time and expense to purchase. He urged her to destroy them, and eventually she did. But she kept all the personal and legal documentation concerning the provenance, sale, and destruction of the letters, which her relatives still possess.

For her part, Mary Harlan Lincoln left the letters and Pritchard materials with her attorney, Frederic Towers. Upon his retirement, he placed them, along with countless other Lincoln-family documents, in a steamer trunk and stored them all in his attic. This author found them there, last summer, after a five-month search. Nervous, emotional, and high-strung, Mary Lincoln suffered a life full of tragedy and disappointment. While there is disagreement over exactly when her mental troubles began in earnest, her only surviving son, Robert, said that her husband's assassination, along with a head injury she received in an 1863 carriage accident, were the two main causes.

The known and accepted facts of the insanity episode are that it started in March 1875, when, during a visit to Jacksonville, Florida, Mary became unshakably convinced that Robert was deathly ill. She traveled to Chicago to find him in fine health. On her arrival, she told her son that someone had tried to poison her on the train and that a "wandering Jew" had taken her pocketbook but would return it later. During her stay in Chicago, Mary spent money lavishly on useless items, and walked around the city with \$56,000 in government bonds sewn into her petticoats.

Dr. Willis Danforth, Mary's physician, had been treating the widow for more than a year for fever and nervous derangement. As Danforth later testified at the insanity trial, the widow

claimed then that an Indian spirit was removing bones from her face and pulling wires out of her eyes. She told Danforth that she heard raps on the table revealing the time of her death, and she would sit and ask questions and repeat the table's answers.

Robert, fearing for her safety, hired Pinkerton detectives to follow and watch over her. He consulted with personal and family friends as well as several doctors about her condition. As he later wrote to one of his mother's friends, "Six physicians in council informed me that by longer delay I was making myself morally responsible for some very probable tragedy, which might occur at any moment." On the basis of the doctors' advice, Robert took steps to place her in specialized care. Under Illinois state law, the only way he could do this was to initiate insanity proceedings against her in county court.

On May 19, 1875, after three hours of testimony from physicians, hotel personnel, shopkeepers, and Robert himself, a jury declared her insane. Robert testified that he had "no doubt" about this. "She has been of unsound mind since the death of father; has been irresponsible for the past ten years." She was taken to a private sanitarium called Bellevue Place in Batavia, and Robert was made conservator of her estate.

Although he spoke of the assassination, Robert Lincoln—and others—always believed the root of Mary's mania was money: her indefatigable need to spend it and her paranoid conviction that she had none. "The simple truth, which I cannot tell anyone not personally interested, is that my mother is on one subject not mentally responsible," Robert wrote to his future wife, Mary Harlan, in 1867. "You could hardly



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believe it possible, but my mother protests to me that she is in actual want and nothing I can do or say will convince her to the contrary." In fact, Abraham Lincoln's estate was more than \$83,000 upon his death, one-third of which was Mary's. Moreover, she received \$22,000 in late 1865 as the remainder of her husband's presidential salary, and Congress voted her a \$3,000 annual pension in 1870. Robert told Mary Harlan in 1867 that there was nothing he could do. "I have taken the advice of one or two of my friends in whom I trust most and they tell me I can do nothing. It is terribly irksome to sit still under all that has happened and say nothing, but it has to be done. The greatest misery of all is the fear of what may happen in the future." Just eight years later he was forced to act.

Bellevue place was a private asylum for "a select class of lady patients of quiet unexceptionable habits." Dr. Richard J. Patterson, who lived in the main house there with his family, used the most modern "moral" treatment of "rest, diet, baths, fresh air, occupation, diversion, change of scene, no more medicine than ... absolutely necessary, and the least restraint possible." In this place Mary Lincoln lived near the Patterson family in a two-room suite, and as Robert later explained to critics, "There is nothing about his house to indicate an asylum except that outside of the windows there is a white wire netting such as you may see often to keep children from falling out of the window." Even that wire netting was removed at Robert's request. Mary lived apart from the other patients, had a private bath, kept her own room key, and had the freedom to go for a walk or take a carriage ride whenever she chose.

The Bellevue patient logbook shows that for the first two months of her stay, Mary Lincoln was quiet and solitary, a bit erratic with her desires, and at times depressed. Dr. Patterson thought she was improving. Robert Lincoln visited his mother every week, and he found her most cordial. "While she will not in words admit that she is not sane, still her entire acquiescence in absolutely everything ... makes me think that she is aware of the necessity of what has been done," Robert wrote to John Hay, his father's secretary. The situation changed from a lamentable family affair to a painful public controversy upon the entrance of Myra and James Bradwell.

James B. Bradwell, a Chicago attorney who had represented Mary Lincoln in the past, was, in 1875, a member of the state legislature. His wife, Myra Colby Bradwell, was an abolitionist, a feminist, and the founder and editor of the Chicago *Legal News*, although she could not practice law herself. She had passed the Illinois bar exam with high honors in 1869 but had been denied a license to practice because she was a married woman. Both the Illinois Supreme Court and the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the denial.

The currently known and accepted narrative of events is that after a visit from a Chicago newspaper reporter in early July of 1875, Mary Lincoln began the orchestration of her plot for freedom. While mailing a letter to her sister, done at Robert's suggestion, Mary apparently smuggled letters to many other people, seeking help in her release. On the very next day Gen. John Franklin Farnsworth, a Republican politician, came to visit, as did the Bradwells. They told Dr. Patterson they had been asked to help secure Mrs. Lincoln's freedom,

saying she should be let free and kept under the care of "some tender and sympathetic friend," while Robert continued to control her money.

Mary's sister, Elizabeth Edwards, meanwhile responded to Mary's letter with an invitation to come visit her in Springfield. There followed a flurry of letters and meetings between Robert Lincoln, Elizabeth Edwards, and Myra Bradwell. Robert did not want his mother to leave Bellevue; he believed that left to her own, she would endanger herself and her property, for which he was responsible. Elizabeth Edwards had proposed only a short stay, assuming Mary would be in the care and company of a professional nurse and would return to Bellevue for continued treatment. When she realized that Mary, urged by Myra Bradwell, intended the "visit" to be permanent, in place of Bellevue, she withdrew her invitation, citing ill-health.

For her part, Myra Bradwell wrote and visited both Elizabeth Edwards and Robert Lincoln, urging Mary's freedom. She persuaded Mrs. Edwards to change her mind and care for Mary. Myra and her husband also undertook a vigorous public relations campaign. They fed stories about Mary's unjust treatment to the papers, they gave interviews, and they even brought a reporter from the Chicago *Times* to Bellevue. The paper's August 24 story was headlined: "Mrs. Lincoln. Her Physicians Pronounce Her Entirely Sane."

Robert Lincoln considered the Bradwells meddlers in affairs that were none of their business. "What trouble Mrs. Bradwell may give me with her interference I cannot foretell," he wrote his aunt in early August 1875. He also said that Dr. Patterson had "expressed a fear that Mrs.



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Bradwell's visits and manner of late would tend to undo the good that has been accomplished." Finally, he asked Myra not to visit his mother so often. An editorial in the *Chicago Tribune*, a pro-Republican (which is to say, pro-Robert) newspaper, insisted the scandal over Mary's incarceration had been "set afloat by over-officious and intermeddling mischief-makers, who interfered in a matter which did not concern them, for purposes of sensation." Whether for sensation or out of friendship, the Bradwells succeeded in pressuring Robert to agree to Mary's release. She moved into the Edwards home in September 1875.

The "lost" insanity letters collection contains 11 letters from Mary's time at Bellevue. Most were written by her, but some are from Myra and James Bradwell, Elizabeth Edwards, and Dr. Patterson. They show Mary questioning her religious faith, illuminate her continuing mania about money and clothing, and, perhaps most interesting, reveal the Bradwells to have been more instrumental than previously known both in securing her release and in causing her resentment of Robert.

When the *Chicago Evening Post and Mail* correspondent visited Mary Lincoln at Bellevue in July 1875, as mentioned above, Mary Lincoln asked the reporter about her friends in Chicago and "alluded to her attachment to Judge Bradwell's family." What has gone unrecorded in the insanity story is that after reading the *Post and Mail* story, Myra Bradwell journeyed to Bellevue to visit her friend "to satisfy myself in regard to Mrs. Lincoln's insanity." Dr. Patterson refused to let her either visit Mary Lincoln or leave her a note, she reported to the Bloomington (Indiana) *Courier*. Patterson's

treatment of Myra led her to exclaim about her friend, "Then she is a prisoner, is she not?"

It was after the press interview that Mrs. Lincoln is supposed to have secretly mailed letters to several people seeking help in her release. One of the newly discovered letters shows that in fact she sent only one, to her attorney, James Bradwell. "May I request you to come out here just so soon as you receive this note. Please bring out your dear wife, Mr. Wm. Sturgess and any other friend," she wrote. "Also bring Mr. W. F. Storey with you. I am sure you will not disappoint me. Drive up to the house. Also telegraph to Genl. Farnsworth to meet you here."

Mary's request for W. F. Storey is another interesting revelation from this letter. The editor of the *Chicago Times*, Storey had been an antiwar Copperhead during the Civil War and afterward was an outspoken reporter and critic of Chicago society. His motto was: "To print the news and raise hell." Storey did not visit Bellevue but sent a reporter, Franc B. Wilkie, who wrote the August 24 *Times* story about Mary's sanity that caused such a public controversy. This letter shows the story was Mary's idea, not the Bradwells', as has long been supposed.

After their visit, and at Mary's behest, the Bradwells wrote to both Mary's sister Elizabeth and her cousin John Todd Stuart, seeking their aid in her release. James Bradwell told Stuart that Mary "feels lonesome and that the restraint of the place is unendurable." Myra Bradwell told Elizabeth Edwards that Mary "feels her incarceration most terribly and desires to get out from behind the grates and bars." This last is a charge Myra Bradwell would later make to newspapers as well. Both Bradwells

suggested Mary visit the Edwards home in Springfield. "I cannot feel that it is necessary to keep her thus restrained," Myra Bradwell wrote in her July 30 letter. "Perhaps I do not look at the matter rightly, but let this be my excuse—I love her most tenderly and feel sorry to see one heart ache added to her already overburdened soul."

Mrs. Edwards's reply to Myra Bradwell, found amid the "lost" letters, shows something never before seen: her honest opinion regarding her sister's incarceration. Her 200-word letter agreed with Myra Bradwell's assessment that Mary never should have been put in Bellevue but instead have had a "protector" and "companionship." Elizabeth Edwards wrote, "Had I been consulted, I would have remonstrated earnestly against the step taken." She later apologized to Robert for the contents of this letter, because it stoked Myra Bradwell's resolve.

There are five "lost" letters from Mary Lincoln to the Bradwells during August 1875. In them, she repeatedly requests they communicate with more of her old friends and seek their help. She also gives vent to her sorrows and frustrations with such statements as "It does not appear that God is good, to have placed me here" and "I am sleeping very finely and as I am perfectly sane, I do not desire to become insane." In her importunings for help she wrote, "God will not fail to reward you if you do not fail to visit the widow of Abraham Lincoln in her solitude."

One of Mary's original symptoms was her obsession with clothing and personal goods, a mania that is evident in some of these August letters. In one, Mary asks Mrs. Bradwell to bring her samples of black alpaca and heavier black



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woolen goods. In her next letter, she urges Mrs. Bradwell to "say nothing" to anyone about her request for materials. In two subsequent letters Mary asks her friend to bring two trunks full of clothing and a forgotten key to a third trunk. While such requests sound innocuous, to Robert and Dr. Patterson they were evidence of Mary's continuing troubles.

But Robert's chagrin at his mother's clothing mania was not the cause of their ultimate estrangement, which lasted five years. In fact the new letters suggest that it was not the incarceration that caused the family split but rather the influence of the Bradwells. Both the Bellevue patient logs and Robert's own letters attest that at first Mary Lincoln was very cordial to him during his weekly visits, but the Bradwells seemed to have planted seeds of resentment. Myra's letters and newspaper interviews make no secret that she considered Mary a prisoner. It is no great leap to suggest that Myra berated Robert and his motives in his mother's presence and, whether implicitly or directly, encouraged Mary to do the same.

Mary's changing attitude is shown when she wrote the Bradwells in early August: "... if I have used excited words in reference to my son, may God forgive me, and may you both forget it." Yet a week later a coolness was evident: "I rather think he would prefer my remaining here in his heart," almost as if echoing some similar sentiment of Myra Bradwell's. The mother-son relationship soured from there, with Mary constantly flinging accusations that Robert was hoarding her possessions.

On June 15, 1876, the verdict of a second trial in county court declared Mary Lincoln "restored to reason" and capable of governing her property.

Four days later she wrote to Robert what has become one of the most famous insanity letters, denouncing his "wicked conduct" against her and demanding the return of all her property in his possession. "Send me all that I have written for, you have tried your game of robbery long enough," she said. This statement certainly attests to Mary's belief that her son put her in Bellevue in order to steal her money, a charge later repeated by historians. In fact, Robert's stewardship of his mother's holdings resulted in more than \$4,000 in interest, and he accepted no compensation for his conservatorship, although he could have.

This letter has long fueled speculation that Mary's lost insanity letters may be replete with denunciations of Robert, vindictive revelations of his secrets, and perhaps even evidence that the entire trial and insanity episode was, as one book claimed, a "kangaroo court" full of "brazen injustice," and a "high-handed denial of her civil rights."

The letters do contain many venomous statements about Robert. The most interesting, and most powerful, was written to Myra Bradwell on June 18, 1876, the day before Mary's final letter to Robert. Its 700 words are vicious and splenetic. She decries Robert as a thief who, desiring her money, "brought false charges against me." She states that because of his conduct, he will not be allowed to approach his father in heaven and that "this one as my beloved husband always said was so different from the rest of us." She then tells Myra Bradwell that Robert committed great "imprecations against you all" and encourages the Bradwells and Franc Wilkie of the *Chicago Times* to write articles

denouncing his actions: "have justice rendered me ... I have been a deeply wronged woman, by one, for whom I would have poured out my life's blood." The letter also contains the surprising revelation that Mary's hair had turned white during the course of the insanity episode, a bleaching that she blamed on Robert.

A few months after regaining her property, and having severed all contact with Robert, Mary went into self-exile in Europe. She claimed she could not bear the soothing manner of people who would never stop thinking her a lunatic. She spent the next four years traveling the Continent while based in Pau, France. There are approximately 100 known letters from this period of her life, the majority being to her banker and containing only financial matters. Very little is known about her time abroad. Ten of the "lost" letters, however, date from 1876 to 1878 and offer significant insight into Mary's European years.

The most striking aspect of all 10 letters is that they are calm, rational, and cogent, full of descriptions of her travels and inquiries about friends and events at home. She offered an explanation for her peace in a December 1876 letter: "I am allowed tranquility here and am not harassed by a demon." The demon, of course, was Robert; the harassment would be his criticism of her spending habits.

In these later letters she is no longer questioning the justice of God; now she is trusting in Him for healing and peace, as well as for vengeance against her enemies. She occasionally rails against her son and mentions her husband, often in terms of apotheosis, "my darling husband, who worshipped me so greatly, that often he said, that I was his weakness." She mentions her



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physical health: boils under her left arm and pain over her entire body. The spa waters of Vichy "did me no good."

Perhaps the most intriguing letter of all is from Sorrento, Italy, in April 1878. In it, she calls April her "season of sadness" and feels the sadness more keenly because she is returning to spots she first saw in the 1860s, in the midst of her bereavement. "It is only by a strong effort of will that I revisit these places," she wrote. "My beloved husband and myself for hours would sit down and anticipate the pleasant time, we would have in quietly visiting places and halting in such spots as this, when his official labors were ended. God works in such a mysterious way and we are left to bow to His will. But to some of us, resignation will never come. But perhaps for the tears shed here, compensation will succeed the grief of the present time."

The post-Bellevue letters also clearly show Mary's close friendship with Myra Bradwell. They contain statements attesting to her love for Myra and constant desire to see her and hear from her. Mary was forever grateful for the friendship of the Bradwells. In later years she wrote, "When all others, among them my husband's supposed friends, failed me in the most bitter hours of my life, these loyal hearts, Myra and James Bradwell, came to my assistance and rescued me under great difficulty from confinement in an insane asylum."

Mary Lincoln returned from Europe in October 1880. Her physical health was deteriorating. In September she had fallen off a chair while hanging a painting and seriously injured her back, which made it difficult for her to walk. She returned to Springfield to live with her sister and spent most of her time in her room, sitting in the

dark with a single candle, packing and unpacking her 64 trunks of clothing, and sleeping only on one side of her bed to leave "the President's place" on the other side undisturbed. She and Robert reconciled in 1881, not long after President Garfield appointed him Secretary of War. Mary Lincoln died in her sister's home on July 16, 1882, at the age of 64, most likely of complications from diabetes.

David Davis, Abraham Lincoln's campaign manager, estate executor, and friend, wrote upon hearing of Mary Lincoln's death: "Poor Mrs. Lincoln! She is at last at rest. She has been a deranged woman, ever since her husband's death. In fact she was so, during his life."

HUNLEY FINANCIAL QUESTIONS INVESTIGATED

How senator steers sub under radar

Hunley costs spiral to nearly \$100 million as McConnell helps funnel money its way

By JOHN MONK, The Palmetto State.com, May 15, 2006

The cost of preserving and promoting the Hunley submarine has soared to nearly \$100 million — thanks largely to a powerful politician's behind-the-scenes work to steer public money toward his pet project.

The Hunley is one of South Carolina's biggest financial undertakings in modern times. Not counting university expansion projects, the Hunley ranks behind only a few large road and bridge projects. It even exceeds the \$62 million State House renovation in the 1990s.

Glenn McConnell, president pro tem of the state Senate, is the Hunley's biggest booster. He also has been

the driving force behind the spiraling price tag for the preservation and promotion of the Confederate sub.

McConnell has pieced together the money, keeping the project out of the public arena and away from State House debate.

And he has personally authorized much of the spending of the project's public money in an arrangement the state's comptroller general says is "obviously outside the framework the state has provided for disbursement of public funds."

Few politicians or state policymakers know how much money is involved — or how much of it is coming from taxpayers.

It's a classic case study in hidden government, said John Crangle, head of the citizens watchdog group Common Cause.

"It's a stealth strategy," Crangle said. "The whole scheme involves rivers of underground money flowing to the Hunley from many sources, and the obvious intent is to not let people know."

The \$97 million for current and planned Hunley projects far exceeds McConnell's estimate in the late 1990s. Then, McConnell was trying to get the sub raised from the Atlantic seabed where it had lain since 1864.

"We have looked at figures somewhere, we think, between \$5-10 million to conserve it, to house it and to endow it," McConnell, R-Charleston, said at an Oct. 30, 1997, meeting.

McConnell and other Hunley supporters predicted back then that private donors would pay much of the sub's costs.

But more than 85 percent of projected costs are expected to be paid by taxpayers, according to a State newspaper analysis.



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McConnell has used his considerable influence to:

- Personally approach agency heads, college presidents and mayors to ask for services, parking spaces and health insurance for Hunley workers. He has acted as a super agency head, collecting money from other state agencies instead of going through the public Legislative budget process. What has come before the Legislature has been fragmented and difficult for lawmakers to track.

- Help arrange for Clemson University to take over the sub's preservation at a time when federal grants are dwindling and visitors to the Hunley's conservation lab are falling off. To help pay for it, Clemson plans to tap into state money designated for university research projects that have the potential to attract high-tech and medical jobs.

- Act as Hunley paymaster, apparently without any clear legal authority. McConnell has personally authorized the transfer of millions in public money from the State Budget and Control Board to a Hunley foundation whose members he has appointed for 10 years. No other lawmaker has such access to state accounts, access the state's comptroller general said is outside the state's normal framework for disbursing public money.

- Neutralize senators who might question Hunley spending. McConnell protected other senators' pet projects in exchange for favorable votes on Hunley issues. Crossing McConnell on Hunley funding, one lawmaker says, "is not worth the scars."

The Hunley, the first submarine to sink an enemy ship in battle, was raised off the Charleston coast in 2000 and placed in a new lab in North Charleston at a cost of \$6 million to taxpayers. Its insides have been

emptied of artifacts. And its 40-foot, corroded-iron hull is ready for preservation, a process expected to take years.

The 58-year-old McConnell, a libertarian who often criticizes government spending, is the gatekeeper and main source of information for the Hunley. He is quoted in hundreds of articles and television broadcasts.

McConnell several years ago largely gave up his law practice. He spends much of his time and energy now on the Hunley project. He has continued to help run his Confederate memorabilia shop in North Charleston, which describes itself on its Web site as the nation's largest Civil War store.

McConnell declined comment for this article, despite repeated requests. He said The State had a "negative outcome in mind."

'RESPECT AND FEAR'

The senator is one of the most powerful state lawmakers in the past century and can do much as he pleases, said Rep. Doug Jennings, D-Marlboro.

"McConnell relies on the politics of respect and fear," said Jennings, 49, who as a young man was a law clerk for the last Senate giant, the late Sen. Marion Gressette, D-Calhoun.

Like Gressette, McConnell is both Senate president pro tem and Judiciary Committee chairman. The two posts allow McConnell to control the fate of many legislative bills. He also is viewed as the unmatched master of complex Senate rules.

People respect McConnell because he plays fair and grants favors, Jennings said. "But they are afraid of getting in his way on anything he wants."

An avid Civil War buff, McConnell helped lead the failed 1990s drive to

keep the Confederate flag atop the state Capitol.

He sometimes talks as if the eight-man Hunley crew, whose remains were found inside the sub, were still alive.

"Those fellas will not have to spend another night in the Atlantic Ocean," McConnell said in August 2000 as the Hunley was brought up, according to the book "Raising the Hunley," by Brian Hicks and Schuyler Kropf.

In 2003, McConnell explored having the Hunley crew's remains lie in state in the state Capitol — an honor rarely bestowed, even upon South Carolinians. None of the Hunley crew members was from South Carolina.

Protests made McConnell drop his bid.

Crew members were buried in Charleston after six days of parades, church services and cannon firings in April 2004. McConnell, dressed as a Confederate general, delivered the eulogy.

To McConnell, memorializing the Hunley is the "hallmark of his public service," according to a recent press release from Clemson.

In March at Clemson, McConnell spoke for an hour without notes to 150 students and faculty members.

He praised the "sleek, hydrodynamically designed vessel" and its brave crew. He spoke of how the citizens of Charleston suffered from the Union bombardment in the same way the citizens of Stalingrad and Leningrad suffered during World War II. He talked of the reconstruction of the Hunley crew's faces and how the sub's raising was a technological feat. He got a standing ovation.

Sen. John Courson, R-Richland and a Hunley Commission member, praised McConnell's efforts.

"The Hunley would still be sitting off Charleston, under eight feet of sand,



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if it hadn't been for Senator McConnell's leadership. æ.æ.æ. I've often said that Senator McConnell is in love with an inanimate object — the Confederate sub, the H.L. Hunley."

Today, the Hunley mixes money, politics, science and history. It is three stories:

- How a government project can start off small and end up spawning bureaucracies that cost taxpayers tens of millions
- How in a poor state, with billions needed for worn-out school buses, run-down schools, unsafe bridges and roads, and jobs creation, a powerful politician can steer tens of millions toward a pet project
- The story of a man — McConnell — and the boat he loves.

NO PUBLIC DEBATE

Most money allocated to the Hunley has avoided usual budget channels.

"Why don't you get an appropriation for the (Hunley) Commission? That would certainly relieve a lot of pressure and, in my opinion, be entirely appropriate," then-College of Charleston president Alex Sanders wrote to McConnell on Dec. 8, 1998.

McConnell had asked Sanders to provide free parking for Hunley workers while they were using college offices. Sanders refused, saying the spaces were for students. McConnell got his spaces instead in the form of city spaces, from Charleston Mayor Joe Riley.

Unlike many projects, whose expenses are known and debated, much Hunley funding is fragmented, tucked away in various state agencies' budgets:

- The Department of Public Safety each year provides \$100,000 for a highly trained, armed guard for the Hunley lab, which is open to visitors on weekends. DPS also monitors the

Hunley 24 hours a day via closed-circuit television.

• The state agency in charge of land at the former 1,600-acre Navy base in North Charleston donates a building used to house and study the Hunley. The lease of the Charleston Naval Complex Redevelopment Authority building is valued at \$300,000 per year, according to a Hunley foundation audit.

• The Department of Archives and History has five Hunley employees on its payroll. Their total salaries this year are \$204,266.

• The College of Charleston has four Hunley workers on its payroll. Their total salaries this year are \$239,320.

The Hunley foundation, called the Friends of the Hunley, reimburses the College of Charleston and the archives department for the Hunley employees' pay.

Routing their pay through state agencies enables Hunley workers to receive state health and retirement benefits, which aren't available through the foundation.

The employees are "a special kind of state employee" with a special temporary status, according to State Budget and Control Board spokesman Mike Sponhour — among the 2,000 such workers the state employs.

The Hunley project's bookkeeping, like its funding trail, is fragmented.

The foundation's audit records, for example, don't specify the cost of the armed guard. Other spending details show up only on IRS tax forms.

The State for several months compiled and compared those records and added to them the figures for Clemson's North Charleston campus and the proposed museum.

The newspaper filed Freedom of Information requests with more than

20 state agencies. But without a complete formal financial audit in which all records are made public, it's difficult to be certain that all Hunley funding has been included.

What The State found — the most complete public Hunley tally to date — includes:

• \$42 million to be spent for a proposed Hunley museum in North Charleston

• \$35 million to be spent on the first phase of a Hunley-centered campus built by Clemson, also in North Charleston • About \$17 million spent since 1998 on raising, excavating, preserving and promoting the Hunley. About \$9.3 million of that is from direct federal and state government support; \$2.3 million is from in-kind state government services. Most of the \$5 million balance spent comes from private donations, tours and the sale of Hunley merchandise.

• About \$3.5 million in state money being spent to buy a Civil War collection of 10,000 paintings, maps, books and other objects destined for the museum.

Few in state government have any idea of costs of various Hunley projects in the pipeline.

"I don't have a clue," Gov. Mark Sanford said last week.

Informed that projected costs were \$97 million, Sanford said that sort of uncoordinated spending is a prime example of state government dysfunction.

"The left hand doesn't know what the right hand is doing," Sanford said, adding he was not commenting on the merits or demerits of the Hunley projects.

Sanford is not alone. A dozen influential lawmakers interviewed said they had no idea how much the Hunley was costing. Lawmakers who didn't know included three members



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of the Hunley Commission: Reps. Kenny Bingham, R-Lexington; Dan Cooper, R-Anderson, who also is House Ways and Means Committee chairman; and Sen. John Courson, R-Richland, chairman of the Senate Education Committee.

the influence

McConnell has used his insider knowledge and the power of his position to get money in a variety of ways:

- In 2001, McConnell tucked the commitment for a \$3.5 million Civil War collection into the state budget without any debate.

A reporter discovered the appropriation after the budget passed. Some lawmakers objected, but no attempt was made to cancel the purchase. The state is making payments over several years.

- McConnell's biggest coup was helping Clemson take over the multimillion-dollar Hunley preservation project.

McConnell helped Clemson for more than a year, according to internal e-mails and letters provided by Clemson to The State through Freedom of Information Act requests. With McConnell's help, Clemson agreed to start a \$35 million Hunley-centered campus in North Charleston devoted to historic and materials preservation.

Clemson has agreed to spend \$3 million right away to upgrade the deteriorating Hunley lab. Clemson also is expected to pay about \$800,000 a year toward the project. A state panel in September awarded \$10.3 million to Clemson for the Hunley takeover. The State Budget and Control Board still must give that final approval.

- In 2002, McConnell persuaded the South Carolina Educational Television network to cancel

\$128,000 in invoices for film work for the Friends of the Hunley, according to ETV documents.

"I would like to know why I was not informed of this request of the Friends of the Hunley to pay for documenting the project," McConnell wrote ETV chief Moss Bresnahan on Oct. 4, 2001.

On Jan. 21, 2002, Bresnahan wrote McConnell, saying ETV often billed for its work. He told McConnell the foundation had a contract and had promised to pay.

In a March 20, 2002, letter, McConnell advised Bresnahan to cancel the contract. "Once that step is taken I think that we can discuss the costs that were incurred by ETV and attempt through the (state) budgetary process to make ETV whole," McConnell wrote.

ETV canceled the invoices. Officials said they didn't know whether McConnell got them extra money the next year.

In an interview, Bresnahan said McConnell had convinced him it was proper not to charge the Friends of the Hunley. McConnell argued the filming educated the public about a worthwhile topic, Bresnahan said.

ETV officials couldn't recall canceling invoices in other cases. But since then, it has performed some film services free for other agencies, Bresnahan said.

the FOUNDATION

McConnell has long stressed that little public money would be spent on the Hunley.

"We're doing this on a volunteer basis," he said in 1995, pointing out that a Hunley committee — appointed by state lawmakers and of which he was a member — would not accept expense money for travel or meals.

In 1996, McConnell got the Legislature to turn the informal

committee into the Hunley Commission, with legal custody of the sub plus responsibility for its preservation and for recommending a permanent home.

McConnell was elected the commission's first chairman. In the past 10 years, he has been its only chairman.

After the news of the Hunley's discovery was broadcast in 1995, some people sent in donations. How to handle the money became an issue.

With the Hunley Commission's approval, McConnell set up the Friends of the Hunley in 1997. The quasi-private foundation is charged with overseeing the preservation work and managing Hunley money. Under foundation bylaws, McConnell, as Hunley Commission chairman, appoints all board members, with the consent of other commission members.

On Oct. 16, 1995, McConnell's assistant, John Hazzard V, wrote the State Budget and Control Board, asking it to set up a Hunley account to be used by the foundation and the commission for private donations.

"The fund should be also designated so that the monies received by private donation can be disbursed without legislation," Hazzard wrote.

As time went on, and apparently without any clear legal authority from the Legislature, the Budget and Control Board set up other Hunley accounts for McConnell and the commission. And the foundation began to collect and manage public money, as well.

Into these accounts flowed more than \$6 million in state and federal money from 1999 to 2005, according to Budget and Control Board records.

McConnell over the years personally has approved the transfer of millions



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in public money to the Hunley foundation, documents show.

MOVING THE MONEY

That personal involvement has no legal foundation, experts say.

According to records, McConnell moved the money in this way: He would receive a letter from the Hunley foundation asking for money. Then he would write the Budget and Control Board, directing state officials to send money to the foundation.

Sometimes McConnell's requests for cash were supported by invoices and specific documentation; sometimes they were not.

For example, on Nov. 23 of last year, McConnell wrote a letter to the Budget and Control Board, asking it to pay \$148,500 to the Friends of the Hunley. The state sent the check.

McConnell included with the letter invoices requesting \$91,500 for a "sr. conservator" and \$42,000 for a "conservator." He did not reveal names, Social Security numbers or addresses of the two individuals who were to receive "\$91,500 and \$42,000."

Frank Fusco, the Budget and Control Board's executive director, declined to answer questions as to why the board allows McConnell power over such large state accounts when there is no clear legal authority for it.

Sponhour, Fusco's public relations director, said Hazzard's 1995 letter asking the board to set up an account for private donations is the only written communication the board has from the Hunley Commission concerning the establishment and workings of the Hunley accounts.

A general provision allows the Budget and Control Board to provide bookkeeping services to other government entities "as will in its opinion promote efficient and economical operations." Sponhour

said that's the provision under which the Budget and Control Board is operating.

But there's no specific legal provision allowing McConnell to be paymaster for the foundation.

The Hunley accounts have never been independently audited by the state, said State Auditor Tom Wagner Jr. But they are among the thousands of state accounts from which a sampling of transactions are taken annually as part of a larger audit.

"It's going to be the luck of the draw each year as to whether the auditor actually looks at Hunley accounts," Wagner said.

Wagner said to his knowledge McConnell's money-approving authority is unique.

In all, more than \$8 million has been sent from the accounts to the foundation, records show.

Richard Eckstrom, the state's comptroller general, said he was disappointed to learn the Hunley project is being financed through accounts that allow a senator to authorize spending.

"It's obviously outside the framework the state has provided for disbursement of public funds," said Eckstrom. That framework and its numerous safeguards exist to protect the public, he said.

"It's very unfortunate to have these side arrangements," he said.

McConnell should not be wearing so many hats, said Jim Kent, a professor of management at New York's Marist College who has done consulting work for a dozen state governments, including South Carolina's, as well as for several emerging nations.

An expert in legislative process and ethics, Kent said McConnell's role in transferring money is highly unusual. McConnell is a member of the legislative, not executive, branch of

government. Legislators don't have the authority to direct state money.

What's more, Kent said, McConnell "has control over this money but no accountability for it." He said the Legislature should have set up a specific fund for the Hunley and put the fund under a state agency's control.

"The central principle of fiscal accountability is 'everything should be on the books,'" he said. "Every transaction ought to be transparent. That is not what is going on here."

FOUNDATION AUDITS

The Hunley foundation itself is audited each year. The audits, which are made public, give general information and few details.

For example, they don't say how much the foundation pays the Columbia public relations firm of Richard Quinn Sr. to do fundraising and promotional work each year as well as answer media queries.

That information can be obtained, however, from the foundation's IRS 990 tax forms. In 2002, 2003 and 2004, the foundation paid the Quinn firm a total of \$880,198. Foundation spokeswoman Raegan Quinn, a daughter of Richard Quinn Sr., provided the information to The State for 2005, saying the foundation paid the Quinn firm another \$226,000.

Nor do foundation audits reveal how many people work on the Hunley project. Raegan Quinn provided that, however: 11 full time and two part time.

The employees' total 2005 salaries are about \$478,000. That doesn't include the \$100,000-a-year allocation for the guard provided by the Department of Public Safety.

Since 1998, the foundation has taken in, and spent, about \$17 million in public and private money, combined records show.



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Sen. Bill Mescher, R-Berkeley, said he would prefer to have the Hunley's cost more readily accessible so people would "know how tax dollars are being spent.

"It's not in the budget. It's not in there as a line item," he said.

The lack of easily available, complete records means no one intelligently can discuss the Hunley, critics say.

"It makes it impossible to find out facts to make good decisions," said attorney Jim Carpenter, who is involved in a lawsuit against the Hunley foundation. "You cannot have a meaningful debate on a project's cost."

Carpenter's client, Ed Sloan of Greenville, has filed a Freedom of Information lawsuit to force more disclosure of how public money is being spent on the Hunley.

The S.C. Supreme Court is deliberating the case.

Praise and criticism

Many lawmakers praise McConnell for his Hunley work.

Sen. John Land, D-Clarendon, who disagrees with McConnell on many issues, admires him for getting the Hunley raised and for his creative financing.

But, says Land, perhaps it's time to revisit how the Hunley is overseen.

Sen. Darrell Jackson, D-Richland, said even senators who might want to challenge McConnell on Hunley funding don't. McConnell is powerful and would fight back fiercely, Jackson said.

"It's like, 'Let him do his thing.' He's passionate about it — it's not worth the scars," Jackson said.

Senators know if they help McConnell with the Hunley, he won't scuttle their projects. For example, McConnell helped the Black Caucus get from \$3 million to \$5 million in state lottery money each year for the state's

historically black colleges, Jackson said.

"It was mutually understood we would respect each other's passions and not try to derail them," Jackson said.

Crangle, head of the citizens watchdog group, said the Hunley's millions are marked by a lack of transparency and accountability and by "subterranean funding."

He said the project raises questions about priorities.

"This state has serious problems with education, law enforcement, transportation, the criminal justice system — and then we spend that type of money on something like this?" he asked. "You have to question people's judgment."

Crangle likens McConnell to the powerful senators of old South Carolina, who behind the scenes did as they pleased.

"This is a testimony to the power McConnell has accumulated over the years and his ability to game the system," said Crangle, who has studied the Legislature for 20 years.

"No one else in the General Assembly could pull off something like this."

Clemson signed on to shaky project University wanted in despite financial issues

Clemson University surprised many last fall when it announced it would take over the long-term preservation of the Hunley submarine and build a \$35 million Hunley-centered campus in North Charleston.

The takeover would bring thousands of jobs, Clemson press releases said at the time.

But Clemson internal documents, obtained through S.C. Freedom of Information requests, reveal a

financially shaky Hunley project and show just how strong — and open-ended — Clemson's financial commitment would be.

The documents show Clemson moving forward with the takeover even though it knew it was bringing cash to a financially uncertain venture. The school agreed, for example, to pay off \$265,000 in Hunley debt.

And they show that state Sen. Glenn McConnell, a key Hunley booster, and the Hunley oversight commission he chairs would retain much control over the project. That's despite the fact that Clemson is a public, academic institution.

Hunley spending is projected to hit at least \$97 million on various projects in the next few years. But the viability of the Hunley's funding sources has been less obviously clear.

That's why Clemson's recent open-book examination of the Hunley records — the first ever by an independent outsider — is important. Clemson has not made its review public.

But other Clemson documents that reference it provide windows into a cash-strapped Hunley project and an Upstate school pleased about having a large, Charleston-area campus.

Specifically:

- Clemson's takeover amounts to a bailout of a cash-strapped Hunley project, according to Clemson's own assessment. Although no one has publicly said so, the Hunley preservation project — once fat with state and federal grants — now has debts, Clemson records show. And they show that Clemson proceeded even though its assessment was that the sub's money sources were dwindling.

Clemson, as part of the takeover deal, would receive scientific assets



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worth at least several million dollars. But it also would pay off more than \$265,000 in Hunley debt, according to a contract between Clemson and the Hunley's foundation.

- Clemson officials raved about the chance to get the Hunley and its "showpiece (conservation) laboratory" where it is housed in North Charleston. "It (the Hunley project) is probably the only thing happening at Clemson right now that can get us an hourlong special on National Geographic or Discovery Channel," Joe Kolis, Clemson's director of special projects, wrote to other top university officials in an Aug. 25 e-mail.

Once Clemson has the Hunley lab, Kolis added, it can start to preserve famous underwater artifacts from the American Revolution. "If that sort of project does not get us the national reputation points to move to (the) top 20, then there is no other project at Clemson that will."

- The deal commits Clemson to spend millions on the Hunley for an unknown period of time. If the takeover gets the green light from state officials (possibly as early as this week), Clemson will begin to pay an estimated \$800,000 a year to preserve the Hunley. Clemson also will pay \$3 million to fix up the Hunley's deteriorating lab, called the Warren Lasch Conservation Center. Clemson could pay for years, since no one knows for certain how long preservation of the Confederate sub will take.

- Clemson officials hoped to curry favor with McConnell, the powerful president pro tem of the state Senate and a master of Legislative rules. They believe he can do them favors in return for the university's Hunley takeover, according to e-mails.

It's good for Clemson to help McConnell, wrote Kolis. "If we deliver the goods in this we will make a valuable ally in Senator McConnell and capture a lot of support in Charleston," Kolis wrote to other top school officials.

- McConnell worked behind the scenes for more than a year to aid the Clemson takeover. The Republican senator from Charleston has worked for years to help steer millions toward the Hunley. But his work to help Clemson agree to spend \$35 million on a Hunley-centered campus — and millions more to preserve the sub — represents the sub's greatest source of government money yet.

Clemson's internal e-mails and other documents show McConnell played a central role in the university's move, negotiating with both Clemson and the city of North Charleston. Until now, McConnell's role in Clemson's deal has not been widely known.

- Under a contract recently signed by Clemson, McConnell retains tight control of the Hunley project. Clemson professors will have to get McConnell's permission before they can talk to reporters or to scholars at other universities, according to the contract. The document says any public statement by Clemson about the Hunley must be approved by the Hunley Commission, a politician-heavy, nine-member panel that McConnell has chaired for 10 years.

- McConnell and the Hunley Commission also can refuse to allow Clemson professors to publish scholarly papers about their academic work on the Hunley, according to the agreement.

McConnell declined comment for this article.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Academic freedom experts were shocked Clemson will let politicians censor professors.

"We've learned through long experience that the need for prior review and approval to what professors write and speak is inevitably corrosive to the spirit of academic freedom," said Jonathan Knight, director of programs of academic freedom and tenure for the 45,000-member American Association of University Professors.

"Even if the hoped-for effect is benign, no faculty member should have to be concerned that he or she might have to trim their academic sails to gain the approval of this external body."

Although the agreement is between Clemson and the Hunley Commission, commission members defer to McConnell, according to a commission lawyer.

"As long as the Senator understands (the Clemson deal), the rest will follow his leadership," wrote Hunley Commission lawyer Ric Tapp in an Aug. 8 e-mail to a Clemson official as talks between Clemson and the commission reached their final stages.

In an interview last week, Clemson president James Barker disputed the academic freedom issue, spoke hopefully of the new campus, and said he did not expect favors from McConnell for taking over the Hunley. In many agreements with industry and corporations, the university clears what it might publish. "You might be doing some things that are proprietary in nature," Barker said. "In working with the Hunley Commission, we felt like this idea of clearing with them publications that we would do makes sense to us. It was not restrictive in terms of academic freedom. We don't see it that way."



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If Clemson follows up on work already begun by the Hunley scientists, it would make sense to clear that work, Barker said. "It seemed to me that good partners ought to have that kind of understanding."

As far as Clemson clearing comments to the media with the Hunley Commission, Barker said, "That's not something that gives us concern. We think that is the way partners ought to be working with each other."

the need for money

The Clemson internal documents shine a light on the unseen side of the Hunley takeover.

And they shine a light on the two main actors, one a man and the other an institution.

McConnell is arguably the state's most powerful politician.

Clemson is among the state's largest and wealthiest public universities. It has long wanted to make the U.S. News & World Report list of the nation's top 20 public universities.

Since even before the Hunley was raised in 2000, McConnell helped get millions in state and federal funds for preserving and promoting it.

But that government money is dwindling, as is public interest that might result in donations, according to Clemson.

The number of fee-paying visitors to the Hunley lab is down, according to Hunley records. Half of the lab's 276,000 or so visitors went through by 2002, the first year it offered consistent tours. The 48,000 visitors in 2002 slid down to 37,000 in 2005.

And Hunley officials confirm that government funds, once streaming into the Hunley project in the millions a year, reached only \$250,000 in 2005.

The money is kept by the Friends of the Hunley foundation, whose governing board McConnell appoints. The vast majority of spending shows up on foundation audits, although sometimes only in general terms. But some information is found only on IRS documents.

Because of fragmented funding sources, few people — not even some people close to the project — can say how the combined Hunley projects are performing financially.

Foundation spokeswoman Raegan Quinn said the organization is healthy. "Our books are balanced. There are no outstanding loans," she said.

But several commission board members, for example, told The State they didn't know the total cost of the various projects.

And the state has never specifically audited the foundation's spending, according to state auditor Tom Wagner Jr.

Last year, however, Clemson's Kolis inspected the foundation's financial records and concluded the Hunley is on financial thin ice.

"The main source of problems for the Friends of the Hunley is that tour, membership and gift shop income is dropping rapidly," wrote Kolis in an Aug. 25 e-mail to top Clemson officials.

In a recent interview, Kolis confirmed his inspection of Hunley records and estimated that Clemson's yearly commitment to preserve the Hunley could be upwards of \$800,000 a year. (Under the deal, the foundation will continue operating the Hunley gift shop at the lab and keep raising money for Hunley preservation and promotion.)

Before the deal was signed, Kolis told Clemson officials if the Hunley project

proves too expensive, the powerful McConnell can help.

"I would rather take my chances that we get the Senator to put some below the line funding in place for us for a year or two," Kolis wrote in an e-mail last August.

Under the Clemson-Hunley Commission contract, Clemson is supposed to have the Hunley museum ready by February 2009.

But the core work on the Hunley's long-term preservation hasn't begun. Similar projects of long-underwater ships in other states — the Monitor in Virginia and La Belle in Texas — are taking 10 years or more to preserve. behind the scenes

Some state lawmakers were astonished that Clemson, North Charleston and McConnell, acting in secret for nine months, had created a \$35 million campus.

"If a university wants to come up with a multimillion dollar campus, it should be done in an open process," said Rep. Herb Kirsh, D-York. "It ought to come before the General Assembly. Let us take a look. We're the ones that are going to pay the bills."

Gov. Mark Sanford was equally surprised — and disturbed that Clemson was announcing a tuition increase at almost the same time.

"We have to define our higher-ed system as something other than a vision that grows by 'I can get some money out of this pot, some land out of this municipality, and therefore, I'm doing another campus over here,'" he said last week.

"That approach is a very costly approach."

Having open discussions before decisions are made is the best approach, Sanford said, but was reluctant to criticize the way the Clemson deal happened.



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Crafting the deal took more than a year of secret talks.

In an Aug. 27, 2004, letter, Barker told McConnell there "are many ways in which the Hunley Commission and Clemson University can benefit by a long-term relationship."

The discussions bore fruit.

In early 2005, a lawyer for McConnell's Hunley Commission described the commission's position in an e-mail to Clemson.

"The Hunley Commission is anxious for Clemson to assume ownership of the facility (the Hunley lab), but they naturally are also looking for Clemson to commit to maintain the restoration of the submarine through its completion, which is approximately 3 more years," wrote Neil Robertson, a lawyer at the Nexsen Pruet law firm of Hunley Commission attorney Tapp, on Jan. 25, 2005.

In fact, no one knows how long preservation will take. Kolis confirmed that uncertainty in an interview last week, much to the surprise of Barker, who was not completely aware the preservation could take more than a few years.

For its part, Clemson has had a long interest in the Hunley.

After the sub was raised in 2000, a Clemson chemistry professor began working with Hunley scientists.

By early 2005, records show, Clemson had McConnell's blessing to take over the project.

By then, Clemson's vision had outgrown the Hunley. Its officials had decided to create a major campus around the Hunley lab. They would call this the "Restoration Institute."

The Restoration Institute, Barker said, will address "restoration" broadly, with major programs in historic preservation of buildings, materials preservation and restoring environments damaged by pollutants

or hazardous wastes, commonly known as "brownfields."

The institute also will study — at the Hunley lab — how to get salts out of underwater artifacts.

Clemson's historic role has always included outreach around South Carolina, so locating the Restoration Institute in North Charleston fits in with university tradition, Barker said. "We are taking Clemson to the state." Barker said the campus will pay dividends: There are trillions of dollars worth of economic opportunity worldwide in restoration these days, he said.

He acknowledged his comments didn't apply to the Hunley, saying economic opportunities related to underwater archaeology are limited.

GETTING THE LAND

Fortunately for Clemson, land around the Hunley lab, which is on a former U.S. Navy base, is owned by the city of North Charleston. The city has hundreds of acres and can sell or donate them as it pleases.

As Clemson began talking land with North Charleston, McConnell helped ease the way, according to Clemson documents.

In June 2005, McConnell met with North Charleston Mayor Keith Summey to discuss a land transfer to Clemson.

"They (Summey and McConnell) agreed to move forward with a donation (to Clemson) of about 40 acres across from the Lasch Lab," wrote Clemson's Barry Nocks, associate dean of outreach and special projects, in a June 27 e-mail.

Eventually, Clemson would want — and get — 82 acres.

During those talks, McConnell served as a liaison between the city and university, documents show. He helped relay conditions from one party to the other, and pledged a

Department of Public Safety officer who guards the Hunley would stay after Clemson took over.

On Sept. 8, North Charleston City Council met in a secret session with McConnell and Clemson officials. McConnell briefed them on the project.

For many council members, it was their first inkling that North Charleston and Clemson had been discussing a land deal.

The council then voted in public, giving tentative approval to Clemson's takeover of 82 acres of prime former Navy base land, including the Hunley lab.

Phoebe Miller, North Charleston's mayor pro tem, said she didn't know about the impending Clemson land deal until the closed-door session with McConnell.

"Secret negotiations like that go on all the time," she said. Sometimes she is upset at the secrecy, but because the Clemson deal seems so wonderful, she wasn't bothered in this case. "We're just thrilled," she said.

Summey said he sees nothing unusual in the nonpublic talks between Clemson and his city. He operates under a strong mayor form of government, so he can negotiate without council's consent.

"There are all kinds of deals out here that we work on that we just aren't willing to make public until there's a something that we need to make public," Summey said.

"I'm not going to take it to council until I'm sold on it."

GETTING THE CASH

By Sept. 8, Clemson had two of the three things it needed for its new campus.

It had McConnell's blessing.

It had 82 acres of North Charleston land.



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Now it needed \$10.3 million from the state.

That is the amount needed to upgrade the Hunley lab, buy more equipment and build the first stage of the campus. (Clemson would add its own \$3 million to the \$10.3 million from the state, for a total of \$13.3 million in cash.)

In general, state appropriations for universities had been on the decline in South Carolina. With McConnell at their side, Clemson officials decided to go after a separate pot of state money, created under the 2004 Life Sciences Act.

Under that act, research universities like Clemson are eligible for multimillion dollar grants to build super research programs that have the potential to create jobs. The money goes to build offices and labs, sewers, parking — infrastructure.

To win the money, a university must go before a panel and meet two conditions:

- Have cash or assets to match the grant it is getting
- Show its project will spark jobs and economic growth

The first condition — putting up matching money — was easy.

The 82 acres Clemson had been given, and the buildings on them, had a value of \$18.5 million, according to a Clemson appraisal. That value more than matched the \$10.3 million Clemson sought.

To meet the second condition, Clemson told panel members the campus would create up to 4,750 new jobs over more than 20 years, with an annual payroll of up to \$286 million.

The panel didn't question Clemson's numbers. No outside group vetted the numbers.

If Clemson is counting on creating jobs from the Hunley lab, it is off

track, said one of the nation's foremost underwater archaeology experts, Donnie Hamilton of Texas A&M University.

Hamilton said his school is the nation's main preserver of underwater artifacts. He also said there aren't that many underwater objects around. He estimated his well-known lab makes only about several hundred thousand dollars a year treating underwater artifacts.

Barker said, "We recognize that (with) underwater archaeology kind of work, there's probably a limited market."

He added that the Hunley is certainly not the centerpiece of the new campus — "in terms of jobs." But there are rapidly growing opportunities in environmental restoration and architectural historic preservation, he said.

The job projections were developed by Clemson using standard economic formula projections, he said in an interview.

Clemson put the numbers forward despite internal documents that showed officials were wary. Inflated jobs-projection numbers came out earlier for the school's ICAR automotive research project in Greenville, and school officials were worried about looking overly optimistic.

"Do NOT under any circumstances mention anything about a number of jobs created," Kolis wrote in a Aug. 3, 2005, e-mail to Jan Schach, Clemson's dean of College of Architecture, Arts, and Humanities. "Ask Chris (Przirembel, a top Clemson official) about the horror stories he is still suffering from the '20,000' jobs that ICAR will create.

"My strong suggestion is to completely forget about this argument. You will never get out from under it later. Also, these e-mails are

going to a lot of people. E-mail is pretty insidious stuff and tends to morph and mutate in the wild. The numbers you quote will get out to the press and we'll have trouble."

In a recent interview, Barker pointed out that the ICAR inflated job projections were made public not by Clemson but an outside party.

At its Sept. 16 meeting — the only public discussion of the Clemson request for the money — the research infrastructure panel voted to give Clemson the \$10.3 million.

DEAL NOT CLOSED

Through the fall and winter, Clemson, McConnell and the Hunley Commission wrangled over details.

In December, Clemson officials in e-mails worried McConnell wanted to retain too much control.

"For the next four years, we are obligated to pony up 6-7 hundred thou/ year," Clemson's Kolis wrote to top Clemson officials in a Dec. 12 e-mail. "That kind of scratch buys some leeway. If they don't like it they can have it back. They are desperate at this point so we should let them know who is boss."

Clemson officials worried, too, whether McConnell's open admiration of the Confederate military would turn off donors. They also wondered what would happen if McConnell's \$42 million proposed museum for the Hunley never got built and they had to keep the preserved sub in the lab.

In the end, McConnell apparently won the battle over details, keeping the right to muzzle Clemson professors if the Hunley Commission disapproves of their work or what they might say publicly.

The takeover contract between Clemson and the Hunley Commission will take effect when the S.C. Budget and Control Board formally approves



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selling \$10.3 million in state bonds to raise the money for the campus.

Barker, however, said issues remain to be clarified before Clemson goes before the Budget and Control Board. Approval might be delayed until those issues are worked out, he said.

"We are as anxious to get this project started as anyone."

With no market study, sub museum risks sinking \$42 million facility could be one of S.C.'s most expensive, least studied

By JOHN MONK

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Officials who want to build a \$42 million museum for the Hunley submarine in North Charleston haven't done feasibility, site and market studies that experts say are crucial to knowing whether the project will work.

And, if the dwindling numbers of visitors to other, smaller Hunley exhibits are any gauge, it's possible the mostly taxpayer-supported museum might fail to draw sufficient visitors and wind up being a white elephant.

It would be an expensive white elephant.

At \$42 million, the future Hunley museum will be among the most costly in South Carolina, above the \$16 million Columbia Art Museum but below the \$70 million Charleston aquarium.

A state panel called the Hunley Commission has chosen a site for the museum whose star attraction would be the Confederate sub. The site is on a portion of the former Navy base in North Charleston, less than a mile from where the Hunley hangs in a sling in a tank of water at a conservation laboratory.

To build the museum, officials are counting on aid from the city and hefty infusions of state and federal taxpayer dollars.

But no market studies have been done, according to Freedom of Information Act requests filed with the Hunley Commission, the Friends of the Hunley foundation and the city of North Charleston. And visitors at other Hunley exhibits are not turning out in the numbers expected.

Sen. Glenn McConnell, R-Charleston, Hunley Commission chairman and the museum's biggest promoter, declined to answer questions about the museum. In the past, he has said — apparently without any studies to support it — that 1 million people would visit a Hunley museum in its first year.

Experts say no big museumlike facility should be built without in-depth market studies. Such studies would test the viability of a location, a project's cost versus its expense and the appeal of the subject matter, most importantly.

"This is like investing in a stock. How could you possibly invest in a stock without doing due diligence?" said Harry Miley, a state economist who headed the S.C. Board of Economic Advisors for eight years after being appointed by the late Gov. Carroll Campbell.

"If you asked a real estate developer to put up a \$42 million project without doing a feasibility study, it would look very odd," Miley said.

Already, a \$3 million Hunley exhibit in one of the state's hottest tourism markets — complete with a full-scale Hunley replica and a gift shop — has failed.

In December, the Hunley exhibit at Myrtle Beach's Broadway at the Beach closed two years into an anticipated 15-year run. Broadway at

the Beach is a 350-acre tourist Mecca that draws 12 million people a year.

"For us, in our market, it had limited appeal," said Pat Dowling, spokesman for Burroughs & Chapin, the company that owns Broadway at the Beach. Dowling declined to discuss attendance figures.

Two years ago, Hunley promoters and Burroughs & Chapin officials said the Myrtle Beach exhibit would attract up to 500,000 people a year.

But that exhibit, too, opened with no marketing studies to see whether tourists would actually visit.

Meanwhile, the number of tourists visiting the Hunley lab is falling off. Half of the lab's approximately 276,000 visitors went through by 2002, the first year it offered consistent tours. The 48,000 visitors in 2002 slid down to 37,000 in 2005, despite a climb to 41,500 in 2004, when the burial of the Hunley's crew increased interest.

Officials at five other museums in Virginia and North and South Carolina told The State that professionally commissioned, detailed studies are essential before launching a museum project.

A few years ago, before going ahead with an \$18.5 million expansion plan for an observatory, planetarium and IMAX theater at the State Museum in Columbia, museum officials did a feasibility study and learned an IMAX wouldn't pay for itself.

"It said we couldn't support an IMAX, so we backed off on that," museum director Willie Calloway said.

Such studies ideally are done by academics who use sophisticated research techniques and who have "no political or business ties" to the project to be studied, said Michael Johnson, an expert in feasibility studies and location analyses at the



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Carnegie Mellon business school in Pittsburgh.

North Charleston Mayor Keith Summey acknowledged no market studies have been done for a Hunley museum. An attraction as special as the Hunley will draw enough visitors to get the museum launched, he said. After that, the right kind of marketing and advertising will take care of the rest, he said.

In North Charleston's vision, the Hunley would have its own museum. It beat out sites in Mount Pleasant and downtown Charleston that would have made the Hunley part of existing museums and cost much less.

But critics say a lack of market studies is just one potential drawback to putting a \$42 million museum in North Charleston.

Others shaping up are:

- Fundraising limitations
- Traffic woes
- Crime
- The politics of the Confederacy.

FUNDRAISING

The Hunley project has struggled to raise private dollars.

The Hunley hasn't proved to be the kind of project that prompts many major gifts from corporations and wealthy individuals. Originally, Hunley supporters said big donations would pay for much of the project.

In February 1998, Warren Lasch told the Hunley Commission his goal was to raise \$15 million in private funds. That money would go toward the Hunley's raising, preservation and a fledgling endowment, Lasch said.

From 1998 to 2005, Lasch headed the Friends of the Hunley, a fundraising foundation that also oversaw the excavation and preservation of the Hunley. The foundation was created by the Hunley Commission to handle day-to-day Hunley affairs.

From 1998 to 2004, Lasch's foundation attracted \$4.8 million in contributions, falling far short of \$15 million, according to foundation audits and IRS records. During the same time, the foundation spent \$1.1 million for professional fundraisers, according to those records.

The Hunley foundation disputes some of The State's numbers. Foundation spokeswoman Raegan Quinn, for example, said the organization has received about \$10 million — not \$5 million — in cash, equipment and donated services. That total was not apparent in The State's reading of Hunley audits and IRS statements.

The fundraising failed to hit the \$15 million goal despite having professionals doing the job and despite widespread publicity on the Hunley — a television movie, a front-page story on The Wall Street Journal and statewide television specials.

But North Charleston is helping out.

Summey said the city is donating \$50,000 a year toward the Hunley's preservation. And the city has \$3 million in hand to move forward with the museum's design, he said.

TRAFFIC, CRIME

The traffic woes in North Charleston are only going to grow, critics say.

The former Navy base where McConnell and North Charleston officials want to put the Hunley museum is in large part an abandoned industrial complex with no easy access from interstate roads.

The I-26 corridor, while nearby, suffers from severe congestion during morning and evening rush hours. And, in recent months, plans have been firming up for the State Ports Authority to build a port just two miles south of the proposed museum.

To accommodate the port, the state plans a \$300 million, 1.8-mile access road from I-26. Once the port is in

operation, and the road is built, that area will see over time 6,500-plus extra truck trips a day, according to a 2005 study by the U.S. Corps of Engineers.

"It will be a catastrophe — the worst traffic congestion in South Carolina — gridlock," said Dana Beach of the S.C. Coastal Conservation League, a group tracking the development.

Phoebe Miller, North Charleston's mayor pro tem, said the new port is located on the old Navy base's southern edge, while the museum is at the north end. "I don't think we'll feel the impact."

Another problem that might diminish the lure of a museum in the city of 84,000 is crime.

For two years in a row, North Charleston has ranked in the nation's top 50 cities for crime, in a survey by Morgan Quitno Press, a Kansas research firm. North Charleston ranked 42nd last year and 22nd in 2004. (Charleston last year ranked 116th; Columbia, 49th.)

Miller said crime isn't as big a problem as some people think.

"Oh, but we get a bad rap!" she said. "In my neighborhood, we keep the doors open. We're safe. We have good police."

Summey said since he became mayor 11 years ago, North Charleston's police force has increased from 170 to nearly 300 officers. Three years ago, he said, the city's crime rate ranked it 12th-worst in the nation on one study.

"We are dealing with the issues," he said.

POLITICS OF THE CONFEDERACY
Politics, too, might limit the appeal of a museum.

Hunley Commission members — most of whom belong to the Sons of Confederate Veterans — insist on flying the Confederate flag in front of



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a Hunley museum, according to commission minutes.

That could rekindle the bitter debate that racked South Carolina during the 1990s over whether to fly the Confederate flag atop the State House dome.

Already, black leaders like the Rev. Joe Darby of Charleston are vowing that if the Confederate flag flies at the publicly financed Hunley museum, they will do all they can to keep schoolchildren away from it.

Despite all that, Hunley supporters insist attendance would be strong.

"Yes, this (the Hunley museum) will probably be the premiere (sic) tourist attraction in South Carolina," McConnell said in a 2004 letter to state lawmakers.

The state's largest tourist draw is Riverbanks Zoo in Columbia. It gets more than 850,000 visitors a year.

ELSEWHERE

Other states with major underwater finds have put their wrecks in existing museums rather than build new ones. In Virginia, the turret of the Monitor, the first ironclad battleship — also from the Civil War era — will go into a \$30 million new wing of a maritime museum in Newport News, officials said.

Before deciding to build the wing, officials did about \$500,000 worth of market and feasibility studies. Those professional studies were "essential" in developing a realistic idea of whether people would visit the exhibit, said maritime museum public relations director Justin Lyons.

In Texas, another major underwater find — a French ship called the La Belle — is undergoing about 20 years of preservation in a laboratory. When that is finished, it will be exhibited at the state museum in Austin.

One person who is surprised at the growth of the Hunley project,

especially a proposed \$42 million museum, is former Sen. Larry Richter, R-Charleston.

In 1996, Richter co-sponsored the McConnell bill that established the Hunley Commission, giving it the authority to find a home for the Hunley.

Richter said he always assumed the Hunley would go in an existing museum — not a new expensive one.

"In tough times like these, we have to use the assets we have as opposed to expanding our asset base," Richter said.

WHY NORTH CHARLESTON

What a Hunley museum might lack in national name recognition it could make up for in the sub's sheer mystique.

What the Hunley has going for it, according to McConnell, is the secrecy in which it was developed, the mystery of how it sank and the story of how a gold coin found on board had stopped a bullet that might have otherwise killed the Hunley's commander at the Battle of Shiloh.

McConnell envisions the museum as an expensive, world-class facility.

"To do it right, you have to have a state-of-the-art, world-class facility," McConnell said during a Feb. 12, 2004, Hunley Commission meeting. "Not only will it be a great world attraction, but it will be an asset to the taxpayers rather than a burden, but it takes money."

He has said, for example, he wants computer-enhanced "virtual reality" experiences so visitors will feel they actually are on the Hunley.

And he plans a Hunley replica that will take people on a water voyage into the Cooper River.

The riverfront city of North Charleston had plenty of Lowcountry competition in its bid to be the Hunley's home.

But it offered what the other cities did not: lots of land and a large incentive package.

Weeks after the Hunley was discovered in 1995, McConnell had the General Assembly pass a resolution saying the "remains of the Hunley" should go to Patriots Point museum in Mount Pleasant "for enshrinement."

Patriots Point, a state-run waterfront museum, has a collection of naval ships, including the USS Yorktown aircraft carrier and two submarines. And, with 275,000 visitors last year, it is one of the state's major tourist destinations.

In the site's favor is its location just off U.S. 17, the coastal roadway traveled by millions of tourists each year.

Several years later, The Charleston Museum near downtown Charleston and the city of North Charleston became interested in the Hunley.

For years, The Charleston Museum had displayed a Hunley replica and kept the sub's memory alive in a city visited by millions of tourists each year.

North Charleston became interested after the Hunley was raised in August 2000 and placed in a lab at the old Navy base.

In February 2004, after lobbying from all three cities, the commission chose North Charleston. And it made that recommendation to the Legislature, which by law has to sign off on a site.

The reasoning: North Charleston offered \$13 million in incentives, including lots of land. It was, McConnell said, the best financial package.

Under North Charleston's plan, the state will pay \$7 million; the federal government, \$9 million; and North Charleston and Charleston County together, \$18.9 million. Foundations



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and grants are expected to pay \$6.9 million.

State money for the museum has not been secured. Summey said the private sector and local government could pay more, if they need to.

Hunley Commission member state Rep. Kenny Bingham, R-Lexington, said in a recent interview that one reason he and most other commission members were impressed by the North Charleston proposal was its choice of architect. Ralph Appelbaum, who designed the U.S. Holocaust Museum, is world-renowned.

"With him, visiting the Hunley becomes an experience," Bingham said. "If it's just the Hunley sitting there, that is not going to draw people again and again." Moreover, Bingham said, the North Charleston site is on the water, and the city has a special tax district that allows it to raise money for the museum.

A SURPRISE TO SOME

In March 2004, the state Senate, where McConnell is president pro tem, quickly approved the North Charleston site.

In the House, Rep. Chip Limehouse, R-Charleston, who represents the Patriots Point museum area, got the museum resolution bottled up in a committee.

Limehouse thinks North Charleston is isolated from traditional tourist centers and would attract few visitors. He said he stalled the resolution to provoke a public debate.

"When you build a shopping mall or motel, you have a market research study," Limehouse said in a recent interview. "They look at things like demographics and traffic count."

McConnell, reacting to Limehouse, wrote a letter to all House members, criticizing Limehouse.

Later, someone slipped the museum resolution into a budget measure. It quietly passed both legislative chambers in 2004.

Limehouse, told by The State recently that the General Assembly had approved of North Charleston, said he thought the measure had died in 2004. He's not sure lawmakers knew they had not only selected a site but had signed off on a free-standing, more expensive museum.

The mayors of Charleston and Mount Pleasant say their cities are still good candidates to exhibit the Hunley.

Mount Pleasant Mayor Harry Hallman said the state already has one major naval museum — Patriots Point — so why build a second one just for the Hunley?

Charleston Mayor Joe Riley said more people will see the Hunley if it is at The Charleston Museum.

"People don't have unlimited time, and our location is in the thick of things," Riley said.

But Summey wants North Charleston to be a major tourism destination and "get a piece of tourism pie." Besides the Hunley museum, the city is planning a \$7 million firetruck museum.

The Hunley museum won't be a moneymaker, Summey said.

But "it is going to be something that adds to the quality of life, the quality of perception of our greater Charleston area.

"It's just going to be in North Charleston."