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The Contested Image of Nathan Bedford Forrest

By Court Carney

Over one hundred and thirty years after his death, Confederate general Nathan Bedford Forrest continues to haunt America. The general's exploits in the Civil War and his attitude towards African Americans throughout his life have combined to form a malleable and controversial image that underscores contrasting aspects of southern history. During the Civil War, the uneducated general directed a number of limited victories over superior, if poorly led, Union forces. Although he may not have lost a major battle, most historians agree that his handful of successes failed to have any real impact on the future of the Confederacy. "He was," as Charles Royster has noted, "a minor player in some major battles and a major player in minor battles."[1] Nevertheless, after the war Forrest's exploits soon attained mythic stature, and admirers of the general proclaimed him one of the primary heroes of the Confederate military effort. After his death in 1877, issues of race and racism tended to frame conflicting interpretations of Forrest's image in popular historical memory. A notorious slave trader and an early leader of the Ku Klux Klan, Nathan Bedford Forrest became an obvious target for African American anger and contempt, especially in the late twentieth century. White Americans, however, have not always conformed to any one particular view.

In the 1870s many white northerners, appalled by the general's involvement in the massacre of black troops at Fort Pillow during the Civil War, viewed Forrest as the most reprehensible former Confederate. But white southerners were also divided in their attitudes toward the general. To many, he was the quintessential Confederate hero, whose rough-hewn, unschooled martial style reflected the virtues of the southern "plain folk"; others, in contrast, found him an ambiguous figure at best, preferring instead the stoicism of Robert E. Lee over

[1] Charles Royster, "Slaver, General, Klansman," *Atlantic Monthly*, CCLXXI (May 1993), 126.

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the more unruly Forrest. Around the turn of the twentieth century, a trend toward national reconciliation began to modify Forrest's image: even as he gained more widespread legitimacy as an honorable soldier in service to his nation, his image became increasingly polarized in racial terms. In 1905 Memphis—the city most associated with Forrest—honored the general with a bronze equestrian statue in his memory. The celebration surrounding the monument's dedication revealed that most white Americans accepted some version of the iconic image of Forrest as heroic warrior. By the 1980s, however, the statue became a focal point for attacks by African Americans incensed by a public memorial to a notorious Klansman. The ensuing debate, fueled in part by the general's prominent role in Ken Burns's widely watched documentary on the Civil War, made Forrest a highly visible figure in popular historical culture. At the end of the twentieth century, as in the 1870s, the struggle over Forrest's image took place on a national scale, but the debate in Memphis, with its large black population, provides a useful case study of the ways that Americans have continued to redefine the popular memory of one of its most infamous Civil War commanders. The image of Nathan Bedford Forrest still touches upon concerns vital to Americans, both black and white, while the transformations in public perceptions of the general reflect larger shifts in southern views on history, identity, masculinity, and race.

Forrest had been born into poverty in rural Tennessee in 1821, and after establishing himself as a successful planter in Mississippi, he moved to Memphis and eventually became one of the largest slave traders on the Mississippi River. With its direct river route into the slave markets of the deep South, Memphis was perfectly situated for the commerce in slaves, and by the late 1850s Forrest claimed to be worth over a million dollars. The slave trade, with its attendant wealth and business connections, also afforded Forrest a great deal of influence in Memphis, where he was elected a town alderman in 1858. When Tennessee seceded in June 1861, Forrest enlisted in the Confederate Army and was soon commissioned to raise his own cavalry regiment. Although he lacked any military education, Forrest proved a remarkable commander, and in 1864 the general led his troops in two battles that would later have a profound effect on his image. In April of that year Forrest and his men overwhelmed a much smaller Union force positioned on the Mississippi River at Fort Pillow, Tennessee, and in the process they were held responsible for one of the worst atrocities of the war. Confederate troops attacked a garrison that included several units of the U.S. Colored Troops, some of whom were

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rumored to have been former slaves of Forrest's. Within minutes over half of the Federal force had been killed or wounded, and a disproportionate 66 percent of the black troops lay dead. Confederate losses were minimal. Soon thereafter a congressional committee deemed the affair "an indiscriminate slaughter," and African Americans and many northerners came to know Forrest as the "Butcher of Fort Pillow."[2]

Two months later Forrest led a rout of a much larger force at Brice's Crossroads, Mississippi. Described as "Forrest's finest moment," the battle at Brice's Crossroads proved to be the pinnacle of the general's military career—never again would he face such great odds or leave the field the resounding victor that he did there. By late 1864 Forrest commanded roughly 6,500 men, but in May 1865 he surrendered his exhausted and defeated troops to Union forces near Selma, Alabama. After the war the general returned to Memphis, hoping to recoup some of his antebellum wealth. In 1867 the fledgling Ku Klux Klan chose Forrest to serve as its first Grand Wizard. Using both his Confederate and business contacts the general established a wide sphere of influence. Although Forrest and others later insisted that the Klan functioned only as a political organization, racial terrorism became the hallmark of Klan activities. Forrest, however, lost interest in the Klan once it outgrew his immediate authority. On the heels of several ill-fated business ventures, he contracted with the state of Tennessee to operate a farm on an island in the Mississippi River with a force of convict-lease laborers in 1875. Largely unsuccessful in recovering his former wealth, and his health probably aggravated by the unhealthy conditions on the island, Forrest died in 1877.[3]

Forrest's Memphis funeral in October 1877 offers the first opportunity to assess the general's regional and national legacy. Forrest died twelve years after the Confederacy's surrender and immediately following the end of congressional Reconstruction, and, as the country attempted to reunite, the death of one of the South's most notorious generals—which made news across the country—allowed both sections

[2] The two most recent biographies of Forrest added substantial detail to the general's life before and after the war. Brian Steel Wills, *A Battle from the Start: The Life of Nathan Bedford Forrest* (New York, 1992); and Jack Hurst, *Nathan Bedford Forrest: A Biography* (New York, 1993). William R. Brooksher, "Betwixt Wind and Water: A Short Account of Confederate Major General Nathan Bedford Forrest's Attack on Fort Pillow," *Civil War Times Illustrated*, XXXII (November/December 1993), 83 (quotation). For a concise discussion of the historiography of Fort Pillow and its surrounding controversy see Bruce Tap, "'These Devils are Not Fit to Live on God's Earth': War Crimes and the Committee on the Conduct of the War, 1864–1865," *Civil War History*, XLII (June 1996), 116–32.

[3] Wills, *Battle from the Start*, 197–215 (quotation on p. 197), 357–59; Hurst, *Nathan Bedford Forrest*, 185–99, 285–344, 368–79.

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to reflect on Forrest's role before, during, and after the war. The obituaries, eulogies, and events surrounding the funeral underscore the range of values associated with the general at the time of his death. At Forrest's funeral, for example, Dr. George T. Stainback delivered a simple and personal commentary on the hero's life that emphasized the immortality of the general's deeds and words. Forrest, "though dead, yet speaketh," Stainback proclaimed; the general's life spoke to the living with the values of self-sacrifice, honor, and patriotism. Although Stainback admitted that Forrest had said and done "a great many things which didn't look like he was imitating the Master much," the general had apparently repented on his deathbed and knew he was forgiven. White Memphis rejoiced at the news of its hero's spiritual salvation, and many of the general's friends saw his funeral as an important day in the city's history, a time when the city, both black and white, could come together to honor its "late dead chieftain." Likewise, the various Memphis obituaries that appeared in late October and early November 1877 celebrated Forrest as a man who overcame poverty to achieve greatness as a naturally brilliant and spiritually minded warrior who embodied the ideals of self-sacrifice and honor. White Memphians looked with pride on Forrest's humble beginnings and subsequent rise to become a millionaire slave trader and war hero. Forrest achieved his success, the Memphis obituaries claimed, not through years of applied study but rather through "the courage of his heart, the valor of his principles, and the energy of his character." Memphians thus transformed Forrest into a southern version of Horatio Alger, and his rugged upbringing and self-reliance became virtues to be emulated.[4]

In their desire to elevate Forrest to the pinnacle of southern manhood, Memphis obituary writers created an elaborate and, at times, puzzling image. Embarrassed by their city's early capitulation during the Civil War, white Memphians desperately needed a hero and therefore crafted a distorted depiction of Forrest's role in the war. Forrest's life cannot be examined objectively in 1877, one obituary admitted. "There was so much of the storm in [Forrest's] life," the obituary asserted, "that many who have lived and acted upon the stage with him are not prepared to judge him correctly." "The future," it continued, "will recognize him as a grand figure in the history of the republic." Memphians took great pride in Forrest's lack of formal military education but maintained that their hero, though untrained, instinctively

[4] "The Dead Chieftain," Memphis *Evening Herald*, October 31, 1877 (first and second quotations). "In the Silent Grave," Memphis *Daily Appeal*, November 1, 1877 (third quotation); Wills, *Battle from the Start*, 378–79; Hurst, *Nathan Bedford Forrest*, 379–81.

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knew the rules of battle. In an attempt to add a patina of Christian righteousness to the general's nascent iconography, his tactics were described as redolent of "the methods of the Crusaders." Only twelve years after Forrest had surrendered, his military achievements had attained mythical status. Indeed, Memphians seemed to feel that if Forrest had been allowed to defend the city, they would have been saved from Yankee degradation and emerged from the war untainted by defeat and dishonor as had their heroic native son.[5]

White Memphians, however, were not entirely in accord. Many in the city's business class criticized the general's questionable postwar commercial practices and his resultant unpaid debts. Lafcadio Hearn, a northern journalist, provided a different perspective from that in the local press in his report on Forrest's funeral. Forrest, Hearn wrote, "was actually quite unpopular with a large portion of the community, who feared and disliked him about evenly." Even more detrimental to Forrest's image, however, was the general's "ferocity and reckless temper." Hearn wrote that he was "one of the most arbitrary, imperious and determined men that it is possible to conceive of as holding a high position in a civilized community." A "fierce and terrible" man, Forrest had usually aggravated the businessmen he encountered in everyday transactions. Such personal grievances, Hearn implied, may have inhibited some white Memphians from praising the general at the time of his death.[6]

In spite of these business enemies, most white Memphians probably still viewed the general as a military hero. In contrast, black Memphians recalled Forrest as the "self-made" millionaire who owned slave pens in downtown Memphis. And blacks all over the South were loath to forget Forrest's massacre of black Union troops garrisoned at Fort Pillow. Yet when he died, hundreds of black Memphians reportedly viewed Forrest's body and attended the funeral procession. One Memphis newspaper emphasized the surprising presence of mourning blacks, who seemed to display "a genuine sorrow in the death of the great soldier." Rightly assuming that many readers would doubt the sincerity of freedpeople grieving over the death of a renowned slave trader, the reporter added that the African Americans in attendance had nothing but praise for Forrest. "The negroes," he wrote, "had opportunities to see and know [Forrest's] goodness and to recognize his charity and benevolence." White Memphians took pride in the fact that

[5] Memphis *Daily Appeal*, October 30, 1877, p. 4 (quotations); "In the Silent Grave," Memphis *Daily Appeal*, November 1, 1877; Memphis *Daily Appeal*, October 31, 1877.

[6] Lafcadio Hearn, *Occidental Gleanings*, comp. by Albert Mordell (2 vols.; New York, 1925), I, 145–46.

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a group formerly subjugated by the general could mourn his death, an event former slaves might well have celebrated. No clear explanation exists for the presence of blacks at the funeral. Perhaps they attended out of a feeling of civic obligation, but simple curiosity or concealed joy also might have compelled many former slaves to witness the burial of one of the South's most prominent slave traders. In the end, the white reporter may have seen and heard only what he wanted, as white Memphians sought to include black Memphians in their mourning in an attempt to quell the reputation of their dead hero as the "Butcher of Fort Pillow."[7]

Although the rest of the South honored Forrest's passing, regional differences tempered perceptions of the general's legacy. White southerners living near Tennessee and Mississippi—the area where the general had fought and lived—tended to agree with the Memphis claim that Forrest was the hero of the Confederacy. In New Orleans, a city closely linked to Memphis by the Mississippi River, a local newspaper published a brief sketch of Forrest's life and military career, noting that "[n]o other command in the Confederate army could record more victories, more extraordinary escapes and larger results achieved with so small a force." In addition, James Chalmers, a representative from Tennessee, headed a group of southern congressmen who drew up a series of resolutions honoring Forrest. The men who signed their names to the memorial hailed from the four states that, not coincidentally, figured most prominently in Forrest's military campaigns—Tennessee, Mississippi, Georgia, and Alabama. Furthermore, at least two of the congressmen had fought alongside Forrest. Their memorial reflected a personal, as opposed to a regional, outpouring of praise. On the other hand, white southerners living in the eastern states of the former Confederacy conceded Forrest's valor and bravery, but their limited praise minimized his overall impact. A South Carolina newspaper, for example, labeled Forrest as simply a "hero of Tennessee." Another group of white southerners, Union loyalists (who had been especially numerous in Tennessee), probably harbored more negative views of Forrest and took no part in celebrating him or the Confederacy.[8]

[7] Shields McIlwaine, *Memphis: Down in Dixie* (New York, 1948), 152–53; "In the Silent Grave," Memphis *Daily Appeal*, November 1, 1877 (quotations). Unfortunately, African American newspapers from this period are rare. Freedpeople's responses to Forrest's death and funeral, therefore, must be deciphered from white newspapers that are clearly biased.

[8] "Death of Forrest," New Orleans *Daily Democrat*, October 31, 1877, p. 4 (first quotation); "The Dead Chieftain," Memphis *Evening Herald*, October 31, 1877; Charleston *News and Courier*, November 1, 1877, p. 1 (second quotation).

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Notices of the general's death outside of the South indicate that the emergent national image of Forrest was even more ambivalent. Obituaries printed in the border states and in the West represented a synthesis of southern and northern opinion. In St. Louis, for example, a short obituary recognized Forrest's heroism but added that "[h]is name was unfortunately connected with the killing of some colored troops at Fort Pillow." In a similar vein, a San Francisco newspaper maintained that Forrest's actions at Fort Pillow left "a dark shadow on his otherwise fair fame."[9] At this point, however, such compromise positions on Forrest's legacy were exceptional. Southern newspapers seldom mentioned the massacre at Fort Pillow, and northern papers rarely acknowledged Forrest's heroism. Northerners of both races almost unanimously abhorred Forrest. For them, the general personified Confederate villainy, and he became a potent postwar symbol of an aggressive southern Democratic Party and the emergent cult of the Lost Cause.

Northern attitudes toward Forrest had become clear in the summer of 1868, when he served as a Tennessee delegate-at-large to the national Democratic convention in New York City. Although Forrest played a limited role in the convention, his presence offered famed political cartoonist Thomas Nast a convenient target for attacks on both the Democratic Party and the South. In a series of cartoons that appeared in *Harper's Weekly* between July and November 1868, Nast portrayed Forrest as the prototype of the unrepentant southerner. Nast also took issue with Forrest's politics, and the Democratic Party's insincere attempt to woo black voters became the subject of several of Nast's cartoons.[10]

Northern notices of the general's death nine years later echoed this caricature of Forrest as unreconstructed rebel. The day after Forrest died, for example, the New York *Times* printed a scathing obituary, which began by dividing Confederate soldiers into two categories intended to underscore regional differences in the South. Robert E. Lee represented one type, the "dignified gentlemen" of Virginia. These "gallant soldiers" of the "old South" fought with virtue and honor—quite unlike the soldiers in the second category, those from the westernmost states of the former Confederacy, such as Nathan Bedford

[9] "Death of Gen. Forrest," St. Louis *Dispatch*, November 1, 1877, p. 2; and "The Late General Forrest," San Francisco *Chronicle*, November 1, 1877, p. 2.

[10] The most complete discussion of Forrest's role in the 1868 Democratic national convention is in Hurst, *Nathan Bedford Forrest*, 298–302. See also Basil W. Duke, *Reminiscences of General Basil W. Duke, C.S.A.* (Garden City, N.J., and New York, 1911), 348–50; and Wills, *Battle from the Start*, 346–48. For examples of Nast's treatment of Forrest see "This is a White Man's Government," *Harper's Weekly*, September 5, 1868, p. 568; "All the Difference in the World," *Harper's Weekly,* September 26, 1868, p. 616; and "The Modern Samson," *Harper's Weekly*, October 3, 1868, p. 632.

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Forrest. The "rude border country," the article continued, "gave birth to men of reckless ruffianism and cut-throat daring." Whereas many southerners took pride in Forrest's unschooled ways, seeing in them an antidote to the elitist eastern military institutes, the *Times*'s writer maintained that it was precisely his lack of training that made Forrest inferior to other cavalry commanders. Much of the obituary reiterated descriptions of the attack on Fort Pillow, concluding that Forrest's "daring and recklessness gave him more éclat . . . than his military services were really entitled to."[11]

Fort Pillow and the general's "reckless ruffianism" generated much of the northern hatred directed towards Forrest immediately after the war. Although Forrest was widely reputed to have served as the Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan in the late 1860s, northerners were much more concerned with the general's actions at Fort Pillow and, to a lesser extent, his connections with the revanchist southern wing of the Democratic Party. Just as most white southerners were united in their recognition of the general's military valor, most northerners agreed on Forrest's culpability for the bloody outcome of events at Fort Pillow. The widespread northern acceptance of this image of "Fort Pillow Forrest," which combined the ruthless rebel soldier with the unrepentant postwar southern Democrat, thus provided Republicans with an important political weapon to brandish in presidential elections from 1868 through the end of the century.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, however, Forrest's image underwent a significant transformation. Augmented by an increased acknowledgement of his postwar involvement with the Ku Klux Klan, race began to play a determinate role in perceptions of the general. In place of "waving the bloody shirt," an approach that had polarized Forrest's image along old sectional lines in the immediate postwar years, the rise of Jim Crow in the South and "scientific racism" in the North allowed a revisionist image of the general to flourish—one that whites, both South and North, could embrace. Racism's increasing national respectability in the 1890s breathed new life into the Forrest legend. This transformation of Forrest's image began in his adopted hometown of Memphis, where the social turmoil of the city during the latter decades of the nineteenth century served as a catalyst for much of the change in the Forrest image.

[11] "Death of Gen. Forrest," New York *Times*, October 30, 1877, p. 5. One day after publishing the obituary, the *Times* printed an editorial that savaged Forrest in a sarcastic swipe at sectional reconciliation. Again, the writer focused on the atrocities at Fort Pillow, which he facetiously labeled "a malignant partisan falsehood" since no soldier could be found to "testify under oath that he was massacred by Gen. Forrest at Fort Pillow or elsewhere." "In the Light of Conciliation," New York *Times*, October 31, 1877, p. 4.

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In the years between Forrest's funeral and the turn of the century, Memphis had undergone many changes. While the city had escaped much physical destruction during the war, it nevertheless emerged in a weakened and precarious financial condition. After the war a ravaged railroad system, massive loss of slave capital, and rapid deflation wreaked havoc on Memphis's economy, and in early 1878 the city was forced to declare bankruptcy. Seven months later an intense yellow fever epidemic struck and further damaged the city's economic and social infrastructure. In four days that August, 25,000 Memphians, including prominent business and professional leaders, police and firemen, and government officials, evacuated the beleaguered city. About 14,000 of the approximately 20,000 citizens who remained were African Americans, a group who proved remarkably resilient to the effects of the disease. White Memphians did not fare as well—the fever killed 4,200 of the 6,000 white residents who stayed in the city. By the first winter frosts, the disease had killed one of every eight people living in Memphis.[12]

Although some later historians probably exaggerated when they claimed that most of the Memphians who left never returned, the 1878 yellow fever epidemic nevertheless dramatically altered the city's already fluctuating demographics. Memphis lost a particularly large percentage of its white elite, but an influx of rural whites from the surrounding countryside eventually replaced their numbers in the city's white population. The city's black population had increased fivefold between 1860 and 1870 alone, and in 1866 resultant tensions between black and white Memphians had erupted in three days of brutality as white mobs attacked the African American community. By the last decade of the nineteenth century the city's African American population accounted for roughly half of its citizens. Although Memphis experienced few racially motivated outbursts during the 1870s and 1880s, the period between 1890 and 1910 witnessed a massive increase in racial violence. The post–yellow fever demographics of the city contributed to the sudden appearance of intense racism in the 1890s.

[12] Concrete numbers of the Memphians that died or fled during the epidemic are few; comparison of the 1870 and 1880 censuses, however, indicates that Memphis lost nearly a quarter of its population over the intervening decade. See John H. Ellis, "Disease and the Destiny of a City: The 1878 Yellow Fever Epidemic in Memphis," *West Tennessee Historical Society Papers*, XXVII (1974), 75–79, 81–87; Randal L. Hall, "Southern Conservatism at Work: Women, Nurses, and the 1878 Yellow Fever Epidemic in Memphis," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, LVI (Winter 1997), 245; John E. Harkins, *Metropolis of the American Nile: An Illustrated History of Memphis and Shelby County*, 2d ed. (Oxford, Miss., 1991), 88–91; Lynette Boney Wrenn, *Crisis and Commission Government in Memphis: Elite Rule in a Gilded Age City* (Knoxville, 1998), 16–20, 23; and Marcus D. Pohlmann and Michael P. Kirby, *Racial Politics at the Crossroads: Memphis Elects Dr. W. W. Herenton* (Knoxville, 1996), 7–8.

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Without an established white elite, the white population of Memphis in the 1880s consisted overwhelmingly of newly transplanted rural farmers from Tennessee, Arkansas, and Mississippi who were steeped in the old plantation culture of the countryside and were less racially tolerant than their urban contemporaries.[13]

Racial antagonism continued to increase in the first decade of the twentieth century. The Memphis *Commercial Appeal* published a daily cartoon entitled "Hambone's Meditations" that featured a crude caricature of an African American who spoke in coarse dialect. Created to entertain white Memphians with the "foibles" of black people, the cartoon reflected the everyday racial slurs that African Americans experienced. Racism was rampant in the nation in general, and in 1905 Thomas Dixon published his bestselling paean to the Ku Klux Klan, *The Clansman*. During a period that featured some of the worst racial atrocities in American history, the Klan became a potent symbol of white supremacy—and in the midst of this resurgence of racism, Memphis chose to unveil its bronze equestrian memorial to Forrest. Had Memphis constructed such a memorial in the 1880s, it likely would have reflected the postwar themes in evidence at his funeral—a naturally gifted general of strong religious faith who had overcome childhood poverty to become a wealthy businessman—although the divided attitudes of white Memphians at the time might have tempered the tenor of tributes to the general's memory. Instead, by 1905, the year of the Forrest statue's dedication, increasing racial brutality—as well as the new racial and class composition of the city—had helped to unite white Memphians and in turn transform the city's image of Forrest.[14]

As race relations worsened in Memphis, Forrest's name became increasingly connected with the Ku Klux Klan for the first time since the early 1870s. Some of the earliest public references to Forrest's role as Grand Wizard occurred in 1901, when Memphis hosted the annual United Confederate Veterans Reunion. The Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, for example, mentioned his role as "Grand Cyclops" of the Klan, a connection

[13] Between 1880 and 1920 Memphis's population increased by an average of 35,000 people per decade. Gerald M. Capers Jr., *The Biography of a River Town: Memphis, Its Heroic Age* (Chapel Hill, 1939), 198; Wrenn, *Crisis and Commission Government in Memphis*, xi–xii; Ellis, "Disease and the Destiny of a City," 75–79; and Pohlmann and Kirby, *Racial Politics at the Crossroads*, 8. For a larger examination of the impact of transplanted rural culture on southern urban politics see David R. Goldfield, *Cotton Fields and Skyscrapers: Southern City and Region, 1607–1980* (Baton Rouge and London, 1982).

[14] Harkins, *Metropolis of the American Nile*, 82–91; C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 3d rev. ed. (New York, 1974), 6–9; Kenneth W. Goings and Gerald L. Smith, "'Unhidden' Transcripts: Memphis and African American Agency, 1862–1920," *Journal of Urban History*, XXI (March 1995), 372–94.

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not alluded to in the public remembrances of the 1870s. Forrest's image as leader of the Ku Klux Klan became more explicit in the weeks before the 1905 unveiling. An editorial in the Memphis *News-Scimitar* was accompanied by a cartoon entitled "Forrest Again in White Shroud," which portrayed the Forrest statue still under the protective cloth that draped the monument. The cartoonist saw in the shrouded statue the glorious memories of the Klan, and behind Forrest he drew ten ghostly Klansmen raiding the Memphis park. The accompanying article proclaimed that "Forrest has come to his own again." The Klan, the article explained, was organized "for the protection of the honor and independence of Southern social conditions." "It may be only a mirage of a war-loving brain that peoples the park again with spectral men in ghostly garb," the writer admitted, but white Memphians were comforted with the image of Forrest as "that leader whose iron hand held the reins of safety over the South when Northern dominion apotheosized the negro and set misrule and devastation to humiliate a proud race."[15]

Much of this celebration of Forrest, however, made racism only an implicit component of his image. As more and more of the Civil War generation began to pass away in the early years of the twentieth century, more explicit changes occurred, as sentimentality replaced the lingering sectional hostility of earlier years. At the 1901 Veterans Reunion, for example, elements of the 1877 funeral orations appeared for the last time, and new aspects of the image—particularly the references to the Klan—foreshadowed later changes. Concerns important to white Memphians in 1877 were de-emphasized by participants in the 1901 reunion, and the differences between white Memphians—alluded to by Lafcadio Hearn at the time of Forrest's death—disappeared. In addition, the Forrest festivities staged during the Confederate reunion helped to promulgate the memory of the general's Civil War achievements. One newspaper noted that "[t]his reunion has done more than all the histories and reunions of the past thirty-five years to bring the deeds of the famous cavalry leader to the attention of the world." The myth of Forrest's heroic role in the war continued to grow. As the writer reported with pride, "those who saw nothing specially brilliant in his record before are beginning to acknowledge him one of the greatest generals that fought on either side."[16]

[15] "Nathan Bedford Forrest—Again a Citizen," Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, May 30, 1901, pp. 9–10 (quotation on p. 10); "Forrest Again in White Shroud," Memphis *News-Scimitar*, April 30, 1905. For the Confederate Reunion see *Minutes of the Eleventh Annual Meeting and Reunion of the United Confederate Veterans* (New Orleans, 1901).

[16] "Forrest Cavalry Corps," Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, May 31, 1901, p. 2 (quotations).

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The renewed praise of Forrest by white Memphians at the turn of the century coincided with a widespread revival of Confederate commemorations throughout the South. In an attempt to come to terms with their military defeat, white southerners constructed a complex celebration of the Confederacy that centered on a mythic representation of the past. Popularly known as the "Lost Cause," the new Confederate mythos fostered "a memory of personal sacrifice and a model of social order that met the needs of a society experiencing rapid change and disorder," and the commemoration of Forrest fit well into the congeries of attitudes and remembrances that made up the Lost Cause.[17] Both the obituaries of Forrest and the orations in 1901 depicted the general as an exemplar of moral virtue. The decision to honor Forrest with a statue, however, also reflected the contemporary social tensions facing white Memphians at the turn of the century. The statue, they proclaimed, exemplified a "new era," and the monument represented a restraint "upon the grinding and feverish activity of the present." White Memphians had turned to Forrest after the war when they needed a military hero to remember with pride in the wake of defeat. Three decades later, during a tumultuous period of social change that witnessed the establishment of the cult of the Lost Cause, they transformed Forrest into what Andrew Lytle would later call their "spiritual comforter."[18]

Despite the congruence of Forrest's revamped image with the emergence of the Lost Cause in the New South, white Memphians did not erect the statue of the general as a mere commemoration of their Confederate past. In fact, Memphis raised very few statues in honor of Confederates. Even Jefferson Davis, who had lived in Memphis for a short time after the war, was not honored with a statue until the 1960s. According to the ceremonies surrounding their unveilings, monuments honoring Confederate leaders like Davis and Robert E. Lee emphasized the traditional Lost Cause themes of unity and (especially in the case of Davis) vindication from humiliating defeat. The Forrest statue symbolized different themes, primarily because Forrest represented different ideals.

[17] Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913* (New York and Oxford, 1987), 6 (quotation). See also Thomas L. Connelly and Barbara L. Bellows, *God and General Longstreet: The Lost Cause and the Southern Mind* (Baton Rouge and London, 1982), 21–22; Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865–1920* (Athens, Ga., 1980), 7, 11; and Fred Arthur Bailey, "Mildred Lewis Rutherford and the Patrician Cult of the Old South," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, LXXVIII (Fall 1994), 511, 513.

[18] "The Forrest Monument," Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, April 5, 1905 (first quotation); "The Building of Monuments," Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, June 2, 1901 (second quotation); Andrew Nelson Lytle, *Bedford Forrest and His Critter Company* (1931; rev. ed., New York, 1958), 390 (third quotation). See also "The Forrest Monument," Memphis *News-Scimitar*, May 17, 1905, p. 4.

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Rather than erect a monument to an anonymous soldier—probably the most common form of Civil War memorial—white Memphians raised money for a statue of Forrest that would serve as a constant reminder to emulate the ideals exemplified by the general. The statue was erected, one editorial declared, "not for the good it does for the departed hero, but for the good it does for us and the good it will do for those who are to come after us." The Forrest monument, white Memphians believed, "will stand for ages as the emblem of a standard of virtue."[19]

The Memphians who contributed to the Forrest monument represented the new white elite of the city, a group that became influential in the decades after the yellow fever epidemic of 1878. Roughly one-half of the $33,000 needed to complete the monument came from individual citizens. Ninety-five percent of the contributors who can be located in the census records worked in white-collar professions, and the General Committee of the Forrest Monument Association (FMA), which served as the catalyst for fundraising for the statue, was comprised of seventeen men drawn from this group. The committee included lawyers, insurance executives, a former U.S. senator, a justice of the peace, and a bank president. The average age of the committee members was sixty; one-third of them were too young to have served in the Civil War; only five were natives of Tennessee.[20]

Two members of the committee symbolized the dichotomy between military and civic virtues that the Forrest monument encompassed. A native of Tennessee, George Washington Gordon helped direct much of the fundraising. Gordon had fought in the Army of Tennessee and after the war had served as the Memphis school superintendent as well as the Commander in Chief of the United Confederate Veterans. In his speeches, Gordon consistently glorified Forrest's military virtues. In

[19] "The Forrest Monument," Memphis *News-Scimitar*, May 17, 1905 (both quotations). On Confederate memorials in the South see Ralph W. Widener Jr., *Confederate Monuments: Enduring Symbols of the South and the War Between the States* (Washington, D.C., 1982), 200; Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 100–103, 158–59, 273; Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton, 1997), 176; Stephen Davis, "Empty Eyes, Marble Hand: The Confederate Monument and the South," *Journal of Popular Culture*, XVI (Winter 1982), 2–21; and John J. Winberry, "'Lest We Forget': The Confederate Monument and the Southern Townscape," *Southeastern Geographer*, XXIII (November 1983), 107–21.

[20] Forrest Monument Association, *The Forrest Monument: Its History and Dedication; A Memorial in Art, Oratory and Literature* (n.p., 1905), 23–26, 80–82 (hereinafter cited as *Forrest Monument*). This book includes various reprinted newspaper articles pertaining to the unveiling, a partial list of contributors to the statue, and an abbreviated expense account of the Forrest Monument Association. A more complete list of contributors can be found in the "Forrest Monument Association Ledger Book," in the Memphis Room, History Department of the Memphis and Shelby County Public Library, Memphis, Tennessee. Analysis of the contributors in the text is based on an examination of the manuscript census returns, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900.

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contrast, Samuel T. Carnes, the president of the FMA, represented the civic concerns of the organization. Carnes was too young to have served in the war, but by the turn of the century he was one of the most successful men in Memphis. He owned the first automobile in the city, brought a Bell telephone franchise to Memphis, and in the 1880s introduced electric lighting to the city, later serving as president of the Memphis Light and Power Company. Carnes was the single largest individual contributor to the statue fund and worked incessantly to see the monument through to completion. Together, Gordon's distinguished Confederate military background and Carnes's leadership role in Memphis's parvenu white elite were blended into the "official" perspective of the FMA—as opposed to the vernacular expression of white racial superiority in the statue they would unveil. The two men represented a subtle mix of the old martial virtues and the new civic concerns of early twentieth-century Memphis.[21]

The result was a bifurcated image of Forrest as both military genius and civic hero, a duality that was also expressed in the role the park surrounding the statue was intended to play in the city's daily life: a military memorial that also served a civic purpose. In 1904 the bodies of Forrest and his wife were exhumed and taken to Forrest Park. Later, a Memphis editorial suggested that the site should be made into a Confederate memorial park where various other military monuments could be exhibited; in addition, the FMA built a skating rink on the north side of the park to "make it a gathering place for children." The sculptor of the Forrest statue, Charles H. Niehaus, objected to these additions, arguing that they would only "cheapen the effect" of the monument. But while the focus of Forrest Park rested squarely on the general's achievements in the Civil War, the park served a civic function as well. Children could come and skate under the shadow of Forrest and, some hoped, learn from his influence.[22]

The finished monument stood over twenty feet tall, and the inscription

[21] "Tributes to Gen. George W. Gordon," *Confederate Veteran*, XIX (October 1911), 499; Harkins, *Metropolis of the American Nile*, 103; Linton Weeks, *Memphis: A Folk History* (Little Rock, 1982), 137–39. Gordon was himself heavily involved in the early Tennessee Klan; in fact, his widow later maintained that it was her late husband, not Forrest, who was the first Grand Wizard. See Wills, *Battle from the Start*, 336; and Enoch L. Mitchell, "The Role of General George Washington Gordon in the Ku Klux Klan," *West Tennessee Historical Society Papers*, I (1947), 73–80.

[22] "Asphalt Skating Rink for Forrest Park is Possible," Memphis *News-Scimitar*, May 10, 1905, p. 1 (first quotation); Charles H. Niehaus to FMA, October 4, 1904, in "Forrest Monument Association Minutes Book," 237 (second quotation) (Memphis Room, History Department of the Memphis and Shelby County Public Library, Memphis, Tennessee). This book contains much of the correspondence between Charles H. Niehaus and the Forrest Monument Association, in which

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on the front of its base proclaimed the statue in "honor of the military genius of Lieutenant-General Nathan Bedford Forrest." The sculptor Niehaus had shaped the statue with delicate symmetry. Forrest sat calm and reposed on his horse, holding the reins slack in his hands. The general's horse, King Philip, stood relaxed with all four hoofs on the ground. The artist decided early on to position the statue facing south, to maximize the appropriate lighting. Many white Memphians, however, saw the direction as an affront to Forrest's loyalty to the Confederacy—the general appeared to be in retreat. A front-page article in the Memphis *News-Scimitar* quoted one "grizzled warrior" who said that "Bedford Forrest never retreated . . . and if he ever moved southward it was his own strategy. But we don't want to remember him that way." The veteran had a specific vision of Forrest, and he was not going to accept a conflicting interpretation of his hero. White Memphians, or at least a devoted number of them, saw nothing trivial in the image of Forrest, and any perceived assault on his reputation alarmed them.[23]

The image of Forrest in 1905 was amorphous enough to attract many white Memphians. Supporters of the Confederacy praised Forrest's military heroism and his loyalty to the South. Admirers of the Lost Cause also acclaimed the general's patriotism, a trait that tempered judgments regarding his more controversial actions. "Gen. Forrest," a local reporter wrote, "has been censured on charges of brutal and ruthless cruelty. But from the strong armor of his courage and country love these poison-tipped darts of censure fall blunt and pointless." The image of Forrest in 1905 also emphasized civic virtues to a degree not seen upon his death in 1877. Regardless of Forrest's military background, the general "loved humanity" and "took no delight in the suffering and sorrow of others." One article even somewhat illogically declared Forrest "the prototype of the immortal Washington." Kindness, gentleness, respectfulness, and a chivalric attitude towards women also characterized Forrest's image at the turn of the century, as white Memphians posited Forrest as the paragon of southern masculinity. A subdued theme in 1877, the motif of Forrest as southern male icon would become an increasingly dominant motif in the twentieth century. The children of white Memphians could look to Forrest as a

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the sculptor detailed and defended his artistic intentions. For Forrest's reburial see "Their Bodies are Removed," Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, November 12, 1904, p. 5; and *Forrest Monument*, 27.

[23] For the dimensions of the statue and the inscription on the base see *Forrest Monument*, 12; "Gen. Forrest's Monument Facing South Brings Forth a Protest," Memphis *News-Scimitar*, April 17, 1905, p. 1; and Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, April 24, 1905, p. 6.

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civic role model, since the general had also instinctively done what was morally right. As white Memphians established Forrest as an exemplar of morality and virtue, they tended to downplay the specifics of his religious faith. In his invocation at the monument's 1905 dedication ceremony, Thomas Gailor, the Episcopal Bishop of Tennessee, epitomized this trend. Gailor called Forrest "a witness, to ourselves and to our children, of the invincible courage, unselfish heroism and the exalted patriotism which made him a leader of his people." Gailor did not, however, discuss Forrest's late religious conversion to Presbyterianism or other aspects of his personal faith, and references to the general's piety and conversion—though present in 1877—decreased as Forrest became a civic rather than a religious symbol.[24]

Memphians unveiled their statue of Forrest in May 1905, and nearly 30,000 people crowded into the park and adjacent streets. The American flag flew alongside a Confederate banner over the grandstand. The FMA scheduled several speeches for the gala, and each reinforced the evolving image of Forrest in the first decade of the twentieth century. In his dedication speech, George W. Gordon recounted Forrest's military career, reduced the general's antebellum and postwar life to platitudes, and minimized Forrest's religious faith. The general became "Tennessee's, if not America's, greatest, most original and dazzling soldier." A Union veteran followed Gordon and praised Forrest as an American hero. The Forrest statue, he maintained, "stands for heroic deeds which are now the proud heritage of all American citizens." A few days later the previously hostile New York *Times* echoed these sentiments, asserting that Forrest "won quite as much appreciation in the North as in the South, though in the former, of course, the appreciation was a little slow in finding expression." Divided in 1877, by 1905 white southerners had coalesced on an accepted view of Forrest. Sectional divisions over the general's image also vanished as white northerners began to join in the praise for Forrest's military genius. Reconciliation between North and South reshaped Forrest's image, and one newspaper announced that "[t]he unveiling of the Forrest monument . . . was one of the proudest moments of Peace."[25]

[24] "Nathan Bedford Forrest," Memphis *News-Scimitar*, May 14, 1905, p. 4 (first and second quotations); Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, May 11, 1905; Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, May 14, 1905; *Forrest Monument*, 20–21 (Gailor quotation).

[25] *Forrest Monument*, 28 (first quotation), 64 (second quotation). "No Enemy to Face at Present," New York *Times*, May 12, 1905, p. 8 (third quotation); "The Triumph of Peace," Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, May 17, 1905, p. 6 (fourth quotation).

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Overall, the 1905 unveiling revealed a newly domesticated image of Forrest. Thirty years of demographic upheaval, political and economic crises, and violent racism were reflected in the Forrest Park ceremonial unveiling of the statue of white Memphians' "spiritual comforter." The aesthetics of the statue invoked a calm and tranquil general, and Gordon's speech on Forrest's military career scarcely mentioned the more outlandish and reckless stories that would be relished by the general's admirers later in the century. Memphis had introduced a new era in Forrest's image in which an explicit emphasis on his martial distinction rested on an implicit foundation of civic virtues and concerns. But while the official image of Forrest emphasized his military prowess and city loyalty, the vernacular representation of the general alluded to the darker ideals of racism and white supremacy. The Klan, in particular, had become entwined with the public memory of the general, as seen in the cartoon published before the unveiling. Together, the official and vernacular images of Forrest formed a powerful symbol that combined selfless individual heroism and civic service with the subtle threat of racialized social control. And even as the statue symbolized the revisions in whites' image of Forrest at the turn of the century, strict racial subordination stifled any expression of African American perceptions of the general. Any concerns they may have had over the racial connotations of Forrest's new image would remain dormant—at least in public—for seventy years after the statue's dedication.[26]

For several decades the image of Forrest would continue to sustain the themes present in the multivalent memorial dedicated in 1905. The motif of Forrest as American hero, for example, continued to play a significant role in the public memory of the general, especially after the entry of the United States into World War I. In 1918 the New York *Times* and the New York *Tribune* both ran positive articles about Forrest—and both papers neglected to mention his slave trading, Fort Pillow, or the Klan. The *Tribune* went so far as to proclaim Forrest "the most extraordinary cavalry leader produced by our Civil War," a complement seconded by the *Times*. No longer a "reckless ruffian," the imprimatur of the northern press indicated that Forrest had gained entry

[26] "Will Remove Veil from Forrest Statue Today," Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, May 16, 1905, p. 1; "Old Memories Revived by Ceremonies at the Park," Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, May 17, 1905, p. 1. For a discussion of vernacular and official cultures and the creation of public memory see John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, 1992), 13–14.

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into the pantheon of American national heroes.[27] In addition, in the early 1920s Tennessee codified the public commemoration of Forrest by declaring his birthday, July 13th, a state holiday. Admirers henceforth gathered in Forrest Park on that date to honor the general, and all state offices and banks in Nashville and Memphis closed for the day. All of these commemorative activities were based on the FMA's view of Forrest as a self-controlled, if formally untrained, military genius. After the centennial of the general's birth held in 1921, however, the festivities began to attract ever-dwindling numbers of people. By the 1930s, the staid, FMA-sanctioned Forrest no longer seemed to elicit much pride or excitement from most local citizens. A few Memphians, however, remained steadfast in their devotion to the general's memory, even as they hinted at the shape of its next transformation. "[T]here should be a more defiant manner about the monument," one man complained to the *Press-Scimitar* in 1931.[28]

The desire for a more "defiant" Forrest was given its most definitive expression in the work of Andrew Nelson Lytle, whose 1931 biography, *Bedford Forrest and His Critter Company*, transformed the general into a resonant and daring symbol of southern society. Instead of merely rehashing platitudes about Forrest's military virtues, Lytle, one of the Southern Agrarians, pronounced Forrest an exemplar of southern virtue—the honor-bound planter and slaveholder who paternalistically looked after the interests of the "plain people." Lytle's greatest contribution to the evolution of the general's image was his emphasis on Forrest's élan. Military heroism had always played a substantial role in the general's image, but in contrast to the stoic icon of George W. Gordon's 1905 speech, Lytle depicted a dashing and reckless leader capable of incredible military successes and possessing almost supernatural strength. Lytle also turned Forrest's "reckless ruffianism" into a positive attribute that provided the basis of the writer's admiration for the general. For Lytle, Forrest represented the protector of the white rural South against the juggernaut of northern industry. Forrest's role as the patriarchal warrior-king of the "plain people" and the protector of southern agrarian virtues became even more evident in his

[27] "Unjust to Forrest," New York *Tribune*, May 27, 1918, p. 8 (quotation); "Forrest," New York *Times*, May 28, 1918, p. 12.

[28] "Observe Centenary of Forrest's Birth," Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, July 13, 1921, p. 8; Memphis *Press-Scimitar*, July 14, 1922, p. 13; Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, July 13, 1926, p. 11; "Forrest Statue Critic is Given Slight Support," Memphis *Press-Scimitar*, November 7, 1931 (quotation), in the Forrest Clippings File, Memphis Room, History Department of the Memphis and Shelby County Public Library, Memphis, Tennessee (hereinafter cited as Forrest File).

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leadership of the Klan after the war, an episode in Forrest's career that Lytle elaborated more than earlier writers had. Lytle and his fellow Agrarian, Allen Tate (who was writing his biography of Jefferson Davis around the same time that Lytle finished *Bedford Forrest*), were both enthralled with the image of Forrest. For them, Forrest represented the long-forfeited hope that the South could yet redeem its yeoman legacy. He served as the key that could unlock an alternative southern history: If only Jefferson Davis had given Forrest more power, or if Forrest had fled to Mexico after the war to lead a guerrilla campaign against northern occupation, then the South might conceivably have regained its independence. A paternalistic leader of the southern plain folk and a Klansman who served as the righteous protector of Old South virtues, Lytle's Forrest "had shown himself to be the hero who could save absolutely."[29]

No longer content to purvey the older, stately image, Memphis newspapers' portrayals of Forrest in the late 1930s increasingly resembled Lytle's vigorous hero. A newspaper article in 1937, for example, related the story of Forrest using his hand to plug a wound in his horse's neck to delay the animal's death long enough for the general to finish fighting. The image of a quick-thinking, bloodied, yet miraculously uninjured warrior had replaced the earlier, more serene portrayal of Forrest exemplified by the Memphis statue. Accompanying the same article was a picture of Forrest's sword, which Mary Forrest Bradley, the general's granddaughter, had allowed to be photographed for the first time, and the paper gleefully remarked that "the bloodstains thereon are plainly visible."[30]

This new, more visceral image of Forrest captivated white Memphians as World War II began in Europe. The campaigns of Forrest, the American hero, were used to explain new tactics to readers early in the war; at the same time, journalists began to use contemporary language to describe Forrest's military style. In 1940, for example, the *Commercial Appeal* referred to Forrest's tactics as "blitzkrieg warfare." The same article also made an explicit analogy between Forrest

[29] Lytle, *Bedford Forrest*, xii (first quotation); xvii (second quotation). See also Thomas Daniel Young and Elizabeth Sarcone, eds., *The Lytle-Tate Letters: The Correspondence of Andrew Lytle and Allen Tate* (Jackson, Miss., and London, 1987), 20–25, 27, 29–30; Mark Lucas, *The Southern Vision of Andrew Lytle* (Baton Rouge and London, 1986), 1–15; and Alphonse Vinh, "Southern Agrarian Warrior Hero," *Southern Partisan*, XIV (1994), 42–45. For Lytle's use of Forrest as "patriarchal clan leader" see Benjamin B. Alexander, "Nathan Bedford Forrest and Southern Folkways," *Southern Partisan*, VII (Summer 1987), 27–32.

[30] "Tribute to General Forrest to be Paid Today by U.D.C.," Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, July 13, 1937, pp. 1, 3 (quotation). See also "Forrest Wrote History on Daring Memphis Raid," Memphis *Press-Scimitar*, July 13, 1937, Forrest File.

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and Adolf Hitler, who, the article declared, exhibited the same military genius as Forrest. The comparison was a positive one, and the writer noted that "Hitler, more than anyone has ever done, is applying Forrest's methods." "[W]hat Forrest did on horses," the article explained, "the Germans are doing in planes and tanks." Forrest and Hitler, it seemed, were simply two men who "got there first with the most"—a reference to Forrest's legendarily pithy summation of his own military successes. Once the United States entered the war, however, Forrest quickly ceased to be identified with German military effectiveness; as the atrocities committed by the Nazis became known, comparisons of Forrest with Hitler no longer seemed prudent. In fact, between 1942 and 1945 the Memphis press let July 13th pass unmentioned and ignored any celebrations of the general's birthday. Forty years later Forrest would again be compared to Hitler—but in an entirely different context.[31]

Throughout the 1940s and early 1950s, turnout for the Forrest birthday celebrations continued to dwindle, and numerous local articles deplored the failure of Memphis to commemorate its hero properly. By the late 1940s, the date had ceased to be a bank holiday, and to a few worried observers, Memphis appeared on the verge of ending its public commemoration of the general entirely. "The thunderous hoofbeats of Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest's gallant cavalry," one article lamented, "are fading into a distant rumble with the passage of the years."[32] Like Andrew Lytle two decades earlier, however, two writers recast the image of Forrest and created a more contemporary hero for post–World War II America. Shelby Foote, much in the tradition of Lytle, reintroduced Forrest as a wild and ferocious hero. Forrest played a significant role in Foote's novel, *Shiloh*, published in 1952, and attained immortal status wielding a sword that "looked ten feet long." That same year, Aileen Wells Parks crafted Forrest into a popular children's book hero in *Bedford Forrest: Boy on Horseback*. Taking an altogether different perspective than Foote, Parks made Forrest into a symbol of American patriotism. One character, for example, admonishes a young boy to remember that Forrest "would expect you to be a good citizen too." Together, Foote and Parks formed a dichotomy similar to the one

[31] "'Git Thar Fustest': Forrest Probably Said It Differently," Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, July 13, 1940, p. 9 (quotations). For the lack of commentary on Forrest's birthday during the war years see Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, July 12–15, 1942 to 1945.

[32] "Birthday of General Forrest to Pass Unmarked Here Today," Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, July 13, 1949, p. 17 (quotation). See also "A Great Man Unhonored," Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, July 13, 1947, p. 6; and "A Bronze Hero is Lonely Today as the Dixie He Loved Forgets," Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, July 13, 1950, p. 8.

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established by Gordon and Carnes in the FMA in 1905; one writer emphasized the military heroism of the general, while the other portrayed him as the exemplar of civic virtue.[33]

The resurgence of interest in Forrest also gained strength from the heated controversies over public school integration in the 1950s. For the first time in years, in July 1958 hundreds of white Memphians gathered at different locations in the city, including Forrest Park, to honor their hero's birthday. These celebrations were given prominent notice by the local press, and none other than Mary Forrest Bradley publicly averred that the recent school desegregation crisis helped explain the larger number of celebrants on her grandfather's birthday. Although few admirers of Forrest made such explicit references to the role of race in the homage they offered their hero, Bradley's comments were not the only evidence that Nathan Bedford Forrest remained a potent symbol for white supremacists. Along with the larger crowds, Confederate flags were conspicuously displayed at the 1958 birthday celebrations (in addition to the one regularly flown near the statue). In the midst of the segregation crisis, the flag had made a dramatic resurgence in popularity. A number of participants in the various activities carried small rebel flags, a prominently displayed flag flew over a wreath-laying ceremony, Forrest's great-great-grandson presented a large rebel flag to a United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) banquet, and, after lunch, a large cake was cut revealing a Confederate flag baked inside. Four years after the first *Brown* decision, and less than a year after Arkansas Governor Orval E. Faubus defended segregation in Little Rock, the largest number of Memphians in decades gathered to honor Forrest's birthday under the banner of the Confederacy. As the South's racial hierarchy fell under increasing attack, the Confederate general and the first leader of the Klan had become, as perhaps never before, a figure around whom white Memphians could defiantly rally. Both the Confederacy and the Klan were combined in the person of Forrest into a powerful symbol of white resistance to court-ordered racial desegregation.[34]

This resurgence of racist appeals connected with the Forrest image, however, proved temporary. As the civil rights movement in Memphis gained momentum in the early 1960s, public interest in the general was

[33] Shelby Foote, *Shiloh: A Novel* (New York, 1952), 212; Aileen Wells Parks, *Bedford Forrest: Boy on Horseback* (Indianapolis and New York, 1952), 192.

[34] "Forrest Celebration was a Triple-Header," Memphis *Press-Scimitar*, July 14, 1958, Forrest File; Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, July 14, 1958, p. 1. On the school desegregation crisis during the late 1950s see Woodward, *Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 165–68.

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once again largely abated. References to Forrest's involvement with the Ku Klux Klan disappeared, and the Confederate flag failed to appear as conspicuously as it had in 1958. By the mid-1960s the Forrest statue was present but not praised, seen but not dwelt upon. White Memphians, perhaps because of the city's relatively peaceful integration, failed to use the image of Forrest to press their contemporary racial concerns. The white business elite of Memphis (aided in part by the local press) oversaw a more peaceful transition to integration than in many other southern cities. Accordingly, white Memphians tended not to focus on Forrest's birthday in the early 1960s. By 1964 most of downtown Memphis had desegregated without incident, and the city experienced fewer outbreaks of racially motivated violence during this period than those that plagued other cities like Birmingham. Public school desegregation proceeded less quickly, but between 1961 and 1967 most Memphis schools integrated.[35]

Economic conditions and opportunities remained extremely limited for African Americans in Memphis, however, and whatever civil rights victories had been won in the early 1960s were all but erased by the 1970s. As economic conditions for African Americans in the city worsened, white Memphians elected a conservative mayor who had advocated segregation and opposed labor unions. In 1968, after extended complaints of racial discrimination, low wages, and the accidental death of two black employees, the situation reached a crisis as 1,100 black sanitation workers went on strike. The white city government refused all of the strikers' demands, and Martin Luther King Jr. came to Memphis to offer his support. At a time of intense fragmentation within the civil rights movement, King hoped to use the strike to help re-establish his connection with younger, frustrated black activists. On April 4, 1968, however, King was assassinated in Memphis, an event that set off a period of violent racial unrest in the city. The racial detente in Memphis, already under pressure, began to crumble.[36]

In the aftermath of King's murder, the demographic composition of Memphis began to alter drastically. Soon after the assassination, many

[35] Robert A. Sigafoos, *Cotton Row to Beale Street: A Business History of Memphis* (Memphis, 1979), 332–35; Lester C. Lamon, *Blacks in Tennessee, 1791–1970* (Knoxville, 1981), 104, 111–15; David M. Tucker, *Memphis Since Crump: Bossism, Blacks, and Civic Reformers, 1948–1968* (Knoxville, 1980), 101–2, 152–61; Pohlmann and Kirby, *Racial Politics at the Crossroads*, 17–20, 54–59.

[36] For chronicles of the strike and King's death see Joan Turner Beifuss, *At the River I Stand: Memphis, the 1968 Strike, and Martin Luther King* (Memphis, 1985); and Michael K. Honey, *Southern Labor and Black Civil Rights: Organizing Memphis Workers* (Urbana and Chicago, 1993).

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wealthy families left the city for the suburbs, leaving behind a downtown area inhabited by the poor and working class. Between 1970 and 1990, Memphis's population declined, but the decrease in population coincided with a steady increase in the percentage of black residents in the city. By 1990 African Americans accounted for almost 60 percent of the population of Memphis—its highest level since the first decade of the twentieth century. And although Memphis's leaders continued to be white conservatives, by the 1970s African Americans exercised an expanded measure of political influence within the city. And as their influence increased, so did their willingness to challenge traditional icons of the white establishment like Nathan Bedford Forrest.[37]

At about this time, Shelby Foote became a ubiquitous presence at Forrest-related ceremonies. In 1974 Foote published the third and final volume of his popularly acclaimed history of the Civil War, a project he had begun soon after the completion of *Shiloh*. Although Forrest had been depicted in glowing terms in the first two volumes, the third volume undeniably displayed Foote's passionate admiration of the general, whose exploits filled this final installment. Fort Pillow and Brice's Crossroads, two battles regularly ignored or mentioned only in passing in other histories, received detailed treatment by Foote. To Foote, Forrest represented the lost hope of the Confederacy—a victor among the defeated. Foote had grown up in the same part of the South as Forrest and had devoted much of his career to presenting the general's remarkable accomplishments. Admirers of the general soon pronounced Foote the authority on their hero—and as such he also became the de facto spokesman for Forrest's public memory.[38]

Memphis's increasing African American population, however, was now primed to lead a public challenge to the uncritical adulation of Forrest by the state's whites. Concurrent with Foote's establishment as Forrest's champion, African Americans took the offensive against Forrest iconography throughout Tennessee. In the late 1960s and early 1970s they succeeded in removing the Confederate flag that flew over Forrest Park; the Tennessee legislature eliminated the general's birthday from its official calendar of holidays; and Middle Tennessee State University, in Murfreesboro, ceased using the silhouette of Forrest as its logo. In addition, a bronze bust of the general in the Tennessee state

[37] Pohlmann and Kirby, *Racial Politics at the Crossroads*, 6, 7, 9–20, 54–59.

[38] Shelby Foote, *The Civil War: A Narrative*, Vol. 1, *Fort Sumter to Perryville* (New York, 1958), 172, 349–50; *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, *Fredericksburg to Meridian* (New York, 1963), 68; and *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, *Red River to Appomattox* (New York, 1974), 362–73.

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capitol provoked the ire of a local civil rights group that objected to its prestigious placement because of the general's racist actions. In response, the editor of *Civil War Times Illustrated* claimed that "Forrest is not being memorialized for these things." "We can only say," he continued, "that [Forrest] was a product of his time and place and that, except in the most flagrant cases, it is unfair to judge people of the past by the standards of the present." Furthermore, the editor contended, to argue that the bust of Forrest represented racism would be to argue that "a statue of [Ulysses S.] Grant endorses alcoholism or that a monument to [Benjamin] Franklin is a celebration of adultery." The bust stayed in the capitol.[39]

By the 1980s interest in Forrest's image had again been revived, and Shelby Foote, in his books, interviews, and speeches, celebrated the general as "the most man in the world." Admirers of Forrest had always accentuated the general's virility. During Forrest's life, at his funeral, at the 1905 unveiling, and at the birthday celebrations throughout the twentieth century, orators repeatedly praised the general for embodying masculine virtues. In 1905, for example, one speaker declared Forrest "the most masterful and marvelous man that ever figured in the world's great history." Forrest's partisans regarded their hero as the quintessential southern man, the "ideal of manhood," usually seen clutching an exaggerated and decidedly phallic sword. As such, Nathan Bedford Forrest was a peculiarly gender-specific icon. While women's organizations such as the UDC helped shape the memories of other Civil War generals—particularly Robert E. Lee—Forrest tended to attract the attention of male-dominated groups like the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV). In the 1950s the UDC did take on a larger role in the annual Forrest celebrations, but much of its involvement stemmed from the presence of the general's granddaughter in the Memphis chapter. The failure of the Forrest image to resonate much with women's groups is explained in part by traditional southern ideals of chivalry: White southern women seemed more comfortable with the gallant figure of Lee than with the less polished Forrest. The old contrast drawn by the New York *Times* in the 1870s between the "dignified gentlemen" of Virginia and the "reckless ruffian[s]" of the "rude border country" may help explain the absence of a more inclusive image of Forrest. But even as the reckless image of Forrest repelled women, it proved increasingly attractive to southern men. Forrest exemplified the outlaw rebel spirit more than the taciturn but

[39] J. O. Tate, "On Nathan Bedford Forrest (& the Death of Heroes)," *Southern Partisan*, IV (Summer 1984), 13–19; William C. Davis, "Behind the Lines," *Civil War Times Illustrated*, XVIII (July 1979), 50 (quotations).

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exalted figures of Lee or Jackson ever could. Men also honored the chivalric Lee, but Forrest personified more primal ideals that called to mind clashing swords and galloping hoofbeats. Put simply, men took control of the Forrest image and imbued the general with the virile qualities that made him "the most man in the world." The few women who did write about Forrest emphasized different themes. Aileen Parks, for example, in her children's book, made Forrest the ideal patriotic American who loved and obeyed his mother. But men rarely spoke of Forrest in terms of such nurturing human qualities. For them, he remained the very model of the rebel patriarch—honorable, crafty, and beholden to none.[40]

More than any other admirer of the general, Foote faithfully promoted Forrest as the best representation of southern manhood. Forrest's rough-hewn sense of honor, unflagging courage, and brilliant military mind exemplified the "rude border country" of West Tennessee and northern Mississippi. Foote's emphasis on Forrest as "the most man" appealed to the Memphis chapter of the SCV, an organization that regularly asked Foote to speak about the general at memorial events. Local newspapers also ran various stories and interviews featuring the Memphis author. For example, Foote attempted to explain Forrest's role as slave trader and Klansman in one interview published in the *Commercial Appeal* in 1985. He maintained that the general "avoided splitting up families or selling to cruel plantation owners." And although Forrest did indeed lead the Ku Klux Klan after the war, Foote continued, it "was not a hate group when Forrest knew it." "He was not," Foote assured readers, "a Klu *[sic]* Kluxer in the way we know them today."[41]

Soon after the interview appeared, the *Tri-State Defender*, an influential African American newspaper, published an article reprimanding Memphians for their continued strangulation of blacks' "positive attempts at success" under the headline "Ku Klux Klan 'Leader' Memorialized." "And until the truth about the evil side of Memphis history is brought to light, confronted and corrected," the article maintained, "all the image remodeling in the world will not help us to be the people [and] the city we strive to be." In response to Foote's comments, the article recounted the details of the Fort Pillow massacre as

[40] Geoffrey C. Ward, with Ric Burns and Ken Burns, *The Civil War: An Illustrated History* (New York, 1990), 270 (first quotation); *Forrest Monument*, 55–56 (second quotation). See also "Death of Gen. Forrest," New York *Times*, October 30, 1877, p. 5.

[41] "Confederate Hero Forrest to Get Salute at Ceremony," Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, July 13, 1985, Forrest File.

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well as the white supremacist motives and terroristic activities of the Klan. "Can we continue," the writer asked, "to ignore the truth and blindly hope that others outside of our area will never become aware that we honor murderers in Memphis?" The official celebrations in honor of Forrest gave the city a bad image and thus restricted its growth, the article asserted, concluding that Memphians of both races "must . . . be strong enough to strive for the truth and let truth become our goal and integrity our symbol." African Americans in Memphis now demanded nothing less than a thorough revision of Forrest's officially sanctioned public image. The image advanced by Forrest apologists like Foote, they argued, was not only based on historical distortions, but it also seemed to constitute an implicit endorsement of white supremacist ideology.[42]

Soon thereafter graffiti with racial overtones made its first appearance on the Forrest statue. In 1986 vandals "splashed" the statue with paint and spray-painted the base "with 'KKK' slogans."[43] These sporadic attacks on the celebrated image of Forrest culminated in the spring of 1988, when the University of Tennessee Medical School "adopted" Forrest Park and began to outfit the small area with fitness equipment and jogging trails. The decision infuriated local African Americans. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) feared that the renovation of the park would increase the prominence of the Forrest statue. Maxine Smith, executive secretary of the Memphis chapter of the NAACP, asserted that "[t]he presence of this park is a daily slap in the face to blacks throughout the city, and we intend to see that it's removed." Smith and the NAACP demanded the removal of the statue, the reburial of Forrest and his wife in Elmwood Cemetery, and the renaming of the park. "Let the historians and all those who are so fond of the general," Smith charged, "take him and do what they want with him." In response, Shelby Foote stated that "[w]hile I can understand why blacks might see that statue as a symbol of racism, I think they've overlooked the facts about Bedford Forrest." "He was certainly not," Foote contended, "the villain they perceive him to be." "You have to take the past as it is," Foote explained. "Bedford Forrest and Abraham Lincoln were, in my opinion, the two absolute geniuses to emerge during the Civil War. To try and remove a monument to either one of these men is just crazy." "The

[42] "Ku Klux Klan 'Leader' Memorialized," *Tri-State Defender*, August 10, 1985, Forrest File.

[43] "A General Nuisance," Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, March 11, 1986, p. A1, Forrest File (quotations). See also "Experts Gritting Teeth at Blasting of Forrest Statue," Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, March 20, 1986, Forrest File.

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day that black people admire Forrest as much as I do," Foote remarked in another interview, "is the day when they will be free and equal, for they will have gotten prejudice out of their minds as we whites are trying to get it out of ours."[44]

The response of black Memphians to Foote's comments was quick. In an article entitled, "Foote, You Put It In Your Mouth," the *Tri-State Defender* called Foote's appeal for African Americans to admire Forrest, "[o]utrageous, insulting, bigoted and racist!" "Black people are already free and equal," the writer asserted, and "[t]hey did not get that way . . . by admiring Nathan Bedford Forrest." "Forrest is your hero," the writer alerted Foote, and "[w]hy you are so enamored with him, only you can answer for sure, although it is not hard to guess. You are a relative, if not by blood at least in spirit and outlook." Inverting Foote's own words, the writer concluded that "[t]he day you become as sensitive to the feelings of Black people as you are to those of Whites who admire Nathan Bedford Forrest you will be free, for you will have gotten the racist prejudice out of your mind that you want to force your hero on the descendants of his victims." Two weeks later the *Tri-State Defender* printed two articles on the controversy that shared the headline, "City must not dignify Forrest . . . he's no more than a murderer." One article presented stories of Fort Pillow and even insinuated that Forrest beat his wife and an alleged "Black mistress." The writer concluded with a plea for Memphis to "make no attempt to memorialize and dignify Forrest. His military genius does not excuse his inhumanity." The connected article continued the attack on Forrest's character, comparing him to Adolf Hitler, Charles Manson, and Jack the Ripper. "Our assertion," the writer declared, "is that General Forrest should never have been honored in that park nor any other public park; he was no more than a whore-mongering mass murderer."[45]

The dispute over Forrest now devolved into name-calling from both sides, and the white response substituted racial insults for substantive debate. An editor at the conservative and militantly pro-southern magazine *Southern Partisan* argued that the fight over Forrest Park was "petulant nastiness" that offered "a sure sign that the civil rights move-

[44] David Dawson, "Another Skirmish for N. B. Forrest: Will the General Rise Again?" *Southern Magazine* (August 1988), 16 (Maxine Smith and first Shelby Foote quotations); "Troops Rally to Defense of Forrest," Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, May 12, 1988 (second Foote quotation). See also "NAACP: Forrest Must Go," Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, May 7, 1988, Forrest File; and John E. Stainchak, "Behind the Lines," *Civil War Times Illustrated*, XXXII (January/February 1994), 18.

[45] "Foote, You Put it in Your Mouth," *Tri-State Defender*, May 28, 1988, pp. 1A, 7A; "City Must Not Dignify Forrest . . . He's No More than a Murderer," *Tri-State Defender*, June 11, 1988, pp. 8A, 7A.

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ment is over." The editorial included a personal attack on Benjamin Hooks, national director of the NAACP, and ended with a wish for the resurrection of the mighty Forrest. "If [Hooks and his associates] push [Forrest] too far," the editor continued, "he may just come roaring out of the grave one day, eyes flashing, teeth clenched—and then you will see some well-fed, middle-aged black men run like they haven't run in years, on their way to catch the train to Yonkers, to confront the challenge they have so cravenly avoided for so long." The description of Forrest resembled Lytle's and Foote's, but the unabashed racism represented a return to the racial idolatry of Forrest at the turn of the century. As African Americans demanded the reburial of Forrest, a small but vocal group of white southerners hoped for the second coming of their hero to subdue attacks on their culture still devoted to the Lost Cause.[46]

The stalemate prevented the statue's removal, but the 1988 debate over the meaning of Forrest prefigured an explosion of interest in the general. In 1990 PBS aired Ken Burns's documentary *The Civil War*, which featured Shelby Foote's view of Forrest and lacked any meaningful discussion of Forrest's racism. Forrest's ostensible personal charisma and military exploits far overshadowed Fort Pillow and the Klan, and the film left viewers with Foote's portrait of Forrest as simply "the most man in the world." Seen by millions of people, *The Civil War* had a profound impact on public interest in Forrest. Many people who had never even heard of Forrest could, after watching Burns's documentary, consider him an entertaining military genius who had summed up his years of experience with the signature phrase: "Get there first with the most men."[47] Throughout the 1990s, military experts, business analysts, sportswriters, and entertainment reporters all used the phrase, often lacking either overt political content or an attribution to the general.

Capitalizing on the resurgent interest, two new biographies of the general were published in the 1990s, neither of which altered greatly the view of Forrest that Foote had created. As a cultural icon, Forrest became one of the most popular figures from the Civil War. In his recent investigation of the South's continued preoccupation with the Civil War, Tony Horwitz discovered that shirts adorned with Forrest's likeness outsold Robert E. Lee shirts fivefold; the reckless Forrest had managed to eclipse the dignified Lee even in terms of public sartorial preferences. As Lytle and the Agrarians had argued sixty years earlier,

[46] Matthew Sandel, "Tilting at Statues," *Southern Partisan*, VIII (Summer 1988), 6.

[47] *The Civil War*, Ken Burns, exec. prod.(Alexandria, Va., 1990), nine videocassettes. Foote reiterated his comparison of Forrest and Lincoln in William C. Carter, ed., *Conversations with Shelby Foote* (Jackson, Miss., and London, 1989), 173.

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Forrest continued to represent the lost hope of the Confederacy. Given more men and power, admirers of the general argued, the daring, unorthodox Forrest could have reversed the military fortunes of the Confederacy. Forrest therefore symbolized the unrepentant rebel in a manner unlike that of Lee, who presented more of a sanctified, sanitized symbol of national reconciliation. The increased visibility of Forrest, however, also resulted in a greater understanding of his actions at Fort Pillow and with the Klan. The general continued to infuriate many people, and increased attacks on Confederate symbols in the early 1990s included criticism of memorials to Forrest across the nation. School boards and city councils rechristened schools and roads named for the general, and the director of a predominately black housing project in Selma, Alabama, finally deemed the name "NBF Homes" inappropriate. Even more recently, Selma has been the site of a bitter dispute over a statue of Forrest that was unveiled on municipally owned property only five days after the inauguration of the city's first African American mayor.[48]

In the late 1990s, ten years after the NAACP fracas in Memphis, an artist chose to memorialize Forrest with the largest equestrian statue in the world. Located in a private park outside of Nashville and surrounded by a Confederate flag display, the statue incorporated many of the elements of the Forrest myth in the last half of the twentieth century and caused a great deal of controversy. Black legislators protested the "heinous" statue as racist and were particularly angered by the state's use of inmates to remove the brush from a nearby highway to increase the visibility of the two-story-tall sculpture. Despite the protests, several hundred invited guests—including at least one African American who wholeheartedly approved of the celebration—gathered for the unveiling, and race was not far from the minds of those present. One white attendee, for example, noted that he had "lived in an integrated neighborhood for 17 years, and that's where I've learned that the mixing of the races doesn't work." Once again, Forrest served as a

[48] Tony Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches from the Unfinished Civil War* (New York, 1998), 294. See also Gary W. Gallagher, *Lee and His Generals in War and Memory* (Baton Rouge, 1998), 259–60. For an example of a journalist using "first with the most" see Robert Grimm, "Venus: The Geological Story," *Science*, CCLXIV (June 17, 1994), 1783. Wills, *Battle from the Start*; Hurst, *Nathan Bedford Forrest*. For the debate over NBF Homes see "Housing Project Won't Keep KKK Founder's Name," Montgomery *Advertiser*, November 3, 1995, p. 1A; and Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic*, 361. On the recent dispute in Selma see "To Mayor, It's Selma's Statue of Limitations," Los Angeles *Times*, October 22, 2000, p. A1; "Selma Delays Moving Rebel Statue," Washington *Post*, February 14, 2001, p. A26; and "Ghosts of the South," *Time*, April 30, 2001, pp. 66–69. See also "Black Begins Bid to Change School's Name," New York *Times*, January 14, 1998, p. B7; and "MTSU Trades Ole Blue," Nashville *Tennessean*, January 16, 1998, p. 1A.

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powerful symbol of white supremacy. "He's crying 'Follow me!," the artist said of Forrest, and the general "will ride again. Don't doubt that." Other observers were less impressed, and one critic proclaimed the statue "the ugliest piece of overblown yard art imaginable."[49]

Throughout the twentieth century, different Americans had adopted Forrest as a symbol for their particular view of the past, and by the mid-1990s Forrest occupied a highly contested place in American popular culture. Andrew Lytle and Shelby Foote had each used Forrest to stand in for an element of white southern society that both writers admired—the non-elite, rural, white southerners of their native states. By the late 1970s and 1980s, however, the image crafted by white southerners could no longer be held as representative of the entire South, and black Americans took particular offense at the public idolatry of a slave trader, leader of the massacre at Fort Pillow, and Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan. For some, Forrest remained "the most man in the world," but now his image was far more malleable. The regional, sectional, political, and racial divisions inherent in Forrest's image began to blur as the general became an enigmatic symbol that refused easy classification.

Like the Confederate flag, Forrest represents both heritage and hate; a man both revered and reviled for similar reasons. To many of his more outspoken admirers, Forrest represents an exaggerated synthesis of southern pride and racial animosity. Moderate proponents of the general see him simply as a colorful war hero who spoke in quirky aphorisms and brandished a battered and bloodied sword. Most black Americans, in contrast, fail to see anything positive in the continued commemoration of a slave trader and Klansman. As a symbol of the extremes of southern history, Forrest plays a controversial role in popular culture. While some groups demand the razing of monuments honoring Forrest, others support the raising of enormous equestrian statues that venerate the "Wizard of the Saddle." In the late 1990s the image of Nathan Bedford Forrest was used by both proponents and detractors of the general to revisit and revise the collective memories still lingering from the 1860s. In so doing, they generated more pride, hostility, and controversy over the "most man in the world" and "Butcher of Fort Pillow" than at any other time since the Civil War.

[49] "Huge War Horse Statue Rearing to Record," Nashville *Banner*, September 2, 1997, p. A4 (first quotation); "Carving a Controversy," Nashville *Tennessean*, August 30, 1997, p. 1A; "Forrest's Cavalry Rides Again," Nashville *Tennessean*, July 12, 1998, p. 1B–2B (second and third quotations); "Forrest Statue is Simply Hideous," Nashville *Tennessean*, July 14, 1998, p. A10 (fourth quotation). See also James W. Loewen, *Lies Across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong* (New York, 1999), 258–61.

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