

Selective Civil War Battlefield Preservation as a Method of Marketing The Southern “Lost Cause”

Richard D. Stone, Shippensburg University, USA
Mary M. Graham, York College of Pennsylvania, USA

While the marketing of ideas is mentioned in all Principles of Marketing texts, there is not much concerning it in the literature. An example of the marketing of ideas, the Southern “Lost Cause”, may have been the first large scale marketing campaign. One aspect of the marketing of the “Lost Cause”, i.e. selective battlefield preservation, is the subject of this paper. Battlefield preservation in different historical eras is presented and differentiation is made among the types of emphasis in the preservation depending upon which level of government or organization is responsible for it. Conclusions are made about the reasons for differing amounts of preservation and interpretive bias.

MARKETING IDEAS AND “SOCIAL MARKETING”

All Principles of Marketing texts mention ideas, along with goods, services, persons, and places, as possible products (for example see Etzel, Walker, and Stanton 2007). Mention is also made of non-profit organizations, in addition to the usual for-profit ones. Examples often given are churches, schools, hospitals, and political parties. For the most part, however, the texts concentrate on goods, which is understandable, given that when the word product is heard, most people think of physical products.

Writing about the marketing of ideas has largely been limited to what has been called “social marketing.” In the late 1950s and early 1960s, consideration was given to applying marketing principles to the political and/or social arenas (MacFadyen, Stead and Hastings 1999). The term “social marketing”, itself, was first introduced by Kotler and Zaltman (1971) and defined as “the design, implementation, and control of programs calculated to influence the acceptability of social ideas and involving considerations of product planning, pricing, communication, distribution and marketing research.” Lusch, Laczniak and Murphy (1980) identified the marketing of political candidates and their platforms, encouragement of birth control, conservation of energy, and the discouragement of smoking as examples of “social marketing”.

However, a major example of the marketing of an idea, or social marketing, involving a political idea, far predates any of the aforementioned. In fact it precedes Kotler and Zaltman’s definition by over a century, and although it also predates the term marketing, it was a marketing campaign in that it was a concerted and conscious effort to promote a political idea to a large mass of people. This was the promulgation of the Southern “Lost Cause”, and may have been the first successful large scale marketing effort.

The “Lost Cause”

In brief, the “Lost Cause” states that the Confederates had better generals and soldiers and a stronger rationale for fighting. The only reason it lost the war was that the Union forces were so much superior in number and in resources. This myth was deliberately created in the aftermath of the Civil War to ease the hurt of losing the war, and to restore pride in the former Confederate States (Stone, Polmouter, Graham and Landry 2005). Creating a feeling of white supremacy was no small part of the reason for perpetuating the myth (Blight 2001).

As mentioned above, the “Lost Cause” myth was deliberately promulgated. The year after the war ended, Edward A. Pollard (1866), a newspaper editor in Richmond, VA, wrote *The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates*. One of the major tenets of the “Lost Cause” myth was that the war was not fought over the issue of slavery, as this would have made the South the villains. According to the rhetoric, the war was fought over states’ constitutional rights, and to preserve their way of life. However, there is very little doubt that the right in question was the right to own slaves. Blight (2001) has said Pollard intimated that while the South had lost on the battlefield, it would continue with a “war of ideas.”

The “Lost Cause,” once defined, has been promoted through the years in many ways. Stone, Polmouter, Graham, and Landry (2005) identified many including: the use of the Southern Belle theme, the creation of military heroes after the fact, the use of churches and historical societies, periodicals, books, movies, and the designation as stalemates for battles which were lost but not complete devastations. No small part was played by

the fact that most of the accounts of the war were written by Southerners, giving lie to the statement that the victors write the histories (Graham and Stone, 2006). Very influential in establishing the “Lost Cause” dogma was Jubal Early’s *Memoir of the Last Year of the War for Independence in the Confederate States of America* published in 1866. The *Memoir* venerated Robert E. Lee as being a brilliant Christian gentleman general. Through the end of the 19th Century, Early’s influence shaped the interpretation of the war’s history and its historiography through his long-term association with the Southern Historical Society and the publication of the Society’s *Papers*. Only papers favorably espousing “Lost Cause” tenets and approved by Early were accepted for publication (Gallagher, 1998; 2001).

Active in the efforts to solidify the hold on people’s minds and thoughts of the “Lost Cause” ideology and the history of the War Between the States were groups such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), the United Confederate Veterans (UCV), and later the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV). They were formed with the express purpose of promoting the “Lost Cause,” and making certain that the history of the war was written in a “truthful manner,” and that monuments were erected to honor the valor and bravery of the Confederate soldiers.

The “Lost Cause” and Battlefield Preservation

In the over 140 years since the Civil War ended, the “Lost Cause” has evolved through several eras that are reflected in the preservation efforts of the War’s battlefields. During the Reconstruction Era, from the War’s end until 1876, the African-American soldiers who perished while fighting for the Union were commemorated on Memorial Day at National Cemeteries that were established on or near the various battlefields (Waldrep, 2005). Confederate soldiers, however, are not buried in the National Cemeteries because they fought against the United States. Therefore, white southern women, not wanting to let the dead soldiers who fought for the South be forgotten, stepped forward to commemorate the Confederate dead on a different Memorial Day than that celebrated by the North. This activity became an important element of the “Lost Cause” and helped to engender the formation of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (Waldrep, 2005).

The second era, the Era of Reconciliation, began at the end of Reconstruction when white southerners took over the state and local governments. African-Americans lost many of the rights they had obtained during Reconstruction, and the southern states entered a segregationist era during which “Jim Crow” laws were enacted. During this second era white soldiers of North and South met at the battlefields for reunions. Often initially amicable, these reunions frequently became contentious. Black soldiers were excluded from these reunions (Waldrep, 2005).

Also during this Era, battlefields such as Vicksburg, Shiloh, Ft. Donelson, and Stone’s River were established by the federal government through the tireless efforts of the northern soldiers who had fought there. Their establishment was accepted reluctantly by white southerners. After all, according to former Confederates, who would want to visit a place where a disastrous defeat had occurred?

At the same time the organizations mentioned above, such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy, United Confederate Veterans, and the Sons of Confederate Veterans were formed. The UDC, in particular, was prominent in many efforts to commemorate the conflict by placing monuments all over the South. The efforts of groups like the UDC and historians, as well as the veterans, themselves, influenced which battlefields were preserved and what was preserved of them. The Era of Reconciliation ended after most of the veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic and the Confederacy had died.

The third era, which spanned from the beginning of the New Deal to the beginning of the Civil Rights Era, might be termed the Era of Reconsideration. The Reconsideration was of a segregated society with the “Lost Cause” ideology fairly pervasive and imbedded in the history and culture. Confederate soldiers were said to be brave and valiant in their fight for states’ rights. Not much battlefield preservation occurred. The monuments and historical markers that were erected in southern states during this era promoted the tenets of the “Lost Cause.” The historiography of the “Lost Cause” was furthered with the publication of the 4-volume biography of Robert E. Lee by Douglas Southall Freeman (1934-5), who was strongly influenced by Jubal Early. Lee’s image rose to even higher mythic proportions.

The movie *Gone With the Wind*, which opened in 1939, also fueled the “Lost Cause” mythology with its romantic image of the ante-bellum South and all that had been lost as a consequence of being defeated in the War. White southerners in their segregated society fervently believed that states’ rights, not slavery, had been the cause of the War Between the States, and “Lost Cause” dogma became even more firmly entrenched in the telling of the history of the War.

The fourth era in the evolution of the “Lost Cause” spans the time from the early days of the Civil Rights movement to the present. It might be termed the Reconstitution Era in that the Civil Rights Movement’s impact effected enormous change in the structure of life and society in the South. However, the “Lost Cause” mythology was so firmly imbedded in the history of the Civil War during the previous three eras that many of the tenets of the “Lost Cause” are now known and accepted as the War’s true history. For example, Lee is considered the epitome of the true noble gentleman general, even deified, and “Stonewall” Jackson is thought of almost as highly while Grant (“Lost Cause” proponents almost always compare

Grant to Lee) is considered to be inferior and a butcher without any regard for the welfare of his soldiers. Recent scholarship has questioned and somewhat debunked this myth, but it is still fairly pervasive throughout not only the South, but also the North (Bonekemper, 1999; 2004). So accepted are the tenets of the “Lost Cause” that the popular media praised Ken Burns’ television series, *The Civil War*, because history seemed to come alive. Professional historians, however, criticized it for its pedantic conventional interpretation relying on “Lost Cause” themes (Gallagher, 1998). For example, it concentrated on Eastern battles while giving the Western Theater short shrift.

In the reconstituted society of the South, discussions of slavery as a cause of the War and emotional debates over the display of the Confederate battle flag and its incorporation in the flags of the various states is taking place. These often engender a renewed interest in the Civil War itself. The renewed interest in the War, in turn, is spawning a growth in the re-enactment of battles and generating increased interest in battlefield preservation. Organizations like the Sons of Confederate Veterans and the United Daughters of the Confederacy, with long histories of erecting monuments and commemorating the War, are tapping into this interest and directing it, making certain that the “Lost Cause” dogma continues to be preserved.

The “Lost Cause” has been promoted through the selective preservation of battlefields, the subject of this paper. Most of the war was fought on Southern soil, making it an easy task for Southerners to control the preservation. Not surprisingly, most of the preserved battlefields were those of Confederate victories. Even in cases where the Confederates lost, but the battle was so significant that it could not be ignored, which parts of the battlefield are preserved, and therefore, what parts of the battle are emphasized, has contributed to the promulgation of the “Lost Cause.”

While the “Lost Cause” has principally been associated with the Civil War’s Eastern Theater and particularly Virginia, this paper focuses on battlefield preservation in the Western Theater. Of the twenty-plus battlefields examined to ascertain their preservation vis-à-vis the “Lost Cause”, some battlefields were preserved under the auspices of the federal government and are operated and managed by the National Park Service, while some are state historic sites. In still other instances land where a battle occurred was acquired by local battlefield associations or individuals so as to protect it from development. Some battlefields, however, have not been preserved or even recognized as battlefields.

Federally Preserved Battlefields

The Western Theater’s Shiloh, Vicksburg, Ft. Donelson, and Stone’s River battlefields are federal national military parks. While the media presentations at the Visitor Centers of all of these battlefields tell the story of the battles

in an even-handed manner, what was preserved on the battlefields and the memorials and historical markers erected are not always as even handed. For example, at Vicksburg the parts of the siege line that were reconstructed and highlighted in the battlefield tour are places where the Confederates successfully held off assaults by the Union, e.g. the Railroad Redoubt and the 3rd Texas Lunette. Historical markers at Vicksburg also emphasize how outnumbered the Confederates were, while monuments placed by the UDC always state how bravely and valiantly the Confederates defended the city in the face of an overwhelming enemy force. The Visitor Center built at Vicksburg during the New Deal era resembles an ante-bellum plantation house recalling images of an earlier era. This was purposely done to attract people from the local area to the Military Park, in effect selling the park to the locals who didn’t want to visit a battlefield that had been a disastrous southern defeat (Waldrep, 2005). The ante-bellum visitor center is now used as an administrative building, and a modern center that does not evoke an “Old South” image has replaced it. Finally, Vicksburg is atypical of the other battlefields in the Western Theater in that each of the twenty-eight states that had troops participating in the Vicksburg campaign is represented by at least one monument even though officials of the state of Mississippi expressed a lot of reluctance about constructing theirs. Tennessee was the last Confederate state that erected a monument. It was paid for by the UDC and dedicated in 1996 (Vicksburg National Military Park, ca. 2005). The most recent monument of some import to be placed at Vicksburg was dedicated in 2004 in honor of the soldiers of African descent who fought in the Vicksburg campaign. According to the National Park Service, it is the first monument to honor African-American Civil War soldiers in a national park (Vicksburg National Military Park, ca. 2005).

The valiant assaults by the Confederates on the first day of the battle of Shiloh in an area subsequently called the “Hornet’s Nest” are a highlight of the battlefield tour. However, the heroic efforts of the Union soldiers who withstood over a dozen assaults on their position, to give the Union army time to re-group after the early morning surprise attack, are given short shrift. One of the largest battlefield monuments was erected by the UDC in memory of all of the brave and valiant southern troops that fought at Shiloh, while implying that the northern troops did not fight as bravely and valiantly. The visitor center, like the New Deal era center at Vicksburg, is evocative of an ante-bellum plantation house, but was being altered in 2006 at the time of the authors’ visit. The bookstore/gift shop at Shiloh offers a wide range of books that are not just military history and biography but include topics such as the impact of the War on African-Americans. The only children’s souvenirs, however, are Confederate.

The Stone’s River National Battlefield and the Ft. Donelson National Battlefield were established by the

federal government in 1927 and 1928 respectively. At these two locations the presentation of the history on the battlefields, themselves, does not have as overt a “Lost Cause” bias as at Vicksburg and Shiloh.

The federal government has three more battlefield sites in the part of the Western Theater that was visited for this study. The National Park Service operates the Corinth Battlefield in conjunction with Shiloh. It opened a new Interpretative Center in 2004 that focuses on not only the siege of Corinth in the spring of 1862 and the battle in October 1862 when the Confederates tried to retake Corinth. It also places these battles in the wider strategic context as they relate to Shiloh. The Interpretative Center includes two video presentations without an overt bias as well as a very extensive bookstore and library.

The one acre Tupelo, MS battlefield site commemorates the July 1864 victory of southern forces led by Generals Stephen D. Lee and Nathan Bedford Forrest over Union troops led by General Andrew Jackson Smith. The victory, occurring late in the war had no effect on its outcome. At the Tupelo site a large federal government monument honors the troops of both sides and historical markers tell the story of the battle. A smaller UDC sponsored granite monument off to the side says it is “dedicated to the soldiers of the Confederacy who fought for their states’ rights.” It is relevant that the UDC monument was placed in 1913, while the U.S. monument was erected decades later.

At Brice’s Crossroads, a battle that occurred a month earlier than the Tupelo battle, Nathan Bedford Forrest and Stephen Dill Lee defeated troops led by Union General Samuel Sturgis. As with the Tupelo battle, the federal government owns 1 acre of the battlefield at the crossroads where a large monument commemorating the battle and historical markers telling the battle’s story are located. The Brice’s Crossroads National Battlefield Commission, a local preservation group has purchased almost 1400 acres of land for battlefield preservation and use in re-enactments, while a separate museum commission worked closely with the city of Baldwin, MS to build an Interpretative Center/Museum that opened in 1998 about 5 miles east of the actual battlefield. The 22-minute video presentation with commentary by Shelby Foote provides a good introduction to the battle. The museum exhibits, mostly artifacts belonging to local resident Claude Gentry give a southern biased interpretation, and prints along the hallway to the museum curator’s office all depict the “Lost Cause” theme. Many of them feature Robert E. Lee and/or “Stonewall” Jackson. At the time of the battle, the former was at least hundreds of miles away, while the latter was dead. Finally, the granite markers erected by the state of Mississippi during the 1950’s on MS Route 370 west from US Route 45 to the Crossroads provide a very southern bias. For such a small battle late in the War, that like Tupelo, had minimal effect on the War, these are large preservation efforts. The preservation increases the “Lost Cause” mythology

surrounding Nathan Bedford Forrest as the Western Theater’s most important military leader. Through promoting the “Lost Cause” and the Forrest myth with preservation of the battlefield, the city of Baldwin hopes to attract tourists to the area.

Having looked at the federal government’s battlefield preservation, state preserved battlefields will be considered next. The authors visited state preserved battlefields at Grand Gulf, MS; Port Hudson, LA; and Perryville, KY.

State Preserved Battlefields

The Grand Gulf Military Monument includes Forts Wade and Cobun that controlled a bend in the Mississippi River south of Vicksburg. The guns of Fort Cobun successfully held off the Union and prevented Grant from crossing the river to begin the advance on Vicksburg. The victory was short-lived as Grant found a place further downstream to cross and disembark troops, thus outflanking Grand Gulf and making its occupation by the Confederates untenable. The Museum at the Grand Gulf Military Monument has a very southern bias with statements about how hopelessly outnumbered the Confederate soldiers were, but how valiantly they fought, inflicting heavy losses on the Union forces.

After the fall of Vicksburg, the last place held by the Confederates on the Mississippi River was Port Hudson, LA, and like Vicksburg, it was besieged. After the defeat of Vicksburg, Port Hudson became both irrelevant and untenable. The garrison surrendered on July 9, five days after Vicksburg. The Port Hudson battlefield preservation efforts have involved reconstruction of some of the 1863 fortifications including the famous Priest’s Cap and Fort Desperate where there was the most intense fighting. Accessibility to these fortifications is difficult and might be improved with trails that are in better condition or roads and parking areas that are closer to the features. The Visitor Center opened in 1990 and has exhibits that recount the story of the siege without overt bias. They include information on Louisiana African-American troops fighting for the Union. Brochures about Port Hudson, as well as information found at the Visitor Center, express the importance of living history at the site and the frequency of re-enactments on the state historic site’s property. Visitors are provided with a map for a driving tour of places relevant to the siege in the surrounding area off the historic site property. The lack of historic markers at various tour stops and the paucity of street/road signs make following the tour difficult. In summation, the Port Hudson site presents a balanced view of the siege and tells the story well. Improved accommodations for visitors such as better maps and walking trails would enhance the visitor’s experience. Considering Port Hudson’s location, evidence of the “Lost Cause” is surprisingly absent in the preservation. Probably it is because the preservation efforts have occurred more recently than at Grand Gulf.

The “Lost Cause” tenets are much in evidence at the Perryville, KY Battlefield State Historic Site, the location of one of two Civil War battles that took place in Kentucky. Even though Kentucky never seceded and the Confederates lost the battle, pro-southern sympathies are found at the 900 plus acre site in the museum’s displays and brochures, and on the historical markers near the Visitor Center. The most prominent monument on the battlefield, erected in 1902, is dedicated to the valor and bravery of the Confederate soldiers and is located in the area where many of the Confederates who perished are buried. It is the first stop on the walking tour, while the Union monument, erected in 1931, is significantly smaller and not a part of the walking tour. The Perryville Battlefield Association, formed in 1991, is raising funds to purchase Civil War-era structures in Perryville a couple of miles from the state-owned battlefield site. Most of the structures are associated with the Confederate side of the battle. The Association also hosts an annual re-enactment of the battle on the October weekend closest to the actual battle date.

Locally Preserved Battlefields

Preservation of another battlefield, Parker’s Crossroads, was under the auspices of the Parker’s Crossroads Battlefield Association until 2006 when it was ceded to the state of Tennessee. The local group obtained grants from both the state and federal government that helped to fund trail upgrades, the opening of a Visitor Center, interpretative historical markers, and the printing of color brochures. Re-enactments of the battle are held regularly, sponsored by the Parker’s Crossroads Battlefield Association with the help of the local Sons of Confederate Veterans Camp. The story of the December 1862 battle resonates with “Lost Cause” themes, highlighting the fact that the southern troops were led by Nathan Bedford Forrest. The newspaper, *Parker’s Crossroads Gazette* (2006), issued periodically, provides only the Confederate perspective. The effort by the local battlefield group to preserve the Parker’s Crossroads Battlefield provides a means of promoting the “Lost Cause” and the mythical exploits of Forrest. His name is featured prominently in the promotional materials concerning the battlefield.

Another very active local battlefield preservation group is that of Mill Springs, KY. The success of the Union in the January 1862 battle, which broke the Confederate defense line extending west from Cumberland Gap to the Mississippi River, made this relatively obscure battle strategically important. The preservation at the battlefield highlights the valor of the Confederate soldiers with one monument while another monument denotes the mass graves of the Confederates. The oak tree, under which Confederate General Felix Zollicoffer lay after his death, was called “Zollie Tree” and was deemed sacred until its destruction in 1996. Currently, saplings derived from the tree are revered. The fact that the Union won the battle is

discounted, while “Lost Cause” themes predominate. The Mill Springs Battlefield Association has erected a new museum and visitor center next to the National Cemetery, somewhat removed from the preserved battlefield. In October 2006 it was not yet open to the public.

The Davis Bridge Memorial Association is working to preserve the Davis Bridge battlefield located on the Tennessee/Mississippi state line. The bridge over the Hatchie River was contested in early October 1862 following the battle of Corinth. While the Federals kept the Confederates from retreating from Corinth via the Davis Bridge, the Confederates crossed the Hatchie River on Crum’s Bridge several miles upstream. While the battle did not stop the Confederate retreat, it slowed it down. The Memorial Association has laid out trails and erected some signs, but the battlefield is not well maintained, nor are the trails well marked. Also, publicity that provides directions to the battlefield is not readily available.

Rather than being preserved by a local battlefield association, the battlefield at Franklin, TN was preserved by the local Camp of the Sons of Confederate Veterans. The Carter House at the vortex of the heaviest fighting is the centerpiece of the preservation efforts for the battlefield. The video presentation, the museum exhibits, and the guided tour of the house focus on the casualties of the battle, civilian as well as military, with little said about the victorious Union or the poor decision by General John Bell Hood to order an assault. What is left unsaid, would have denigrated the myth of the “Lost Cause.” Winstead Hill, a few miles south of the Carter House, was also preserved by the SCV as a shrine to the Confederate soldiers who perished, and particularly the six Confederate generals who died in the five hour battle. A Franklin tourist brochure aptly says, “15 miles and 100 years down the road from Nashville.”

Unpreserved Battlefields

Finally, there are seven battlefields associated with the Vicksburg campaign (Chickasaw Bayou, Milliken’s Bend, Port Gibson, Raymond, Jackson, Champion Hill, and Big Black River Bridge) that have had relatively no preservation efforts or even very little recognition as battlefields. Three of them (Port Gibson, Champion Hill, and Milliken’s Bend) have considerable significance. Chickasaw Bayou’s one historical marker reflects “Lost Cause” sentiments regarding the bravery and valor of the soldiers and declares that the South turned back the Union in a rout. At Raymond, an historical marker on the side of the road, a couple of cannons across the road from the marker, and a pink granite monument dedicated to a Texas regiment on private land nearby, are all that exists. The marker and the monument mention the bravery and valor of the Confederate soldiers, but not that the South lost. A few historical markers in rapidly growing Jackson are all that remain of the Jackson battlefield, while at Big Black River Bridge there is nothing

at all. While these battles involved more soldiers than some of the others mentioned previously, there have been virtually no preservation efforts. Their significance, however, is less than that of the other three unreserved battlefields of the Vicksburg campaign mentioned above: Port Gibson, Champion Hill, and Milliken's Bend.

Port Gibson was the first battle to occur after the Union troops crossed the Mississippi River south of Vicksburg. At the time of the battle, not all of the Union troops and supplies had crossed the river from Louisiana to Mississippi. Had the Confederates won this battle decisively, the outcome of the Vicksburg campaign may have been very different. That is likewise the case with the battle of Champion Hill. In fact, historians such as Ed Bearss, longtime superintendent of the Vicksburg National Military Park, and renowned historian, has said that the Confederate defeat at Champion Hill enabled the Union to lay siege to Vicksburg and eventually brought about the downfall of the South (Phillips). Yet there is virtually nothing commemorating this important site.

Over a hundred years ago the sons of General Lloyd Tilghmann placed a small granite monument where their father was mortally wounded and in 1977 a small plaque on a granite monument was placed atop a small hill at the contested crossroads. The plaque which declares the battlefield a national historic landmark, and the monument, may soon be lost as a consequence of the erosion of the small hill. A structure called the Coker House, the only extant ante-bellum building on the battlefield is on property adjacent to the Cal-Maine Egg Producing Company. The company gave the house and some land to the Jackson Civil War Round Table in 1989, but the group has allowed the house to become so dilapidated that it will soon be beyond saving. The Champion Hill Battlefield Foundation has hosted an annual re-enactment since 1980 at the nearby Cactus Plantation, a part of the battlefield (Phillips). Efforts at the state and federal level to secure funding to purchase some of the land on which the battlefield is located have been unsuccessful. The battle has been so neglected by historians and civil war buffs that a full-length history of the battle was not published until 2006 (Smith). This is probably because promoters of the "Lost Cause" would rather expunge the defeat from their historical memory rather than preserve the battlefield and be reminded of the South's failure.

The last battlefield of great significance that has not been preserved is Milliken's Bend. This battle adds another element, race, that may make it even more unlikely that southerners would want to preserve it. During the Vicksburg campaign when the Union troops were on the west side of the Mississippi River in Louisiana, Grant established a major supply base at Milliken's Bend. When most of the Union army moved south through Louisiana to cross the Mississippi River south of Vicksburg, Grant left African-American troops to guard the base. The Confederates attacked, but the African-American soldiers,

although poorly trained and equipped, fought very hard suffering 35 percent casualties. With the help of gunboats on the river they were able to force the Confederates to retreat (Winschel, 2004). This battle was controversial because of the way the Confederates treated the black prisoners they took (Waldrep, 2005). Confederate troops were embarrassed by how hard the African-American troops fought, and humiliated by the fact that they were bested by their former slaves. Because of the involvement of African-American soldiers in the battle, it is probable that Southerners would also like to erase it from their memory. Thus, no efforts beyond the placing of one very non-prominent historical marker have been made to preserve or commemorate the Milliken's Bend battlefield. In fact it is difficult to ascertain its exact location because of the changes in the flow of the Mississippi River since 1863.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Having visited over twenty battlefields in the Western Theater of the Civil War, several conclusions might be made regarding battlefield preservation. The battlefields that have been preserved by the federal government and that are operated by the National Park Service have in general more complete preservation than those preserved by the states and local organizations. Battlefields that have been preserved by local organizations generally have the lowest levels of preservation with respect to the amount of the battlefield and the quality of the museum and/or visitor center accompanying it. Preservation efforts by the various states falls somewhere in between.

A similar conclusion may be made regarding interpretation bias at the various battlefields that have been preserved. Federally operated battlefields provide the least amount of bias in the interpretation of the battle while locally preserved battlefields generally exhibit the most bias in the battle interpretation. Battlefields preserved by the states are somewhere in between the two depending upon when the state began its efforts to preserve that particular battlefield.

Historical markers located on the battlefields also show differences depending on the time when they were put up. Historical markers that were erected prior to the early 1960's are generally more biased and often include "Lost Cause" themes, the most common of which is that the brave and valiant soldiers were fighting for their states' rights. Older markers also refer to the War as the War Between the States or the War of Northern Aggression. In addition, these markers never make mention of the instances when the Union troops were outnumbered, but still managed to win the battle. They do, however, always mention when the Confederates were outnumbered in a battle and by how much they were outnumbered. Newer historical markers erected since the 1960s tend to exhibit less bias and simply tell the story in a neutral manner.

In the early twentieth century the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Sons of Confederate Veterans were very active in commemorating the brave and valiant soldiers of the South who fought for their states' rights via the placement of monuments and the preservation of the battlefields. The Western Theater battlefields at which the "Lost Cause" is particularly noticeable in the preservation include Brice's Crossroads and Parker's Crossroads, both of which glorify the exploits of Nathan Bedford Forrest. At Franklin, TN, the Sons of Confederate Veterans took the lead in the preservation efforts of the Carter House at the center of the hardest fighting in the late November 1864 battle. They also have preserved Winstead Hill and constructed a shrine to the Army of Tennessee with its brave and valiant soldiers, and particularly the six Confederate generals who were killed in the five hour battle. This preservation definitely promotes the romantic sentiments inherent in the "Lost Cause."

No preservation efforts have occurred and very little recognition is given to the fact that battles even happened at Port Gibson, Raymond, Jackson, Champion Hill, Big Black River Bridge, and Milliken's Bend, all associated with the Vicksburg campaign. The excuse given for the lack of preservation is that no one would want to visit a battlefield where the Confederates lost. It also might be that these battles, because they were such terrible defeats, should be erased from the South's collective memory as they detract from the enduring and pervasive image of the "Lost Cause" that says the South had better soldiers and generals.

Since the 1960s and the Civil War's centennial celebration, battlefield preservation has been changing. The Civil Rights Movement has also had an impact. In spite of the integration of schools and more equity with respect to economic opportunity and especially jobs, the influence of the "Lost Cause" on southern culture is still present, although it has lessened somewhat. The battlefields, particularly the ones preserved by local organizations and the various states, continue to be marketed using romantic images of a by-gone ante-bellum South with its gallantry and chivalry. This is to encourage tourism and generate money for the local economy. Battle re-enactments are particularly important in this type of promotion at the Port Hudson, Brice's Crossroads, and Perryville battlefields. Re-enactments which often include a "Lost Cause" theme, provide entertainment while making history come alive, and promote the local area and the history of the battle. The "Lost Cause," therefore, lives on via battlefield preservation, although its influence and impact is lessening as the number of years since the Civil War increases.

REFERENCES

Blight, David W. 2001. *Race and Reunions: The Civil War in American Memory*. Cambridge: The Bellnap Press.

- Bonekemper, Edward H. III. 1999. *How Robert E. Lee Lost the Civil War*. Spotsylvania, VA: Sergeant Kirkland's Press.
- Bonekemper, Edward H. III. 2004. *A Victor, Not a Butcher: Ulysses S. Grant's Overlooked Military Genius*. Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, Inc.
- Etzel, Michael J., Bruce J. Walker, and William J. Stanton. 2007. *Marketing*. Boston: McGraw Hill Irwin.
- Franklin, TN and the Heritage Foundation. ca. 2006. *A Guide to Historic Franklin Tennessee*.
- Freeman, Douglas Southall. 1934-35. *R.E. Lee*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Gallagher, Gary W. 1998. *Lee and His Generals in War and Memory*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.
- Gallagher, Gary W. 2001. *Lee and His Army in Confederate History*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Graham, Mary M. and Richard D. Stone. (2006) *Southern Historians and the Marketing of the "Lost Cause."* 102nd Annual Meeting, Association of American Geographers, Chicago, IL.
- Kotler, Philip and Gerald Zaltman. (1971) *Social Marketing: An Approach to Planned Social Change*. *Journal of Marketing*. (July): 3-12.
- Lusch, Robert F., Gene R. Laczniak and Patrick E. Murphy. 1980. The "Ethics of Social Ideas" Versus the "Ethics of Marketing Social Ideas." *The Journal of Consumer Affairs*. 14 (Summer): 156-164.
- MacFadyen, Lynn, Martine Stead and Gerard Hastings. 1999. A Synopsis of Social Marketing. http://www.ism.stir.ac.uk/pdf_docs/social_marketing.pdf#search=%22%22the%20marketingof%20ideas%22%22.
- Parker's Crossroads Gazette* (2006) Vol. 16.
- Phillips, Herb. n.d. *Champion Hill!* [Clinton, MS]: n.p.
- Pollard, Edward A. 1866. *The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates*. New York: E.B. Treat.
- Smith, Timothy B. 2006. *Champion Hill: Decisive Battle for Vicksburg*. New York: Savas Beatie.
- Stone, Richard, Amy Polmounter, Mary M. Graham, and Michael Landry. 2005. "The Marketing of History: The Case of the Southern 'Lost Cause.'" *Proceedings, 12th Conference on Historical Analysis and Research in Marketing*, Long Beach, CA, 281-287
- Vicksburg National Military Park. ca. 2005. *Vicksburg: A Silent Tribute*.
- Waldrep, Christopher. 2005. *Vicksburg's Long Shadow: The Civil War Legacy of Race and Remembrance*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Winschel, Terrence J. 2004. *Triumph and Defeat: The Vicksburg Campaign*. New York: Savas Beatie.