

Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior



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ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

November 2020

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Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park

Charleston, SC

Administrative History

Approved by:



Superintendent, Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park

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SUPERINTENDENT INTRODUCTION

The administrative history of Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park is far more complex than anyone realized when work began on this project several years ago. It documents how management has evolved and changed over the years to address infrastructure additions, increases in visitation, and a changing and evolving society. Since the site was established as a national park system unit in 1948, the park expanded from Fort Sumter proper to a much larger footprint across the Charleston area, including two forts, two visitor centers, a lighthouse, a US Life Saving station, and a jointly managed city park site. Today, visitation to the park generally runs over 800,000 people from all over the country and world, as Charleston continues to top the list for domestic travel destinations and is near the top with international visitors as well. With limited funding and resources, the park relies heavily on park partners to meet the mission of the National Park Service to preserve significant resources and share park stories with all visitors and supporters.

As you read this document, you will notice similarities in the challenges park management has met in the past and those we continue to tackle today. We work to protect park resources while confronting a harsh coastal climate, hurricanes, and the effects of sea level rise. There are logistical challenges with getting visitors, staff, contractors, and supplies to Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor; visitors still complain about not having enough time at the site, and there are many relevant stories to tell with not enough time or resources to do it. At Fort Moultrie, we continue never-ending maintenance of the facilities while at the same time searching for meaningful ways to engage visitors with that site's complex and extensive history—from the African American experience on Sullivan's Island, to American Indian stories related to Osceola, to the significant military history of the fort from the American Revolution through World War II, and beyond.

There are gaps in this administrative history where the records are not clear or do not exist at all. The park's law enforcement program area is one of these areas. Over the last 30 years, there have been several attempts to have an NPS law enforcement ranger in the park, but it has not always been sustainable for a variety of reasons. Currently, the park has a law enforcement program that started in 2016, which I hope will continue for decades to come. Another area with limited information is the Federal Lands Recreation Enhancement Program (formerly the Fee Demonstration Program). I trust narratives on both of these programs will be included when the time comes to add another chapter to the administrative history.

In the area of interpretation, there has been some of the greatest growth at the park. The narrative has evolved giving voices to people who were often silenced by enslavement and the later "Lost Cause" ideology. The roots of the past are deep here. However, slowly and steadily, the park is creating a safe place to tell the broader story, reflect on the meaning of the past, illuminate how the past engages with the present, and ask all our visitors to grapple with how both will influence the future. Often, these stories go well beyond the physical boundaries of the park. Since the completion of this document, the Calhoun Monument, referenced on page 8, which towered over Marion Square is no more. The City of Charleston removed the statue in June 2020 after local demonstrations focusing on social inequity and racial injustices forced

acknowledgement of inequities and facilitated change. This action is a direct reflection of how we as a society choose to remember the past while moving toward a more inclusive future. We must each search our souls as we reflect the often horrific and unjust reality of our country's history with enslavement and oppression, themes that are particularly relevant to our park sites. How do we move the narrative forward? We do it from the front, leading the way, asking the hard questions, examining a more complete history, and working with the public and our partners to help us move toward a more just and equitable society that reflects the ideals of our founding fathers and has a place for everyone.

Looking ahead, the park will continue to face challenges, but there will be great opportunities as well. The park is already looking toward 2026 and the 250th anniversary of the American Revolution. This has the potential to rival the bicentennial and place renewed emphasis on the Fort Moultrie story. To move forward in a successful manner, we must consciously examine how we got to where we are now. This administrative history helps us in that effort, preparing current and future park staff to move the park into a brighter future.

J. Tracy Stakely
Superintendent
Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park
Charles Pinckney National Historic Site

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Writing involves a community of people supportive of the project and willing to help, and we have benefited from that community.

We owe debts of gratitude to staff members of the National Park Service, at both the park level at Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park and the Charles Pinckney National Historic Site, as well as at the Southeast Regional Office (SERO) in Atlanta. In 2014, Superintendent Tim Stone and SERO Historian Turkiya Lowe got the Administrative History off the ground, and they have both moved on from those positions. Ranger Dawn Davis, the Management Assistant/Public Affairs Officer at Fort Sumter Fort Moultrie National Historical Park, and Angela Sirna, a historian with the Cultural Resources Division at SERO, saw the project through to the end. We would not have been able to write this without them.

Others at the National Park Service also supported the writing of this Administrative History. Thank you to Michelle Haas, Shannon Woolfolk, and Kate Funk for assisting us with access to park archives. Superintendent Tracy Stakely generously allowed us access to park resources, including personnel. National Park Service Washington Office Historian Lu Ann Jones led a wonderful two-day workshop on conducting oral histories that Beatrice attended at SERO. And in addition to Dawn and Angie, Kate Everitt carefully read an early draft and gave judicious comments to guide the writing.

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Even with the best efforts of these best people, there may be areas of contention and even some errors; those are our responsibility alone.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AAM	American Association of Museums
AHA	American Historical Association
AIM	American Indian Movement
AME	African Methodist Episcopal
CCC	Civilian Conservation Corps
CHPI	Charles Pinckney National Historic Site
CPRS	Charleston Preservation and Restoration Services
CWCC	Civil War Centennial Commission
DDT	Dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane
DHEC	Department of Health and Environmental Control
DSC	Denver Service Center
EDOC	Eastern Division of Conservation
ENPM(A)	Eastern National Park and Monument Association
EODC	Eastern Office of Design and Construction
EPA	Environmental Protections Agency
FOMO	Fort Moultrie
FONSI	Finding of No Significant Impact
FOSU	Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park
GMP	General Management Plan
GSA	General Services Administration
HABS	Historic American Buildings Survey
HAER	Historic American Engineering Record
HCC	Historical Commission of Charleston
HECP	Harbor Entrance Control Post
HSR	Historic Structure Report
HVAC	Heating, ventilation, and air conditioning
MOCR	Moore's Creek National Battlefield
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NAGPRA	Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration
NPS	National Park Service
REER	Reconstruction Era National Historical Park
SCE&G	South Carolina Energy and Gas
SCRU	Submerged Cultural Resources Unit

SER	Southeast Region, National Park Service
SERO	Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service
SPA	State Ports Authority
SPOD	Society for the Protection of Old Dwellings
SRS	Special Resource Study
UDC	United Daughters of the Confederacy
USC	University of South Carolina
USCG	United States Coast Guard
USCT	United States Colored Troops
VIP	Volunteers in Parks
WASO	Washington Office, National Park Service

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park (FOSU), comprised of Fort Sumter, Fort Moultrie, the US Coast Guard Historic District and Charleston Light (known locally as Sullivan’s Island Lighthouse), and Liberty Square, illustrates the way in which the National Park Service (NPS) has historically managed challenging issues. From the establishment of the first site, Fort Sumter staff handled changes in historic interpretation, providing visitor services while working with local community constituents to meet their concerns, and handling conservation of cultural artifacts and the natural world. Since the acquisition of Fort Sumter in 1948, local park officials have worked to meet cultural, structural, and environmental tests as they restored, built, and opened the park units.

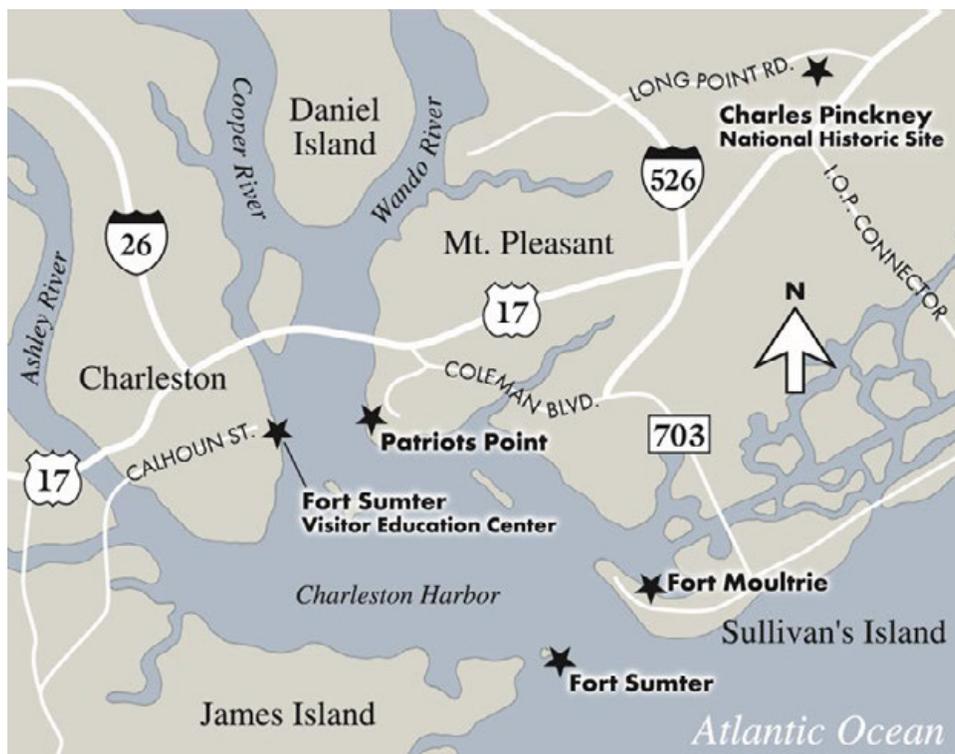


FIGURE ES1. A MAP OF CHARLESTON, THE HARBOR, AND THE SURROUNDING AREA SHOWING NATIONAL PARK SITES (COURTESY OF NPS).

This study explores the ways in which staff at Fort Sumter crafted historic interpretations of sites beset by contested meanings and histories. Throughout the twentieth century, Americans debated the meaning of the Civil War, and Fort Sumter represents “ground zero” of this debate. In the early twentieth century, white southerners successfully reshaped the national meaning of the Civil War to focus on states’ rights while eliding the issue of slavery, and forged a narrative of postwar reconciliation. The absence of conversation about enslaved Americans extended into popular culture and the academy. In the 1920s, Charleston elites led a “preservation” effort to restore the city to its pre-Civil War roots. They fashioned a narrative about the genteel city that framed its picturesque landscape and gracious buildings as evidence of a gracious “Old South”

that existed in the not-so-distant past. This story largely ignored critical historic realities; first, that Charleston was entirely reliant on the economy of enslavement, not just in its use of Africans and African Americans as labor to build the city and work on the large plantations surrounding the area, but also on the business of slavery—financing the purchase of and insuring enslaved people as property. The narrative also ignored the large presence of free African Americans who resided in the city, and for whom the Civil War had a far different meaning. African Americans welcomed Federal forces back into the city upon the Confederate surrender of Fort Sumter. Their concept of freedom centered on civil rights, whereas white South Carolinians' version was on the freedom from federal incursion on their right to exist as a society with an economy based in slave labor.

Fort Moultrie is also located on land with a challenging history. In 1960 the National Park Service acquired Fort Moultrie, the site of a patriot victory over British Admiral Peter Parker in the American Revolution. Sullivan's Island, upon which Fort Moultrie stands, was also the site of many enslaved Africans' entry to America. One historian wrote that "South Carolina was easily the largest importer of slaves on the mainland,"¹ and others estimate that as many as 40 percent of African Americans in the United States today had ancestors come through Sullivan's Island.² In addition, Fort Moultrie is the final resting place of Osceola, the Seminole leader captured and imprisoned there until his death in 1838.

When the National Park Service acquired the sites, staff had to determine how to best interpret a plurality of stories. At the time of acquisition, the country was about to be rocked again by the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, which many white South Carolinians rejected. In fact, Clarendon County, South Carolina, was one of the cases decided in the umbrella *Brown v. Board* US Supreme Court case in 1954. In 1961, after the inception of mass demonstrations against segregation throughout the South, state officials raised the Confederate flag over the statehouse, ostensibly to commemorate Confederate soldiers for the Civil War centennial. It remained on statehouse grounds until 2015. This study explains the ways in which local NPS staff interpreted history at Forts Sumter and Moultrie in responses to the changing political, social, cultural, and economic climate, as well as prevailing historiographical trends. Their narrative expanded to become more inclusive as park historians embraced social movements on the ground and the academic social history emerging in the 1970s that focused on histories not necessarily told in the dominant, traditional canon. The Administrative History also examines how and why interpretation moved from "moment-in-time" didactic exhibition techniques to more dynamic, expansive, and participatory exhibit concepts over the second half of the century.

1. Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1998), 79.

2. Nic Butler, historian and archivist for Charleston County Public Library, has researched this point. He finds 40 percent to be an overestimate for Sullivan's Island, but that this figure may be accurate for the whole of Charleston Harbor's importation of captured Africans. See Jake Lucas, "Doubt cast on S.I. as slave landing point," *Moultrie News*, August 24, 2016, https://www.moultrienews.com/archives/doubt-cast-on-s-i-as-slave-landing-point/article_072c1759-2c79-52dc-98c5-96bfaadede12.html; Nic Butler, "Nearly 1,000 Cargos: Legacy of Importing Africans to Charleston," October 5, 2018. Episode 85 of *Charleston Time Machine* podcast, <https://www.ccpl.org/charleston-time-machine/nearly-1000-cargos-legacy-importing-africans-charleston>.) On Sullivan's Island, slave traders quarantined newly arrived slaves an average of twelve days, per the regulations of South Carolina and Charleston, during which time the enslaved stayed in the "pest house" until they were sold at Charleston's market. Before this, they endured the Middle Passage, the deadly voyage that brought enslaved Africans to America. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 444.

NPS staff worked to tell a more inclusive story of the meanings of freedom at the sites, but they also managed serious challenges related to visitor services. Forts Sumter and Moultrie had been in continuous use by the military through the twentieth century; in fact, upon their transmission to the National Park Service, the US Coast Guard still used Fort Sumter and the US Navy used a battery in Fort Moultrie. Moreover, Fort Sumter is situated in Charleston Harbor, and the National Park Service received nothing but the fort itself—not even a boat to get to the fort. When the National Park Service received transfer of Fort Moultrie from South Carolina, the fort was in a state of disrepair. Moreover, it is located at the end of the only main street on a barrier island. The story of FOSU details how staff managed sites frequented by tens of thousands of visitors since their opening, by building facilities piecemeal, working with concessioners, and finding additional land for administrative offices, docks, and other critical infrastructure needs. At the same time, staff managed the concerns of local residents who often feared the onslaught of “outside” visitors and strains they brought to the local roads and communities. This study examines the ways in which NPS leaders—local and national—helped to expand the boundaries of the district, largely in an attempt to accommodate more visitors. It also describes how local NPS staff made themselves resources for the local community as they reached out to work with community partners from the Charleston area.

From the outset, NPS staff in Charleston had to handle tremendous challenges in historic preservation and collections management. Local staff wrestled with managing the actual state of Fort Sumter, in ruins after the Civil War, and the condition of artifacts unearthed at both sites as well as the environmental problems wrought by the very nature of the forts’ coastal location. This study examines how staff conserved the sites themselves, then decided on excavation projects, and conserved artifacts both donated and unearthed. It also illustrates how staff embraced the best available modern preservation techniques to battle the high humidity, salt, and other damaging effects of the coast.

It was in the 1970s that NPS staff began to focus conservation efforts on the natural environments at Forts Sumter and Moultrie. The effects of pollution, climate change, and coastal development, including harbor dredging, had adverse effects on the sites. This study highlights efforts taken by staff to document and ameliorate these problems through the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, placing it in context with the larger environmental movement.

This Administrative History draws on a variety of sources. National Park Service records from local, regional, and national staff offices, located on-site in the park archive and at the National Archives in College Park, Maryland, form the basis of the study. These records include General Management Plans, Interpretive Plans, Superintendent Reports, and other planning and summative documents. The Administrative History also utilizes the National Park Service Grid, an online archive at Clemson University. In addition, the study draws on newspaper articles, manuscript collections, and other extant material in the Charleston area. It is supported with oral histories contributed by staff members and local residents, all of which are transcribed and cataloged with the National Park Service. In addition, it draws on secondary resources, which help to place the forts in larger national and NPS context.

Chapter 1 explains the origins of National Park Service at Fort Sumter and explores the ways in which initial staff built a national monument from the ground up. They devised an interpretive scheme, excavated to find the original layout of the fort, dealt with visitor services and boat tour operations, and found a place to set up headquarters. It explains the motivations behind the original interpretation of the site, as well as the reasons why Fort Sumter looks much like it does today.

Chapter 2 highlights the activities enabled by Mission 66 planning and money, from the building of new permanent museum exhibits and better visitor services, to expanding the range of interpretive programming. It also explores Fort Sumter in the context of Charleston’s problematic “commemoration” of the Civil War centennial and how the National Park Service handled the commemoration.

Chapter 3 focuses on the acquisition of Fort Moultrie and its development as a dynamic interpretive site that exhibits 171 years of coastal defenses. It also highlights the role of community opposition in reshaping the boundaries of Fort Moultrie. It explores the excavation and preservation work undertaken at the site and how staff addressed initial environmental concerns related to the area.

Chapter 4 explains the ways in which staff tied both sites together with a new Master Plan and moved forward with interpretation, focusing on a new theme—dynamic coastal defense systems. They creatively explored different aspects of military history at both sites, upgraded and updated visitor services, and planned interpretive and conservation programs, particularly in the face of preparation for the 1776 bicentennial. The chapter documents the rising concern over environmental hazards wrought to the sites and the artifacts and how the staff worked to manage these concerns.

Chapter 5 focuses on geographic and interpretive expansion at FOSU. Liberty Square opened and the US Coast Guard Historic District officially transferred to FOSU. A new focus on the meaning of liberty meant an expansion of interpretation at the site. Whereas in the past, the National Park Service had emphasized military history, now Fort Sumter put the causes of secession and the Civil War—namely the role of slavery—as central to its narrative. New museum exhibits in Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie, as well as in the new Liberty Square Visitor Education Center, provided the National Park Service a way to manifest this expansion of interpretation.

Chapter 6 examines the first two decades of the twenty-first century. The Civil War Sesquicentennial, a four-year event, required years of planning and park resources. Knowing the “troubled commemoration” of the Civil War centennial in 1961, FOSU, in partnership with the Southeast Regional Office (SERO), established a new path for commemorating the 150th anniversary, “From Civil War to Civil Rights.” And as the sesquicentennial concluded, Fort Sumter National Monument and the National Park Service responded to a tragedy in Charleston by changing how Civil War sites would display the Confederate flag. FOSU has to face the challenges of the twenty-first century, from climate change to public memory, but in many ways, these are new versions of old challenges in the site’s seventy-year history. FOSU also has new opportunities in the twenty-first century. As this Administrative History drew to a conclusion, Congress passed long-awaited legislation to change the designation from Fort

Sumter National Monument to Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park. This new designation provides FOSU with more prestige and visibility, and therefore, new opportunities to interpret the site and interface with the public.

In conclusion, the units of Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historic Park are not only a unique set of sites in terms of their disparate histories and uses, but also because of the challenges of the remoteness of Fort Sumter, the separation of the four sites by water as well as a large and growing city, and the changes demanded in historic interpretation and inclusiveness. Staff have worked to address these challenges, updating interpretive plans and mechanisms, upgrading site and artifact conservation techniques, building strong community and concessioner relations, and trying to mitigate climate change.

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CHAPTER ONE
DEVELOPMENT OF FORT SUMTER NATIONAL MONUMENT:
ORIGINS, 1948-1955

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CHAPTER 1: DEVELOPMENT OF FORT SUMTER NATIONAL MONUMENT – ORIGINS, 1948–1955

OVERVIEW

Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historic Park (FOSU) is a symbol for many, although its meaning differs depending on the point of view of the visitor. Since 1948, the National Park Service (NPS) has managed this challenging site, focusing on both preserving and interpreting the history found within its walls. This chapter will address the development of the Fort Sumter unit of FOSU, from the 1860s to the mid-1950s, before the development of Mission 66 projects. In the early years, NPS officials concerned themselves with several key issues: developing an interpretive scheme grounded in solid historical scholarship, building partnerships with the community, conserving and preserving the structure of the fort itself, and providing adequate visitor services. Charleston’s contentious history—as the site of secession through the opening shots fired against the United States during the Civil War, as well as the site of the first Memorial Day established by free African Americans after the war—made the National Park Service’s job challenging in the late 1940s and early 1950s.¹

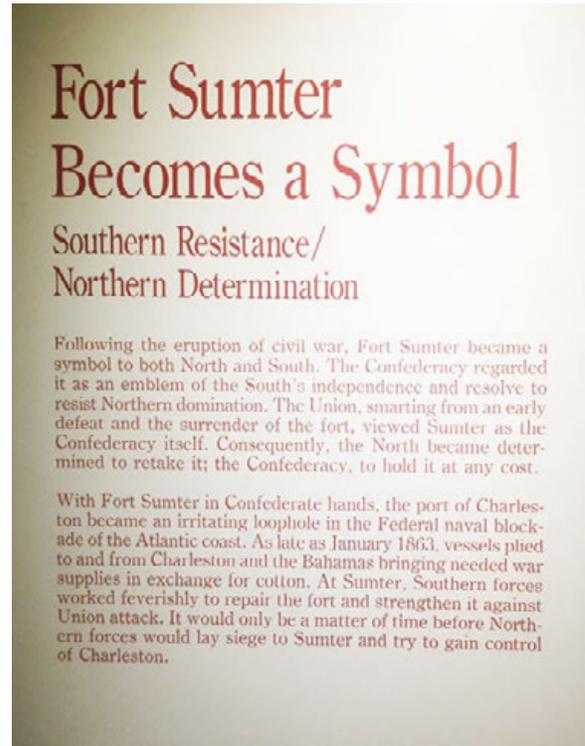


FIGURE 1.1 AN EXHIBIT IN THE FORT SUMTER NATIONAL MONUMENT MUSEUM DISCUSSES THE FORT AS A SYMBOL.

TOWARD THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NATIONAL MONUMENT

Fort Sumter was a popular destination throughout the late 1800s and early 1900s. People visited even while it remained an active army fort. In 1881, the army officer in charge asked for a wharf extension to accommodate the many visitors. Several companies in Charleston began commercial outings to Fort Sumter, including South Carolina State Senator Daniel Ravenel Sr. and his son in the 1920s. By the 1930s, visitors could contract with several different harbor tour

1. David W. Blight, "Opinion: Forgetting Why We Remember," *The New York Times*, May 29, 2011, <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/30/opinion/30blight.html>. In this editorial in the *New York Times*, historian David Blight asserted that while the Grand Army of the Republic began large-scale memorial efforts in 1868 and the Ladies' Memorial Association of Columbus, Georgia established a practice of memorializing Confederates in 1866, it was African Americans who ritualized the memorial observance in Charleston.



FIGURE 1.2 APRIL 11, 1931, INVOCATION AT DEDICATION OF UNION AND CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL (COURTESY OF NPS).

and volleyball during the summer. They entered the fort by climbing over the wall and spent the day there.³

As local white Charlestonians built a thriving tourism industry and enjoyed Fort Sumter as a recreation area, the National Park Service expanded its footprint in the United States as it took over dozens of historic sites. In so doing, it became the national leader in historic preservation efforts. Originally, Civil War battlefields had been preserved piecemeal, generally by local organizations. White veterans of the Civil War were a driving force in original commemorations, and they tended to focus on brotherhood and reconciliation by the 1890s. Historian Timothy Smith designated this era the “golden age” of Civil War battlefield preservation, which saw the development and interpretation of Chickamauga & Chattanooga, Antietam, Shiloh, Gettysburg, and Vicksburg. The War Department established Veteran Commissions (commissions comprised of Union and Confederate veterans and War Department officials) to oversee the parks, and veterans spent time marking the battles and doing the interpretation. At this time, many Civil War veterans also served in federal government positions, including Congress, and their efforts were central in establishing parks with legislation and government financing. Congress established the House Committee on Military Affairs to assist in acquiring, developing, and maintaining the parks, and a National Military Park Commission oversaw the operations of the military parks.⁴

In the 1920s, more people visited battlefields, which sparked a new phase of interest in military parks. Timothy Smith cited two factors to explain the increase in interest: first, an interest in domestic battlefields following World War I, and second, access to cars enabled people to visit more historic parks and sites. Smith noted that Congress introduced many bills to preserve more parks, but there was tremendous concern over the government’s ability to fund them, as they

2. Rock L. Comstock Jr., *Short History, Fort Sumter* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1956), 8–14.

3. Jim Leard, interview by Beatrice Burton, April 4, 2016, Fort Sumter, at 0:21:20.

4. Timothy B. Smith, *The Golden Age of Battlefield Preservation: The Decade of the 1890s and the Establishment of America’s First Five Military Parks* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2008), xvi–ii, xviii–2, 9, 35, 41, 213; Ronald F. Lee, *The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1973), III/3, III/5, IV/2. Information about the War College list in IV/4.

were large and costly to maintain. As a result, by 1925, the Chief Historian of the Army War College produced a study of battlefields for the House Military Affairs Committee to classify them in order of importance. This four-year study produced a list that did not designate Fort Sumter as critical. Although we do not know the reason why Fort Sumter was left off of the list, perhaps it is because the military continued to use the fort as an active defensive site and would continue to do so through World War II.⁵

Ultimately, a major change occurred in federal governance related to the parks, which not only affected those established, but also enabled the National Park Service to work on acquiring and interpreting even more historic sites. In 1933, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt issued Executive Order 6166. This order transferred a number of sites individually administered by different federal agencies to the Department of the Interior, and more specifically, to the National Park Service. This included the transfer of the military parks from the War Department to the Department of the Interior. Essentially, this order placed the National Park Service at the head of national historical park preservation efforts and greatly enlarged the national park system. Then, the 1935 Historic Sites Act enabled the National Park Service even more power over national historic sites, giving NPS officials jurisdiction to survey sites and artifacts within them and determine their value to the nation as a whole. The act also gave broad authority to the National Park Service to negotiate directly with local and state authorities and associations and private individuals to acquire more sites.⁶

It is perhaps not surprising, then, that the 1930s signaled the beginning of discussions about Fort Sumter. The Charleston Chamber of Commerce and the Historical Commission led the efforts. The Historical Commission of Charleston—established as a city preservation commission in the 1930s and peopled by Charleston notables like E. Milby Burton (Director of the Charleston Museum) and Senator Daniel Ravenel Sr. worked on securing the interest of Congress.⁷ In 1936, Herbert Kahler and Ralston Lattimore visited the site on behalf of the National Park Service. Their field report suggested that Fort Sumter showed “promise” as a site, but it was owned and used by the War Department.⁸ In 1937, Acting Director of the National Park Service, A. E. Demaray, wrote to the Secretary of the Interior asking for his support of the acquisition. He stated, “The bombardment of Fort Sumter, which was the imminent cause of the Civil War is a well-known chapter in our history.” He also argued that it could not withstand modern weapons of warfare, but if it were ever needed, the National Park Service “would do nothing to lessen its defenses.”⁹ A letter with Acting Secretary of the Interior Charles West’s name on it went forward to the War Department requesting a transfer of property. In February 1938,

5. Timothy B. Smith, *Altogether Fitting and Proper: Civil War Battlefield Preservation in History, Memory, and Policy, 1861-2015* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2017), 73–80, 138; Lee, *The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea*, III/3, III/5, IV/2..

6. Bob Janiskee, “Seventy-Five Years Ago, the Reorganization of 1933 Impacted the National Park System Like No Other Event Before or Since,” *National Parks Traveler*, August 15, 2008, <https://www.nationalparkstraveler.org/2008/08/seventy-five-years-ago-reorganization-1933-impacted-national-park-system-no-other-event-or/>; Ronald A. Foresta, ed., *America’s National Parks and Their Keepers* (Washington, DC: Resources for the Future, 1984), 130–31.

7. Comstock, *Short History, Fort Sumter*, 18.

8. Comstock, *Short History, Fort Sumter*, 19.

9. Memorandum from A. E. Demaray to Secretary of the Interior, May 13, 1937, Box 3848, Folder 1, Fort Sumter, SC, Records Relating to the Civil War Sites Study, 1991–1993, Record Group 48, Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, 1826–2009, NACP.

Secretary Harold Ickes sent another request for a transfer, citing the fact that since the first request, “the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments. . . has classified Fort Sumter as an area of national significance.” This made the fort eligible for protection under the 1935 Historic Sites Act.¹⁰ However, the War Department did not sign over the property at this time, as administrators thought the fort was still valuable to the military.¹¹

In 1946, the Historical Commission of Charleston ramped up support for the National Park Service’s acquisition of Sumter again, as officials suspected the War Department would close both Forts Sumter and Moultrie.¹² The commission sent letters of support for the National Park Service to local papers, Congressional representatives and South Carolina Governor Strom Thurmond, National Park Service officials, and even the Chamber of Commerce “to follow up on the initial steps taken many years ago, and again in 1946.”¹³ The commission also tried to get the local newspaper, the *News and Courier*, to publicize the commission’s desire for the National Park Service to acquire the forts. At this point, the commission focused on both Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie.¹⁴ By January 1949, the commission dropped its support of the acquisition of Fort Moultrie, as they were getting nowhere with Congress or local officials.¹⁵ In the meantime, though, plans had moved forward to meet with the War Department in 1946. The War Department determined to declare Forts Sumter and Moultrie surplus property. C. Girard Davidson, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, sent a note to Mr. Robert Littlejohn of the War Assets Administration asking to withhold transfer of the property for disposal, noting its previous designation. US Senator Burnet Rhett Maybank of South Carolina also loudly protested and introduced the legislation to make Fort Sumter a national monument. It passed Congress and was signed by President Harry Truman on April 28, 1948.¹⁶

As the enabling legislation moved through Congress, NPS officials surveyed the site in 1948 in order to identify the challenges and potential interpretations available on the island. They presented their findings in a series of memorandums written in late April. Coordinating Superintendent C. Raymond Vinten of the Southeastern National Monument Headquarters, St. Augustine, outlined the proposed financial program for Fort Sumter after his April 23 visit. He determined that the \$200,000 sum designated to Fort Sumter would be broken down into categories: \$35,000 to “[d]emolish unrelated structures”; \$70,000 for “[r]estoration, stabilization, and protection” of the parade ground, tunnels, masonry walls, stairways, and to construct gun carriages and restore some of the twentieth-century defenses built there. Visitor services, he suggested, needed the bulk of the money, with \$90,000 designated to repair the phone cable line, tear down and build a new pier at the sally port, restore drainage, fix the

10. Harold Ickes to Secretary of Department of War, letter, February 7, 1938, Box 3848, Folder 1, Fort Sumter, SC, Records Relating to the Civil War Sites Study, 1991–1993, RG 48, NACP.

11. Comstock, Short History, Fort Sumter, 19.

12. HCC, Annual Report of the Historical Commission of Charleston, April 12, 1947, p. 2, Box 1, Annual Reports 1946–56 Folder, Records of the Historical Commission of Charleston, Charleston Public Library Main Branch, Charleston, SC (Hereafter HCC).

13. HCC, Annual Report of the Historical Commission of Charleston, April 12, 1947, p. 3.

14. HCC, Minutes, Regular Meeting, September 25, 1947, p. 2, Box 2, Rough Minutes and Agendas Folder, HCC.

15. HCC, Minutes, Regular Meeting, January 27, 1949, Box 2, Rough Minutes and Agendas Folder, HCC.

16. Comstock, Short History, Fort Sumter, 20; C. Girard Davidson to Mr. Littlejohn, July 31, 1947, Box 3848, Folder 1, Fort Sumter, SC, Records Relating to the Civil War Sites Study, 1991–1993, RG 48, NACP.

electric and create a new water system, and upgrade sanitation. At this point, he suggested only \$5,000 go toward interpretation services, such as equipment, markers, literature, and laying grass on the earthen slopes.¹⁷

It was Castillo de San Marcos NPS Historian Albert C. Manucy's memorandum to the Southeastern National Monument superintendent, however, that best delineated both the challenges and the potential interpretive opportunities posed by the site. He argued the historic significance of the site, explaining "the opening gun of the War between the States was fired here" and its continued occupation by Confederate forces, which reflected "a tenacious and dramatic resistance. . . . which refused to surrender even though the walls of the fort were literally torn down around them."¹⁸

Manucy's language, even his labeling the Civil War as he did, illustrates the impact that the "commemoration and reunion" theme developed by veterans had even on professional historians. Because veterans were crucial to the early battlefield preservation efforts, their narrative became the canon and took decades to dislodge. As historian David Blight explained, reconciliation between North and South came to dominate veterans' narratives. They focused on shared experiences and brotherhood in the 1880s and 1890s, during the "golden age" of battlefield preservation, a time in which the sacrifice and gallantry of soldiers on all sides became the mutual language of the nation. This language could be found in advertising, reunions, and fiction writing.¹⁹ Battlefields were not immune to this reinterpretation of the Civil War. When white veterans of this era preserved battlefields, northerners and southerners worked together to use the parks as sites of reconciliation. The battlefields were to be patriotic, almost holy, and memorial. Veterans elided issues of race and focused solely on maneuvers and troop positions. They set the tone for interpretation that lasted for generations.²⁰ As geographer and public land specialist Ronald Foresta argued, when the NPS took over Civil War battlefields, "the National Park Service took on a sacerdotal function." He did note, however, that there were those inside the NPS who were calling for a "high degree of professionalism and even scientific expertise," and so in the early years of National Park Service administration, there were two competing views of interpretation: the commemorative, and the more detached and scholarly.²¹

Manucy's early history of Fort Sumter was well-researched, but it focused specifically on the basic military history of the site. As he explained in his report, the fort was designed for harbor defense against naval attack, as its gorge wall facing James and Morris Islands was fairly

17. Harold P. Danz, *Historic Listing of the National Park Service Officials: Superintendents of National Park System Areas*, rev. ed. (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2000), accessed August 12, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/tolson/histlist7s.htm; memorandum of Coordinating Superintendent Vinten, April 30, 1948, 1948-52 folder, unprocessed at Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park archive, Mount Pleasant, SC (Hereafter Park Archive). FOSU had stored several boxes of archival material at Fort Moultrie Visitor Center, where we accessed them. These, along with additional boxes of documents from rangers' offices, have since been moved to the Park Archive, but they are not yet processed with box and folder numbers.

18. Wikipedia, s.v. "Albert Manucy," last modified July 8, 2019, 22:30, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albert_Manucy; Memorandum of A. C. Manucy, April 29, 1948, 1948-52 folder, unprocessed at Park Archive.

19. David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (New York: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), quote on 198, 199-231.

20. Smith, *The Golden Age of Battlefield Preservation*, xvii-xviii.

21. Foresta, *America's National Parks and Their Keepers*, 130.

unprotected. He detailed the first shots of the Civil War, explaining that 129 US troops were stationed at Fort Sumter, and that Lincoln stated his intention to resupply the men to South Carolina Governor Francis Pickens, who had mustered a volunteer “army” of three thousand men under General P. G. T. Beauregard. This army, which had taken possession of the forts on the mainland, fired on Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861, signaling the beginning of the Civil War. Manucy explained that in April 1863, the Confederate troops who had taken the fort from US Commander Major Robert Anderson in 1861 held off a Federal attempt to take the harbor. This Confederate victory prompted Federal forces to focus on retaking Fort Sumter as a strategy. Manucy detailed the Federal capture of Battery Wagner on Morris Island after a long siege and major bombardment campaign and the failure of a US Naval assault on Fort Sumter that was repelled by Confederate bullets from the “ruined” Fort Sumter. Despite all Federal attempts to retake the fort, Confederate troops never abandoned it until General W. J. Hardee ordered an evacuation in 1865 as General William T. Sherman’s battalions advanced through the state toward Charleston.²²

Manucy certainly did not mean for his description of Fort Sumter’s history to be exhaustive. In fact, his report suggested the hiring of an F-2 historian for the site who could work on researching the fort for two to three years and two aides to serve as tour guides. He also determined that the National Park Service should mount no interpretive markers without this research, and that a level F-1 historian and two aides could mount any exhibitions based on the research conducted, perhaps using an interior room as a museum.²³

But perhaps it was not just concern for deep historical research that made Manucy suggest holding off on offering interpretation and instead providing a very basic military overview of the site. Manucy also explained in his report that hiring a historian for Fort Sumter would be a sensitive matter:

Charleston is a most historic city. Its citizens have profound interest in Fort Sumter. Numerous books have been written about the action at the Fort, and it is obvious that local as well as regional interest in the interpretation of the area will be considerable. A tactful and competent historian to work at the area under these circumstances is essential. An inexperienced man might not only retard the development program, but actually damage Service relationships with local people.²⁴

COMPETING INTERPRETATIONS OF THE CIVIL WAR

To what might Manucy have been referring? We cannot know for sure what he heard or saw on his visit to Charleston. However, historians of memory and heritage tourism have argued that there were two competing interpretations of history in Charleston, and one had certainly overtaken the other by the time NPS officials visited Fort Sumter. To African Americans and their white allies, the fall of the Confederacy meant the end of slavery, which they

22. Memorandum of A. C. Manucy, April 29, 1948, pp. 3–4, 1948–52 folder, unprocessed at Park Archive.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8. Manucy does not indicate what an F-2 Historian position entails, but another source explains the duties as focused on research, with aides doing all public contact. See W. E. O’Neil, Stanley Abbott, J. C. Harrington, and Roy Appleman, Report on Fort Sumter National Monument, January 3, 1949, p. 11, Fort Sumter—1948–52 Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8.

commemorated in Charleston. For white Confederates and their sympathizers, Charleston itself stood for southern gentility, a way of life lost but not forgotten, with benign race relations.

African Americans in Charleston celebrated the end of slavery with the victory of Union troops. Even before the end of the war, freed African Americans living on the Sea Islands raised money for a memorial to the 54th Massachusetts Infantry, the all-black regiment that fought to retake Battery Wagner. In 1863, the community used the money to open a school named after the commander of the troops, Robert Gould Shaw. When Federal troops took back Fort Sumter in 1865, African Americans and their white allies in Charleston celebrated openly. They immediately began plans to memorialize the Union soldiers buried at Hampton Park racetrack, which had been the site of a prisoner-of-war camp. Five-thousand African Americans met at Zion Church to plan construction of a cemetery, and twice that many showed up at the dedication. Historians consider this to be the first recognized Memorial Day.²⁵

African Americans publicly celebrated freedom in other ways, too. In 1865, around four thousand African Americans assembled on Citadel Green (now Marion Square) for a parade which featured black Federal troops, tradesmen and laborers, banners proclaiming freedom, and a float depicting a slave auction, among others. An estimated six thousand stood on the streets watching the parade.²⁶ Thirteen African American women presented flowers and a flag to Union Commander Quincy Gillmore and a fan for Mary Todd Lincoln.²⁷ Whites showed concern at the scene, most especially because of the presence of armed African American soldiers.²⁸

African Americans also held a very specific view of Fort Sumter. In the parade, a cart read “Sumter dug his grave on the 13th of April, 1861.”²⁹ On April 14, 1865, African Americans celebrated at Fort Sumter. Major Anderson returned to raise the US flag over the fort in front of the watchful eyes of three thousand African Americans. William Lloyd Garrison, famed northern emancipationist and editor of the emancipation newspaper, *The Liberator*, was in attendance, as was the son of Denmark Vesey, a free, literate carpenter who was executed in 1822 after being accused of trying to lead a slave rebellion in Charleston. Robert Smalls was also in attendance, with the former Confederate ship he successfully commandeered and sailed past Fort Sumter in 1862, taking his family and other slaves to freedom before serving as a quartermaster in the US Army. According to historian David Blight, Henry Ward Beecher, a Congregationalist minister from Massachusetts, made a speech in which he “condemned South Carolina’s secessionists to eternal damnation.” That night African Americans and their allies

25. Information about these memorial efforts and other ways in which the nature of the wartime narrative was reclaimed by African Americans can be found in Ethan J. Kytte and Blain Roberts, “Looking the Thing in the Face: Slavery, Race, and the Commemorative Landscape in Charleston, South Carolina, 1865-2010,” *The Journal of Southern History* 78, no. 3 (August 2012): 639–84.

26. Kathleen Clark, “Celebrating Freedom: Emancipation Day Celebrations and African American Memory in the Early Reconstruction South,” in *Where These Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity*, ed. W. Fitzhugh Brundage (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2000), 117–19.

27. Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 67.

28. Clark, “Celebrating Freedom,” in *Southern Past*, 119.

29. Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 67.

celebrated at a large assembly and dinner in Charleston, not knowing that in Washington, DC, Lincoln had been assassinated.³⁰

As powerful as their freedom-based narrative was, African Americans did not control the memory of the Civil War in Charleston for long. For white southerners, the Civil War took on a very different meaning, especially in the city where it all began. As in the rest of the country, as Reconstruction ended and legislatures passed Jim Crow laws and disfranchised African Americans, many white citizens' desires to "reunite" the divided nation superseded issues of racial justice and equality. The reconciliation narrative, as explained previously, dominated white views of the Civil War, facilitated by the emergence of the Southern Historical Association in early 1870s Virginia, which had been promoting, as Blight argued, "the story of the irrepressible and heroic Confederate soldier." African Americans figured in the narrative only as "time-warped, loyal antebellum slaves." Blight claimed that despite the presence of a few anti-Union pro-Confederate "diehards," white southerners embraced the "Lost Cause" ideology that focused on gallantry, heroism, and sentimentality. This enabled them to control the historic analysis of the war as northerners embraced the reconciliationist narrative. The Lost Cause ideology transformed the narrative of the Civil War into one that downplayed slavery as a causal factor. In so doing, it also silenced African Americans and their narrative.³¹

In Charleston, the dominant narrative emerging from this period focused not on the Civil War, but on colonial and antebellum history. In 1887, Charleston city officials erected a monument to John C. Calhoun in the very same square where in 1865 African Americans had paraded to celebrate their freedom. With the dedication band playing "Dixie," whites essentially retook the space. Calhoun was an antebellum hero to white South Carolinians for his 1830s treatise on Nullification. This document justified secession three decades ahead of the actual split, based on the argument that the South's agricultural-based slave economy was in threat from the North's competing interests. Calhoun remained a hero for secessionists and a symbol of South Carolina's willingness to challenge federal policies. Historians Eric Kytte and Blain Roberts argued that the statue highlighted racial stratification in the pre-Civil Rights era even more directly than other monuments erected at the time, as its wording focused on how Calhoun looked after the direct interests of South Carolinians. Although city council had to pass ordinances against defacing the statue in the 1890s, suggesting that there were people who challenged the message, it was a harbinger of things to come.³²

White elite Charlestonians built a heritage tourism industry by harkening back to prewar times, with a narrative dominated by "opulence and social harmony" that "largely ignor[ed] slavery," according to Kytte and Roberts. In the 1920s, elite white women determined to rewrite the narrative of Charleston history based largely on memories passed down to them and heavily laced with Lost Cause ideology. Susan Pringle Frost, a realtor and society denizen, led the way by organizing women to create the Society for the Protection of Old Dwellings (SPOD). These women raised funds for the preservation of homes, essentially domesticating the history of Charleston. They gave tours in "colonial" dress, focusing on elite, genteel culture, and refined

30. Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 67–68.

31. *Ibid.*, 79, 258–74, 282.

32. Kytte and Roberts, "Looking the Thing in the Face," 657–58.

society. Their nostalgic view of the past either ignored the black majority of Charleston in the nineteenth century or “narrowly circumscribed” African Americans into childlike, exotic figures, accepting of their place. They defined slavery, if they mentioned it at all, as paternalistic and civilized.³³

It was not just these society matrons who defined Charleston as the embodiment of Old South gentility, however. City officials and the Charleston Chamber of Commerce got on board with this message and worked to create a cityscape and to market this narrow view of Charleston history. While supporting the building of a tourist infrastructure in the 1920s and 1930s and targeting potential automobile-based tourists with a marketing campaign that costs thousands of dollars, these institutions brought modernity to the nostalgic message crafted by the preservation-oriented women. In the 1920s, the Chamber of Commerce began touting Charleston as “America’s Most Historic City,” and by the 1930s, more than 240,000 visitors a year descended upon the city. Thanks to city zoning and the newly professionalized Board of Architectural Review, Charleston was sanitized and, quite literally, whitewashed. The Board sanctioned the ousting of many African American citizens from South of Broad in the name of “restoring” old structures, removing these long-time residents to newly built Depression-era public housing further up the peninsula. The Board also sanctioned the removal of any Victorian architectural additions to buildings.³⁴

By removing long-time African American residents and stripping buildings of their physical ties to any period later than the Federalist era, Charleston officials essentially manufactured a city history removed from its roots in slave culture and secession. Historian Fitz Brundage argued, “The efforts to preserve the city’s appearance turned a significant portion of it into a memory theater.”³⁵ Some Charlestonians even took their show on the road, quite literally, with the Society for the Preservation of Negro Spirituals. This white organization provided the “soundtrack” to the narrow preservation efforts. Founded by the children of former planters, this group sang only antebellum spirituals and changed the meaning of the songs to reflect only slaves’ religiosity and not their desires for freedom. Members dressed up in costumes of the white plantation elite and performed across the country.³⁶ This crafted presentation dominated public Charleston history through the end of the twentieth century, and even today.

It was this Charleston—racially divided, with an unchallenged message to tourists, a segregated and disfranchised black citizenry, and a problematic historic narrative—that the National Park

33. Stephanie E. Yuhl in *A Golden Haze of Memory: The Making of Historic Charleston* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005) cites the many ways in which these white elite women formed the narrative of the time and propagated it through their tours, as well as their society’s focus on elite dwellings; also see W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *The Southern Past: A Clash of Race and Memory* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005), 201–203, 205, 210–11.

34. Yuhl explains that the architectural review board, comprised of male professionals, eventually overshadowed the women’s efforts in preservation, although they carried through their message (see especially chap. 1). Also see Brundage, *Southern Past*, 194–200, 213, 221; James M. Lindgren, “‘A New Departure in Historic, Patriotic Work’: Personalism, Professionalism, and Conflicting Concepts of Material Culture in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” *The Public Historian* 18, no. 2 (April 1996): 41–60. Lindgren also focused on women’s preservation activities in *Preserving the Old Dominion: Preservation and Historic Traditionalism* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1993). Joseph Conforti includes women among the significant crafters of mythic narratives in *Imagining New England: Explorations of Regional Identity from the Pilgrims through the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

35. Brundage, *Southern Past*, 208.

36. Brundage, *Southern Past*, 218; Yuhl, *A Golden Haze of Memory*, chap. 4.

Service saw in the late 1940s. It is not surprising that Manucy's memo suggested extreme caution in vetting a historian. It would be interesting to know exactly who he was concerned about alienating, white or black citizens, but white professionals certainly dominated the tourist industry at the time. When Manucy explained that the NPS historian would need to be sensitive to local issues, he intimated his knowledge of the powerful tourist industry, built on the specific vision promoted by city officials and embraced by white Charlestonians and tourists alike. His suggestion of a "tactful" historian also illustrates the tension Foresta alluded to in his study of the National Park Service, referenced earlier, between the tendency to commemorate battlefields and those historians who wanted to embrace a more scholarly narrative.

Evidence about whom Manucy might have been concerned may be found in Fort Sumter Historian Rock Comstock's short history of the site, written in 1956. His focus on certain aspects of the war suggest that whether by design or by failure to notice, NPS personnel worked within the existing narrative established by the white community. Comstock described the background to the Civil War: "As 1860 neared, individuals, personalities—embittered, angered—took up the cudgels to perpetuate the fearful threat to the permanence of the Union of the United States of America." Not once did Comstock mention slavery, and he described Major Anderson's evacuation of Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter as aggressive, calling the move "a most official and upsetting possession." Comstock also reflected his familiarity with the narrative established by whites in the 1890s, that of valor and gallantry. He explained, "Cadets from The Citadel still honor the effects of their forebears who drove back the *Star of the West*."³⁷ When describing the evacuation orders given to Confederate soldier Thomas Hugenin, he said "The gallant stand on that historic pile of dirt was over." He noted that Fort Sumter became an attraction even before the war concluded, and even though it was nothing more than a ruin by the 1870s, it continued to be visited, not just as "a renowned signal but the site of a stirring Confederate defense."³⁸ The language Comstock used to describe the Civil War was not unusual for the 1950s. It further indicates that the emancipationist view of the war was not part of the NPS vision for Civil War interpretation at the time.³⁹

A look at Charleston's tourism history that Comstock presented also suggests the staff's orientation. Comstock explained that Helen McCormack's book *This is Charleston*, produced in 1940 as a result of the Civic Services Committee, was "one of Charleston's most important preservation projects" and even launched the Charleston Historic Foundation.⁴⁰ But McCormack, who was an employee of the Gibbes and Charleston Museum and later director of the Valentine Museum (Richmond), was often chauffeured to "important" sites by Alice Ravenel Huger Smith, a member of one of the most elite families in Charleston, noted painter and printmaker, and active participant in the "Charleston Renaissance" of the time. The

37. Comstock, *Short History, Fort Sumter*, 4.

38. *Ibid.*, 2–3, 4, 6, 8.

39. Eric Kytte and Blain Roberts list some of the white allies, which included Rev. Beecher, as well as Whitelaw Reid who would later become editor of the *New York Tribune*. While they were obviously "outsiders," the historians explain that James Redpath, a Charleston local, union sympathizer, and member of the Grand Army of the Republic chapter, helped to secure Magnolia cemetery for a final burial place for Union soldiers, and Dr. Albert Mackey, local school board director, also supported the memorialization efforts. Kytte and Roberts, "Looking the Thing in the Face."

40. Comstock, *Short History, Fort Sumter*, 17.

buildings considered significant were those chosen by the white elite, who were on the committee and helped to direct the project.⁴¹

The list of cooperating or supporting organizations found in Comstock's history of Fort Sumter also reflected NPS bias (whether explicit or not) in working with the area's elite white community: United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), Citadel History Club, South Carolina Historical Society, Historic Charleston Foundation, SPOD, Charleston Library Society (a subscription and membership-only based institution), Book Basement, and the Society for the Preservation of Negro Spirituals. Moreover, Gray Line Tours advertised and had kiosks at Francis Marion and Fort Sumter hotels, both of which were segregated at the time Comstock wrote his history.⁴² A letter from C. Girard Davidson, Assistant Secretary for the Interior, to Senator Maybank said, "On behalf of the National Park Service and this Department I want to express an appreciation for the interest of the United Confederate Veterans and Sons of Confederate Veterans in historic old Fort Sumter." He assured the Senator that the National Park Service would "preserve the area and commemorate its history that they and other citizens of this country will find on the historic old grounds both patriotic inspiration and lasting pleasure."⁴³

41. Yuhl, *A Golden Haze of Memory*, 50–52. Information on Smith can be found at Wikipedia, s.v. "Alice Ravenel Huger Smith," last modified April 17, 2019, 12:58, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alice_Ravenel_Huger_Smith.

42. Comstock, *Short History, Fort Sumter*, 49.

43. C. Girard Davidson to Senator Maybank, September 28, 1948, Box 3848, Folder 1, Fort Sumter, SC, Records Relating to the Civil War Sites Study, 1991–1993, RG 48, NACP.

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE PLANS



FIGURE 1.3 AERIAL VIEW OF FORT SUMTER, 1948
(COURTESY OF NPS).

The National Park Service was concerned not only with building a historic interpretation, but also in restoring the historic structure itself. Manucy reported on the state of Fort Sumter. He reflected the mindset of midcentury preservationists when he said, “Modern buildings are like excrescences [*sic*] on the fort.” He noted that the old embrasures were filled during the Spanish-American War, and “the entire defensive character of the fort changed” in the late 1800s. He documented the “dual character” of the structure, with the north side’s terreplein

“essentially a flat, uninteresting surface of concrete or grass” reflective of the early twentieth century with some World War II anti-aircraft remnants in place, and the south side as “more characteristic of the old fort,” although even that was “greatly obscured by frame buildings used as quarters by the [US] Coast Guard personnel now on the island.” The gorge wall gunrooms remained in good shape, but the backs were bricked in at a later date. Manucy noted that the structure was fairly stable, but he reminded readers that the fort had been almost fifty feet in height at its construction and that bombardment and modernizing brought the walls down by half. He suggested that the masonry would need to be repointed in many places.⁴⁴



FIGURE 1.4 “STEEL SEARCHLIGHT TOWER. FORMERLY LOCATED AT END OF TIMBER CATWALK. CUT INTO SHORT LENGTHS AND PILED ON CATWALK MARCH 1950,” IN WATER AND STILL INTACT (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 1.5 FIGURE 1.5 “STEEL SEARCHLIGHT TOWER. FORMERLY LOCATED AT THE END OF TIMBER CATWALK. CUT INTO SHORT LENGTHS AND PILED ON CATWALK MARCH 1950,” AFTER DEMOLITION WORK WAS COMPLETE. (COURTESY OF NPS).

44. Memorandum of A. C. Manucy, April 29, 1948, pp. 5–6.



FIGURE 1.6 "LUMBER, LUMBER EVERYWHERE!...COAST GUARD PURCHASED ALL LUMBER, DECEMBER 1949" (COURTESY OF NPS).

Ultimately, Manucy's opinion of the fort was that it needed to be "fixed in time," as many preservationists of the day believed. He concluded: "The confused installations now at the fort make interpretation difficult. Removal of all modern wooden structures, such as the quarters built on top and outside the fort, will remove the most obvious anachronisms."⁴⁵ The National Park Service had removed structures before to "restore" an area back to the era in time it wanted to interpret, including at the Peaks of Otter site on the Blue Ridge Parkway in Virginia, so this opinion about restoration at Fort Sumter was in keeping with other NPS decisions at historic sites.⁴⁶



FIGURE 1.7 "SITE OF NORTHERN SEARCHLIGHT TOWER, UPPER LEFT. NOTE SCRAP STEEL PILED. STEEL WAS SOLD IN APRIL 1950" (COURTESY OF NPS).

45. Memorandum of A. C. Manucy, April 29, 1948, p. 7. In Chapter 6 of *Super Scenic Motorway: A Blue Ridge Parkway History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), Anne Whisnant explains just how the NPS removed more modern structures, including a hotel, to privilege a more "rustic" interpretation of Appalachia at Peaks of Otter in Virginia. Essentially, it manufactured the past as it did this, but it was to privilege a much earlier era.

46. Anne Whisnant argues that the National Park Service undertook a campaign of erasure and the rewriting of history at this site, razing the structures related to modernity, including anything that reflected the previous occupants' participation in a capitalist economy, and "restored" the site back to a primitive pioneer Appalachian landscape. The service even employed living history docents to exhibit pre-capitalist crafts and farming techniques. Essentially, the NPS fundamentally changed the history of the Peaks of Otter by eliminating any references to the modernity of life there in the twentieth century. Whisnant, *Super Scenic Motorway*, 214–63.



FIGURE 1.8 "AN OLD DAVIT ABANDONED BY THE ARMY, AND RECLAIMED BY THE NPS, IS READY TO PICK UP THE GRAVELY MOWER. NPS MEN INSTALLED A DRUM FROM SEARCHLIGHT TOWER; LATER PROVIDED UPPER STRUCTURE WITH 2 STEEL PULLEYS TAKEN FROM TOWER" (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 1.9 "SWINGING THE POWER MOWER TO UPPER LEVEL" (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 1.10 "STEPS LEADING FROM PARADE TO TERREPLEIN RE-FINISHED; 3 BLOCKS REPLACED; A STEEL GUARDRAIL IS PROVIDED, SEPTEMBER 1949" (COURTESY OF NPS).

Manucy also listed the artifacts at Fort Sumter. He said many guns were still there, including, in his words, a 300-pound Rodman lying on the south terreplein, which would have been in use between 1860 and 1890.⁴⁷ He found two iron mortars with iron beds flanking the sally port, both in bad condition, but the most interesting gun, in his opinion, was “what appears to be an iron converted 18 or 24 pounder, likewise on the shore near the sally port.” Although it was badly oxidized, it was most likely rifled. He reported on the presence of shells and projectiles, many of twentieth-century origins, on the ground. Manucy listed three markers present: a flagstaff to memorialize Major Anderson’s stand in 1861, a white marble marker outside the sally port to commemorate the Confederate defense, and a “bronze marked for the same purpose” (a marker to the Union) more recently erected on a granite base. He also said that the Confederate battle flag that he claimed flew over Fort Sumter in 1864, as well as a sword used there, were displayed at the Charleston city building and in the hands of owner John S. Mitchell, former Confederate Captain, which he suggested could be used in an on-site museum if they could possibly be acquired.⁴⁸

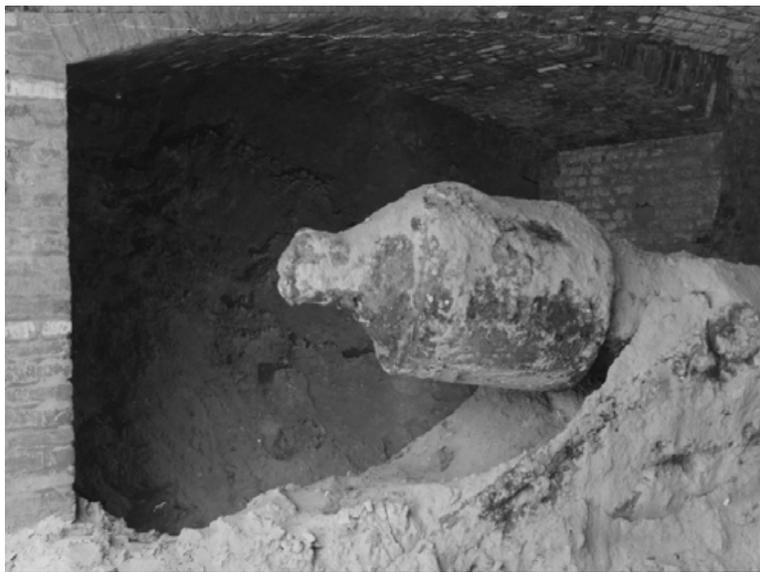


FIGURE 1.11 ONE OF THE ELEVEN RIFLED GUNS “STILL IN PLACE FROM THE 1870’S” (COURTESY OF NPS).

47. Manucy’s description makes it sound as though the gun itself weighed 300 pounds. Actually the gun shot 300-pound shells; the gun itself probably weighed closer to 25 tons. A more description would be a 15-inch Rodman, referring to its bore size.

48. Memorandum of A. C. Manucy, April 29, 1948, pp. 7–8.



FIGURE 1.12 "LOOKING...AT THE UNCOVERED REMAINS OF THE ORIGINAL PIER, NOW BUTTING INTO BATTERY HUGER"
(COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 1.13 "SHOWING SALMONS DREDGING COMPANY DRIVING PILES FROM SMALLBOAT LANDING, AUGUST 1949.
NOTE VISITORS ON MAIN WHARF" (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 1.14 "SHOWING NPS BOAT TIED UP AT SMALLBOAT LANDING. NOTE HIGH TIDE BRINGS WATER ALMOST TO DECKING"
(COURTESY OF NPS).

The visit of NPS officials suggested the great potential in Fort Sumter, but after the land officially transferred to the National Park Service in June 1948, it became apparent that the National Park Service would have its hands full restoring, interpreting, and running the fort. The first superintendent, William Lockett, transferred from Fort Pulaski, just down the road from Charleston in Savannah, Georgia, and a site that is similar in shape and construction.⁴⁹ He wrote about his experience:

Upon his arrival in Charleston 31 October 1948, the superintendent found that he had inherited a buried Fort, which was covered with weeds, debris of every discription [sic], and a series of old delapidated [sic] buildings, along with considerable worn out, fixed equipment, plus thousands of feet of cable, pipe, wiring, and telephone and power poles—everywhere.⁵⁰

Moreover, he reported that this was the first time serving as supervisor over an unreachable area, one to which he could only gain access by prevailing upon the Coast Guard to transport him. It was hard enough for him to get there; it was next to impossible to get laborers over there without reliable transport.⁵¹

49. Danz, Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/tolson/histlist7f.htm.

50. William Lockett, Activities Report April 20, 1950, covering past ten months, FOSU Activities Report 1950 Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive.

51. Ibid.



FIGURE 1.15 MARCH 31, 1950, ON BOAT AT EXTREMELY LOW TIDE. "ALL ABOARD SAFELY...THEY ARE (LEFT TO RIGHT) AS FOLLOWS: ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR DEMARAY; MRS. DEMARAY; MR. VINT, CHIEF OF DEVELOPMENT; MRS. LATTIMORE; REGIONAL DIRECTOR ALLEN; PARK SUPERINTENDENT LATTIMORE OF FORT PULASKI" (COURTESY OF NPS).

Luckett had no office, no personnel, and nowhere to store supplies. He noted the challenges to getting the fort up and running as a legitimate site: "everything depended on something else." Luckett rented a garage at Fort Moultrie, where he stored office supplies and equipment, and War Assets Administration personnel at the fort assisted him by picking up the supplies as they were delivered. He hired Jewel Evans as a clerk-stenographer in early February, but there was no office in which the superintendent and the clerk could work; for some time they worked out of Luckett's dining room. Historian Frank Barnes joined the staff as the first historian later in February 1949.⁵²

In the meantime, plans for developing the site moved forward with the advice of regional historians. Before the hiring of additional staff, regional service staff met with Luckett to determine the best course of action for cultural conservation and providing visitor services. NPS Regional Engineer W. E. O'Neil Jr., NPS Landscape Architect Stanley Abbott, NPS Archaeologist J. C. Harrington, and NPS Historian Roy Appleman came from Richmond, Virginia, to assess the site. They relayed their suggestions in a report to the regional office in January 1949. In this list, they dealt with administrative issues, interpretation, visitor services, and conservation.

First, they recognized the problem of administering the fort, both physically and in dealing with other related groups that had been operating there. NPS staff determined that while there was valuable storage space available at Fort Moultrie, including the brick library building and two temporary structures in the back as well as a second unit of buildings that included quarters, the National Park Service should never seek to acquire Fort Moultrie. The quarters could be used for personnel, and several buildings for storage, but the group believed that one site was enough to interpret the Civil War, and it would be too costly a fort to maintain. What is interesting about

52. Luckett, Activities Report April 20, 1950.

this statement is that Fort Moultrie had been in constant use from the American Revolutionary War period through World War II and was at the time still utilized by the US Navy. Because the National Park Service at the time seemed to be so focused on a “fixed in time” preservation technique, the site assessors could not seem to see the possibilities of any interpretation outside of the Civil War. The group also believed that should the National Park Service move administrative offices out to Sullivan’s Island, it would be hard to move anywhere else. The group came to this decision based on interest in building community relations. They wrote about the “possibility that active cooperation of influential Charlestonians would be obtained” should the National Park Service situate offices downtown instead of on Sullivan’s Island.⁵³



FIGURE 1.16 THE MORRIS ISLAND MARKER
(COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 1.17 THE RIGHT GORGE ANGLE
MARKER, LOOKING TOWARD MORRIS ISLAND
(COURTESY OF NPS).

The group also recognized the challenge of operating the fort. Rather than hire a boat master and maintain a boat, the group suggested that the National Park Service contract with the Gray Line tour boats to take employees back and forth for a flat fee twice a day, as Gray Line was already transporting tourists to and from the site. The group also made clear that the National Park Service should encourage the Coast Guard to relocate to Fort Moultrie as soon as possible and deny any extensions of permits for use that were scheduled to end in 1952.⁵⁴

The NPS regional staff also suggested a focus on interpreting only the Civil War period. They explained, “The group are unanimously of the opinion that Fort Sumter offers an unrivaled opportunity to present the Civil War story of Charleston harbor.” The report provided a list of all nonperiod structures to be razed, noted that the original parade ground was buried under about four feet of fill, and dirt and rubble covered the old brick. They suggested excavation back to the old fort to remove sand fill from casemates, dig out the parade ground, and open up west-

53. O’Neil, Abbott, Harrington, and Appleman, Report on Fort Sumter National Monument, January 3, 1949, 2–4.

54. *Ibid.*, 4, 8.

facing embrasures. They also recognized that excavation would uncover multiple artifacts and concluded that the local staff would need to set up a conservation lab in Battery Huger.⁵⁵

In terms of interpreting this history for visitors and providing visitor services, regional staff claimed, “There is probably no other historic area in Region One more in need of historical research before development can begin.” They urged that the historian be allowed to research full-time and allow the aides to do all the public contact work. They also said the National Park Service needed to coordinate with Gray Line tour boats. The group had taken the smaller of the boats out and were extremely concerned about the information visitors received from the captain. Not only did the captain truncate the presentation to handle boat trouble, but the group stated, “There was hardly an accurate statement made in the course of his brief remarks.” While conceding that a Coast Guard sailor said the captain of the larger tour boat was a better guide, they suggested pamphlets for visitors. They also advised that while the concessioner contract needed to be written with Gray Line, historical aides should be giving tour information and local staff should install interpretive markers by spring of 1949.⁵⁶

President Truman signed legislation establishing the monument on April 28, 1948, and the new superintendent, William Luckett, represented the National Park Service as he received the transfer of property from Thomas Dye of the US Army Corps of Engineers in July of that year. Luckett faced tremendous challenges before he could welcome visitors, including building a staff, providing at least rudimentary visitor services and transportation, and getting an interpretation program up and running, including the presence of active shells on the property. In 1949, the military initiated the National War Trophy Safety Campaign, aimed at deactivating shells.⁵⁷ The campaign kicked off at Fort Sumter right before the site opened to the public, which helped with publicity. The effort was even featured in *Life* magazine, giving the site a great national boost.⁵⁸

MANAGING FORT SUMTER’S LOGISTICAL AND PHYSICAL CHALLENGES

Luckett got to work on handling the logistical problems presented by Fort Sumter, taking some of the suggestions of the regional staff and going in a different direction in some other cases. First, probably understanding that having to rely on the Gray Line to transport necessary personnel and equipment to the fort would be challenging, Luckett set about to find a boat for transport. This proved difficult because the army was loath to part with any boats “due to international difficulties.” In January 1949, he prevailed upon “good friend” of the National Park Service, Henry Church, who reached out to Charleston mayor William Morrison and US Senator Maybank, a former mayor of Charleston. Their influence was helpful, and Luckett got a boat—but necessary repairs made it unseaworthy until June, when Morgan Buchanan became boat master. In the meantime, Luckett found Grandy Evans, a deck hand on the US Engineers

55. O’Neil, Abbott, Harrington, and Appleman, Report on Fort Sumter National Monument, January 3, 1949, list on pages 9–10, 5, 7, 11, 13–15.

56. *Ibid.*, 12–13.

57. Comstock, Short History, Fort Sumter, 21, 42.

58. J. A. Krug to D. Lyon Smith, September 8, 1949, Box 3848, Folder 1, Fort Sumter, SC, Records Relating to the Civil War Sites Study, 1991–1993, RG 48, NACP.

liner, who was willing to go out to the fort in his homemade 18-foot rig. Evans worked for two months at the fort, transporting himself. Lockett had the Coast Guard to go on a “mercy mission” to the fort to repair and raze structures considered “hazardous to the visitors.” These buildings included the quarters and mess hall, office, supply building, canteen/kitchen, and latrine. Lockett also moved the office into a room he rented from the Chamber of Commerce. This did get him downtown, as suggested by the regional staff.⁵⁹

Lockett also had to deal with the Coast Guard, which at least at the top levels did not seem thrilled about moving off Fort Sumter. Because NPS staff originally wanted to do a complete restoration back to the 1861 fort, the presence of the Coast Guard was a problem. As Thomas Allen, Region One Director, wrote to the NPS superintendent, “The Coast Guard towers will continue to be an intrusion until they are removed” and the National Park Service planned to refuse an extension of the permit for use beyond its expiration date.⁶⁰ The Coast Guard had received a permit from the War Department to operate a radio beacon and light. It also received the keepers house, battery house, two radio towers, and wharf as property as part of the deal. Correspondence between NPS and Coast Guard staff suggests there was controversy over the National Park Service’s determination to refuse to renew the permit, which would expire in 1950, as it had renewed on a five-year basis beginning in 1935. The Coast Guard Commandant believed the site was critical for marine navigation facilitation. NPS officials determined they would honor the permit but would not extend it and asked for early removal from the site, as their plan “requires the elimination of all nonconforming structures.”⁶¹ Ultimately, the Coast Guard moved to Sullivan’s Island, but not until August 1950.⁶²



Figure 1.18 Aerial View of Fort Sumter, 1950
(COURTESY OF NPS).

59. Lockett, *Activities Report 1950*, pp. 2, 5. Pictures of the razed buildings are in the appendix of the report; O’Neil, Abbott, Harrington, and Appleman, *Report on Fort Sumter National Monument*, January 3, 1949, p. 3.

60. Memorandum from Thomas Allen to Director, June 7, 1949, Box 2209, 0-35 Proposed National Monuments File, 2nd Subseries, 1933-49, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, Record Group 79, National Park Service, National Archives, College Park, MD (hereafter NACP).

61. Memorandum from Conrad Wirth to Regional Director, July 12, 1948; Merlin O’Neill to Director of NOS, June 21, 1948, A. E. Demaray to USCG Commandant, June 27, 1948; A. E. Demaray to Commandant, April 24, 1950, all in Box 27, Folder 1, Records of the National Park Service, RG 79, National Archives (Hereafter NPS).

62. Frank Barnes, *Narrative Report*, August 4, 1950, and September 5, 1950, unprocessed at Park Archive.

The Coast Guard structures notwithstanding, Lockett faced a serious problem in trying to restore the fort to its condition in 1861, as many buildings needed to be razed. He noted that the lowest bid to simply take out submarine cable and some World Wars I and II structures was \$14,210. Lockett found a local contractor who would cut down a steel searchlight and observation towers for just \$265. He then found contractors to purchase materials as scrap—selling the submarine cable for \$20, selling scrap iron and timber, and making the contractors remove it as a condition of the sale. Lockett estimated that he saved approximately \$13,000 in removal costs. He also contracted with Salmons Dredging Company to rebuild the small craft landing, and he hired fifteen laborers to begin the excavation work at the fort.⁶³

The sheer enormity of the task made officials revisit their demand for full restoration of the site. In July 1950, Lockett had written a memo to ask permission to excavate and stabilize Fort Sumter but not to restore it. In addition, he requested that Battery Huger, a concrete structure on which construction was planned in the late 1800s and begun during the Spanish-American War, be left for use as an administrative office, storage, and museum building. Regional Historian Roy Appleman reported that the staff in Richmond was split over this request. He, however, agreed with Lockett, and explained why in a memo to the Acting Regional Director Elbert Cox, mainly because of the “tremendous cost in removing it and the 20 feet of fill covering the eastern half of the fort.” That was not the only reason he supported Lockett’s decision. According to Lockett, the United Daughters of the Confederacy and other Charleston-area “patriotic groups” supported keeping the structure intact. From this statement, it is clear that NPS staff continued to keep the local white community in mind when making decisions, as was originally suggested in the first memo about Fort Sumter.⁶⁴

Appleman also used preservation-based arguments in his support of Lockett. He cited the fact that Battery Huger was the only Spanish-American War-era example of coastal defense within NPS holdings. To conclude, he declared what would become a movement against static (time-bound) preservation: “Retaining Battery Huger also would satisfy a growing body of thinkers on matters of historical conservation who prefer a ruin which bears the marks of growth, change, and evolution to meet the needs of society.” He also maintained that it would be “impossible” to actually make the fort look as it did in 1861, but that it could still legitimately interpret Civil War history. The movement away from static interpretation was not the trend in 1950s preservation. By the late twentieth century, however, most preservationists advocated for a more flexible interpretation, which did indeed show buildings as they developed through time. Appleman’s assertion placed him at the forefront of preservation theory.⁶⁵ Appleman’s argument swayed the regional director, who wrote a memo of support of the original Lockett plan. Conrad Wirth, acting NPS director, approved this plan in February 1951.⁶⁶

Historian Frank Barnes kept himself busy during his first year, as well. By 1950, he had researched and written four of five planned articles, completed a historical survey of the fort

63. Lockett, Activities Report 1950, 3. For a list of specific achievements in these ten months related to building removal see pages 4–5.

64. Memorandum from Regional Historian to Elbert Cox, December 8, 1950, Fort Sumter 1948–52 Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive.

65. *Ibid.*, 3.

66. Elbert Cox to Director, December 19, 1950, and Conrad Wirth, Memo of Approval, February 5, 1951, both in FOSU 1948–52 Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive.

structure with accompanying drawings, and helped established the interpretive program. He was also engaged in writing a forty-eight-page pamphlet for the fort.⁶⁷

From 1948 to 1952, workers focused on providing visitors basic information and services for visitors' comfort and safety. They installed five cast-iron aluminum historical markers in the orientation circle and five in a 40-foot circle on top of Battery Huger that pointed out sites of interest in the harbor as well as the history of the site. In August 1951, workers began excavating the fort's interior but were hampered because Lockett could not hire additional workers, so plans moved forward to bring in private contractors. The state the fort was in before the National Park Service acquired the property put visitors in danger, as there were no safety mechanisms in place. Staff built a temporary museum and office in Battery Huger, installed generators, and repaired electrical systems. The staff also constructed handrails, staircases, and railings around the site, and workers converted an 8,200-gallon cistern in Battery Huger into a functional water source, using a homemade chlorinator constructed by Boat Master Buchanan.⁶⁸ By 1952, visitors could enjoy free historic literature and a pamphlet providing more information for thirty cents, cooled water, and bathrooms.⁶⁹ Fort Sumter visitors were allowed an intimate view of the ongoing excavations, and to keep them safe from the hazards of the digging process—and to keep the excavation safe from wandering visitors—personnel installed guard rails and stairs throughout the fort.⁷⁰

In turn, visitors came in droves. In May 1949 alone there were more than 1,100 visitors. April 1950 saw over 2,000 visitors, and in April 1951, 2,600 visitors came to the site. In 1950, more than 10,530 people visited Fort Sumter, and by 1951, more than 13,480 made the trek. By 1952, more than 17,200 people had visited the site.⁷¹ And, just a decade after it opened, Fort Sumter saw 35,642 visitors.⁷² The increase in visitors may have stemmed from several trends. Historian Karen Cox noted that in the post-World War II period, the increase in the sheer number of historical sites established, coupled with the building of highways, made heritage tourism an important part of the economy for many southern states.⁷³ The city of Charleston and Fort Sumter's centrality in the "Lost Cause gallant southern soldier" narrative was certainly already a draw for visitors; the National Park Service's upgrading of the site must have played an important role in the influx of visitors.

67. Lockett, *Activities Report 1950*, 5–6.

68. NPS, *Fort Sumter Development Outline, 1951*, 3, FOSU Development Outline Folder 1951, unprocessed at Park Archive; Comstock, *Short History, Fort Sumter*, 28–31.

69. NPS, *Master Plan Development Supplement, draft, 1958*, 2, FOSU Development Outline Folder 1951, unprocessed at Park Archive.

70. Information about the tours given during the excavation process, as well as the safety guards put into place, can be found in the NPS, *Report of Historians on Proposed Project, The Excavation of the Left Face of Fort Sumter, Fort Sumter 1955 Excavation Report Folder*, unprocessed at Park Archive; the unprocessed reports of the historians from the 1950s, in Park Archive, and the William Lockett, *Superintendent Report for May 1955, April 1955*, Box 0185, A2823 Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1950-64 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP.

71. William Lockett, *General Information, January 1952*, 8–9, in FOSU Development Outline 1951 folder, unprocessed at Park Archive; NPS, *Master Plan Development Supplement, draft, 1958*, p. 2.

72. "Park Service to Spend \$327,000 at Fort Sumter during 1958-9," clipping in *Fort Sumter—1957/9 Excavations, Reports, Completed Photos Folder*, unprocessed at Park Archive.

73. Karen Cox, ed., *Destination Dixie: Tourism and Southern History* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012), 4.

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE WITH MASTER PLANS

As they worked to excavate the fort and interpret the history, staff also compiled a Master Plan Development Outline, conducted from December 1951 through January 1952, and a Master Plan Park Operation Prospectus, completed in March 1952. Barnes's research was evident in the detailed history of the fort's construction, renovation, and use since 1812. Luckett compared Fort Sumter's significance to "the blowing up of the Maine" and Pearl Harbor, both incidents that precipitated wars. The report also referenced the "War Between the States," citing the conflict as one that "ended an era and led to the emergence of a stronger and greater nation."⁷⁴

This term suggests exactly where NPS historians stood on Civil War interpretation. As historian Gaines Foster explained, the term "Civil War" had become the accepted term in the early twentieth century, as Congress began to use it exclusively. At the same time, however, the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) and UDC, two of the groups leading the charge toward "Lost Cause" narratives of the war, embraced and promoted the term "War Between the States." The UDC tried unsuccessfully to petition Congress to change the name to their preferred moniker in 1911, and many southerners continued to use it. Those who did, Foster argued, reflected their belief that the Confederacy had the right to secede, and they focused on states' rights as the causal factor of the war.⁷⁵ Certainly the language in this introduction suggests the prevailing consensus view of history; it elided the discussion of *any* causal factors of the war, and focused on a positive outcome, despite that fact that 1950s-era Charleston was segregated by Jim Crow laws, African Americans were disfranchised, and that the nation had not resolved issues of race.

The prospectus detailed the general conservation and interpretation plans NPS staff had for the future, as well as the continued challenges posed by the site itself. These challenges, according to Luckett, were not only unique to this site, but unprecedented in the history of the park system.⁷⁶ Administrative problems continued after NPS staff settled downtown. The superintendent, located four miles away from his site, tried to supervise via phone and weekly visits on the now-functional NPS boat, which left from the Coast Guard dock at Sullivan's Island. Further, the office in the Chamber of Commerce building was removed from the Gray Line embarkation point on the Battery and was closed Saturday afternoons, Sundays, and Wednesday afternoons in the summer. This limited office staff's ability to maintain contact with the public. At this point, the historian did two days a week of public contact work, the historical aide did the bulk of work providing tours and information to the public, and both had to use the library and office in the Chamber of Commerce building and shuttle back and forth to the fort. Still, as the report admitted, the relationship with Chamber of Commerce and Gray Line were the most important non-government partners the National Park Service had, and at least the FOSU staff and Chamber of Commerce could collaborate on promotion efforts.⁷⁷

74. NPS, Master Plan Outline, draft, 1951, p. 1, unprocessed at Park Archive.

75. For more information, see Gaines Foster, "What's Not in a Name: The Naming of the American Civil War," *The Journal of the Civil War Era* 8, no. 3 (September 2012): 416–54.

76. William Luckett, Master Plan Development Outline, Park Operation Prospectus, March 1952, 1–2, FOSU Development Outline Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive.

77. Luckett, Master Plan Development Outline, Park Operation Prospectus, 1952, 3–6; Luckett, Activities Report 1950, caption in first page of appendix.

The site was also a challenge in terms of accommodating visitors. Gray Line Tours had a contract as concessioner to transport visitors to the fort. Its three boats, however, proved inadequate. The large boat, which accommodated 200 passengers, was only brought out for large crowds. The medium boat that seated sixty had no all-weather cabins, and the small one was old and leaked in rough water but was the one Gray Line used most often.⁷⁸ Visitors were also limited in their time on site; Gray Line came out only twice a day, so while people did not need to return on the morning boat and could stay at the fort the entire day, they often refused to do so because they were never sure if the afternoon boat could get to the site. As a result, tours tended to last only thirty minutes.⁷⁹

Because the site was so small, just 2.4 acres, and saw so many visitors, it was difficult to both engage in construction and do maintenance. The plan suggested hiring contractors for major construction and using employees to maintain the Battery Huger facilities like the temporary field office, utility room, tool and storage rooms, and museum, as well as the temporary restroom building on the esplanade. Staff hoped eventually to install permanent facilities at Battery Huger and to expand the museum space by 40 percent by knocking out a wall, since at the time the small space could accommodate only thirty visitors.⁸⁰ Still, the report concluded that much needed to be done to further historic interpretation on the site. The report admitted that development would be hampered until the interior was excavated. So much had been brought in during the modernization period that it posed a real challenge, and staff hoped for money from Congress to remove it.⁸¹

If there was one benefit to Fort Sumter's remote location, it was in the matter of security. The original 1948 report suggested no need for a guard unit to be stationed at the fort. As the staff explained, although the fort was left unguarded on weekends and overnight, it was not a problem. In four years, the National Park Service saw only a few cases of vandalism, including a bullet through the back window and a well pump motor stolen.⁸² The National Park Service considered hiring a guard just for these few incidents not worth the cost at the time.

78. *Ibid.*, 7–8.

79. NPS, Master Plan Development Supplement, draft, 1958, 1.

80. Lockett, Master Plan Development Outline, Park Operation Prospectus, 1952, 4–5; NPS, Master Plan Development Supplement, draft, 1958, 2.

81. NPS, Master Plan Development Supplement, draft, 1958, 3.

82. Lockett, Master Plan Development Outline, Park Operation Prospectus, 1952, 6; NPS, Master Plan Development Supplement, draft, 1958, 2.

EARLY EXCAVATIONS

Throughout the research and interpretive planning phase, park staff oversaw and participated in a massive excavation of the fort, beginning in 1951 and culminating in the partial uncovering of the parade ground in 1959. This excavation phase saw the hiring of African American laborers, the use of a contractor, and tens of thousands of dollars spent to restore portions of the fort. Work began with smaller projects, determined, it appears, by examining the detailed fort schematic illustrated and described in Frank Barnes's report, and moved forward as the local site received money or the approval to bring on more laborers through the 1950s. Excavations unearthed valuable artifacts and brought the mid-nineteenth-century fort layout back into view.

Early on, Luckett found that the excavation process would depend on the approval of money and outside personnel, and he planned accordingly. In 1951 and 1952, he received two thousand dollars to stabilize the interior left flank, removing all non-Civil War-period material and fill, as well as two buried gun emplacements. The workers built a narrow-gauge railroad in the fort itself to haul fill out, and they had to halt work because Luckett had reached his personnel ceiling. A slight adjustment enabled him to hire up to five workers, who demolished nonperiod features and used the salvage materials to "stabilize the terreplein above the gun rooms." The laborers had to try to remove granite boulders without



FIGURE 1.19 "THE EXCAVATION IN ITS EARLY STAGES," FROM 1955 EXCAVATION REPORT (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 1.20 1955 PHOTOGRAPH OF LABORERS REMOVING DEBRIS IN WHEELBARROWS (COURTESY OF NPS).

dynamite, and they made good progress until the money ran out, leaving the powder magazine next to the gorge wall filled with sand.⁸³

It appears nothing much was done again until 1955, when Historians Comstock and John Babington requested a project to unearth the eleven casemates, which, as they noted, were still holding 100-pounder Parrott rifles on the left face of the fort. Writing for permission, the historians cited Assistant Regional Director Zimmer's enthusiasm for the project, as well as the way local newspapers, schools, and historic groups would provide support. They also said it would represent the largest excavation undertaken to this point. They explained, "The dramatic impressiveness of the armed gun rooms might very well make this the most interesting point on the fort." Lockett supported the proposal.⁸⁴



FIGURE 1.21 1955 EXCAVATION REPORT PICTURE OF "AN ABLE-BODIED CREW," LEFT TO RIGHT: WILLY MCBRIGHT, PAR. GIBBY (ISAAC) WHITE, ABE WHITE, DOUBLE T. WALTER THOMPSON, JAMES BROWN, HENRY GRAY, BUBBA MACNEIL (COURTESY OF NPS).

83. William Lockett, "Report on Excavations along Fort Sumter Left Flank, August 7–October 18 1951 and May 6–June 20, 1952," 1952, FOSU Excavations 1952 Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive.

84. NPS, Report of Historians on Proposed Project, The Excavation of the Left Face of Fort Sumter, n.d., William Lockett to Regional Director, February 12, 1954, both in FOSU Excavation Report 1955 Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive.



FIGURE 1.22 1955 EXCAVATION REPORT: “THE CREW IN ACTION AIDED BY LABORER GRADY EVANS. BASE OF THE FIREPLACE CAN BE SEEN IN THE FOREGROUND. TO THE RIGHT, JOGS IN THE BARRACKS WALL CAN BE SEEN” (COURTESY OF NPS).

The historians received approval to excavate the living quarters of the fort on the first floor of the left flank. Seven African American laborers worked for ten days to remove a layer of sand and dirt, then a layer composed of stone, broken bricks, and old iron—about 283 cubic feet in all. They used a Gravelly machine hooked up to a cart to dig out the first layer, and the second layer required shovels and wheelbarrows to excavate. This layer yielded the most artifacts. The laborers excavated the kitchen, the beginning of stairway, and parts of the mess hall, and points of interest included two granite windowsills, an original 1860s-era whitewashed wall, kitchen storeroom, and brick kitchen floor, as well as the concrete underflooring of the barracks. Artifacts unearthed included glass, china, pottery shards—enough to know that the pattern was the popular nineteenth-century Willow—a pearl button, a piece of black marble possibly from a mantel or table, steel fragments, a few minnie balls, and a few shells, as well as terracotta piping. Although only 2.7 percent of the total fort was then excavated, the historians wrote of its significance: “And for a change, there is now open a part of the fort telling of something besides fighting.”⁸⁵ This statement reflects that the staff sought to move beyond the traditional battlefield interpretation of maneuvers, troop positions, and lines to the social aspects of military life. Perhaps because Fort Sumter was the site of a siege, not a battle, it may well have been easier to focus on the important daily aspects of enlisted men.

85. Rock L. Comstock and John D. Babington, Excavation Report June 17–30, n.d., quotations on pages 2 and 8, FOSU Excavation Report 1955 Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive.



FIGURE 1.23 1955 EXCAVATION REPORT: "A GATHERED AUDIENCE BEFORE THE COMPLETED JOB"
(COURTESY OF NPS).

The next two years saw continued excavations as money became available. Little by little, the nineteenth-century dimensions of the fort emerged. Using money previously designated for the historian's salary after Comstock's unexpected departure, new Historian Horace Sheely (who came from Williamsburg) oversaw the 1956 uncovering of the southwest portion of the building parallel to the gorge wall, which included officers' quarters. Seven laborers, most of whom had taken part in the previous year's excavation, worked under Morgan Buchanan to clear a magazine, dynamite a concrete stairway base, and expose five rooms, an entrance hall, storerooms, parlors, fireplaces with grates, original flooring, and plastering as well as windows. Artifacts unearthed included china and bottles; two clay pipes, one stamped with "Cork" and a shamrock, the other with "Gambrier, Paris" on the bowl; 18-inch Parrott cannon shot; muskets and barrels, some fused by previous explosions; hand grenades; 24-pound shells; and a small pistol, still in good shape, at the base of the chimney. Workers found presumably animal bones, tools, and building materials, all evidence of daily activities at the fort. Laborers also patched and repointed bricks and painted directional arrows to guide visitors, all of which, according to Sheely, would help to "illustrate vividly the war-time experience of both the Union and Confederate garrisons."⁸⁶

The fact this work was done with leftover funds, without experts in archaeology conducting the effort, is reflective of excavations during this period. There was so much to do and not enough funding to complete the entire project. The crew had to remove about 162 cubic feet of fill, much of which was sand, but they also dealt with concrete. They used small dynamite charges to clear the concrete, taking care not to destroy underlying brickwork and hearths. Considering the experience of the workers and the state of the fort, it is remarkable how much staff unearthed in this early period.⁸⁷

86. Horace Sheely Jr., "Excavation Report, May 7–June 21, 1956," n.d., quotation on page 15, FORT SUMTER N.P.S. Excavations—1956 Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive.

87. Sheely, "Excavation Report, May 7—June 21, 1956," 2–3.

ESTABLISHING A MUSEUM, INTERPRETIVE SERVICES, AND AN ARTIFACT CONSERVATION PROGRAM

Staff continued to work on shoring up interpretive experiences for visitors. Monthly reports suggest that in the early 1950s, interpretive services were not only a work in progress, but as Historian Rock Comstock explained in 1952, “Versatility remains the watchword in this business.”⁸⁸ Throughout this period, staff wrestled with the elements, ongoing excavations, crowd bottlenecks, and too little exhibit space.

Nationally, the focus on interpretive services, particularly with regard to museums, had developed through the 1920s as park service workers unearthed the artifacts of indigenous people in the West and challenged the Smithsonian as the primary repository of American artifacts. They viewed historic interpretation and museums as a visitor draw, rather than as a way to build specialized knowledge in a field. Historian Denise Meringolo asserted that at this time, NPS personnel used archeology to historically situate artifacts in their respective parks and create narratives. FOSU staff had already begun to install exhibits in any available park space. With the field of history professionalizing in the United States during the 1920s, as well as the addition of NPS historic sites, historical interpretation became an important force within the National Park Service. At this time, as Meringolo argued, preservation became a tool of programming and education, to be supported by research and excavation. Throughout the 1930s, through the auspices of NPS Historians Verne Chatelain and Ronald Lee, the National Park Service began centralized planning of historic interpretation, characterized by what Meringolo defined as “a belief in the logical advancement of American history over time and a set of cultural values regarding the kind of sites worthy of federal protection.” From 1933 to 1953, the number of museums inside park sites almost doubled, and the National Park Service gained control of thirty-five house museums.⁸⁹

Interpretation was on the minds of the historians from the outset, and the new phase of interpretation specialists that emerged in the 1920s and 1930s clearly influenced them. From the immediate placing of historic markers atop Battery Huger to point out important landmarks, to the deep research conducted by the early historians, FOSU historians worked tirelessly to navigate the challenges of lack of space, ongoing excavations, too-short boat tours, and not enough research done on the site.

Fort tours proved a continuous headache. In spring of 1950, Historian George Beckrege reworked the tour, starting it at the Anderson flagpole, moving through the casemates, on to the gorge, the esplanade, and then to the top of Huger. This, he hoped, would enable visitors to get a decent tour and allow them time to themselves before the tour boat left. The aide began to coordinate these tours.⁹⁰ Two years later, Historian John Willett had to shift the tour again, as going through the new museum during the tour led to severe bottlenecks. Tour guides now left

88. Rock Comstock, November 1952 Narrative Report, December 4, 1952, unprocessed at Park Archive.

89. Denise Meringolo, *Museums, Monuments, and National Parks: Toward a New Genealogy of Public History* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012), 66–67, 72–76, 82, 95–97, 116, 131–37, 151, quotations on pages 76 and 151.

90. George Beckrege, Narrative Report of February 1950, March 7, 1950, unprocessed at Park Archive.

this until the end, allowing visitors to view the exhibit on their own time.⁹¹ Still, the new historian Rock Comstock noted in the fall of 1952 that even with all of the shifting of routes, “the boiling point may be reached.” As he explained, “Pushing the group is a tour feature that naturally must be avoided. When it is done it smells of all sorts of things: commercialism, insincerity, and the like, all inevitably attached to the National Park Service in this instance.”⁹² It seems that all the maneuvering done by the staff could not fix the main problem—not enough time provided on site. This was a function of the Gray Line schedule, not the NPS staff, but it appears that the staff bore the brunt of the displeasure, from Comstock’s observation.

Historians also worked on other interpretive devices. Frank Barnes drafted the Fort Sumter handbook, which he completed several months later.⁹³ Other historians would continue to revise the handbook, with the final handbook finished by Historian Willett. It was finally put on sale in April 1952, and it sold 512 copies in its first month. Barnes also wrote a duo-fold pamphlet, which the National Park Service made available after the proofs went to print in July 1949. Willett noted that 7,500 copies of it went to the Charleston Chamber of Commerce for distribution and another 18,000 went to park personnel, which was good, he explained, because the previous shipment was almost gone. Throughout this period, Willett also worked on a museum prospectus to guide the building of a permanent museum structure and exhibit. He began this work in April 1951 and completed it almost a year later.⁹⁴ Comstock took over from Willett and continued to work on a solid museum plan, ultimately one that incorporated twenty-two separate exhibits. He explained that acquisition and curation of artifacts for the exhibit advanced slowly, partly because of the difficulty of interpreting complicated narratives in public exhibits. Comstock was still looking for more space in the museum, suggesting maybe panel displays instead of just 3-D exhibits, but also looking to increase the square footage of the footprint.⁹⁵ He completed the permanent museum master plan in July 1953, designing a larger space on the second level of Battery Huger, which had higher ceilings and better egress.⁹⁶

Barnes and Luckett also installed interpretive cast-iron aluminum signs at the fort. This was an undertaking, as not only did park staff have to write copy for the signs, but they also had to solicit bids for the work. One sign explained the history of the fort and the events leading up to the firing of the first shot of the Civil War through the fort’s NPS acquisition. Text also included directional signs for Sullivan’s Island and Fort Moultrie, which explained where Anderson was before he removed his troops to Sumter; directional signs for Fort Johnson on James Island, explained as the place from which the opening shot was fired and the site of the Confederate army through 1865; Morris Island and the location of the Parrott rifled gun, the Swamp Angel, that shelled Charleston from 1863; and a sign for three-quarters of a mile south of the fort, the

91. John Willett, Narrative Report, April 5, 1952, unprocessed at Park Archive.

92. Rock Comstock, August 1952 Report, September 3, 1952, unprocessed at Park Archive.

93. Frank Barnes, Narrative Report, April 3, 1950, unprocessed at Park Archive.

94. John Willett, April Narrative Report, May 2, 1952, John Willett, Narrative Report, January 4, 1952, John Willett, Narrative Report, April 1952, May 2, 1952, all unprocessed at Park Archive. Information about Frank Barnes writing the duo-fold and the proofs being received in July can be found in Barnes Memo of Activities for June 1949, July 6, 1949, Box 2209, Box 2209, 0-35 Proposed National Monuments File, 2nd Subseries, 1933-49, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, RG 79, NACP.

95. Rock Comstock, November 1952 Narrative Report; Rock Comstock, October 1952 Report, November 5, 1952, both unprocessed at Park Archive.

96. Comstock, Short History, Fort Sumter, 38–39.

site of three Confederate batteries. Other signs pointed out geographical features of the fort like the gorge, flanks, the headquarters of army officers, hospitals, the esplanade, and the postern gate. These signs greeted those arriving at the fort and provided both interpretation and orientation.⁹⁷



FIGURE 1.24 THE SWAMP ANGEL MARKER (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 1.25 FORT SUMTER NATIONAL MONUMENT ENTRANCE MARKER (COURTESY OF NPS).

97. Memorandum from Lockett to Regional Director, May 27, 1949, Box 2209, Box 2209, 0-35 Proposed National Monuments File, 2nd Subseries, 1933-49, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, RG 79, NACP.



FIGURE 1.26 MAIN FORT SUMTER MARKER. "IN THE DISTANCE ATOP BATTERY HUGER, ORIENTATION POINT MAY BE SEEN" (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 1.27 FORT JOHNSON AND CHARLESTON MARKERS AT ORIENTATION POINT (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 1.28 FORT MOULTRIE MARKER AT ORIENTATION POINT (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 1.29 "THE GORGE MARKER JUST OUTSIDE OF ORIGINAL WALL. WALK COVERS THICKNESS OF THIS WALL" (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 1.30 LEFT FLANK MARKER (COURTESY OF NPS).

Work on acquiring artifacts for the museum exhibit in the temporary Battery Huger space continued at a steady pace. In August 1950, staff received one Springfield and one Endicott musket from the NPS Museum Lab. As Barnes pointed out, “They represent the start of the Fort Sumter Museum and are, therefore, joyfully hailed.”⁹⁸ Historian Barnes continued to gather artifacts, including two tinted lithographs of the fort in 1863 from Army Chief Historian Kahler. The staff also began drafting the exhibits, starting with one on Anderson’s move from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, as well as on the bombing from 1863–1865. By November 1950, Historical Aide Bernard Puckhaber reported that the two exhibits were “practically complete.” Perhaps the winter lull in visitor traffic made for a particularly good stretch of time for the historians, because in February 1951, Puckhaber wrote that plans for the colors, labels, and exhibits themselves were complete. Puckhaber and the laborer and boat master took measurements for the backgrounds. Staff had mounted all boards by March and had installed half of the six exhibits. Exhibits now included not just the original two, but also a display on the type of guns used in the first battle, and the ironclad attack on the fort. Just a month later, staff mounted four exhibits, wrote permanent labels, and enclosed the frames with waterproof tape. Historian John Willett wrote that the museum would be complete by June.⁹⁹

The museum launched in 1951. Six exhibit panels were mounted by July 1951. The staff continued to work on improving the temporary exhibit space; Historical Aide Merrill Mouzon painted a diagram of the figures and artillery on the “Artillery Battle Opens the War” exhibit space, replacing paper figures. Luckett devised an exhibit that consisted of an index file of cards with significant events that happened at the fort every day during the Civil War, and historians

98. According to Ralph Lewis, the first Museum Lab was established in Morristown to oversee the installation of eastern park exhibits. There was a museum model lab at Fort Hunt in Virginia as well. Eventually, operations moved to Ford’s Theater, and then to a space on L Street in Washington, DC, by 1950. Information about the Museum Labs can be found in Ralph H. Lewis, *Museum Curatorship in the National Park Service* (Washington, DC: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1993), 74-90, 129-30, accessed August 12, 2019, <http://npshistory.com/publications/museum-curatorship.pdf>; Frank Barnes, Narrative Report, August 4, 1950.

99. Frank Barnes, Narrative Report, September 5, 1950, Bernard Puckhaber Report, November 2, 1950, Bernard Puckhaber Report, February 2, 1951, Bernard Puckhaber Report, March 2, 1951, Bernard Puckhaber Report, April 11, 1951, and John Willett, Narrative Report for May 1951, June 4, 1951, all unprocessed at Park Archive.

would post a different card each day. After months of trying, Willett also got the museum photographed, with plans to send the images to the Museum Lab.¹⁰⁰ He also received and began processing the papers of Major Brooks, a Federal engineering officer on Morris Island during the Civil War.¹⁰¹

After Willett left for Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park, Comstock continued Willett's focus on museum work and spent the winter of 1953 conducting research for the exhibits. He worked on discovering the exact location of the firing of the first shot at Fort Sumter, as well as the weather and climatic conditions and drawings of the men and artillery involved. He also researched the Federal battle for Morris Island and gathered material for a 3-D model of Battery Wagner. He tried to locate the original flags of Major Anderson, and worked to compile exhibits for a permanent museum. These additional exhibits included a synopsis of local events leading to the war, a panel on the opening battle, an exhibit detailing naval operations, and an exhibit on the construction of the fort. In the spring, Historian John Babington worked with Comstock to fashion four models of the fort in "different stages of destruction" during the war and identified a problematically installed display board with inadequate illustrations that were too small. In May 1953, the powder magazine that had been excavated also opened to the public, and it showed the signs of the 1863 explosion that destroyed it.¹⁰² Over the next several years, historians secured a converted museum case on permanent loan from the Charleston Museum and filled it with artifacts from the excavations. By 1955, they had also secured the flags flown by Major Anderson.¹⁰³

Historians also worked on a model of the fort, which they installed on the top of Battery Huger. A month after installation, the "shiny valspar coating" had weathered white. Staff tried to wash it down and planned to use Johnson's floor wax the second time around. The model was useful and popular but suffered in the humid coastal environment. The first coat of paint started peeling after less than a year. Staff had to scrape the entire model down to repaint it, and Babington noted, "The job has not been without its difficulties since the sun of South Carolina is anything but gentle in the middle of the summer and the top of Battery Huger has a facility for becoming much like the top of a griddle."¹⁰⁴

The issues with the model spoke to a larger, and very serious problem: the climate of Charleston, coupled with the location of the fort four miles offshore, made for serious challenges to conservation in the 1950s. Staff began early and were ongoing in tackling this challenge. Historian Barnes reported that staff had been trying a "weathering" experiment for displays, using "liquid-glass protection" for photographs, which looked to be successful.¹⁰⁵ Barnes noted

100. John Willett, Report of Historian, October 5, 1951, John Willett, October 1951 Narrative Report, November 2, 1951, and John Willett, Narrative Report, March 4, 1952, all unprocessed at park archive.

101. John Willett, June 1952 Report, June 6, 1952, unprocessed at Park Archive.

102. Rock Comstock, February 1953 Narrative Report, March 6, 1953, Rock Comstock, March 1953 Narrative Report, April 1, 1953, John Babington, Narrative Report May 1953, June 4, 1953, and Rock Comstock, May 1953 Narrative Report, June 11, 1953, all unprocessed at Park Archive.

103. Comstock, Short History, Fort Sumter, 38. For more information on the history of the flags at Fort Sumter, see Leslie D. Jensen, *The Fort Sumter Flags: A Study in Documentation and Authentication* (Harpers Ferry: National Park Service, 1982).

104. John Babington, Narrative Report, July 1953, August 4, 1953, unprocessed at Park Archive.

105. Frank Barnes, Narrative Report, April 3, 1950, and June 5, 1950, both unprocessed at Park Archive.

that artwork damaged by water would be redone by the Murray Vocational School of Charleston, which would also help craft waterproof frames from reclaimed materials at the fort. They completed the artwork for the left flank by June 1950 but still needed to test the waterproof frames they were preparing for exhibits.¹⁰⁶ Comstock mentioned “revising” the interpretive statement in July 1952—but what needed revision, really, was “the replacement of cardboard letters with painted letters. Then we can challenge the S.C. humidity to do it’s [*sic*] worst.”¹⁰⁷ In 1953, the regional office suggested a humidity study. Staff installed a Humidiguide in the shell room that was the museum space and took readings twice a week. Humidity readings averaged 81 percent during the summer months.¹⁰⁸ In 1956, Comstock concluded “The destructive dampness inside the battery taught lesson after lesson in the effectiveness of materials.”¹⁰⁹

COMMUNITY PARTNERS, COMMUNITY WORK

Rock Comstock explained in his *Short History, Fort Sumter* that “When the National Park Service came to Charleston, South Carolina. . . it did so with the blessings of a local citizenry already strongly conscious of their heritage.”¹¹⁰ And, it was a community that seemed to support the role the NPS could play in promoting Charleston’s history. From the Chamber of Commerce and the Historical Commission’s initial contacts to Congressional and National Park Service officials to the Gray Line promoting the fort as it sold its harbor tours to the site, it appeared that FOSU and its staff were popular in Charleston, and the staff also worked to promote the monument through special tours and outreach. How far community support extended, however, and how much the staff worked to reach out, though, is an important matter to consider.

As mentioned earlier, the organizations listed as NPS “community partners” or advocates in 1956 were white dominated. Comstock noted, “Every effort to maintain this natural bond of kinship with old Charleston and her gardens is necessary to promotion of solid local public relations.” NPS staff worked with these organizations to promote the interests of the monument and the city. The Charleston Azalea Festival committee, for example, determined that a reenactment of the firing on Fort Sumter would make for an excellent event for both the festival and the newly opened fort. William Luckett and Frank Barnes served as advisors on the committee, and ten thousand people came out to witness the event. When recounting the event in his brief history of the fort, Comstock boasted, “Here was publicity at its very best.”¹¹¹ But the Azalea Festival, conceived by white promoters to draw a more middle-class crowd to Charleston featured the white Society for the Preservation of Negro Spiritual performances, “huckstering” contests for black street sellers, and “re-enactments” of “field-hands” working on rice crops while singing work songs in the 1930s. This could be considered a problematic event for federal

106. Barnes, Narrative Report, April 3, 1950; Frank Barnes, Narrative Report, July 5, 1950, unprocessed at Park Archive.

107. Comstock, Report July 1952, August 6, 1952, unprocessed at Park Archive.

108. Babington, Narrative Report, July 1953.

109. Comstock, *Short History, Fort Sumter*, 38.

110. *Ibid.*, 41.

111. *Ibid.*, 49, 41–42, quotations on 49 and 42.

officials to embrace in the 1950s.¹¹² It also showed myopia; Charleston was known for its strong black communal organizations, some dating back to the free community of the antebellum nineteenth century. There is no evidence that NPS officials sought to partner with a black church, sorority or fraternity chapter, the Seashore Farmers' Lodge, or any black school in this period.

The National Park Service worked with other institutions, too. It benefited from a relationship with the E. Milby Burton, Director of the Charleston Museum, who consulted on the museum exhibits and issues of preservation, helped to publicize the fort, and provided cases for the temporary exhibit at Fort Sumter. Helen McCormack of the Gibbes Museum displayed National Park Service panels in a gallery display. The Charleston Chamber of Commerce continued to promote the monument, and the National Park Service could count on two local newspapers, the *News and Courier* and *Evening Post*, to write articles to promote the monument. In April 1950, Lockett and Barnes conducted a "press tour" for the media that resulted in excellent coverage in radio and newspaper outlets and was picked up nationally, leading to excellent publicity for Fort Sumter. State museum officials were also helpful in answering questions and providing consultation.¹¹³

The National Park Service also supported the community. From special tours to school outreach, FOSU staff were busy doing public work while also taking care of the needs of the fort and the museum. Special tours were continuous, and Lockett and historians welcomed members of the UDC, 255 delegates from the Alcoholics Anonymous convention, the entire conference of the Southern Hotel Association, eighty-seven officers from the Naval Reserve (formal training requirements included a tour), one hundred fifty members of the South Carolina Newsboys Club, and forty-seven members of the Highway Officers' Convention, among others. March 1953 saw 1,800 students from thirty-eight schools across the state descend on the fort.¹¹⁴ Historians spoke to local organizations in the community and eventually devised a lecture program for local schools, which they offered to the city and county school supervisors. They wrote three lectures, one on the initial firing on the fort, one on the fort during the Civil War, and one on the National Park Service, accompanied by a slideshow.¹¹⁵ It was evident that NPS staff worked hard at outreach during the first few years of the monument's existence. A representative sample of the schools listed in monthly reports, however, found that the main interaction was with the segregated white schools of the area.¹¹⁶

112. Yuhl, *A Golden Haze of Memory*, 153–54, 185–86.

113. Frank Barnes, Interpretive Report, May 5, 1950, unprocessed at Park Archive. (Interpretive Reports have been called by various titles through the years, including Historian Reports or Report of the Historian. For the purposes of the Administrative History, we have standardized the title of these reports.)

114. Barnes, Narrative Report, June 5, 1950, Frank Barnes, Narrative Report, July 5, 1950, John Willett, April 1951 Narrative Report, May 2, 1951, John Willett, October 1951 Narrative Report, November 2, 1951, all unprocessed at Park Archive; Comstock, March 1953 Narrative Report.

115. Barnes, Narrative Report, July 5, 1950; Willett, October 1951 Narrative Report; Comstock, March 1953 Report; Comstock, November 1952 Narrative Report; John Willett, Narrative Report, December 5, 1951, John Babington, January 1953 Narrative Report, February 3, 1953, both unprocessed at Park Archive.

116. Google searches of the names of these schools—Ben Tillman High School, Murray Vocational School, Chicora High School, Rivers High School, Charleston High School, Courtenay and James Simons Elementary School—show that these schools were originally white. In addition, many black schools created during the equalization campaign of South Carolina are nowhere on the list of schools that were surveyed. "South Carolina African Americans- SC Separate by Equal Schools- SC Equalization Schools," South Carolina's Information Highway, accessed

One of the most important community partners, Gray Line Tours, could also be considered one of the National Park Service's most challenging. As the sole NPS concessioner, it provided the only transport to the fort besides personal watercraft. In their monthly reports, NPS historians bemoaned the lack of time allotted to visitors as a result of the Gray Line tour schedule, generally twice a day during the busy season and once a day in the winter. But a more serious situation presented itself in 1952, when Gray Line denied a group of six African Americans entry to the boat. The company told the group that the boat was a private charter. Historian John Babington reported that he immediately lodged a complaint with the boat crew, in his recollection, "pointing out that they were discriminating by refusing to take this group of people. Also, since the Gray Line ran the only scheduled boat tour, there was no other avenue open for the Negroes to visit the National Monument." He also made clear his position as a federal worker: "I also pointed out that Fort Sumter was a *National* monument."¹¹⁷ In making this statement, he reinforced the fact that the National Park Service opened its parks to all visitors, regardless of state segregation laws.

In this case, local segregation laws butted against the federal government's policy to maintain desegregated parks. This had been a problem with southern state parks. The 1930s-era Recreational Demonstration Area program, in which the National Park Service helped to develop state sites, called for more equality in access. Local segregation laws, however, prevailed. Local protests against integration halted plans for African American camping and recreational sites. But after World War II, more African Americans fought for equal access in the Jim Crow South, often filing lawsuits with help from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). During the late 1940s and early 1950s, states began to create separate facilities to accommodate African Americans in an effort to stave off integration, but these actions were too late, as the civil rights movement moved forward.¹¹⁸ It was in this climate that Babington spoke up for the African American visitors, although it did not seem to help in this situation.

The historians wrote up the incident after it happened, explaining their view. Babington contacted Cornelius Thompson, the owner of Gray Line, and said, "After listening to the facts in the case, he agreed that the action taken was wrong and he would have given passage to the group of Negroes if he had been there at the time." Comstock called the discrimination "An unfortunate incident over which we have no control." But both seemed to conclude that the incident was a one-off that would not happen again. What is interesting, however, is that both historians failed to mention the problem in the report immediately after the event. Babington admitted that he forgot to include it in his previous report, although he thought it would be "of

August 12, 2019, <https://www.sciway.net/afam/sc-equalization-schools.html>.

117. John Babington, June 1953 Narrative Report, July 2, 1953, unprocessed at Park Archive.

118. The efforts of both the federal government to provide more access to recreational facilities and the efforts of southern governments to halt integration, as well as the fight by African Americans to gain entry to white recreational space, is detailed in William E. O'Brien, *Landscapes of Exclusion: State Parks and Jim Crow in the American South*, Designing the American Park (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, in association with Library of American Landscape History, 2016). O'Brien explains that while federal administration officials in the 1930s desired more integration, or at least equal access, their willingness to work with local officials and accept segregation in the South kept African Americans from equal access to state parks and other recreational space. It was not until African Americans began filing lawsuits in court that facilities began to change in the late 1940s and early 1950s. And even in South Carolina, according to O'Brien, there were battles over swimming pools and other space as late as the mid-1960s.

interest.” Comstock did not explain why he failed to mention it right away.¹¹⁹ Given the fact that these historians kept detailed records of notable groups coming to the fort, as well as other events related to the community, it is interesting that this experience of discrimination took longer to document. Still, both blamed the local concessioner and both believed the incident to be handled.

There is no other evidence related to this, or any other event, that may have kept African Americans from visiting Fort Sumter in the first decade of its existence. However, the very preponderance of white-dominated interest groups, the fact that advertising focused on white-only spaces, and the one documented incident of discrimination on the Gray Line, may have made potential African American visitors hesitant. If African Americans went to the site, the only black staff they would have seen at the time would have been seasonal laborers working to excavate the site. Moreover, while the policy of the National Park Service was to have integrated facilities, there was only one men’s and women’s bathroom and one water fountain at Fort Sumter. African American visitors would have had to use the facilities in a place well offshore and surrounded by white visitors, many of whom must have been well aware of segregation laws on the mainland. Comstock did report that “Two separate discussions were held with the employees in the park on the subject of the Fair Employment Practices Commission,” but we do not know the nature of those discussions.¹²⁰ Given the tense racial climate in Charleston and the domination of the historic tourism industry by white elites, it is difficult to know how African Americans viewed the presence of the National Park Service at Fort Sumter.

CONCLUSION

During the first decade of Fort Sumter National Monument, National Park Service officials faced numerous difficulties, including handling administrative and touring logistics, building accommodations for visitors, managing preservation and conservation challenges, and installing a museum. In this time, staff built a presence in the community with their outreach efforts, as well as with their partnerships, but how far their influence extended across the color line remains a question. While staff had not solved all the problems associated with Fort Sumter by 1958, they certainly addressed many challenges, and thousands of visitors per year came to learn more about the site where the Civil War began.

119. Babington, June 1953 Narrative Report; Rock Comstock, June 1953 Narrative Report, July 7, 1953, unprocessed at Park Archive.

120. Comstock, October 1952 Report.



CHAPTER TWO
FORT SUMTER AND THE MISSION 66 DEVELOPMENT YEARS,
1955-1966

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CHAPTER 2: FORT SUMTER AND THE MISSION 66 DEVELOPMENT YEARS 1955–1966

OVERVIEW

The staff at FOSU successfully began excavating, interpreting, and providing visitor access to the site with a small staff and limited financial resources from the time of its opening through 1955. The inception of the National Park Service Mission 66 and the influx of money to the national monument, however, enabled significant change to the staff's cultural resource management and visitor services programs for the next decade. Staff planned and installed a museum to expand the interpretive program. Still, the narrative at Fort Sumter remained unchanged. It focused on military actions, the gallantry of soldiers on both sides, and the basis of the conflict as one of states' rights. This interpretation was in line with the narrative promoted by the federal government's Civil War Centennial Commission (CWCC). Ultimately, the National Park Service was involved, perhaps unwillingly, in a conflict over racism and the meaning of commemoration, as events surrounding the hundredth anniversary of the firing on Fort Sumter unfolded in April 1961. In addition, Superintendent E. J. Pratt became embroiled in a battle over concessioner services. Ultimately, the decade of Mission 66 money did much to improve Fort Sumter's physical appearance and visitor services but did not seriously affect the more traditional historic interpretation of the site. In this period, the superintendents of FOSU had to handle serious concessioner problems while simultaneously staying out of the turmoil of the civil rights movement on the peninsula in 1961. While Mission 66 gave critical funding for continued excavation of the site, improved interpretation, and provided more visitor services, staff managed problems ranging from the fragility of the fort and how to deal with extant structures to handling the challenge of Fort Sumter's place in the larger historical context of the Civil War.

MISSION 66 OVERVIEW

To understand the development of FOSU in the late 1950s and early 1960s, one must examine the Mission 66 program, the most sweeping plan designed by the National Park Service since the New Deal. Proposed by NPS Director Conrad Wirth, the program was conceived to upgrade parks, particularly with regard to visitor services, by 1966, the year of the National Park Service's fiftieth anniversary. After decades of limping along with few to no funding increases, many NPS sites faced serious problems as thousands more visitors flooded already strained visitor facilities in the 1950s. This was true at FOSU as well, where visitation had gone from eight thousand to thirty-one thousand people in just eight years since its opening. Historian Ethan Carr defined Mission 66 as "essentially an audacious budget proposal that persuaded Congress to increase national park appropriations immediately and to provide further increases over the next decade." It answered a "generally perceived crisis" created by overuse of lacking facilities, a crisis that had been highlighted not just by NPS staff but in popular postwar publications. Director Conrad Wirth established committees to oversee the development of Mission 66,

which called upon superintendents to write proposals for money to improve facilities, interpretation, and conservation. The guiding principles of Mission 66 included securing more cooperation with concessioners, putting accessible visitor services centers in parks, and coordinating recreational activities.¹

In January 1956, Wirth presented Mission 66 to Congress. This presentation included a budget request of \$700 million, more than doubling the budget from \$32 to \$68 million in just one year, with increases over the next several years up to \$100 million per year by 1962. By the end of 1966, Congress had spent over \$1 billion on the program. During this period, the National Park Service acquired new land, created seventy new units, built or reconstructed trails and roads, brought modern sewer and water services to many parks, and increased the number of visitor buildings and housing for rangers. In total, the National Park Service built more than one hundred visitor centers in this period because the overarching concern of the architects of Mission 66 was providing access to the public. Some environmentalists criticized the ways in which new development threatened ecosystems, and many disliked the modern “shopping center”-style modernist architecture of the visitor centers. But over the decade, Mission 66 provided funding for buildings and signage that still exist today, even down to the arrowhead logo used by the National Park Service.²

Mission 66 goals included money for preservation of artifacts and interpretation, although this aspect of the NPS plan did not eclipse the visitor access goals. Sometimes the open floor plans and large windows of visitor centers threatened to damage artifacts and museum collections, and curators pushed for fewer sources of light, for example. Carr argued that “The development of national historical parks owed more to the techniques of scenic preservation, or park making, than to historic house restoration or gardens reconstruction.” Historic parks tended to have “moment in time” style, interpreting a moment historians deemed of particular historic significance, which could create a static display. Still, led by Chief Historian Ronald Lee, NPS historians collaborated with state and local preservationists, initiating urban historic parks, designing interpretive programs and content for local displays, and creating plans for conserving and storing artifacts.

In 1957, Mission 66 funding helped to establish two ranger training centers in the Grand Canyon and at Harpers Ferry, which, according to Carr, standardized interpretation for both historic and nature-based parks in line with NPS leadership views. Leaders Wirth, Lee, and Frank Kowski, who had run training programs since 1951, supported the vision of Freeman Tilden, a writer who consulted with the National Park Service on heritage interpretation. Carr defined Tilden’s vision as “conveying the significance of a place to a diverse group of visitors—as opposed to conducting a class or lecturing on a broad theme.” NPS officials established updated restoration practices, giving architects experience in building preservation. This came at a time when many other agencies—and Congress—were altering historic buildings and landscapes by building on top of them, failing to maintain the integrity of structures, and

1. NPS, Master Plan, Mission 66 Version, 1962, Vol. 1, Chapter 1, pp. 4, 2, Box 13, Folder 6, Park Archive; Ethan Carr, *Mission 66: Modernism and the National Park Dilemma* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 3–6, 10, 56–86, 109, quotation on 3; Foresta, *America’s National Parks and Their Keepers*. Carr noted the broad support it received in Congress, which gave appropriations of 49 million in 1956, then boosted that yearly to 68, 76, and 80 million per year (p. 53).

2. Carr, *Mission 66*, 12, 14–16, 121.

allowing for a tremendous amount of public access to fragile landscapes.³ And although Carr argued that research was not a main tenet of Mission 66, the team of historians both at the national office and on-site at different parks and monuments worked diligently to promote interpretation. In fact, under the tutelage of Ronald Lee, director of the Museum Branch, historians often met with the staff of museum branches to work on exhibit proposals. In the first four years of Mission 66, the Museum Laboratory Staff put together over 1,000 exhibits.⁴ At FOSU, staff both researched and wrote histories of military actions and architecture during this period, which would become pamphlets and booklets designed for the public.

MISSION 66 AND HISTORIC INTERPRETATION

One of the centerpieces of historic preservation and interpretation in Mission 66 was the overhaul of Civil War sites in time for the centennial, which Wirth and his planners expected would attract more attention and visitors during the period of the mission.⁵ Fort Sumter was key to this plan, as explained in an undated Mission 66 prospectus: “First, it served as the target for the opening shots; and second, as a target of the most powerful concentration of heavy rifles used during the War between the States.” The writer of this plan embraced what had been established early on as the narrative of Fort Sumter, using the name attributed to the Civil War by many conservative white southerners, a term the UDC had unsuccessfully tried to get Congress to adopt. The writer also illustrated what Carr saw as the overarching interpretive goal of the National Park Service when he said that the fort was also an important symbol of southern resistance and northern “determination and opposition.” Fixing the fort in the Civil War period, the writer said visitors would learn about the centrality of Fort Sumter in harbor defense, understand better the “repercussions of the opening shot” and “the mental and physical strain experienced by the soldier,” and ultimately gain “an appreciation for the efforts and sacrifices of our forefathers in their attempts to carry out what they believed to be the American way of life.”⁶

While subsequent iterations of the Master Plan dropped “War Between the States” in favor of “Civil War,” the focus failed to break from reconciliationist interpretations that dominated the first half of the twentieth century. The Mission 66 Master Plan of 1962 argued that the war was “to decide whether or not a state or group of states could secede from the Federal union” and that the fort “recalls and commemorates the valor of Americans—soldiers, sailors, citizens, North and South—who fought on the battlefields, supported their causes, and suffered the hardships of the Civil War.”⁷ The writer made no mention of South Carolina’s role in leading secession or its views on the US government’s attempts to halt the expansion of slavery. Whether penned by Superintendent William Luckett or perhaps one of the NPS historians, this

3. Carr, *Mission 66*, 175–77, 183–88, 190, 196–97.

4. Lewis, *Museum Curatorship in the National Park Service, 1904–1982*.

5. Carr, *Mission 66*, 192.

6. E. M. Lisle, “Mission 66 Fort Sumter National Monument,” n.d., p. 1, FOSU—Mission 66—1958 Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive.

7. NPS, *Master Plan, Mission 66 Version, 1962*, Vol. 1, Chapter 1, pp. 4, 2, Box 13, Folder 6, Park Archive.

prospectus made clear why the NPS officials at FOSU may have remained silent witnesses in the controversy that erupted in Charleston over Civil War commemoration activities in 1961.⁸

MASTER PLAN FOR MANAGING VISITORS AND CULTURAL RESOURCES



FIGURE 2.1 FORT SUMTER INTERPRETIVE TOUR, 1955 (COURTESY OF NPS).

Isolation, according to Superintendent Lockett, created a host of problems for the site, particularly with regard to handling visitors. Indeed, he claimed “the fort’s inaccessibility seems to be at the root of most of its troubles.” In a 1955 iteration of the prospectus, Lockett noted that visitors dealt with an inflexible schedule, “peculiar to Fort Sumter, alone,” he believed. Those wanting to see the fort had to spend two hours round trip to spend thirty minutes on-site because of restricted access to the site. He explained that the Gray Line Tours had increased boat sizes to handle increased visitation, but that created a problem for NPS staff, who faced larger numbers on-site, including school tours and convention visitors. This resulted in the superintendent and a laborer spending “40 percent of his time” working on-site and “filling in for the historian” because the staff was so small.⁹



FIGURE 2.2 FORT SUMTER INTERPRETIVE TOUR, 1955 (COURTESY OF NPS).

Isolation also made cultural resource management difficult for many reasons, Lockett claimed. Headquarters remained at the Chamber of Commerce building at the time of Mission 66 planning, described by Lockett as “a dark room on the second floor of a 171-year-old building. . . . located in a crowded sector of Charleston, separated from the fort by 11 miles of heavy city and highway traffic and 1-3/4 miles of water.” Staff could not react quickly or successfully administer

8. NPS, Master Plan, Mission 66 Version, 1962, Vol. 1, Chapter 1, pp. 4, 2.

9. William Lockett, “Prospectus for Fort Sumter,” July 11, pp. 5, 4, 1955, FOSU—Mission 66—1958 Folder, Park Archive.

to the site itself from this distance. Moreover, increased visitation meant increased visibility during the day, but the concern was overnight and weekend vandalism: “Persons molesting property there at night can feel perfectly safe from Federal law enforcement officers.” Also, the fort was still buried under more than 10,400 cubic yards of fill, of which less than 10 percent had been removed. Not only was the “slowness with which funds become available for excavations” a problem, but also laborers did not want to take an uncompensated two-hour round-trip commute to work. It was difficult to get contractors who wanted to haul their equipment out to do the work, and it was hard to remove the fill without damaging the overall site appearance, as it would be too onerous to simply remove entirely from the vicinity.¹⁰

Fort Sumter’s location created problems for staff, visitors, and site preservation—but its position within a saltwater harbor was a conservation challenge that required significant redress, Lockett pointed out. Salt and humidity create serious problems for conservators. Lockett explained that it took twelve times more paint to preserve artillery at Fort Sumter than at Vicksburg. Moreover, the environment made the fort’s bricks brittle and prone to collapse when not properly filled. They were not all secured properly, and visitors often pulled them for keepsakes.¹¹

The fort’s location was where it was—nothing would change that. But Lockett asked for funding to improve what he could to accommodate and educate visitors. This included installation of a diesel generator, a lecture hall on the second floor of the north half of Battery Huger, expanded restrooms, and a study collection at Battery Huger adjacent to the original museum (inside Huger), quarters for employees on the first floor, and a paved landing strip between the right flank and Battery Huger for a helicopter that could ferry supplies and visitors between a site at the old Fort Moultrie base on Sullivan’s Island and the fort. Lockett also said that the new site should have an additional superintendent, clerk or administrative assistant, and a historian. Interpretation would include a movie about Fort Sumter. The staff would also excavate and stabilize the left flank and remove “encroachments” on the original site, including “historical markers, a monument, 3 artillery pieces, wharf, catwalk, a registration desk, a flagpole memorial, cannon projectiles, etc.” Some would be relocated to the right side of the fort; some would go into Battery Huger.¹²

Fort Sumter’s Mission 66 Prospectus went through several iterations before the Mission 66 Chief William Carnes approved the final version in 1958. Lockett received support for much of what was in his original 1955 request, listed above—with a few exceptions. First, Regional Director Elbert Cox turned down the request for a helicopter, explaining “The idea of using a helicopter is certainly in line with MISSION 66 instructions that anything goes, but we question the proposal as being impractical for financial reasons.” Edward Zimmer, chief of the Eastern Office Division of Design and Construction (EODC) had concurred with this assessment, telling Lockett Fort Sumter was more accessible than Fort Jefferson, Isle Royale, and the Statue of Liberty sites, but that the problem in Charleston “is one of providing adequate boat service.”¹³

10. Lockett, “Prospectus for Fort Sumter,” 2, 4–5.

11. *Ibid.*, 3.

12. *Ibid.*, 5–7.

13. Memorandum from Elbert Cox to William Lockett, July 20, 1955, memorandum from Edward Zimmer to Elbert Cox, July 19, 1955, both in FOSU—Mission 66—1958 Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive.

Luckett suggested continuing the relationship with the concessioner to provide transport to the fort, which would end up in the final prospectus. Gray Line would continue to service the fort, with adults paying \$1.75 and children paying \$.75 for round-trip fare. The concessioner would give 15 percent of ticket sales to FOSU. Although the ferry would run year-round, a trip would not be made with less than ten passengers.

Luckett would not get a full duplication of staff as originally requested, but his personnel would increase by 50 percent with the addition of several positions including a janitor, maintenance worker, one laborer, and two additional historians (one seasonal). These would join the existing superintendent, clerk-stenographer, boat master, two laborers, and one historian already on-site.¹⁴

Elbert Cox also refused to approve the request for uncovering the fort's right side, citing the expense, the concern for its structural integrity, and the "questionable interpretive value" of what lay underneath. Luckett had already conceded that the left flank was the "best preserved," and so was the side "most appropriate for interpretation" in an earlier version of the Mission 66 plan.¹⁵ Excavation of the left flank would go forward as money permitted.

The changes approved in the final Mission 66 document promised a Fort Sumter that looks as it does in 2019. Much of the money designated for the overall project was used for conservation, visitor services, and excavation of the fill material. Conservation of the natural landscape was achieved by "Appropriate walks and signs. . . provided to discourage walking on old brick floors or climbing upon the broken remains of pillars, columns, or walls." Plans moved forward to install guard and hand rails and replace and shore up loose stones for both conservation and visitors' protection. Rather than go with the diesel generator, the document proposed the installation of a submarine power cable to James Island at the cost of \$55,400, which would be installed by the government, as it already maintained the telephone cable. The generator room would be converted to bathrooms. Construction of a new wharf was estimated to cost \$121,800, and Battery Huger's conversion to offices, lecture hall, and utility room was projected to cost \$120,700. The proposal maintained that by 1957, Battery Huger had been renovated to include a temporary museum, field office, and water purification system. The bulk of the \$689,300 budget request (\$130,100) would go toward excavation of the fort interior.¹⁶

In addition to the increased visitor services and conservation, staff strengthened interpretation at the site. Additional historians on staff enabled one to be at the fort 8:00–4:30 daily, and the one leading the tour was supported by the museum, markers, trailside exhibits, and literature. A vending machine sold postcards and pamphlets. Historians planned to conduct new studies on Fort Sumter from 1899 to 1942, the construction and combat history of the site, as well as a study of Confederate occupation, biographies of famous people related to the fort (surrendering US Major Robert Anderson was the example given), a study of Battery Wagner, a study of causes

14. Memorandum from William Luckett to Regional Director, April 20, 1956, and Mission 66 Prospectus, August 2, 1957, pp. 5, 3, 24, both in FOSU—Mission 66—1958 Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive.

15. Revised pages of Fort Sumter Prospectus, September 19, 1958, memorandum from Elbert Cox to Superintendent, September 17, 1958, and Luckett, Mission 66 Prospectus, July 1, 1955, p.1., FOSU—Mission 66—1958 Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive.

16. NPS, Mission 66 Prospectus, August 20, 1957, pp. 8–9, 11, 16, 24, 15, FOSU—Mission 66—1958 Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive.

and events leading to the firing on the fort, and the “organizations” present at the fort from 1865 until 1945. They also planned to compile a primary source book and write a short history of how Fort Sumter became a monument.¹⁷ As new as these studies might be, however, the interpretive tone appeared to remain the same as it was several years before. In the final draft’s “Management and Development Theme” section, the writer explained the site’s significance well within the traditional narrative of the war popular with many white Americans:

While the fort’s ruins bear silent testimony to these stirring events, it remains for the recently unearthed relics to acquaint us with the details of the story. Most important of all. . . is the message conveyed by two flags which were here at the time of the initial attack. They have returned, recently, to bear witness to a more perfect union between the States.¹⁸

It is important to understand that the citizens of the former Confederacy, particularly in South Carolina, had been indoctrinated with an old South and Lost Cause ideology in their educational system. Public schools of the former Confederacy emphasized a narrative of the Civil War as the “War between the States” for states’ rights, and they deliberately deemphasized slavery. The state of South Carolina required every student, white or black, to take South Carolina history in the eighth grade. In the 1950s and 1960s the required text was Mary C. Simms Oliphant, *The History of South Carolina*, and that text was still used by some school districts as late as the 1980s. The chapter “South Carolina before the War,” mentioned the words *slave* and *slavery* only four times. Oliphant instead emphasized the damage done to South Carolina by the victorious North. On Reconstruction, Oliphant wrote, “The men who ran the government were more dangerous than ordinary gangs of robbers. They took advantage of the ignorance and lack of experience of the Negroes.” She claimed, “The people who came into the Southern states to steal or to make their fortunes became known as carpetbaggers,” and “Some Southerners joined forces with the carpetbaggers to rob their own states. They were known as scalawags.” She thought one of the worst aspects of Reconstruction was that “To a large extent the carpetbaggers and scalawags managed to break up the old feeling of friendship and confidence” among blacks and whites. Her view of the Ku Klux Klan was favorable: “As the Klan became more active, murders, house burnings, and burglaries grew fewer.” One of the “interesting” homework assignments on Reconstruction was to “write a story about a boy or girl who lived in Reconstruction times and whose father took part in the Red Shirt Campaign of 1876,” the violent overthrow of Reconstruction.¹⁹ This was the cultural and social background in South Carolina with which the National Park Service had to interact and deal in this period.

Although staff obviously began using the term “Civil War” at some point during this period, the interpretive viewpoints offered would not challenge the sensibilities of white conservative southerners. At this point, this interpretation would have been supported by the prevailing histories written by scholars. The beginnings of white scholars’ challenges to traditional views of

17. NPS, Mission 66 Prospectus, August 20, 1957, pp. 7, 33–35.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

19. Mary C. Simms Oliphant, *The History of South Carolina* (River Forest, IL: Laidlaw Bros., 1964), 278–82

enslavement and the Civil War began in the late 1950s and 1960s in the academy, so the National Park Service reflected what was commonly understood to be the accepted interpretation.²⁰

The only point of uncertainty at the inception of Mission 66 that continued to plague FOSU staff was that of a mainland headquarters. Luckett had originally suggested the former hospital site at Fort Moultrie as a more desirable office and lecture hall space than the Chamber of Commerce, explaining that “since the state of South Carolina has never lived up to any part of its agreement with regard to Fort Moultrie, the latter be repossessed and used as headquarters for both forts.” There was not, at this time, any plan advanced for interpreting Fort Moultrie as a separate unit or site.²¹ In 1955, Zimmer concurred with the plan that “all Park Service activities at Fort Sumter be withdrawn from the City of Charleston” and relocated to Sullivan’s Island, either at Fort Moultrie or another nearby unit.²²

Several months later, however, another potential headquarters site emerged, via the Historic Surplus Properties Program. This program, initiated in 1949, enabled federal, state, and local agencies to acquire federal buildings no longer in use by the original agencies, which included military bases. The General Services Administration (GSA) reviews properties and screens for potential use by other applicants, and the buildings are given to other agencies for adapted usage.²³ In December 1955, Luckett noted that Glenn Gibson of the GSA “phoned me and inquired whether I considered the Custom House, here, ‘historical’ and worth saving. I replied in the affirmative and he agreed heartily.” Gibson supported erecting a new building for federal business. At this time, Luckett suggested to the Region One director that “Should Mr. Gibson’s recommendation be adopted, perhaps the National Park Service will acquire the Custom House, along with its excellent dock.”²⁴ Acting Regional Director William Carnes asked E. M. Lisle to explore the possibility of acquiring the US Custom House after the construction of a new federal government building. Luckett was hesitant, noting that building a new federal building would be subject to Congress’s whim. He also explained that the Custom House would be “most expensive to equip and maintain,” but admitted that he might “have to take it.” This, he said, would make “any development on Sullivan’s Island. . . worthless to us.” He suggested another revision to the final accepted prospectus, inserting the Customs House as the only potential site “since there is so much uncertainty as to whether we might be able to acquire a

20. Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Antebellum South* (New York: Vintage, 1956) was considered one of the first to challenge traditional interpretations of slavery. More would follow, but it would take time for the interpretations to reach public history. See also Thomas Pressly, *Americans Interpret Their Civil War* (New York: The Free Press, 1965). For more on the historiography of slavery and the causes of the Civil War, see Lacy Ford, ed., *A Companion to the Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2011).

21. Luckett, “Prospectus for Fort Sumter,” 7.

22. Memorandum from Edward Zimmer to William Luckett, July 19, 1955, FOSU—Mission 66—1958, unprocessed at Park Archive.

23. See Technical Preservation Services, *The Historic Surplus Property Program* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, n.d.), accessed August 13, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/orgs/1246/upload/historic-surplus-property-program.pdf>.

24. Memorandum from William Luckett to Director, December 1, 1955, Box 0185, Part 1 Dec 1954 to Dec 31 1955 Folder, A2823 Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1950-64 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP.

part of the old Fort Moultrie property.” In the fall of 1957, FOSU staff moved into the old Custom House. Lockett reported “The new quarters are most satisfactory in size and working arrangements.”²⁵

EXCAVATION



FIGURE 2.3 1957 EXCAVATIONS UNCOVERED CONCRETE STRUCTURES OF POST-CIVIL WAR SERVICE MAGAZINE AND SENTRY BOXES ON EITHER SIDE OF ENTRANCE (COURTESY OF NPS).

iron pot and butcher knife, pliers, and two belt buckles—one reading US, one SC—and a musket “in remarkable condition,” along with the usual bottles and cookware. Sheely explained the significance of the multiyear excavation project: “The structural plan and military functioning of the fort become clearer as these successive excavations expose additional areas of the original brickwork.”

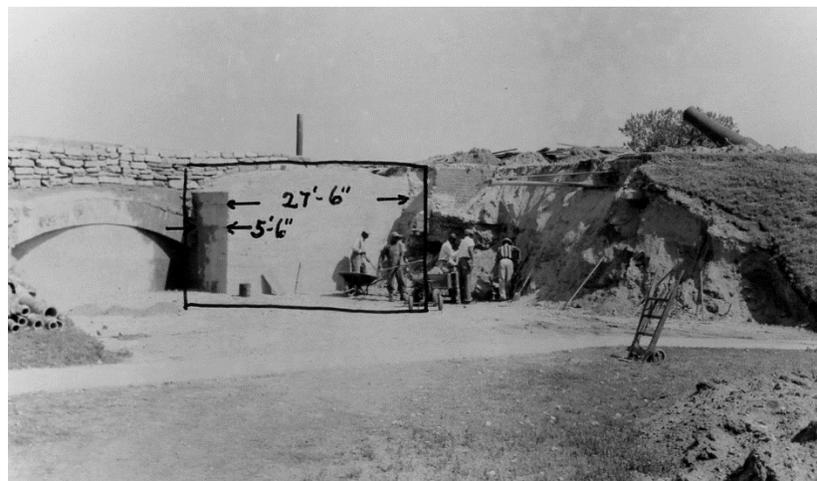


FIGURE 2.4 1957 EXCAVATIONS UNCOVERED THE CONCRETE REAR WALL OF MINING CASEMENT. THE EXCAVATION REPORT INDICATED “ONE OF THE LEFT FLANK GUNROOMS WAS CONVERTED TO THAT PURPOSE IN THE 1890’S” (COURTESY OF NPS).

In 1957, workers began excavating along the left flank of the barracks, which unearthed the enlisted men’s mess hall and cleared part of the parade ground side of the left gunrooms. The staff listed for this work included a foreman representing the private contractor, an engineer from the EODC, and the historians on-site, as well as laborers. There is no evidence that the historians were trained in archeological methodology. Workers planned to remount and exhibit a 42-pound cannon in the cleared room. Historian Horace Sheely reported finding a cast

25. Memorandum from William Lockett to E. M. Lisle, January 29, 1958, FOSU 66—Mission 1958 Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive; William Lockett, September 1957 Narrative Report, October 10, 1957, Box 0185, P3 From July 1, 1957 Folder, A2823 Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1950-64 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NPS.



FIGURE 2.5 1957 EXCAVATIONS UNCOVERED A POST-CIVIL WAR GUN EMPLACEMENT OVER LEFT FLANK BARRACKS RUINS (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 2.6 1957 EXCAVATION AREA. THE EXCAVATION REPORT DESCRIBED "FILL OVER NORTHERN SECTION OF ENLISTED BARRACKS ON WESTERN FLANK" (COURTESY OF NPS).

He also posited that all excavations moved interpretation forward, as “Ruined quarters present a vivid picture to the imagination of the Fort under concentrated war-time attack.”²⁶

These smaller excavations were but a dress rehearsal for the major projects undertaken with Mission 66 money. Congress designated \$327,000 for Fort Sumter projects, including constructing a new wharf and excavating the esplanade, as well as for maintenance and other administrative costs.²⁷ Included in this excavation would be the east walls where eleven Parrott rifles lay buried, first damaged by a hurricane in 1893 and then buried completely and sealed into the rooms. Other excavations included razing nonperiod masonry, excavating four additional gunrooms, filling gunroom roof holes with concrete and adding a concrete wall under Battery Huger to prevent erosion.²⁸ Chitwood Housemoving Company out of Columbia received a \$36,000 contract to begin removals.²⁹



FIGURE 2.7 1959 EXCAVATION REPORT STATED, “PARADE GROUND RESTORED TO ORIGINAL ELEVATION. TWO 15-INCH RODMANS ARE MOUNTED ON SLABS OF STONE. FEDERAL GARRISON MONUMENT IS BEING RELOCATED” (COURTESY OF NPS).

26. William Lockett, 1959 Excavation Completion Report, n.d., p. 3, Fort Sumter N.P.S. 1959 Completion Report Excavation folder, unprocessed at Park Archive; Horace Sheely Jr., “Excavation Report, Mar 27–8, 1957,” quotation on p.1, FOSU—1957 Excavation report folder, unprocessed at Park Archive. This excavation report has a complete and detailed list of artifacts found.

27. “Park Service to Spend \$327,000 at Fort Sumter during 1958-9,” clipping in Fort Sumter—1957/9 Excavations, Reports, Completed Photos Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive.

28. Norman Spell, “Excavation Will Begin at Fort Sumter Today,” Charleston News and Courier, December 30, 1958, clipping in Fort Sumter—1957/9 Excavations, Reports, Completed Photos Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive.

29. Belvin Horres, “Uncharted Walls Slow Excavation at Fort Sumter,” Charleston Evening Post, January 17, 1959, clipping in Fort Sumter—1957/9 Excavations, Reports, Completed Photos Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive.



FIGURE 2.8 1959 EXCAVATION REPORT STATED, "100-PDR PARROTT PROJECTILE LODGER SECURELY IN WALL OF A GUNROOM ON LEFT FACE" (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 2.9 1959 EXCAVATION REPORT PICTURED "BIG BULLDOZER PLUNGES FIRST INTO THE FILL ON LEFT FACE" (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 2.10 1959 EXCAVATION REPORT SHOWED "THE FIRST ROOM OPENED ON THE RIGHT FACE[.] IT, LIKE 6 OTHERS, WAS FILLED WITH SAND" (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 2.11 1959 EXCAVATION REPORT STATED, "NEXT THEY RAN UP AGAINST THE SALLYPORT WITH ITS UNUSUALLY THICK WALLS AND CEILING. THE SERVICE MAGAZINE AT RIGHT WAS EVEN TOUGHER" (COURTESY OF NPS).

Battling weather problems, equipment breakdowns, and the isolation of the site, Chitwood began to excavate the site in 1959. Workers used bulldozers for the large excavation, then used smaller excavators, and finally dug by hand. They also used explosives to blast out the magazine. By the end of the first month, workers had removed and stored the Anderson Memorial flagpole, taken down four rear retaining arches along the left flank, as well as a post-1860s concrete gun mount and several walls. More than five feet of sand fill was removed, and workers found a 200-pound Parrott gun in the process. Historian Horace Sheely wrote “Excavation has gone deep enough on [the right face rooms] to reveal much more post-Civil War concrete than was anticipated. A large circular gun mount has been removed, and part of a large service magazine also.” Further excavation uncovered a 10-inch mortar and two cannons. The fill was pushed over the right flank and left for the tide to take, on the left side it was expected fill would just become part of the sandbar, and all concrete was put over the left flank for riprap. As excavations moved forward, Sheely noted that the Explosive Ordnance Disposal Unit of the Atlantic Minecraft Base disarmed unearthed shot and shells, which eventually were stored as artifacts.³⁰



FIGURE 2.12 1959 EXCAVATION REPORT PICTURED THE CREW DUMPING THE SAND INTO THE HARBOR: “HIGH TIDES WOULD SOON SCATTER IT” (COURTESY OF NPS).

30. Lockett, 1959 Excavation Completion Report; Horace Sheely Jr., January 1959 Narrative Report, February 3, 1959 and February 1959 Narrative Report, March 3, 1959, both in Box 0185, Part 3 From July 1 1957 Folder, A2823 Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1950-64 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NPS.



FIGURE 2.13 A PICTURE OF SOME WORKERS FROM THE 1959 EXCAVATIONS (COURTESY OF NPS).

Throughout the winter and spring, crews continued to remove the fill north and west of Battery Huger and the esplanade west of the comfort station. Lockett proposed a relocation of the flagpole memorial to where the flagpole was in 1861, and workers moved the Federal garrison monument. The fill was a big challenge; the level of fill on the ground ranged from 3.5 to 19.5 feet deep. Crews dumped the sand onto the sandbar located between the fort and Morris Island and used concrete and large stones as riprap on the left flank exterior. They encountered problems with undocumented walls that slowed them down, as well as with removing a 20,600-gallon cistern that had been reinforced by steel. By late spring of 1959, crews restored Fort Sumter back to as close as it could look to 1865, having spent almost \$47,200 and five months to do so.³¹

31. Lockett, 1959 Excavation Completion Report.



FIGURE 2.14 FEDERAL GARRISON MONUMENT RELOCATED (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 2.15 FORT SUMTER BEFORE 1959 EXCAVATION (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 2.16 FORT SUMTER AFTER 1959 EXCAVATION (COURTESY OF NPS).

INTERPRETATION

With the excavation complete, park officials turned their focus to on-site interpretation, with specific focus on building a permanent museum. In 1959, the museum planning team of Mr. Kent and Mr. Feaser worked on-site with Architect Benson of the EODC who, according to Luckett, “was able to design an effective and attractive circulation pattern in the rather rigidly prescribed museum floor space of an existing military structure.” A year later, staff historian Horace Sheely went to Columbia and Sumter, the town which had the same name as the fort, to look for material for the new museum and conduct research for the museum script. He found a life-sized painting of Thomas Sumter in Sumter’s City Hall.³² With space mapped out and researched conducted, the time had come to build and install.



FIGURE 2.17 THE 1961 MUSEUM ATOP BATTERY HUGER (COURTESY OF NPS).

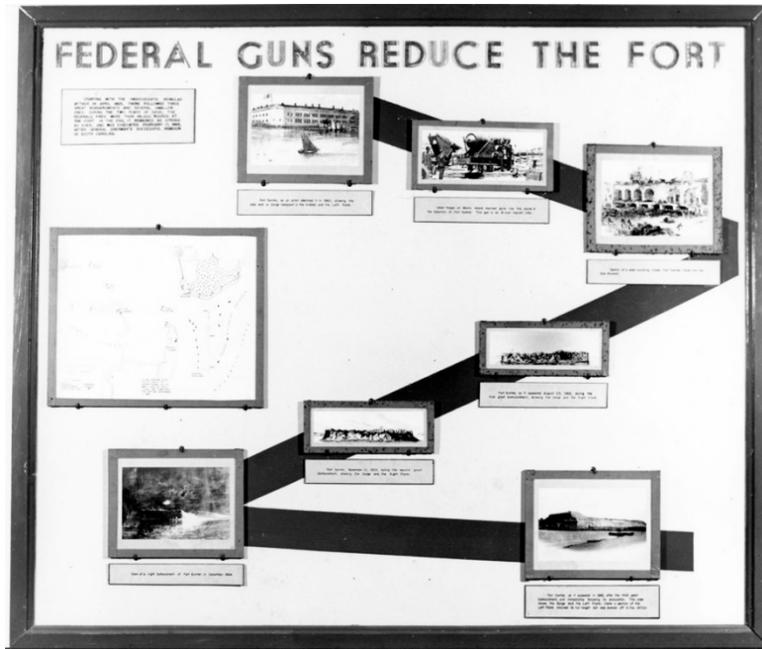


FIGURE 2.18 "FEDERAL GUNS REDUCE THE FORT" EXHIBIT IN THE 1961 MUSEUM (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 2.19 AN EXHIBIT FROM THE 1961 MUSEUM (COURTESY OF NPS).

In June 1960, Charleston Construction, Inc., won the bid to construct a museum on top of Battery Huger by enclosing the disappearing gun position at a cost of \$117,986. The Charleston Evening Post explained that the “old Charleston brick”-faced museum would house “Exhibits. . . arranged in panorama style to tell the story of Fort Sumter from the beginning of its construction in 1800 until its fall at the end of the War Between the States.” Exhibits on the fort’s construction, role in coastal defense, “The Pentagon in Charleston Harbor,” “Fort Sumter becomes a Powder Keg,” and exhibits on the United States surrender and the Confederate occupation would rely on artifacts like building materials and ammunition, a scale model of the fort in 1860.³² Reporter Belvin Horres noted that the Charleston Library Society had given the museum a “rare book” on constructing ordnance that had belonged to former mayor William Courtenay. According to Horres, Luckett told him “Fort Sumter National Monument is very anxious to obtain authentic mementoes of the War Between the States either as gifts or on loans. These include uniforms, arms, pictures, drawings, letters, documents, and anything else connected with the war.”³³ In

32. “Fort Sumter Museum Bids Opened By Park Service,” Charleston Evening Post, January 20, 1960, clipping in Ft. Sumter National Monument Clippings 1960 Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive.

33. Belvin Horres, “Rare Book to Be Shown in Fort Sumter Museum,” Charleston Evening Post, clipping in Ft. Sumter National Monument Clippings 1960 Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive.

their attempt to build an artifact-heavy museum, staff reached beyond the walls of the fort to find more material culture than just the arms, ammunition, and other artifacts unearthed in the excavation.

In planning the museum exhibit, local staff benefited from the professionalization of the museum division that had occurred over the past three decades. Until the mid-1930s, NPS museums had been characterized by what historian Ralph Lewis described as “existing amateurism.” When Carl Russell took over development for the historical parks east of the Mississippi, he helped to standardize exhibit practices. He created a centralized museum staff, established curatorial positions both centrally and on-site, and supported the preparation of a guide for exhibits that focused on developing historical narratives.

The Museum Lab was established at Ford’s Theater in December 1946 until it moved to a location on L Street in Washington, DC, and Fort Hunt, Virginia, several years later. Staff prepared exhibits and dioramas for historic sites. It was this staff that assisted FOSU staff in museum development. By October 1960, eight exhibit cases were placed in the museum. In early 1961, an NPS museum team arrived from Washington, DC, and spent the better part of a week on the actual installation of the exhibit, and the chief of the Branch of Interpretation from Washington visited shortly thereafter. Superintendent E. J. Pratt opined, “They did a

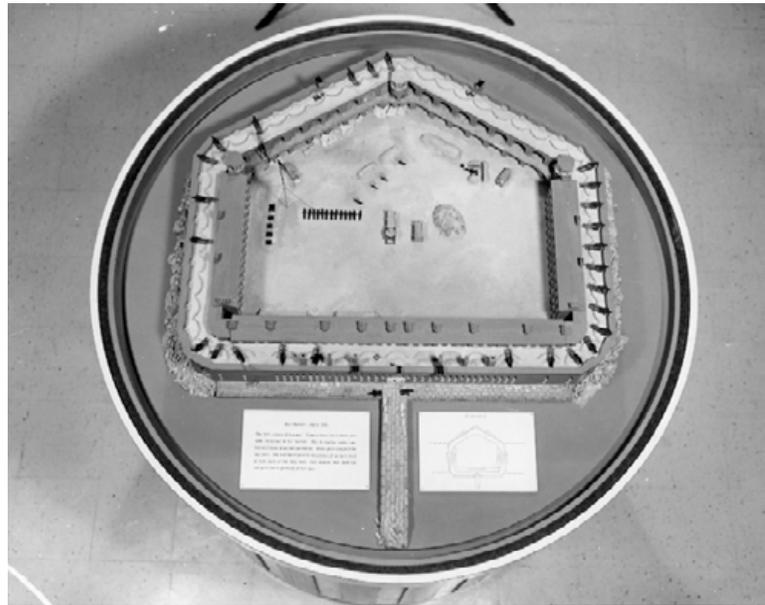


FIGURE 2.20 A SCALE MODEL OF FORT SUMTER IN THE 1961 MUSEUM (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 2.21 “FORT SUMTER BECOMES A POWDER KEG” EXHIBIT IN THE 1961 MUSEUM (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 2.22 "THE PENTAGON IN CHARLESTON HARBOR"
EXHIBIT IN THE 1969 MUSEUM (COURTESY OF NPS).

marvelous job and we are convinced that Fort Sumter has the best museum in the nation. The diorama and model are outstanding." He also raved about the designers. He said they created an open feeling in the museum with "plenty of elbow room" between the exhibits, which was a challenge given its location atop Battery Huger. Pratt noted the museum would be dedicated on April 12, with support from the Charleston Civil War Centennial Committee, College of Charleston, the mayor's office, and the Chamber of Commerce.³⁴

As plans for the museum came to fruition, staff also worked on interpretation at the rest of the site, which involved significant partnership with outside donors. For some time, NPS officials had been planning the transfer of a casemate carriage for a 42-pounder smoothbore cannon from the Department of Corrections in Lorton, Virginia. They finally received that piece in



FIGURE 2.23 A MODEL OF THE FIRING ON FORT SUMTER IN THE
1961 MUSEUM (COURTESY OF NPS).

August 1961 and mounted it to the right of the sally port. Staff had to return the Beauregard sword donated by the city. They received an equally relevant piece, though; the niece of Captain George James, Confederate commander of the mortar attack on Fort Sumter that signaled the first shot in the Civil War, donated his sword. Staff installed the piece in the museum with a label manufactured by the Museum Lab.³⁵

34. Lewis, *Museum Curatorship in the National Park Service*, 50–95; William Lockett, October 1960 Narrative Report, November 4, 1960, and E. J. Pratt, January 1961 Narrative Report, February 3, 1961, and E. J. Pratt, March 1961 Narrative Report, April 9, 1961, all in Box 0185, Pt. 4 1-1-60 Folder, A2823 Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1950-64 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NPS.

35. E. J. Pratt, August 1961 Narrative Report, September 8, 1961, and E. J. Pratt, September 1961 Narrative Report, October 10, 1961, Pt. 4 1-1-60 FOSU Folder, and E. J. Pratt, April 1962 Narrative Report, May 10, 1962, Pt. 1 FOSU 1/1/62 Dec 31 1965 Folder, all in Box 0185, A2823 Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1950-64 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP.

At the same time, historians continued to advance research and mount exhibits outside of the museum itself. They completed a Fort Sumter combat history draft, and in March 1962, NPS staff repainted the interpretive signs at Fort Sumter. Pratt described an outside installation they crafted near the sally port: “a small cannon ball exhibit consisting of 14 shells weighing 42 pounds each and 7 inches in diameter.” In addition, the crew installed nine interpretive signs at Forts Sumter and Moultrie in September 1962. In all, Mission 66 prompted a tremendous amount of activity related to interpretation, and the staff at FOSU, working in concert with regional NPS officers and community members, made dramatic progress as they excavated the structure and installed exhibits in the museum and as wayside signs throughout the site.³⁶ It appeared the research that historians conducted accompanied the artifacts excavated as they worked on text for both signs and museum labels.



FIGURE 2.24 PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE 1961 MUSEUM SHOW “PLENTY OF ELBOW ROOM” (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 2.25 THE 1961 MUSEUM WAS A MULTILEVEL SPACE WITH STAIRS, WHICH THE NPS WOULD NEED TO ADDRESS IN LATER RENOVATIONS (COURTESY OF NPS).

36. Hobart Cawood, February 1962 Narrative Report, March 8, 1962, and E. J. Pratt, September 1962 Narrative Report, October 11, 1962, both in Box 0185, Pt. 1 1/1/62–Dec 31 1965 Folder, A2823 Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1950-64 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP.

VISITOR SERVICES

Visitor services as outlined in the Mission 66 proposal moved ahead as well; several implemented in this period focused specifically on safety measures. Laborers installed guard rails above the excavated terreplein in 1955. Two years later, a maintenance crew installed a guard rail on top of the gunrooms near the excavated space to keep people from the 15-foot drop to the floor. By 1960, they had laid a rock wall along the entrance of the esplanade. As Luckett explained, laborers “levelled the stone slabs in the right face gunrooms, at the main salient, and along the left face tour route.” The work crew also laid brick in the left face gunrooms and left shoulder angle to replace missing stone slabs to even out the floor. In 1962, Superintendent E. J. Pratt reported that “The chain and pipe guard around the right flank of the fort was completed during March and is serving its purpose well, especially when large school groups are involved.”³⁷ Given the relatively small staff on-site, the new safety measures must have been a welcome addition, especially when children outnumbered adults on field trips.

Work also proceeded to provide more facilities for visitors. In 1958, Gray Line Tours company began construction on a dock paralleling the old one at the end of King Street. The new concrete dock at Fort Sumter was completed and opened by early February 1960. In addition, Luckett announced plans to receive bids on installing the power cable between the fort and James Island. During repurposing of Battery Huger in 1960, crews installed new air conditioning units, museum walls, walls for an office for the superintendent, new ductwork, and new plumbing with the removal of old sewer lines. New plumbing could not accommodate the influx of visitors after 1960, however, because the site suffered from lack of water. In the early 1960s, visitors could get water only from an 8,500-gallon cistern, as a larger one had been sealed in the 1961 renovation. Twice in 1962, comfort stations and water fountains ran out of water. Maintenance crews worked in 1962 to reopen the previously sealed 10,500-gallon cistern, which they completed by February 1963. The concessioner and park staff also made a change to the tour schedule in 1961 to better accommodate visitors; Gray Line began allowing visitors sixty minutes on-site prior to the departure, rather than thirty minutes as had been the restriction since they began running tours in the early 1950s.³⁸

37. William Luckett, November 1955 Narrative Report, December 1, 1955, Part 1 April 54–Dec 1955 Folder, William Luckett, April 1960 Narrative Report, May 10, 1960, Part 4 Folder 1-1-60 Folder, William Luckett, June 1957 Narrative Report, July 3, 1957, P-3 From Jul. 1, 1957 Folder; and E. J. Pratt, March 1962 Narrative Report, April 13, 1962, Pt. 1, FOSU 1/1/62 Dec 31 1965 Folder, all in Box 0185, A2823 Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1950-64 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP; “Bids Sought for Cable to Fort Sumter,” *Charleston Evening Post*, January 30, 1960, clipping from Ft. Sumter National Monument Clippings 1960 Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive. While the superintendent used the term “gun room,” current park staff note that “casemate” is a more accurate description.

38. Luckett, April 1960 Narrative Report; Pratt, July 1961 Narrative Report; William Luckett, September 1958 Narrative Report, December 4, 1958, Jul. 1, 1957 Folder; E. J. Pratt, July 1961 Narrative Report, August 14, 1961, Pt. 4 1-1-60 Folder, William Luckett, May 1960 Narrative Report, June 6, 1960, both Part 4 1-1-60 Folder, and E. J. Pratt, January 1963 Narrative Report, February 12, 1963, and February 1963 Narrative Report, March 13, 1963, both in Pt. 1 1/1/62–Dec 31 1965 Folder, all in Box 0185, A2823 Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1950-64 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NPS; “Bids Sought for Cable to Fort Sumter,” *Charleston Evening Post*, January 30, 1960.

These Mission 66 changes came none too soon for the influx of visitors Fort Sumter received in the early 1960s. While much of the visitation could possibly be attributed to interest related to the Civil War centennial, tourists were already coming to the site in droves prior to 1960. In July of that year, Superintendent Lockett reported the second-highest visitation ever, with 8,914 people coming to the site. As he noted, though, the tour boats could not handle all the traffic and turned potential visitors away. In 1960, a total of 51,750 visited the fort. By August 1961, 56,707 had visited the site, smashing previous records. A year later, Superintendent E. J. Pratt wrote, “All previous visitation records for August were broken. . . when 10,499 came to the Fort.” He also wrote of a new phenomenon: “A huge increase in private parties in private boats has been noted in the past 12 months, and August is the largest yet.” The next month, Pratt recorded fifty private boats docked on Labor Day alone. He had picked up on this trend two months earlier, seeing that “local people” were visiting more in their boats, with “The results. . . that people are on the fort continuously.”³⁹



FIGURE 2.26 PARK GUIDE GEORGE CONDON LEADS AN INTERPRETIVE TOUR IN GORGE RUINS, 1963 (COURTESY OF NPS).

PROTECTING CULTURAL AND NATURAL RESOURCES

With the influx of visitors came pressures on Fort Sumter’s cultural and natural landscape. The fort’s unique situation within the harbor challenged conservation of both manmade and natural resources. The first half of the Mission 66 era, 1957–1963, saw increased attention to preservation issues as excavation unearthed artifacts and original structures that required attention. In 1957, historians Sheely and Pemberton worked to “save a number of projectiles recovered during recent excavations,” according to Superintendent Lockett. They cleaned and soaked shells and case shot, and a crew from the Atlantic Minecraft Base undertook “the more technical phases of disarming.” Once that was complete, they painted and prepared these artifacts for exhibit. The historians consulted with preservation specialist from Washington, DC, Harry Wandrus, and followed his suggestions for the preservation of the fireplaces unearthed in the first major excavation. In 1958, Regional Museum Curator Elizabeth Albro also visited the site several times, first apparently assisting in the way the staff kept records and also ostensibly enabling or encouraging the staff to inventory all artifacts valued at more than fifty dollars. A

39. Pratt, July 1961 Narrative Report, Pratt, August 1961 Narrative Report; Pratt, September 1962 Narrative Report; William Lockett, September 1960 Narrative Report, October 8, 1960, and William Lockett, July 1960 Report, August 3, 1960, in Part 4 FOSU 1-1-60 Folder; E. J. Pratt, August 1962 Narrative Report, September 14, 1962, and July 1962 Narrative Report, August 10, 1962, all in Pt. 1 1/1/62–Dec 31 1965 Folder, all in Box 0185, A2823 Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1950-64 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NPS.

year later, “the charming Miss Elizabeth Albro” returned to consult on treatment of sixteen cannons uncovered, according to Acting Superintendent Raymond Smith.⁴⁰ Although Elizabeth Albro was a trained museum professional with more training than local staff, Smith’s description of her undercut her expertise with gendered language. No evidence exists to suggest that Harry Wandrus or any other regional or national staff garnered descriptions of their personalities. While this may well have been Smith’s own writing style, it also reflects the fact that the National Park Service, like the society at large in this era, was extremely male dominated at the time, from the national office down to local sites.⁴¹

Regional and national staff collaborated on artifact preservation efforts the first half of the Mission 66 period, focusing on best conservation practices. Wandrus returned in 1959 to consult on preservation before the opening of the site museum and took some artifacts back to the Museum Lab in Washington, DC, for conservation. A year later he returned to inspect “recently treated cannon. . . [and] projectiles.” He took back several of those projectiles for further conservation so they could be displayed in the museum exhibit. Albro returned with a colleague in 1962 to discuss problems with rust on a large cannon excavated in 1960. Prior to their consultation, the staff had attempted to preserve the cannons by rubbing them with linseed oil biannually. After the consult, staff cleaned six of the guns and applied a first coat of red lead paint. Local interpretation staff continued to enlist the assistance of regional officials, possibly because they could not keep up with the conservation efforts. So many projectiles had been unearthed by 1962 that Superintendent Pratt noted, “A representative collection will be sent to the Museum Lab for preservation and treatment.” He even offered some of these artifacts to other NPS Civil War sites. Later that summer, Pratt said that overall, park interpretive staff documented and conserved a few tons of projectiles and other military artifacts during the excavation period. All ordnance was elevated from the ground, cleaned, and painted for preservation.⁴² As FOSU staff worked with trained professionals from the regional office, they learned and employed the most up-to-date curatorial methods developed by the top experts at the National Park Service.

With increased visitation also came increased visibility, and that posed potential problems the staff had not previously encountered. In October 1958, Charlestonians woke to find a three-by-five-foot battle flag flying over the fort with painted placards reading “WE CAN BE PUSHED TOO FAR!” “SAVE YOUR CONFEDERATE MONEY!” “DO BLUES FORGET SO SOON!” “WE DID IT BEFORE! . . . AGAIN?” This made the news and exposed the fact that lack of security could indeed be a problem at the site. Superintendent Lockett reported that four College of Charleston students were responsible for what he called a “prank.” While we do not

40. William Lockett, July 1957 Narrative Report, August 2, 1957, and William Lockett, May 1958 Narrative Report, June 7, 1958, P 3 from July 1, 1957 Folder, Raymond Smith, November 1959 Narrative Report, December 3, 1959, P 3 From July 1, 1957 Folder, all in Box 0185, A2823 Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1950-64 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP.

41. In 1950, only 33 percent of the workforce was female. In 1960, the percentage had climbed but was still under 40 percent. “Changes in men’s and women’s labor force participation rates,” Bureau of Labor Statistics, January 10, 2007, <https://www.bls.gov/opub/ted/2007/jan/wk2/art03.htm>.

42. Lockett, June 1950 Narrative Report; William Lockett, January 1960 Narrative Report, February 5, 1960, Part 4 FOSU 1-1-60 Folder, E. J. Pratt, May 1962 Narrative Report, June 11, 1962, and E. J. Pratt, June 1962 Narrative Report, July 11, 1962, Pt. 1, 1/1/62–Dec 31 1965 Folder, all in Box 0185, A2823 Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1950-64 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NPS.

know the motivations of the students, they hailed from a college that took itself private rather than integrate during this period, and the language was unabashedly pro-Confederate. We do not know what happened to the students, but this was not the only trespassing incident. Not even a year later, someone broke into the office and stole money from Eastern National Park and Monument Association (ENPMA) cash register, binoculars, and fifty feet of tape. Perhaps these events finally prompted NPS officials to think more seriously about security. In 1961, Douglas Brazell became the first night guard at the fort, serving Wednesday through Sunday with a relief guard the remainder of the week.⁴³

Coastal properties face all manner of threats unique to their locations. Staff grew concerned about weather-related threats to cultural and natural resources. Fort Sumter's precarious position was exposed when Hurricane Gracie came ashore in September 1959. As Lockett reported, luckily it hit at low tide, but "At the same time water covered the parade ground at least 1 ½ feet in depth, partially undermined the parade-side of Battery Huger, covered the area with mud and debris, knocked down a part of the rock wall of the left flank and carried away most of the boards on the little dock." He suspected salt water had leached into the cistern, and the site lost telephone service, which indicated there had been damage to the underground cable. Storm damage also caused a slope adjacent to the right face gunroom to cave in several months later, and money received from a storm damage fund enabled laborers to fix that problem. Laborers also had to install a drainage system in the gunrooms and waterproofed Battery Huger in 1960 because of climate challenges. By December 1960, Lockett announced that the maintenance crew had installed curbing to protect the power line at the gorge and were building a retaining wall on the left side of the fort entrance. He noted, "When completed, there will be no more water coming through and entering the fort during extra high tides."⁴⁴ Clearly, the staff of FOSU had high expectations for engineering water away from the fort, which unfortunately were not realized, as the fort continues to flood in high tides that are accompanied by rain and/or high winds or king tides, even in 2019, according to NPS Manager/Assistant Public Affairs Officer Dawn Davis.⁴⁵

43. Lockett, June 1959 Narrative Report; William Lockett, October 1958 Narrative Report, November 5, 1958, P 3 From July 1, 1957 Folder, Edison Lohr, February 1961 Narrative Report, March 6, 1961, Part 4 FOSU 1-1-60 Folder, all in Box 0185, A2823 Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1950-64 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP. For a history of College of Charleston's integration efforts, see George Benson, Remarks on the 40th Anniversary of the Desegregation of the College of Charleston, 2008, accessed August 13, 2019, <http://president.cofc.edu/documents/40thdesegregation.pdf>.

44. William Lockett, September 1959 Narrative Report, October 6, 1959, and William Lockett, December 1959 Narrative Report, January 6, 1960, Part 2 1-1-58 Folder, Raymond Smith, June 1960 Narrative Report, July 6, 1960, and William Lockett, December 1960 Narrative Report, January 10, 1961, Part 4 FOSU 1-1-60 Folder, all in Box 0185, A2823 Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1950-64 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NPS.

45. Dawn Davis, written comments to authors, May 21, 2019.



FIGURE 2.27 AERIAL VIEW OF FORT SUMTER, CA. 1960 (COURTESY OF NPS).

shutters over museum windows in preparation. They worked from six in the evening until two in the morning securing the site. The hurricane veered away from Charleston, but the dry run of the evacuation plan appeared to be a success.⁴⁶

Not all environmental threats to Fort Sumter were weather related. In the early 1960s, the Army Corps of Engineers dredged the Charleston Harbor. In 1962, officials announced that the Corps would deposit the dredged material between Fort Sumter and Fort Johnson on James Island. The Corps proposed turning the deposit into a causeway between the forts. According to Acting Superintendent and Supervisory Historian Hobart Cawood, some local people and organizations began to clamor for a causeway directly to the site. FOSU staff, however, were decidedly less enthusiastic. He noted that the staff believed that such a deposit of material “adjacent to Fort Sumter would be an encroachment on the fort’s historic scene.” He mentioned a Charleston newspaper report that cited NPS Director Wirth’s concern with the project as well. Although Pratt and NPS Regional Engineer Kierner met with Corps officials, nothing was resolved by early 1962.⁴⁷

CIVIL WAR CENTENNIAL COMMEMORATION

Part of the reason so much activity happened between 1957 and 1961 was interest in the Civil War centennial. In fact, legislation in the 1950s designated the National Park Service the “general administrative agent” of the commission, and Congress gave it the charge to get all Civil

Tides and hurricanes have always threatened Charleston, and in 1961 staff devised an evacuation plan. In 1963, Superintendent Pratt reported that he instituted the plan as Hurricane Ginny bore down on the Charleston coast. He explained that when Civil Defense called for Sullivan’s Island evacuations, park employees gathered at Fort Moultrie, now the headquarters for FOSU, “to make things ready for an undesired visitor.” They moved files, books, and equipment to a safe storage site, and “Fort Sumter was whiffed into shape” as workers placed

46. E. J. Pratt, October 1963 Narrative Report, November 12, 1963, Box 0185, Pt. 1 FOSU 1/1/62 Dec 31 1965 Folder, A2823 Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1950-64 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP.

47. Cawood, February 1962 Narrative Report.

War sites ready for the centennial.⁴⁸ Centennial planning began with individuals, but Congress created a CWCC that would oversee events, many of which would be supported by the National Park Service staff at sites around the country. As historian Robert Cook explained, the interpretation of the Civil War would radically depart from narratives concocted by reconciliationists in the past, which would lead to what he termed a “Troubled Commemoration.”⁴⁹

The Civil War centennial, according to Cook, was designed by its white, almost entirely all-male federal commission, to unite the country. He argued, “the new agency labored to make the planned commemoration a weapon of the cultural cold war—a popular heritage bonanza that would reinforce government calls for civic action and vigilance by educating Americans about the brave deeds and deeply-held values of their nineteenth-century precursors.” In this way, organizers embraced the original “orthodox narrative” of the Lost Cause, focused on the shared values of nobility of leaders and soldiers, sacrifice and suffering, and reconciliation. The commemoration, he claimed, was decidedly not an “interracial affair,” as most white Americans believed African Americans to have been “essentially passive” in the Civil War, showing loyalty to white southerners. Although African Americans pushed back, largely in response to racist commemorations of the war in the South, and some academic historians, black and white, tried to challenge narratives of black passivity and the Lost Cause ideology, popular activities focused primarily on reinforcing traditional and exclusionary interpretations.⁵⁰

The federal commission’s stand on Civil War interpretation enabled traditional narratives to flourish in the South. Its lack of funding from Congress ensured that local and state commissions’ activities would take precedence. This would be particularly problematic in the South. Cook explained, “As long as southern organizers understood that the commemoration was conceived primarily as a weapon in the cultural cold war, they were free to celebrate their

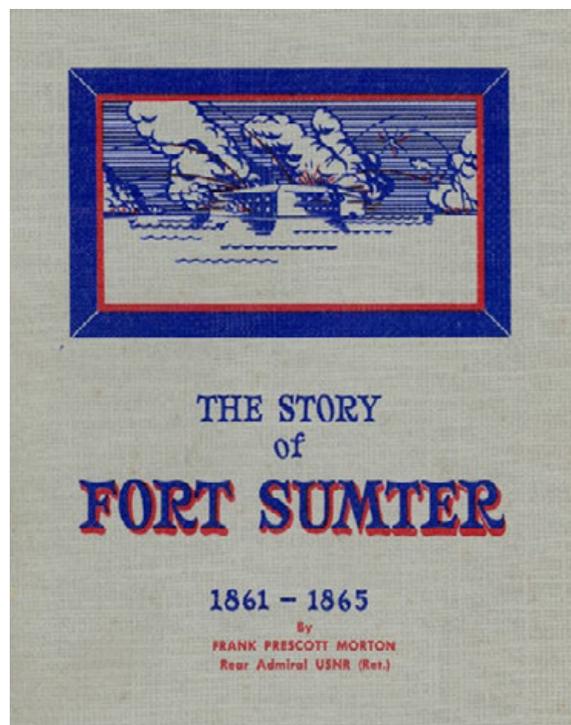


FIGURE 2.28 TITLE PAGE OF FRANK PRESCOTT MORTON’S *THE STORY OF FORT SUMTER, CENTENNIAL EDITION* (COURTESY OF NPS).

48. Robert Cook, *Troubled Commemoration: The American Civil War Centennial, 1961-1965* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007), 25–26.

49. Cook, *Troubled Commemoration*, 15, 34–35, 41.

50. Cook, *Troubled Commemoration*, 15, 41–42, 60, 155–60. The makeup of the Civil War Commission was, Cook explained, “a motley collection” of business leaders, historians, Civil War Roundtable participants, and politicians, who received their appointments from Eisenhower. Nixon handled the Senate appointments. Members included the CBS chairman, noted battlefield historian Bruce Catton, two Department of Defense officials, a handful of Senators and Congressmen, Conrad Wirth (representing the interests of the NPS), and David Mearns of the Library of Congress (pp. 31–32). Each state would make up its own commission, and the federal commission would “advise” local ones.

nineteenth-century past as they saw fit.” And many saw fit to use commemorations, in his opinion, to uphold white supremacy at a time of challenge by African Americans. In essence, white southern commemoration commissions used the Civil War as a rallying cry to uphold white supremacy in an era when African Americans flouted Jim Crow laws and battled for civil rights through sit-ins and other public demonstrations of civil disobedience.⁵¹ As early as February 1956, Superintendent Lockett reported attending the “South Centennial Conference” at the Fort Sumter Hotel, at which they began to discuss planning “the 100th anniversary observances of the War Between the States.”⁵² Given that the hotel was segregated, and the language used at the meeting, it is clear that local NPS staff would not be the ones to advance a more progressive or inclusive narrative at that time.

South Carolina’s state commission certainly illustrated Cook’s assertions about upholding Lost Cause ideology, which would cause problems for Charleston’s Civil War centennial activities later on. As Cook noted, the chair of the state commission was known as “‘Mr. Confederate’ for his enthusiastic attachment to the Lost Cause.” As early as 1960, one member of the South Carolina Senate gave a speech warning against allying with any commission created in Washington, talked about northern hypocrisy on issues of integration, claimed Lincoln attacked first, and pointed out the less-than-stellar history of the US government in its relations with American Indian tribes and nations. Cook described the senator’s speech as “A long list of southern grievances in which those of the past merged seamlessly with those of the present.” As one of the first states to create a commission, according to historian Kevin Allen, many on the South Carolina Commission balked at using the term “Civil War.” They titled their newsletter the “Rebel Yell,” and a booklet explained the Civil War as the federal government’s usurpation of state rights and the rights of slaveowners.⁵³

Charlestonians wanted pageantry as they planned for the centennial. CWCC executive director Karl Betts had told a senator that it discouraged reenactments because of the time involved in preparation. Historians on the committee had wanted to focus on scholarly exercises. However, reenactments were included in a list of suggested activities in a pamphlet disseminated by the CWCC. Lockett became embroiled early on in a battle over how Fort Sumter would be used during reenactments, not, however, because of any concern over interpretation. In the late 1950s, Charleston’s Junior Chamber of Commerce (Jaycees) determined that it wanted to do a historical pageant, locally written and performed by Charleston residents. Likening it to the major Cherokee production “*Unto These Hills*,” Jaycee president Stan Kohn determined that with support perhaps the pageant could be turned into a month-long festival. At first, Associate NPS Director E. T. Scoyen wrote to Stan Kohn “We are very much interested in the project,” but as the federal CWCC had just been formed, the National Park Service expected to work through that organization to plan events. At this point, the National Park Service did not have a

51. Cook, *Troubled Commemoration*, 62, 76.

52. William Lockett, January 1956 Narrative Report, February 7, 1956, Box 0185, Part 2 From January 1956 Folder, A2823 Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1950-64 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP.

53. Cook, *Troubled Commemoration*, 71, 77-78; Kevin Allen, “The Second Battle of Fort Sumter: The Debate over the Politics of Race and Historical Memory at the Opening of America’s Civil War Centennial, 1961,” *The Public Historian* 33, no. 2 (May 2011): 97, 99.

policy against reenactments, although it would formulate one after the reenactment of the Battle of Manassas in July 1961.⁵⁴

When queried on his opinion, Luckett was decidedly against the idea. Regional Director Elbert Cox noted in a memo to Luckett that “our present policy is not favorable to re-enactments,” but with so many anticipated requests “we will have to review our general policy.” Luckett agreed with Cox wholeheartedly and responded that while he had not corresponded with Kohn, “I hope that he does not have in mind a reenactment of the battle. I saw this tried here and at Fort Pulaski and both attempts were complete failures.” He suggested a reworking of the narrative to divert the plan to Fort Moultrie and Major Anderson’s evacuation of December 26, 1860. He gave two reasons: “publicity on Charleston would be drawn out” so would be beneficial for all of the events, and also, “It is quite probable that he would prefer to play up Anderson’s move as the first overt act rather than have the Confederates credited with it on April 12.”⁵⁵ We cannot know why Luckett was so decidedly against using Fort Sumter as the stage for a pageant or why Pulaski’s reenactment was such a failure. Perhaps the fort’s inability to accommodate a large crowd was his major concern. Considering that he thought casting Anderson as the aggressor would tempt Kohn, it does not seem that Luckett was concerned about the way Fort Sumter might appear to those less enamored with the idea of a Confederate pageant on national grounds.

Although NPS officials continued to try to put off Kohn, he would not back down from his plan to hold a major pageant at the fort. He wrote to Conrad Wirth, enclosing a clipping from the local newspaper about the Mission 66 updates to Fort Sumter and saying, “We, believe here that such an undertaking at this time might interfere with tentative plans to stage an outdoor pageant on the Fort itself in 1961.” He complained that he could not even get the name of a local staff person with whom to converse about the plans. He also wrote to US Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina asking for his support, who then wrote his own letter to Wirth strongly supporting this request. At this point, Luckett had to respond directly to Kohn, who wrote to him in April 1958. Luckett explained, “Pageants are fine and can accomplish many worthwhile objectives. However, any attempt to stage one at Fort Sumter would meet with many difficulties.” He cited the “fragile nature of these remains” and the small area not suitable for

54. Cook, *Troubled Commemoration*, 38, 41, 44, 47. Among the more sedate suggestions for commemorations were memorial services, educational presentations and publications, and archive-building. “Fort Sumter Pageant Plans Being Made by Jaycees,” *Charleston News and Courier*, April 28, 1958, and E. T. Scoyen to Stan Kohn, October 28, 1957, Box 0698, A8227 Special Events, Expositions and Other Special Events, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1957-58 File, 1st subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP. Note: the Junior Chamber of Commerce is an international service/leadership development organization for members between ages 18–40. It was open only to men at this particular time. For more information, see Wikipedia, “United States Junior Chamber,” last modified May 25, 2019, 6:03, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Junior_Chamber. For information on the NPS policy on reenactments during the centennial, see Joan Zenzen, *Battling for Manassas: The Fifty-Year Preservation Struggle at Manassas National Battlefield Park* (College Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 68–71. The Manassas Superintendent Francis Wilshin enthusiastically encouraged the large reenactment. Many spectators enjoyed it. Some were concerned, however, that the NPS had spent too much time and money in setting up the reenactment. In addition, the reenactment reinforced some earlier concerns about damage to natural resources, as wagon wheels and campers negatively affected the landscape. Others worried about the reenactment’s commercialism and tendency toward celebration rather than commemoration of a terrible loss of life. This is something the CWCC had earlier worried about, and NPS officials grew concerned that in the future they and NPS staff could be held accountable for fostering this atmosphere. As a result, NPS Director Conrad Wirth banned any other reenactments on park lands (with the exception of one that was already planned at Antietam). Instead, ordnance demonstrations, drilling, and other smaller parade-type reenactments were encouraged.

55. Memorandum from Elbert Cox to William Luckett, November 5, 1957, and memorandum from William Luckett to Elbert Cox, November 7, 1957, both in Box 0698, A8227 Special Events, Expositions and Other Special Events, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1957-58 File, 1st subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP.

audience or participants. He also pointed out the lack of transport and docking facilities, as well as there not being nearly enough comfort or water stations on-site to accommodate the large crowds. He suggested Fort Moultrie as an alternative and concluded, “We are anxious for Fort Sumter to play a role in the commemorative events of 1961 that fully reflect its significance. Our development plans are directed to that end.” And if he could help with a pageant in a way to “offset the difficulties, described, we will be happy to cooperate in every way possible.”⁵⁶

Ultimately, Luckett got his way in avoiding Fort Sumter as a staging area for this large event. He and Historian Sheely met with three representatives of the Jaycees on-site and took them to Fort Moultrie as well. He told Elbert Cox that they seemed to be interested in Moultrie and would be getting in touch with the state of South Carolina and the US Navy to discuss possibilities. Kohn was convinced, writing to Luckett, “I feel certain that all concerned will now agree that Fort Sumter will play a much better part in the 1961 celebration in its finished state, open to interested tourists rather than to a large group attending a pageant.” Kohn also wrote to Wirth, “the members of this group earnestly agree with Mr. Luckett that any attempt to place an outdoor drama directly on Fort Sumter would not be feasible.” He did, however, praise Luckett and his staff for their “keen desire. . . to cooperate.”⁵⁷

A commemorative historical pageant did eventually take place—at the Citadel Stadium, with five hundred participants. The pageant highlighted significant people and events in Charleston’s history, but as historians Eric Kytte and Blain Roberts noted, just a few African American Charlestonians were represented. And while the pageant mentioned indentured servitude, it did not discuss slavery at all.⁵⁸ Given that the pageant happened at a segregated college, it would not be amiss to speculate that the audience was most likely entirely white.

Although the National Park Service managed to keep itself out of the historic pageant business, local officers willingly participated in, and promoted, other centennial events. It planned a “War of 1861 Roundtable,” in Luckett’s definition, for which it received “considerable publicity” in the year leading up to the centennial. The first meeting of what came to be known as the Civil War Roundtable convened at the Custom House with thirty-three people present, and superintendent reports would continue to note it through the commemoration years. By 1961 E. J. Pratt wrote in his superintendent report that the reenactment of the “Star of the West” attempt to resupply Fort Sumter in January 1861 drew a crowd of 20,000 people to the Battery.⁵⁹

56. Stan Kohn to Conrad Wirth, January 6, 1958, E. T. Scoyan to Stan Kohn, January 20, 1958, Stan Kohn to Conrad Wirth, February 10, 1958, Scoyan to Kohn, February 17, 1958, Kohn to Strom Thurmond, March 17, 1958, Thurmond to Wirth, March 19, 1958, Kohn to Luckett, April 21, 1958, Luckett to Kohn, April 25, 1958, all in Box 0698, A8227 Special Events, Expositions and Other Special Events, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1957-58 File, 1st subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP.

57. Memorandum from William Luckett to Regional Director, May 16, 1958, Stan Kohn to William Luckett, May 16, 1958, Stan Kohn to Conrad Wirth, May 19, 1958, all in Box 0698, A8227 Special Events, Expositions and Other Special Events, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1957-58 File, 1st subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP.

58. Ethan J. Kytte and Blain Roberts, *Denmark Vesey’s Garden: Slavery and Memory in the Cradle of the Confederacy* (New York: The New Press, 2018), 298.

59. Luckett, January 1960 Narrative Report; Pratt, January 1961 Narrative Report; William Luckett, February 1960 Narrative Report, March 2, 1960, Box 0185, Pt. 4 FOSU 1-1-60 Folder, A2823 Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1950-64 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP.

But this reenactment was minor compared to the commemoration of the firing on Fort Sumter, which ended in tremendous controversy. Although the National Park Service was not responsible for events that happened on Charleston's peninsula, the debacle surrounding the Fort Sumter commemoration, in the words of Robert Cook, "proved to be a defining moment for the centennial" that almost halted the rest of the planned observances.⁶⁰ Charleston tourism boosters saw commercial opportunities for the promotion of the battle of Fort Sumter, and the city invited the Civil War Centennial Commission to Charleston for its fourth annual meeting to coincide with the reenactment of the battle. The commissioners from each state would stay and enjoy events at Francis Marion hotel for several days before the reenactment. When New Jersey's delegation was informed that their African American member, Madaline Williams, would not be allowed to stay at the segregated hotel and the CWCC said it would abide by local Jim Crow laws, New Jersey, New York, and Illinois announced their intent to boycott the event. President John F. Kennedy demanded first that the event be desegregated and then moved the official gathering to the Naval Base in North Charleston, a desegregated federal property but far removed from the peninsula. Southern members remained at Francis Marion and heard speeches supporting segregation by several politicians, including Strom Thurmond, the prominent South Carolina senator who had broken from the Democratic party to run as a "Dixiecrat" segregationist and "states' rights" presidential candidate in 1948. White southerners were outraged by what they saw as federal intervention into their territory. African Americans and white allies did not think the federal government went far enough because it did not directly confront Jim Crow laws.⁶¹

Some overtly challenged Charleston's segregation and the handling of the commemoration, but it did little to change the overall tenor of the event. Madaline Williams and another delegate attended an NAACP rally at historical Mother Emanuel AME Church while in Charleston. They heard prominent black historian Benjamin Quarles discuss African American history and NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins denounce the Charleston meeting. Someone also painted the Confederate soldier statue on the battery blue with the inscription "The Yankees Have Landed." In addition, NPS employee Nathan G. Baker declined when the South Carolina centennial commission asked him to erect the Confederate flag atop Fort Sumter, albeit "with

60. Cook, *Troubled Commemoration*, 88–89.

61. *Ibid.*, 88–94, 100, 105–8, 115–16, 120; Allen, "The Second Battle of Fort Sumter," 100–101, 105; K. Michael Prince, *Rally 'Round the Flag, Boys! South Carolina and the Confederate Flag* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004), 39–40.



FIGURE 2.29 FRONT PAGE OF LOCAL NEWSPAPER *NEWS AND COURIER AND CHARLESTON EVENING POST* ON APRIL 11–12, 1961.

every possible sympathy” because at that time only US flags were flown over the fort to show ownership.⁶²

Still, commemorative activities went on as planned, with more than 65,000 people attending a parade to mark the firing on Fort Sumter and thousands lining the Battery to watch the fireworks reenactment led by Citadel cadets in Civil War-period dress. There was a monument installation, a costumed ball, and other events in the three-day period. Kytle and Roberts explained that “Confederate flags and hats were everywhere.”⁶³ In the year that South Carolina began flying the Confederate flag over the state house, ostensibly over commemoration, but keeping it up in protest against the growing civil rights movement, the flying of personal Confederate flags made white Charlestonians appear decidedly against integration and equality.

So what was the role of FOSU staff in all of this? It is hard to tell. Extant official records are noticeably silent on recording any of the

problems. The monthly narrative report reveals just one problem. On April 12, 1961, torrential rains, fifty-miles-per-hour winds, and a tornado that touched down on James Island forced NPS officials to rework plans as travel to Fort Sumter was out of the question that day. Instead, NPS officials held a commemorative stamp-cancelling ceremony with the United States Post Office at the Customs House, with about 600 people in attendance. The “Mock Attack,” as Pratt defined it, “was a very rousing affair and many favorable comments were received.” He reported about 60,000 in attendance and no accidents for the forty-five-minute reenactment, and explained that only 12,168 people visited the fort itself during the events, due entirely to the bad weather. Of the conflagration over segregation in downtown Charleston, Pratt said absolutely nothing. What we do know, however, is that 1961 was a very good year for visitation, as 65,537 visited the fort in that year, a 22 percent increase over the previous year.⁶⁴ NPS staff did not detail who visited the fort. However, given the fact that the entire centennial incident in Charleston derailed other commemorative events by showing Charleston’s determination to maintain segregation, coupled with the still-massive crowds attending special events when the weather was excellent, suggests that white Charlestonians wholeheartedly embraced the white southern version of

62. Allen, “The Second Battle of Fort Sumter,” 107; Prince, Rally ‘Round the Flag, Boys!, 41, 43.

63. Kytle and Roberts, Denmark Vesey’s Garden, 298; Allen, “The Second Battle of Fort Sumter,” 100.

64. E. J. Pratt, April 1961 Narrative Report, May 13, 1961, and E. J. Pratt, December 1961 Narrative Report, January 8, 1962, in Box 0185, Pt. 4 FOSU 1-1-60 Folder, A2823 Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1950-64 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP.

events. We cannot know how local staff felt about the events, but silence could speak volumes about their complicity. Perhaps they remained silent because they did not disagree with the events as they happened. Perhaps they were quiet so as to not discourage white visitors, the mainstay of the tourist population at this time. Perhaps records on the subject are lost. But silence often denotes an unwillingness to challenge dominant norms, and given the homogeneous nature of the staff, that could well have been the case.

COMMUNITY AND CONCESSIONER DEVELOPMENTS

The Mission 66 focus was on providing a better experience to visitors, and staff at FOSU embraced this concept wholeheartedly through programming both on and offsite. As they improved the site structure and interpretation, they also continued to reach out to the community to provide education. In 1957, Historian Horace Sheely wrote to the principals of all schools in South Carolina and Georgia to invite them to see the ongoing excavation work at Fort Sumter.⁶⁵

Staff made many presentations for community groups in this period, from local clubs to 150 members of the UDC attending their annual state convention, where Supervisory Historian Cawood gave a talk on “Historical Preservation.” FOSU also ventured into visiting educational efforts, in 1961 providing “materials. . . for an exhibit on Fort Sumter to the Indiana State Teachers Convention.” They sent a brick, grapeshot, a handbook, and postcards to the convention.⁶⁶ In this way the goals of Mission 66 extended even beyond the boundaries of the city of Charleston. Local residents were not excluded from efforts, either; in 1963, FOSU staff teamed up with Texaco Oil Company for a promotion—Texaco gave free passes for boat service and leased a boat from the concessioner to transport the ticketholders. This promotion brought 4,415 “mostly local residents” to the site in just one month.⁶⁷

With the influx of visitors came a need for better ways to market materials. At some point it must have become apparent that vending machines selling pamphlets was not going to be an adequate way to address the situation. During this period, ENPMA established a presence at the site and took over sales. In July 1961 alone, the association made just over \$479 in sales of 751 Fort Sumter handbooks and 291 Fort Sumter Battle Booklets, a record which it held for just one month, as it sold just over \$545 in pamphlets a month later. Bringing in ENPMA to manage the sales would take the pressure off the regular staff at Fort Sumter, who had their hands full dealing with the thousands of visitors flocking to the site.⁶⁸

The biggest change to visitor services in this period came with the replacement of the tour boat concessioner, which led to a contentious court battle. Trouble with Gray Line Tours appeared

65. Horace Sheely to Principal, February 25, 1957, Box 0421, Pt 2 FOSU Folder, A3815 Public Relations, With Federal, State, and Local Agencies, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1952-64 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP; E. J. Pratt, June 1963 Narrative Report, July 12, 1963, Box 0185, Pt. 1 1/1/62–Dec 31 1965 Folder, A2823 Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1950-64 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP.

66. Pratt, September 1961 Narrative Report. Multiple narrative reports from this era list the specific presentations given to various groups.

67. Pratt, June 1963 Narrative Report.

68. Pratt, July 1961 Narrative Report; Pratt, August 1961 Narrative Report.

to be brewing as early as 1960 when E. J. Pratt reported concern with Gray Line's once-a-day schedule and passenger minimum in the off season. He wrote: "Several others including one school group desired morning trips and Gray Lines refused to change. . . Two days Gray Lines failed to operate, for lack of a sufficient number of visitors at the 2:00 PM departure time." Later, NPS Director Hartzog wrote to Undersecretary of the Interior John Carver that Pratt had received complaints from visitors that the stopover at Fort Sumter was too short and too much time was spent touring the harbor. Moreover, he noted the displeasure with the fact that only one boat was available and this limited the number of visitors who could come to the fort. Hartzog's letter put this transportation issue squarely within the purview of Mission 66, as he noted the "improvements" made via excavation and the building of the museum, and that "the first requirement was to provide more adequate and dependable scheduled transportation service." To that end, staff received permission to seek bids for a concessioner for the first time in 1961. George E. Campsen, a South Carolina state senator, received a five-year concessioner's contract to begin transport in January 1961 on his boat the *General Beauregard*, a boat he had built specifically for transport of 190 passengers for \$50,000 and a smaller one he leased that the Coast Guard approved for the transport of 48 passengers.⁶⁹ This began the relationship with Fort Sumter Tours, still owned by the Campsen family and in operation today.

Gray Line Tours, Inc., refused to accept the decision of the National Park Service to go with a new concessioner and fought to continue service using every channel available to the company. First, owner C. O. Thompson simply refused to stop transporting passengers to the fort. Visitors were noticeably confused, and in the first month with the new concessioner, Gray Line transported 661 people, while Campsen took only 183. Although the Department of the Interior had officially notified Thompson, and Pratt also gave two warnings, only a federal court injunction in February 1962 stopped Thompson from operating. Thompson would eventually appeal the ruling, charging that the National Park Service did not hold title to the dock, only the fort, and that the National Park Service was depriving Gray Line of its property without due process. The original ruling was upheld in US Federal District Court.⁷⁰

C. O. Thompson continued to make stops at the fort, despite Pratt's concerns. Pratt told the Regional Director that Thompson lined up several tours, including a group from the Southeast Travel Bureau, one from the South Carolina Bar Association, and a group of doctors, apparently free of charge. Pratt asked for advice in how to deal with Thompson and these large tours he was scheduling, as continued commercial use by unapproved commercial boats "eventually. . . will get out of hand causing an incident and publicity which we do not want." Regional Director of

69. E. J. Pratt, November 1961 Narrative Report, December 12, 1961, Pt. 4, 1/1/60 Folder, and E. J. Pratt, January 1962 Narrative Report, February 12, 1962, Pt. 1, FOSU 1/1/62 Dec 31 1965 Folder, both in Box 0185, A2823 Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1950-64 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP; Memorandum from George Harzog Jr. to John Carver, March 8, 1966, Box 844, Part 1 Gray Line Water Tours FOSU from 1966 Folder, C3823 Concessions Contracts and Permits, Procedures, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], Grey Line Water Tours, 1961-1967 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP. Fort Sumter Tours currently has a newer boat (1971) also named *General Beauregard*, which seats 300 passengers.

70. Pratt, November 1961 Narrative Report; Pratt, January 1962 Narrative Report; Cawood, February 1962 Narrative Report; Memorandum from George Hartzog Jr. to John Carver, March 8, 1966, Memorandum from E. J. Pratt to Regional Director, July 18, 1962, and "Court Upholds Ruling Against Gray Lines," clipping, all in Box 844, Part 1 Gray Line Water Tours FOSU from 1966 Folder, C3823 Concessions Contracts and Permits, Procedures, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], Grey Line Water Tours, 1961-1967 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP; Barbara Stambaugh, "Battle of Fort Sumter is Sent to Appeals Court," *Charleston News and Courier*, July 18, 1961.

Conservation, Interpretation, and Use E. M. Lisle told him to allow Thompson to keep bringing passengers but let the regional officers know if they learn of any “fares. . . being paid.” Lisle was skeptical that Thompson would continue to transport passengers for free long enough to hurt the business of Fort Sumter Tours. But Lisle was wrong. After representing itself as the authorized concessioner, Thompson’s company took money from a group of African Americans attending a religious conference. Gray Line refused to refund the money, and instead took the group out on a tour of the harbor. According to Pratt, their boat was “traveling in a line to Fort Sumter” and when it was mere yards away from the fort, someone called a bomb threat into the local newspaper. Of course the Coast Guard ordered the boat to the nearest dock for inspection. So the passengers got their Fort Sumter trip—although the fort was closed. The night guard opened the comfort station and water fountains to the hapless guests, but the museum and all interpretive activities remained closed. Several hours later the boat was cleared to return to the mainland. Pratt’s review of the incident to Lisle detailed exactly the kind of publicity he may well have been concerned about in the first place, as the story made the papers.⁷¹

Thompson would continue to lobby to regain his lost business, all the way through the initial five-year contract held by Campsen. To Assistant Secretary of the Interior John Carver he charged that the “recent program of the Park Service has been grossly mishandled” and that Pratt “has gone beyond his limits in several departures from the contractual agreement.” To other officials he claimed that Gray Line lost the contract because “affront apparently was taken by someone in the National Park Service” when he inadvertently crossed out the new landing permit fee of \$100 dollars and sent in a check for \$25 dollars, as it had been in the past. Documents reveal that Pratt and his superiors had to spend quite a bit of time responding to these accusations.⁷²

Thompson fought unsuccessfully for the contract after the five-year period, but Campsen won the right to continue as concessioner. Gray Line was at a disadvantage, given the fact that concessioners with positive evaluations received preferential treatment. In addition, in the bid Campsen agreed that Fort Sumter Tours would build a new 250-passenger boat within two years of the contract, improve and expand the dock at a cost of \$260,000, and complete a visitor center at not less than \$95,000 if boat service moved to Fort Moultrie. At this point, Campsen was made “aware of his equal employment opportunities” because he had “zero employment of

71. Memorandum from E. J. Pratt to Regional Director, December 13, 1963, memorandum from E. J. Pratt to Elbert Cox, August 9, 1963, and memorandum from E. M. Lisle E. J. Pratt, May 17, 1963, all in Box 844, Part 1, Gray Line Water Tours FOSU Pt 1. 1962–3 Folder, C3823 Concessions Contracts and Permits, Procedures, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], Grey Line Water Tours, 1961-1967 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP.

72. C. O. Thompson to John Carver, October 25, 1963, “Projected Plans and Important Facts About the Gray Line Water Tours,” January 22, 1966, and numerous memorandums and documents located in Box 844, Pt 1, Gray Line Water Tours 1962–3 and Part 1, Gray Line Water Tours FOSU from 1966 folders, C3823 Concessions Contracts and Permits, Procedures, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], Grey Line Water Tours, 1961-1967 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP.

minorities” to this point. Although problematic, the government had not set a specific plan to require diversity in workforces of contractors at this point, so the Chief Administrator of Contracts Compliance agreed to the contract extension.⁷³

CONCLUSION

The Mission 66 period saw dramatic improvement to the interpretation, conservation, and visitor services at Fort Sumter, but this period was not without controversy. From battles over the meaning of the Civil War to challenges with the change of concessioners, Superintendents Luckett and Pratt and FOSU staff appeared to try to remain above the fray, defending themselves only when necessary. They tended to focus narrowly on the site itself, perhaps as a defensive maneuver so as not to be drawn deeper into controversy. But the staff appeared silent during the battles in the early 1960s over commemoration of the Civil War, and in their own choice of interpretative activities lost an opportunity to create more inclusive narratives and programming. And with the increase of visitors came the challenges associated with accommodating thousands of people on a small island, which demanded the time and attention of NPS staff.

73. Memorandum from George Hartzog Jr. to Edward Hummel, December 7, 1967, and memorandum to Chief, Concessions Management from Houston Turner, both in Box 844, Part 1 Gray Lines Water Tours from 1/1/66, C3823 Concessions Contracts and Permits, Procedures, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], Grey Line Water Tours, 1961-1967 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NPS. According to Section 10.2.7.1 of the NPS Commercial Visitor Services Policy, concessioners are encouraged to promote diversity in their workforces as a “sound business practice” but there were no are still no specific numbers about how diverse employees should be. Given that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission had only been established by the Civil Rights Act only two years earlier, it is not surprising that there was no movement by Campsen on this issue.



CHAPTER THREE
THE FORT MOULTRIE ACQUISITION PERIOD,
1960-1972

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CHAPTER 3: THE FORT MOULTRIE ACQUISITION PERIOD 1960–1972

OVERVIEW

At the same time FOSU staff were finishing up major excavation and finalizing the museum exhibit, they were handed a new challenge: the National Park Service received possession of Fort Moultrie from the state in 1960. From 1960 to 1972, staff conceived of a new Master Plan to govern both areas, while historians, maintenance staff, rangers, and the superintendent worked to both restore and interpret a new site and maintain Fort Sumter without any appreciative increase in staff.

Fort Moultrie, like Fort Sumter, was steeped in military history and came with a set of cultural and natural preservation challenges. Like Fort Sumter, Fort Moultrie benefited from Mission 66 funds. The National Park Service in Charleston, however, faced a series of challenges related to the Sullivan’s Island site that were completely new to them. First, Fort Moultrie was not just a fort that experienced action in several key wars, it was also the site of an active naval installation. Moreover, many changes had been made through the twentieth century, and the site had an active Harbor Entry Control Post during World War II. Second, Fort Moultrie and a surrounding parcel of land had been deeded to the state of South Carolina in 1950. While the site generally lay neglected for a decade, it had become part of the landscape of Sullivan’s Island, and the townspeople were reluctant for the state to release some of the land that interested the National Park Service. Upon receiving the quitclaim for just under 15 acres, NPS staff had to envision an expanded timeline that went beyond the Civil War in its interpretation. Moreover, they had to manage constant drainage problems that threatened the structure and the interpretive exhibits inside—all while managing Fort Sumter. Furthermore, they had to do all of this within the confines of the fort’s structures themselves during this period, as there was no money designated for expansion.

Fort Moultrie is located on Sullivan’s Island and was in use by the military from 1776 through World War II. The first fort, built of palmetto logs, repelled an attack by the British naval fleet in 1776, and subsequent forts were built in the same area. Famed Seminole leader Osceola was imprisoned and died at the fort in January 1838. His remains are onsite, joined by an infant, and marked with a granite stone inside an ornate iron fence. Next to Osceola are the presumed remains of five crewmen from the sixty-two who perished in 1865 when their ironclad USS *Patapsco* hit a mine. The remains were sent to Fort Moultrie in 1873, and a granite obelisk was erected presumably in the twentieth century, some time before 1915.¹

Fort Moultrie was in use through the end of World War II, when the army deeded it and almost one hundred surrounding acres over to the state of South Carolina in 1950 as part of the government surplus properties program. South Carolina intended to build a historic monument

1. WLA Studio, Fort Moultrie Fort Sumter Cultural Landscape Report 95% draft, prepared for National Park Service, March 2019, 38, 58, 67.

complex here, but it never came to fruition.² Fort Moultrie was linked to Fort Sumter by a shared history; it was from Fort Moultrie that Major Anderson evacuated to Fort Sumter. But Fort Moultrie did not experience the bombing that Fort Sumter did through the Civil War; as a result, it was not in a state of ruin. However, because it is located on the mainland of Sullivan's Island, through World War II, the military simply expanded the area as it constructed needed buildings.³

LAND ACQUISITION AND THE COMMUNITY

Discussions about the acquisition of Fort Moultrie by the National Park Service predated NPS ownership of Fort Sumter, at least locally with the Charleston Historic Commission. It was mentioned in several iterations of the Mission 66 prospectus as a possible administrative headquarters site, with no mention of possible interpretive development. In fact, the National Park Service began negotiating with the state of South Carolina for possession of the land as early as 1957. In a Boundary Status Report in 1957, FOSU Superintendent William Lockett said he wanted to enlarge the district to include 1.7 acres on Sullivan's Island. He argued "This tract was . . . acquired by the State as surplus property . . . for historical purposes. It has not so far been developed or used by the State for any public purpose." But the NPS staff got no traction on this issue until 1960, when Superintendent Lockett mentioned in a narrative report that he and Administrative Aide Raymond Smith visited the site and the Sullivan's Island Township office "in connection with a report concerning the status of Fort Moultrie property." Chief Historian Herbert Kahler and his wife came to visit the next month to view Mission 66 work but also, as Supervisory Historian Horace Sheely noted, to "survey the potentialities of a joint Sumter-Moultrie development and interpretation."⁴ Several months later, a local newspaper ran a story claiming the National Park Service hoped to secure a 36 acre plot that included Fort Moultrie. "Reports from Columbia" said that the state was ready and willing to make the transfer. At this time, interpretive plans focused solely on Civil War activities; the article said Kahler would like the National Park Service to receive the property before the centennial of the war so it could be available to visit during the commemoration. Kahler also said that acquiring the property would provide a fuller picture of Charleston Harbor's activities during the war.⁵

The process to obtain the land around Fort Moultrie involved negotiation between local, state, and US Navy officials. The state of South Carolina deeded 14.3 acres to the National Park Service in September 1960, which included the old fort, on top of which stood Shipboard Electronics System Evaluations Facility. Later that year, Mr. Harriman from the regional office came down to study land records and officially filed the deed provided by the state of South Carolina for 14.3 acres of land that included Fort Moultrie. The attorney general officially

2. Memorandum from Donald Lee to Mr. Harrison, January 25, 1961, and A. Heaton Underhill to Walter Brown, n.d., both in Box 27, Fort Sumter 1965 to December 1960 Folder, Land Acquisition Files, 1933-70 (Division of Land Acquisition), RG 79, NACP.

3. For more information on the National Historic Preservation Act see "National Historic Preservation Act," National Park Service, December 2, 2018, <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/historicpreservation/national-historic-preservation-act.htm>.

4. Lockett, February 1962 Narrative Report; Lockett, April 1962 Narrative Report; E. T. Scoyen to Region One Director, July 15, 1975, and William Lockett, Boundary Status Report, May 3, 1957, both in Box 27, Folder 1, Land Acquisition Files, 1933-70 (Division of Land Acquisition), RG 79, NACP.

5. "U.S. Hopes to Develop Ft. Moultrie," Charleston Evening Post, April 6, 1960.

accepted the quitclaim deed on January 9, 1961, but the transition of this small parcel signaled only the beginning of a laborious land acquisition phase that lasted more than half a decade.⁶

While this quitclaim was a small victory for the staff who had worked to secure the land since at least 1957, it became clear that obtaining the 14 acres was only the beginning of site development. First, NPS officials had to attempt to secure more land from the township of Sullivan's Island and the state. This became apparent as early as September 1962 when US Congressman Dante Fascell of Florida asked about relocating Osceola's remains to Florida. When NPS officials inquired into the gravesite, they found no reference of the land in the original 1950 state land parcel, although the surveyor had been asked to include it. It also revealed that to adequately interpret the old fort, the National Park Service would have to obtain additional tracts of land surrounding the site. An undated Status of Land Acquisition Report stated that "The state has indicated a willingness to go along with our wishes if the local people through the local Township Commissioners agree." At a meeting in 1965, this transfer had not happened. In a report issued on a meeting between Superintendent Paul Swartz, a SER representative, and several others, including Fort Sumter Tours owner George Campsen, the Chief of the Division of Concessions Management Thomas Flynn wrote, "This land acquisition is touchy as the land on either side of the parade ground was erroneously sold by township, according to National Park Service." Private residences and Catholic church buildings stood on that land. In addition, the town was concerned about giving up its building used for civil defense.



FIGURE 3.1 A COMMUNITY BUILDING ON TRACT 17. A 1963 REPORT EXPLAINED, "THIS PROPERTY IS NEEDED TO PROVIDE SPACE FOR APPROPRIATE MAIN ENTRANCE TO THE FORT MOULTRIE AREA" (COURTESY OF NPS).

After several conversations, state and town officials acquiesced to a land exchange. NPS officials agreed to release from their request a strip of land that the town had been planning for a playground, as well as a parcel along the eastern boundary that had houses on it already.

6. Lockett, October 1960 Narrative Report; Memorandum from William Lockett to Harry Sanders, October 17, 1960, Theodore Stevens to Perry Morgan, November 14, 1960, and memorandum from Donald Lee to Chief, Recreation Resource Planning, January 9, 1961 all in Box 27, Folder 1, Land Acquisition Files, 1933-70 (Division of Land Acquisition), RG 79, NACP.

Officials also agreed to leave the church buildings alone with the possibility of removing them later, as well as to allow the township to use Construction 230 for its civil defense activities. The town and the state signed quitclaim deeds to the National Park Service on August 8, 1966, that included the land between granite markers at the intersection of Central Avenue and West Fort Street to 430 feet on the west right of way to Osceola Street, and land comprising what is now the visitor center through to Battery Jasper and to the harbor on the cove side—what is seen today. The acting chief of land and water rights acknowledged receipt of the quitclaim deeds on May 25, 1967. In a letter to Furman McEachern Jr., the director of the State South Carolina Budget and Control Board, Acting Assistant Director Leslie Arnberger recognized the significant role played by community partners in land acquisitions: “Only with the aid and cooperation of governmental bodies at the State and local level can the National Park Service effectively administer and support its many programs.” Ultimately, the National Park Service received deeds for 14.5 acres by 1967.⁷



FIGURE 3.2 THE STORAGE BUILDING ON TRACT 17 (COURTESY OF NPS).

The National Park Service also had to deal with the US Navy, which was reluctant to leave the facility located atop old Fort Moultrie. Superintendent E. J. Pratt wrote to Regional Director Elbert Cox that officials with the Navy preferred a long-term lease in their current facility, but that should the state deed Battery Logan or Construction 230, the facility could move there. Citing the Navy’s belief that the cost would be about \$350,000 to \$500,000 to relocate, Pratt explained that the Navy preferred to stay on site with a fifty-year lease because they were about to put tens of thousands into upgrades. He wrote, “We trust that

7. Memorandum from Director to Regional Director, Status of Land Acquisition and Concession Proposal, Fort Sumter National Monument, September 13, 1962; and memorandum from Thomas Flynn to Director, December 14, 1965; Status of Land Acquisition and Concession Proposal, Fort Sumter National Monument, June 1966, memorandum from Elbert Cox to Swartz, July 6, 1966, Quitclaim draft prepared 1966, Robert Hollings to F. E. McEachern, August 8, 1966, all in Folder 2; Memorandum from Acting Chief, Office of Land and Water Rights to Swartz, May 25, 1967, Leslie Arnberger to Furman McEachern Jr., August 2, 1967, both in Folder 3, all in Box 27, Land Acquisition Files, 1933-70 (Division of Land Acquisition), RG 79, NPS; William Barnes, Narrative Report, June 12, 1967, unprocessed at Park Archive.

by some means the Navy can be induced to vacate the Fort Moultrie site so that we may proceed with the development when the time arrives.” The Navy’s special use permit was scheduled to expire in January 1964. In a response to a request to remain atop the old fort, Acting Assistant Director Howard Stagner wrote to the Southeast Director, Bureau of Yards and Docks, “Obviously the modern installation on top of the old Fort is incompatible with the development of the Fort for its designated use and exhibit to the public as a historic site. . . . We would be remiss in the exercise of our responsibility in the field of historical preservation if we agreed to permit the continued use and expansion of the facility.”

He suggested instead using the money tagged for expansion of the facility to relocate 1,400 feet away at Construction 230, also known as Battery Sullivan. A. F. Meeks, assistant for real estate and planning in the Navy, asked for an extension of the current lease. Ben Thompson, assistant director of the Department of the Interior, agreed to the extension through 1966 so that the Navy could build a new facility. Once the National Park Service secured the quitclaim for Battery Sullivan (Construction 230), it issued permits to the Navy and the town of Sullivan’s Island, which would use part of the battery for Civilian Defense facilities.⁸



FIGURE 3.3 A 1963 REPORT SHOWED “A VIEW FROM CORNER OF THE FORT. THE PROPERTY LINE IS 70 FEET FROM THE FORT WALL” (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 3.4 SHOWING THE SIDE VIEW OF THE HOUSE, WITH BATTERY JASPER TO THE RIGHT (COURTESY OF NPS).

8. Memorandum from E. J. Pratt to Regional Director, March 1, 1963, Raymond Mulvaney to Director, March 15, 1963, Howard Stagner to Director, Southeast Division, Bureau of Yards and Docks, May 2, 1963, A. F. Meeks to Director, National Park Service, May 10, 1963, Ben Thompson to Southeast Division, Bureau of Yards and Docks, Folder 1, and Leslie Arnberger to C. O. Southeast Division, Naval Facilities Engineering Command, August 1, 1967, Folder 3, all in Box 27 Land Acquisition Files, 1933-70 (Division of Land Acquisition), RG 79, NACP.



FIGURE 3.5 A 1963 REPORT SHOWED “VIEW OF UNDERDEVELOPED POE AVENUE LOOKING TOWARD NAVY INSTALLATION ATOP FORT MOULTRIE. POE AVENUE EXTENDS LEFT OF POST” (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 3.6 THE INTERSECTION OF OSCEOLA ST. AND POE AVE. (COURTESY OF NPS).

CONSERVATION AND INTERPRETATION, 1961–1963

Perhaps because of the focus on Fort Sumter, or perhaps because of the land negotiations, not much appeared to happen at Fort Moultrie in 1961, with the exception of the staff receiving two cannon tubes from the township of Sullivan’s Island. One, a 300-pound Parrott that weighed thirteen tons, was one of only three used in the Civil War. They were moved by the US Army Transportation Depot’s twenty-ton crane under the control of two operators and a foreman. In spring of 1962, however, Superintendent Pratt began to focus attention on Fort Moultrie. In April he had the cannon tubes cleaned and painted, and the maintenance crew received a power mower to, in Pratt’s words, “get the jump’ on fast growing grass.” Pratt also brought in three temporary laborers “for the purpose of bringing the maintenance of Fort Moultrie up to standards,” presumably the standards of other NPS sites. By June the crew had cleared the drainage system and repaired the leak in the sally port roof.⁹

NPS staff wanted to make Fort Moultrie available to the public, but its status as a recent active military site, and the state-owned portion was largely neglected. NPS officials had their work cut out for them, but they worked tirelessly to mount an exhibit focused on coastal defense. The Master Plan for FOSU, published in May 1963, explained, “This facility will have a museum, recorded and live interpretive talks, library, and office of the Supervisory Park Historian. The visitor center will be open year round.” Once staff got down to the business of building the broad interpretation, Superintendent Pratt made it clear that the fort would interpret the long history of coastal defense. The first order of business was placing an aluminum sign explaining the fort’s construction from 1776 to the



FIGURE 3.7 FORT MOULTRIE REMAINED AN ACTIVE FORT THROUGH WORLD WAR II. HERE ARE WOMEN MARCHING IN FEBRUARY 1944 (PHOTO FROM GUS CIMORELLI, HELD IN PARK ARCHIVE).



FIGURE 3.8 CELEBRATING THE FOURTH OF JULY AT FORT MOULTRIE, 1944 (PHOTO FROM GUS CIMORELLI, HELD IN PARK ARCHIVE).

9. Pratt, November 1961 Narrative Report, Pratt, May 1962 Narrative Report, Pratt, April 1962 Narrative Report, Pratt, June 1962 Narrative Report.

Civil War. The staff also recognized that people were interested in the history of the fort's most famous prisoner, Osceola, who died in 1838 and was buried without his head at the fort. In fact, before the fort officially opened to the public, Pratt wrote that Billy Osceola, the leader's great grandson, visited the gravesite "in full dress for the benefit of the press and TV cameramen." Historian Harold Shokes gave Osceola a tour of the fort, and Osceola met with residents of Sullivan's Island, including township commissioners.¹⁰ One can only wonder why Superintendent Pratt assumed Osceola dressed for the press. Billy Osceola's visit may have been an attempt to reclaim the history of his nation publicly and to put the federal government on notice that the Seminoles had a significant tie to this important historic site.

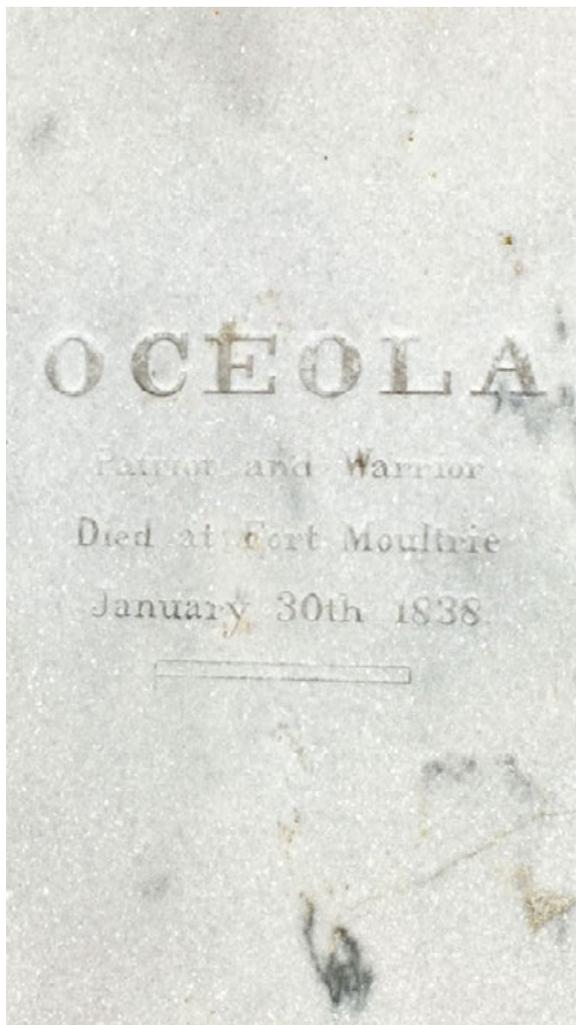


FIGURE 3.9 THE MARKER FOR OSCEOLA'S GRAVE AT FORT MOULTRIE.

The first priority of business with respect to installing interpretation was to get exhibits up and running, however temporary. Staff received five museum cases from Shiloh National Military Park for exhibits to be placed in the sally port. Historians Omega East and Shokes conducted research on the fort's construction and engineering history and the imprisonment of 230 Seminoles in 1838 as they prepped an orientation talk and tour for the fort and finalized text for an exhibit at the parade. Pratt noted "The Park Guides, aside from routine duties, worked diligently preparing exhibits, labels, and learning facts about Fort Moultrie which will enable them to tell the true story about Fort Moultrie when they are assigned on occasions to do interpretive work there." Staff cleaned one hundred cannon projectiles that they would exhibit in the fort's powder magazines, added six Civil War-era photos to the files, and took pictures for post cards. Historian East traveled to Washington, DC, and found fifty maps and twenty photos of the fort at the Library of Congress and the National Archives. Staff placed over one hundred cannon balls in an arrangement flanking the sally port and positioned six gun carriage wheels; labeled and installed Civil War artifacts in the cases; mounted portraits of William Moultrie and Osceola, and twelve other images; and installed the exhibit panels last used in Fort Sumter's

10. Pratt, July 1962 Narrative Report; Omega G. East, Master Plans, Volume I, Chapter 4, Section E, Interpretive Operations, May 1963, p. 3, unprocessed at Park Archive; E. J. Pratt, November 1962 Narrative Report, December 14, 1962, Box 0185, Pt. 1 FOSU 1/1/62-Dec 31 1965 Folder, A2823 Superintendent's Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1950-64 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP.

temporary museum. Posts were cut in for a self-guided tour. By the end of April, Pratt concluded that the installation was “in a very satisfactory condition.” Staff continued to unearth artifacts as they searched the fort’s entrance with a metal detector. They found five Civil War–era shells that had been deactivated, all Parrott, three 300-pounders and two 200-pounders, which they suspected had been on display in front of the old hospital. These, too, were placed on exhibit in the temporary museum, which was “in the guardrooms flanking Fort Moultrie’s sally port.” They also received two 32-pound cannon tubes from Yorktown.¹¹

Fort Moultrie officially opened on April 1, 1963, and drew tremendous crowds. Almost 10,700 people came out the first day to see the exhibits and the parade. Pratt explained “This fort was padlocked in 1948 and is somewhat of a novelty to local people.” He credited Fort Moultrie with an increase in monthly visitation of 240 percent, with 21,354 coming through both Forts Sumter and Moultrie that month alone.¹²

In 1963, staff continued to ready the fort for Carolina Day, the day patriot forces repelled the British fleet at Fort Moultrie on June 28, 1776. Visitors responded enthusiastically to these efforts on Carolina Day, which carried on throughout the summer. A town resident provided palmetto logs for a temporary exhibit on the original fort’s construction. Pratt wrote that many visitors had never seen palmetto logs before. The staff lettered signs, reworked labels to make them more



FIGURE 3.10 FORT MOULTRIE STILL HOSTS CAROLINA DAY EVENTS (2010)
(COURTESY OF NPS).

professional, added more points to the now-32 stops on the self-guided tour, and began to remove an “unsightly” old World War I–era building from the top of the fort. Staff gathered forty folding chairs and equipment for an audiovisual exhibit room. On Carolina Day, staff officially opened “a series of underground rooms to the public,” which Pratt believed were the 1809 powder magazines. Pratt explained, “The aged brick and tabby forming massive ‘bomb proof’ arches are most interesting.” He noted that locals believed this to be Osceola’s prison, but staff historians could not corroborate this story. Pratt said in his June report, “By the end of the month Fort Moultrie began to look something similar to what a Service area should look like.”¹³

11. Pratt, January 1963 Narrative Report; Pratt, February 1963 Narrative Report; Pratt, October 1963 Narrative Report; E. J. Pratt, March 1963 Narrative Report, April 12, 1963, E. J. Pratt, April 1963 Narrative Report, May 14, 1963, E. J. Pratt, December 1963 Narrative Report, January 13, 1964, all in Box 0185, Pt. 1 FOSU 1/1/62–Dec 31 1965 Folder, A2823 Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1950-64 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NPS.

12. Pratt, April 1963 Narrative Report.

13. Pratt, June 1963 Narrative Report; E. J. Pratt, May 1963 Narrative Report, n.d., Box 0185, Pt. 1 FOSU 1/1/62–Dec 31 1965 Folder, A2823 Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1950-64 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP.

And visitors took notice. TV crews toured both forts to make a thirty-minute film, and Pratt reported that while there had been a decrease in visitation at Fort Sumter in July, visitation was up to 25,245 because of 15,032 coming through Fort Moultrie. Pratt reported the next month that the 16,361 who visited the fort were “exceeding all expectations since the area was opened in April and very little publicity has been given as compared with Sumter.” He credited Moultrie’s accessibility with why it saw more than five thousand additional visitors than its sister site. In addition, he argued that Fort Moultrie’s success assisted Fort Sumter, explaining, “We believe the annual increase in visitation to Fort Sumter may be attributed to better boat schedules and more advertising by the concessioner as well as a good news coverage during the opening of Fort Moultrie last spring.” In 1963, 142,882 people visited the district, almost twice the number in 1962.¹⁴

MASTER PLAN, 1963–1965

By 1963, staff prepared the Master Plan for the entire site that suggested the direction in which they wanted both forts to progress. This included upgrading the facilities at Fort Moultrie, expanding the staff, and, overall, in Pratt’s words, making “possible a compact, economical, and efficient park operation.” He suggested one ranger, two guards, and a seasonal guard. He asked for a supervisory historian, a park historian, four guides, and a seasonal ranger-historian. Work would be done by two maintenance men, two caretakers, a janitor, two laborers, and a seasonal laborer and skilled craftsman. The areas would be managed as a historical area, and the mission would be to explain the “stirring events of June, 1776,” when American forces repulsed a British naval attack; outline the events leading up to and during the first battle of the Civil War; and to show the importance of both forts to harbor defense from 1863–1865. A secondary theme at Fort Moultrie would interpret the active military presence in the fortifications from the 1870s to the 1940s. The staff determined “To undertake no complete reconstruction of Fort Sumter nor limit restoration of Fort Moultrie to any one combat period.” While this represented a departure from previous “moment-in-time interpretation focused entirely on the Civil War,” it was still a narrowly crafted vision. Despite focusing on change over time and establishing a long period of significance, NPS interpretation still focused exclusively on military history.¹⁵

As they had for Fort Sumter, staff who wrote this Master Plan acknowledged the need for natural and historic conservation, solid interpretation, and expanded visitor services. The Master Plan explained how staff would research and excavate Fort Moultrie’s original structure while preserving post-Civil War buildings. In the plan Pratt said that the staff would mount artillery there to better explain its use and also explore ways to address beach erosion. At Fort Sumter, plans were underway to develop a proper sewer disposal treatment site to meet the requirements of a 1970 state antipollution law, which would not allow raw sewage dumps into the harbor. It called for a separate facility for interpretation, exhibit space, “personal services,” and publications for visitors. And, acknowledging a long-standing problem, it stated

14. Pratt, December 1963 Narrative Report; E. J. Pratt, July 1963 Narrative Report, August 15, 1963, E. J. Pratt, August 1963 Narrative Report, September 13, 1963, both in Box 0185, Pt. 1 FOSU 1/1/62–Dec 31 1965 Folder, A2823 Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1950-64 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP; NPS, Master Plan, Fort Sumter, August 20, 1965, Visitor Characteristics, p. 4, Box 13, Folder 10, Park Archive.

15. E. J. Pratt, Master Plan, May 24, 1963, Vol 1, Chapter 4, p. 2, Box 12, Folder 29, Park Archive; NPS, Master Plan, August 20, 1965, Statement of Purpose, p. 5, Communication, p. 10, and Major Management Considerations, p. 6.

“Concessioner docking facilities in Charleston are inadequate.” It called for a better location with more accessibility and better parking. Negotiations were already underway with the Coast Guard for land downtown by the time the Master Plan was accepted in 1965, and the National Park Service was seriously considering building a concessioner dock at Fort Moultrie as well. By 1965, it was not known whether the National Park Service could secure all of the land in question for the services desired at Fort Moultrie, but the plan laid out just what *could* happen if it got access to state- and town-owned parcels.¹⁶

INTERPRETATION, 1964–1972

Even with the negotiations for land parcels ongoing, staff had to focus on moving forward with Fort Moultrie’s interpretation. There was no space outside of Fort Moultrie’s walls for a museum, so staff began small with five cases and expanded within the walls from there. The Master Plan explained that exhibits would be in the sally port. A member of the interpretive staff would stay there, possibly to show visitors to the self-guided tour. In January 1964, staff added another seven cases transferred from Fort Pulaski. This kicked off a museum remodeling period in which staff rearranged exhibits, installed labels, and revised the free Fort Moultrie folder text they then sent out to the Southeast Regional Office for review. They wrote text and labels for twenty-three artifacts, mounted cannon shells, and built mounts for two “two-pounder cannons” on loan. They also planned to install a cannon tube from the Revolutionary period, received from Fort Frederica. We cannot know what happened with the transfer of the 1700s cannon tube, but the transfer must have fallen through as it is not listed in the current inventory of guns. The “two-pounder” cannons may have been 12-pounder cannons, one of which is in storage and one of which is exhibited, or perhaps the loan expired and they were returned to the original owner. That spring, staff received fourteen crates of cannon balls from Eastern Museum Lab, which they installed in May. By 1965, the local newspaper reported that for two years sandblasters cleared the interior walls, and now the museum held eleven cases, four wall panels, and exhibits, and received 20 percent more visitors than Fort Sumter. The museum also received an additional six Civil War–era artifacts, including a musket from Harpers Ferry Center transferred from Fredericksburg.¹⁷ While it may seem that the Fort Moultrie museum was what we would consider today to be “artifact heavy,” at the time, many museum directors considered the “more is better” argument when it came to displays. This would not change until the late twentieth century.¹⁸

16. NPS, Master Plan, August 20, 1965, Major Management Considerations, pp. 6–7, Summary of Resource Management Programs Historical Features, 10–11, and Summary of Visitor Services, 13–14.

17. Pratt, Master Plan, May 24, 1963, Vol. 1, Chapter 4, Section C, p. 3; E. J. Pratt, January 1964 Narrative Report, February 11, 1964, E. J. Pratt, February 1964 Narrative Report, March 13, 1964, E. J. Pratt, March 1964 Narrative Report, April 14, 1964, E. J. Pratt, May 1964 Narrative Report, June 12, 1964, Paul Swartz, May 1965 Narrative Report, June 15, 1965, Paul Swartz, August 1965 Narrative Report, September 8, 1965, and “Restoration Plans For Fort Nears Completion,” clipping, n.d., all in Box 0186, FOSU 1/1/64 to 12/31/65 Folder, A2823 Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1964-65 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP; Paul Swartz, February 1966 Narrative Report, March 11, 1966, unprocessed at Park Archive. For information on the guns currently at Forts Sumter and Moultrie and their provenances, see Mike Ryan, *The Historic Guns of Forts Moultrie and Sumter*, prepared for Fort Sumter National Monument, May 1997, accessed August 13, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/fosu/guns.pdf.

18. For a history of how museum installations changed over time, see Steven Conn, *Do Museums Need Objects?* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

Staff also continued interpretive work outside the museum exhibit area at Fort Moultrie. They replaced nine hundred square feet of sod, paved two concrete wheel strips, created three forms for temporary cannon, and cleared and raked the bastion in the southwest corner in 1964. They received two Civil War–era cannon tubes from Colonial National Historical Park and moved to the proper historical positions, and put tubes on top of temporary concrete bases. They mounted a Brooke cannon tube used in the fort during the war and donated by the Porter Military School (now Porter Gaud School) on Fort Moultrie’s sea wall. Altogether, Porter’s Board of Trustees donated three canon tubes, two 32-pounders, and one 9-inch. Staff mounted the 32-pounders and set up an 8-inch and one 10-inch donated by the township of Sullivan’s Island onto the walls. In December 1964 Acting Superintendent Omega East wrote that staff opened the Spanish-American War–era command post to the public. The US Navy Demolition Unit from the Charleston Naval Base came to deactivate twenty-five Civil War–era projectiles at Fort Moultrie, which Superintendent Paul Swartz said would be making their way to Fort Sumter for an exhibit on Civil War shells. Swartz took over as Superintendent in January 1965, and by October, he noted that the “Exterior appearance of Fort Moultrie was tremendously improved” with several projects that cleared space and opened the fort walls to view. This included relocating the equipment shed and removing vegetation and a hurricane fence.¹⁹

From research to excavation, the team at Fort Moultrie did it all from the ground up, as they had at Fort Sumter. Supervisory Historian Omega East planned an interpretation for Battery Jasper that Paul Swartz claimed was “a striking example of late coastal defenses.” He also wrote a script and gathered images for an audiovisual program at Fort Moultrie while prepping museum exhibit captions that had been fabricated by Eastern Museum Labs. He penned a “monograph” on the original site of Fort Moultrie. In March 1965, the museum exhibit expanded. Swartz wrote that staff opened the room where staff worked on preservation of ammunition for visitors to view. Several months later, Porter Military School donated six 800-pound World War I–era shells (one exploded on site as the US Naval Ordnance Disposal worked on them) for when the National Park Service acquired Battery Jasper. Working with the newly formed Historic Charleston Re-Enactment Inc., and with support from state and local government officials, Superintendent Swartz attended meetings to assist in the plan to reenact the famous American Revolutionary War battle on June 11, 1966. Brown and Pete Kitti installed new exhibits at Fort Moultrie in October 1967 and repaired and improved the Fort Sumter exhibits.²⁰

The National Park Service staff was assisted in their efforts by the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC), a new program established by President Lyndon B. Johnson’s 1964 War on Poverty program. The NYC was part of a group of initiatives started to assist low-income people in

19. E. J. Pratt, April 1964 Narrative Report, May 12, 1964, E. J. Pratt, June 1964 Narrative Report, July 16, 1964, E. J. Pratt, August 1964 Narrative Report, September 15, 1964, E. J. Pratt, October 1964 Narrative Report, November 12, 1964, Omega East, December 1964 Narrative Report, January 12, 1965, Paul Swartz, February 1965 Narrative Report, March 12, 1965, all in Box 0186, FOSU 1/1/64 to 12/31/65 Folder, A2823 Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1964-65 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP.

20. Although the battle happened on June 28, they held the reenactment a few weeks earlier. East, December 1964 Narrative Report; Swartz, February 1965 Narrative Report; Swartz, May 1965 Narrative Report; Swartz, February 1966 Narrative Report; Omega East, November 1964 Narrative Report, December 8, 1964, Box 0186, FOSU 1/1/64 to 12/31/65 Folder, A2823 Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1964-65 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP; Paul Swartz, March 1965 Narrative Report, April 6, 1965, and Paul Swartz, March 1966 Narrative Report, April 22, 1966, unprocessed at Park Archive; NPS, Interpretive Report, November 2, 1967, unprocessed at Park Archive.

urban centers, and this one focused on providing disadvantaged youth with jobs. As early as 1965, Superintendent Swartz met with the Chairman of the Charleston County Anti-Poverty Commission to discuss using NYC enrollees for many projects, including maintenance. By 1966, twelve NYC enrollees labored at Fort Moultrie, completing excavation on the underground powder magazines and the Northeast Bastion. Their work led to a “great improvement in overall appearance,” according to Swartz. Thirteen began excavation on the esplanade and barracks floor in the fall, and at Fort Sumter, NYC Saturday workers uncovered the officer’s quarters and men’s barracks as well as the ruin of a fireplace that staff thought might have been considered rubble by the first excavators. The Fort Sumter crew also cleared a left flank to uncover brick and tabby work, as well as an additional fireplace, and located many artifacts. At Fort Moultrie they leveled the space above the sally port as well.²¹

By 1967, the historian reported that staff created an NYC orientation program “to make the enrollee feel that he was part of the NPS.” The program focused on NPS goals, the importance of their work, and how to encounter the public. At this point, two young women took part in the program, working the information desk. Staff at the sites employed the “boys” for the excavation work, even teaching them proper excavation techniques, according to monthly narrative reports for the time. There is no evidence that the young women were allowed to participate in digs, which suggests a gendered division of labor. NYC continued to support the interpretation program of the National Park Service through the 1960s. Workers cleaned armaments under the supervision of the historian, helped install a projectile museum exhibit, worked on the Fort Moultrie self-guided tour in 1968, worked on rock fill at the Fort Sumter entrance, washed the windows, cleaned and painted Parrott shells, took artifacts over to Fort Moultrie for treatment, surveyed people and usage at Fort Moultrie, cleaned the storeroom and chairs there, and searched for the water line.²²

NPS historian John Dobrovolny embarked on a different kind of training program, aimed at the regular NPS staff. He devised an independent study course to “provide the guides with a broader background of the Monument themes” and better answer questions when leading tours. The guides followed a syllabus and wrote papers on the various readings. Themes included Osceola, Fort Moultrie history (all military), and the coming of the Civil War. The study also addressed miscellaneous information on other battlefields, Charleston under siege, and the fall of Charleston. The readings included Kenneth Stamp, one of the new social historians who explored race and enslavement. Stamp’s work stood out from the traditional political and military readings on the syllabus.²³ That being said, most of the work of social historians began to be published in the 1970s, so the syllabus was intellectually advanced.

21. Saturday workers may have been those workers who were still in school. There were two kinds of workers: people enrolled in school, and young people out of school. U.S. Department of Health, Education & Welfare, Neighborhood Youth Corps: Three Years of Success (Washington, DC: US Department of Labor, 1968), accessed August 13, 2019, <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED026423.pdf>; Paul Swartz, April 1965 Narrative Report, May 26, 1965, Box 0186, FOSU 1/1/64 to 12/31/65 Folder, A2823 Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1964-65 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP; Paul Swartz, October 1966 Narrative Report, November 17, 1966, Paul Swartz, December 1966 Narrative Report, January 4, 1967, and Paul Swartz, January 1967 Report, February 14, 1967, all unprocessed at Park Archive.

22. NPS, Interpretive Report, June 21, 1967, Paul Swartz, October 1967 Narrative Report, November 2, 1967, NPS, June 1968 Interpretive Report, July 4, 1968, NPS, December 1968 Interpretive Report, January 1, 1969, all unprocessed at Park Archive.

23. John Dobrovolny, Independent Study Program and syllabus, September 1967–March 1968, unprocessed at Park Archive.

Still, historians at FOSU in the 1960s embraced fairly traditional political and military history-based narratives, and their interpretation of those histories reflected a narrowness of vision. In 1965, when Historian Omega East gave a talk to the Kiwanis Club, the newspaper reported him saying that the fort was the “site of a ‘magnificent defense put up by brave men.’” He said the Confederates were “the elite, the cream of the troops.”²⁴ Clearly, the reconciliationist narrative had not been dislodged altogether, although the story of resilience centered only on Charleston in this presentation.

But when the National Park Service wrapped Fort Moultrie into FOSU, it inherited a piece of history that was in no way centered on a traditional white male narrative—it had Osceola’s remains on site. Interpreting Osceola’s story as it related to American participation in the Seminole War was part of the goal of the National Park Service. As early as 1965 in the speech to the Kiwanis, East noted the significance of the site, but in a way that still privileged the white American experience. According to the newspaper, he said Osceola’s grave was “more and more important in the history of our country. We have hundreds of marked graves for soldiers but few for Indians. And there were many fights between the Indians and soldiers.”²⁵ While this was the 1960s and social history as a field was just emerging, certain facts were still known at the time. First, Osceola, too, was a soldier. He was, in fact, leader of resistance in the Second Seminole War, and was captured because he went to negotiate under what he believed was a flag of truce. Second, there were (and are) certainly many marked American Indian gravesites throughout the country. While they are not marked as traditionally white graves are, with stones or handwritten signs, they are still visible in the form of mounds and other ceremonial markers.

The National Park Service took charge of Osceola’s grave as American Indians were beginning to fight back against government encroachment, demand that the real stories of conquest be told, and formalize into a civil rights organization, the American Indian Movement (AIM), which began in 1968. Perhaps that is why, in 1966, a man broke into Osceola’s gravesite, with the intention of bringing his bones back to Florida. While Swartz defined him as a “vandal” whose intent was not just to take back the bones but to get publicity, perhaps there was more to it than that given the context of the time. The man who broke in claimed to have dug up the bones and planned to rebury the bones in Florida. In another incident, someone spattered paint on Osceola’s marker. While we do not know the motives of the person responsible for this separate incident, perhaps the growing publicity surrounding Osceola’s grave prompted NPS staff to conduct an exhumation. NPS Historian Ed Bearss and site historian John Dobrovny located a headless body, which made sense because Osceola’s head was removed. They also found the bones of an unidentified infant. A crowd of two hundred stood by to witness the exhumation, and Swartz and other NPS officials displayed the bones for the newspaper. Dobrovny

24. Newspaper clipping attached to Swartz, February 1965 Narrative Report.

25. *Ibid.*

photographed Drs. Eric Reed and T. D. Stewart studying the bones. The staff then reinterred the bones in a concrete vault, with a six-foot concrete slab poured over the top. The following year staff revised the Osceola grave marker and installed a new one.²⁶

It must be considered that this all happened well before the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990, but still, the publicity surrounding the exhumation and re-interment suggested a lack of sensitivity to Seminole history, given the fact that it happened in the year AIM began to fight for recognition, respect, and rights. By 1973, well before the passage of federal legislation, the National Park Service determined that all skeletal remains and funerary artifacts should immediately be taken off display, regardless of the holes left in exhibits. According to a note from the SER Director David Thompson to the Superintendent of Mammoth Cave, an NPS handbook dealing with remains would state that “the viewpoints and beliefs of people with various cultural backgrounds must be considered before deciding to exhibit human burials and sacred objects.” This included photographs of artifacts or rituals, and that if there were any questions about artifacts, “recognized religious leaders of the Indian group or groups legitimately concerned with such display should be consulted,” calling it “a matter of tastefulness, appropriateness, and respectfulness.” This policy may have been implemented in part to remedy a troubled history between the National Park Service and American Indians, wrought in the early stages of park development and continuing through 1970 as indigenous peoples lost their claim to ancestral lands in the face of the national park movement.²⁷

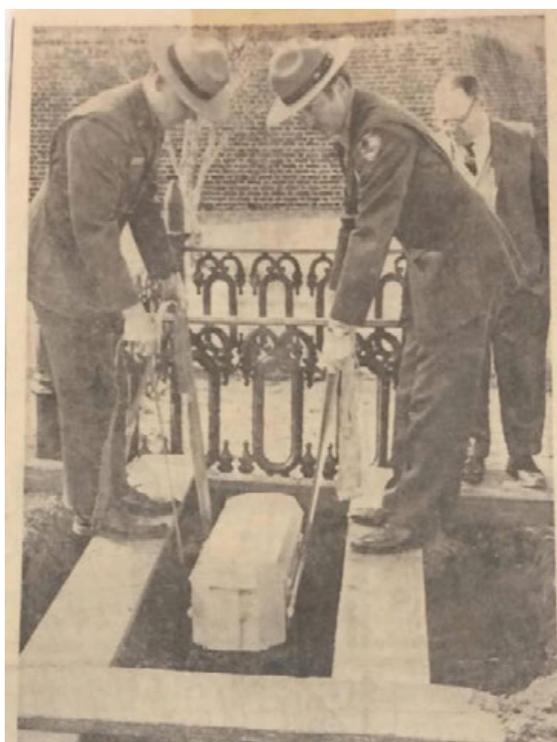
Interest in Osceola seemed to increase in the mid-1960s, which prompted different reactions among staff. Park Guide Archambo noted with what seemed to be some exasperation just before the disinterment that “many visitors, noticeably on weekends, ask about Osceola and the location of his ‘cell,’ or ‘dungeon.’” Perhaps his irritation stemmed from the fact that Supervisory Park Historian Omega East had praised Gordon Hall’s biography of Osceola in 1964 because it described “his living quarters as a room and not a dungeon as most authors” and “treated his imprisonment in a factual manner.” But facts were facts—Osceola was held in a room against his will, that while not a dungeon, would not have been ideal living quarters

26. NPS, December 1968 Interpretive Report; Paul Swartz, January 1966 Narrative Report, February 7, 1966, George Archambo, April 1968 Interpretive Report, n.d., clippings from Osceola News Clippings Folder, Paul Swartz, December 1968 Narrative Report, January 15, 1969, Paul Gordon, January 1970 Interpretive Report, February 3, 1970, all unprocessed at Park Archive.

27. NAGPRA was passed in 1990 and requires institutions to return all funereal artifacts and bones to the ground or to places designated by the members of the tribe/nation to which the people/items belong. Memorandum from SER Director to all Field Officers, Southeast Region, February 16, 1973, and Memorandum from David Thompson Jr. to Superintendent, Mammoth Cave, November 4, 1974, both in Box 18, Folder 2, Park Archive. For more information about contentious relationships between the NPS and American Indian tribes and nations see Isaac Kantor, “Ethnic Cleansing and America’s Creation of National Parks,” *Public Land & Resources Law Review* 28 (2007): 41–64.

and those who asked the question most likely wanted to hear more about these issues.²⁸

In the early 1970s, interpretation moved forward at both forts with new initiatives to better interpret what forts would have looked like in the Civil War and earlier periods. These initiatives still, however, focused largely on military history. In January 1970, George Mackenzie, a historian in the Division of History, Office of Archaeology, and Historic Preservation, completed his study “Sovereign Flags Raised Over Fort Sumter, 1859–1965.” In it, he maintained that the 33-star US flag, the first and second national flags of the Confederacy, and the Palmetto Guard flag were present during the Civil War. Mackenzie included a letter from E. Milby Burton from the Charleston Museum that stated he had a battle flag “and it is pretty well shot to pieces.” Reproduction flags were raised over Fort Sumter in April 1970. Staff and volunteers participated in Civil War–era living history demonstrations at both sites. In 1972, staff began rough mowing the fields in front of Fort Moultrie and Battery Jasper “to more closely depict the historic appearance of the area,” according to Superintendent Lloyd K. Whitt, and Battery Jasper was to be opened to the public. Eighteen metal photo displays went up, nine at each fort, and staff were preparing to update the interpretive Master Plan and Prospectus. By this time, interpretive work was done by a chief historian, two park technicians, and three seasonal historians.²⁹



ONCE AGAIN—The bones of Seminole Indian Chief Osceola are lowered in a wooden coffin into a cement vault during brief ceremonies yesterday by Paul C. Swartz (right), superintendent of the Fort Moultrie-Fort Sumter National Monument, and T. John Dobrovolsky, Park Service historian. Regional Park Service engineer Earl Stadel from Richmond observes the re-interment of the famed Indian chief who died here in 1838. (Staff Photo by Burbage.)

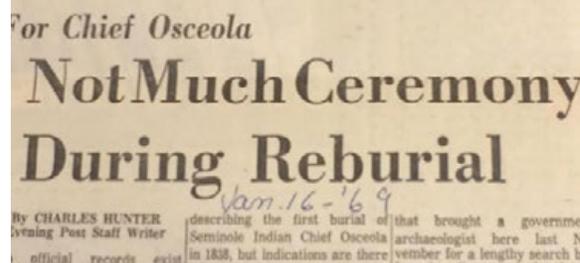


FIGURE 3.11 A 1969 *EVENING POST* ARTICLE INCLUDED A PICTURE OF THE REINTERMENT OF CHIEF OSCEOLA. THE PICTURE **INCLUDES** SUPERINTENDENT SWARTZ AND HISTORIAN DOBROVOLNY (CLIPPING LOCATED IN PARK ARCHIVE).

28. George Archambo, August 1968 Interpretive Report, September 6, 1968, unprocessed at Park Archive; East, November 1964 Narrative Report.

29. George Mackenzie, “Sovereign Flags Raised Over Fort Sumter National Monument, 1859–65,” and letter attached from E. Milby Brown, January 15, 1970, Box 17, Folder 27, Park Archive; NPS, April 1970 Interpretation Narrative Report, n.d., unprocessed at Park Archive; William Harris, 1972 Superintendent Annual Report, January 5, 1973, Box 1, Folder 40, Park Archive. (The Superintendent Annual Reports have been called by a variety of titles through the years. For the purposes of the Administrative History, we have standardized the title of the reports.)

CULTURAL AND NATURAL CONSERVATION AND PROTECTION

When the National Park Service received Fort Moultrie, it greatly expanded its area of operations, both physically and in terms of artifacts and maintenance. The 1963 Master Plan listed some of the challenges and problems faced by—and indeed generated by—the forts’ use as historic sites. First of all, as noted, “The area, like all costal [*sic*] areas, presents many difficult maintenance problems.” The 6-foot tide surge meant all boating operations had to be carefully planned, and although the site comprised only about 16 acres total, “every inch of it is either covered by fortifications or used by visitors.” Even keeping grass growing was difficult, as was the constant “slow drainage problem.” Sand slopes caused damage to grass, and the areas faced “constant erosion” where not ripped. Fort Sumter required daily garbage removal, and much of the waste was released to sea, as was the sewage at Fort Moultrie, which used an incinerator for garbage. And of course, flooding and moisture would continue to be serious concerns.³⁰

NPS officials addressed all of these problems in this period. They focused on handling the constant damage caused by moisture and storms. They also worked to preserve and catalog artifacts. Staff addressed vandalism and other problems that stemmed from Fort Moultrie’s easy access. They dealt with problems at Fort Sumter caused by its inaccessibility. And they worked to be better stewards of the environment through different initiatives undertaken between 1962 and 1972.

Water was the constant enemy of both forts, and staff waged a continuous battle against the encroaching tide, humidity, and storms. Omega East suggested in a historic structures report of 1964 that double doors be installed at the sally port and side entrances of Fort Sumter. This, he believed, would keep out flood waters during storms and also prevent vandalism. He also wanted to install shutters on the lower gun embrasures. All of this work would cost an estimated \$2,500. NPS architect Norman Souder said it was not a restoration but protection and that the doors would be adapted from a *Harper’s Weekly* period illustration. Across the harbor, not long after staff mounted exhibits at Fort Moultrie, they “re-worked” the exhibit cases after damage caused by “excessive moisture,” according to Omega East. The fact that Fort Moultrie’s offices and exhibit space were underground was a problem, given the climate. Not one year later, Pratt documented a “record shattering rainstorm” in which ten inches fell one day, six inches the next. Fort Moultrie’s rooms were under one and a half feet of water. The library flooded, and staff had to spend several days drying out books to prevent mildew. A month later, staff updated library records and built bookcase stands to lift materials above the flood line. In 1967, staff had to repaint the Fort Moultrie interpretive signs and this time covered them with plexiglass to provide more protection from the elements. Water would once again do damage, though, when heavy rain in 1969 caused flooding in the historian’s office and damaged the ceilings in the bathrooms, museum, and insulation at Fort Sumter. The reserve cistern also overflowed there. Several months later, historians Halvorson and Gordon spent seven hours dealing with cleanup at Fort Moultrie after another major storm.³¹

30. E. J. Pratt, Master Plan, May 24, 1963, Vol. I, Chapter 4, Section F, Maintenance Operations, pp. 2–4, Box 12, Folder 29.

31. East, November 1964 Narrative Report; Pratt, Master Plan, May 24, 1963, Vol. I, Chapter 4, Section F, Maintenance Operations, p. 3; Swartz, February 1966 Narrative Report; Omega East, Historic Structures Report, Part 1, May 6, 1964, Paul Swartz, February 1967 Narrative Report, March 13, 1967, NPS, August 1969 Interpretive Report, August 28, 1969, NPS, November 1969 Interpretive Report,

As they worked to stave off the problems related to water, staff focused on improving methods of cataloging and conserving artifacts they had collected through acquisition and excavation. Paul Swartz became superintendent in January 1965 and worked to create a better filing system and update the library records. He also instituted weekly staff meetings, better communication of information through routing stamps (presumably on memos), and the cataloging of all museum artifacts. Historian John Dobrovolny, however, pointed out the challenge of maintaining a curated collection: “Accessioning of objects is progressing at an uncertain rate since objects are scattered between Sumter and Moultrie.” By January 1967, staff had cataloged most Moultrie artifacts. Then, historians began the work on conservation on the small artifacts, first by sending several off to the Museum Lab, then by fashioning their own electrolysis treatment to remove the rust from the metal. Dobrovolny reported success with fourteen musket barrels treated this way.³²

NPS staff faced a new concern: the potential for persistent vandalism at Fort Moultrie caused by ease of access. In May 1965, Swartz reported that “Fort Moultrie’s walls were defaced by vandals who painted in two feet length blue letters ‘POSTED YANKEE SCUM YOU ARE NOT WELCOME.’” Throughout the late 1960s, historian and superintendent reports listed acts of vandalism, large and small, including the Fort Moultrie sign being shot and later shattered with a rock by vandals, boys riding motorbikes through the fort, and defacement of bathrooms and other areas, as well as attempts to cut through fencing to enter Battery Jasper and Construction 230.³³ The updated Master and Interpretive Plan of 1973 would address this.

Conversely, the remote nature of Fort Sumter and its location in the harbor continued to cause problems with the facilities, including the power line. In November 1965, dredging operations in Charleston cut the underwater power line to the fort. Staff had to bring in a generator and kerosene heaters. Power was out for five months, until the US Army Corps of Engineers fixed it with a temporary cable in May 1966. Being without a good power source made maintenance of the fort a challenge. In 1972, Superintendent William Harris wrote that problems with the phone and power cable “has been a frequent problem for many years.” He noted that both cables were located in shallow water and became victims to dredging and motors. Finally, the staff decided to go solely to radio service at Fort Sumter after its most recent 1972 telephone cable failure and the continuous cost of repair.³⁴

Environmental concerns appeared in the reports of the later 1960s, perhaps because the United States as a whole was becoming more conscious about conservation. In 1962, Rachel Carson

December 4, 1969, all unprocessed at Park Archive; Paul Swartz, October 1965 Narrative Report, November 12, 1965, Box 0186, FOSU 1/1/64 to 12/31/65 Folder, A2823 Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1964-65 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP.

32. Paul Swartz, January 1965 Narrative Report, February 8, 1965, Box 0186, FOSU 1/1/64 to 12/31/65 Folder, A2823 Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1964-65 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP; John Dobrovolny, January 1967 Interpretive Report, February 2, 1967, John Dobrovolny, April 1967 Interpretive Report, May 3, 1967, John Dobrovolny, February 1969 Interpretive Report, March 5, 1969, all unprocessed at Park Archive.

33. Paul Swartz, September 1965 Narrative Report, October 11, 1965, John Dobrovolny, March 1968 Interpretive Report, April 3, 1968, and many other reports from the time that remain unprocessed at the Park Archive tell of these small acts.

34. Paul Swartz, November 1965 Narrative Report, December 14, 1965, Box 0186, FOSU 1/1/64 to 12/31/65 Folder, A2823 Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1964-65 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP; Paul Swartz, May 1966 Narrative Report, June 17, 1966, unprocessed at Park Archive; Harris, 1972 Superintendent Annual Report.

published an indictment of American chemical companies in *Silent Spring*, which illustrated the dangers of DDT to a wide audience and is widely credited with sparking the modern American environmental movement.³⁵ The National Park Service had historically wrestled with balancing visitor use with conservation. In fact, the Mission 66 program drew concern from some because of its development of potentially ecologically fragile areas.³⁶ It is not surprising, therefore, that FOSU staff collected specimens of dead fish for analysis at a health service lab in Ohio. Local scientists were looking for the cause of a “regular mass killing of fish” in the Ashley River according to Pratt. It turned out that phosphate was poisoning the fish, which is not surprising as phosphate plants lined the Ashley River. Regional Officer Tom Ruffin came to map the sandbar that had been caused by deposits of spoilage at Fort Sumter just one year later. In January 1964, FOSU staff also worked with the Sullivan’s Island Township to run community sewer lines to Fort Moultrie, rather than allow waste to release into the harbor as was the previous method. At this time they also looked to plan a septic tank or wastewater treatment for Fort Sumter, and the 1965 Master Plan for Fort Sumter noted that the site must develop a sewage disposal system to meet new 1970 state antipollution laws.³⁷

VISITOR SERVICES AND REACHING OUT TO THE COMMUNITY

Always focused on the visitor, park staff worked to improve facilities at both Forts Sumter and Moultrie in the 1960s and early 1970s. Fort Sumter completed its Mission 66 projects in this period. Through the summer of 1964, staff worked on building the walks and steps at Battery Huger. Remarkable on its completion in August, Superintendent E. J. Pratt noted that it improved the tour for visitors. Staff placed a stamp machine at Fort Sumter for those who wanted to mail postcards in 1965 and cleaned and fixed the cisterns in that same year to help keep the water clean and abundant. In 1972, all brick walkways were completed at Fort Moultrie, with eleven concrete posts laid for interpretive signs. Nine metal photo signs had already been installed at Fort Moultrie, and both sites had self-guided tours for visitors.³⁸

Visitors also wanted to buy souvenirs, and in this period the National Park Service worked with Eastern National Monument and Park Association to expand sales, with great success. In March 1967, sales at Fort Sumter jumped 600 percent with the installation of a new publications rack that provided a wider range of items for purchase. Several months later, staff followed with a new display rack at Fort Moultrie, which Acting Superintendent William Barnes noted led to another “substantial increase in sales.” In 1972, Superintendent William Harris reported that

35. Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring*, 50th anniversary (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2012).

36. This problem was exacerbated by the growth of visitors after World War II, and the NPS’s building of roads and facilities in areas previously designated as wilderness, as well as hunting. Activities drew the attention of the Sierra Club and other conservation groups, and ultimately concern from within the NPS led to a renewed focus on the impact on ecological systems, first with an internally circulated document in 1960. This was followed by two external studies, one by the National Academy of Sciences on flora and one by A. Starker Leopold on the fauna of NPS sites in the early 1960s. Richard West Sellars, *Preserving Nature in the National Parks: A History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), chap. 6, specifics on 170-1, 181-192, 200-1, 217.

37. Pratt, January 1964 Narrative Report; Swartz, May 1965 Narrative Report; Swartz, September 1965 Narrative Report; Swartz, February 1966 Narrative Report; NPS, Master Plan, August 20, 1965, Summary of Resource Management Properties Historical Features.

38. Pratt, August 1964 Narrative Report; Swartz, February 1965 Narrative Report; E. J. Pratt, July 1964 Narrative Report, August 17, 1964, Paul Swartz, June 1965 Narrative Report, July 14, 1965, all in Box 0186, FOSU 1/1/64 to 12/31/65 Folder, A2823 Superintendent’s Monthly Narrative Reports, Fort Sumter National Monument [FOSU], 1964-65 File, 1st Subseries, Administrative Files, 1949-71, RG 79, NACP; Harris, 1972 Superintendent Annual Report, p. 6.

ENPMA sales netted a \$1,650 donation to the National Park Service, which was used for Civil War uniforms and munitions, library books, and a 12-pound Napoleon carriage, as well as the black power used in demonstrations.³⁹

While ENPMA's program was successful, a major change occurred in the early 1970s. In 1972 Harris explained that Fort Sumter Tours would take over the sales of all souvenirs at Fort Sumter, while ENMPA would sell at Fort Moultrie. Fully implemented by 1974, Harris noted with satisfaction that the new arrangement kept NPS personnel from having to deal with ENPMA work out at the fort, which would take them away from their specified duties. Ultimately, he hoped the site of Fort Sumter-related sales would move to the new docking location(s). Perhaps this new concession, along with allowing Fort Sumter Tours to raise drink prices from ten to fifteen cents each, made up for the fact that NPS officials refused at this time to allow an increase in passenger fares.⁴⁰

The work done by FOSU staff over the 1960s clearly had an impact, and both in-park activities and outreach most likely brought an influx of visitors to the site. How diverse that population was, however, is not known. Fort Sumter Tours carried 109,221 people by 1972, and a total of 170,899 visited both sites in that year. Perhaps visitation was increasing because of the addition of Fort Moultrie, or perhaps post-centennial advertising had generated interest. In the mid-1960s, Paul Swartz and Omega East opened the first of a series of fourteen programs that focused on the history of both sites and the National Park Service's development of them, as well as the general history of the park service. NPS staff selected pictures and wrote scripts for the fifteen-minute programs that showed on TV three times a week. Later that year, a photographer took pictures of Fort Moultrie for an ad campaign by the South Carolina Advertising Commission. The fort would appear in four national magazines focused on Revolutionary War-based tourism.⁴¹

The National Park Service expanded its outreach to the local community. Staff continued educational talks and programming to clubs and schools, held a torchlight concert for 250 people in May 1967 at Fort Moultrie, and instituted the Volunteers In Parks (VIP) program. The VIP program enabled local volunteers to help staff with sales, living history demonstrations, and conduct "minor research." By the end of 1972, Superintendent Harris noted that one volunteer worked three days a week, and he anticipated more the following summer. In addition, FOSU reached out to minority youth with the "Reach for Fun" program that same year. According to Harris, the "new program is aimed to benefit the urban young people of the area by involving them in recreational, historical, and ecological activities at both Forts Sumter and Moultrie." Eight-hundred children between the ages of eight and twelve participated in tours, living history

39. Paul Swartz, March 1967 Narrative Report, April 19, 1967, William Barnes, June 1967 Narrative Report, July 14, 1967, both unprocessed at Park Archive.

40. Harris, 1972 Superintendent Annual Report, p. 3; William Harris, 1974 Superintendent Annual Report, February 21, 1975, p. 2, Box 1, Folder 40, Park Archive.

41. Harris, 1972 Superintendent Annual Report, p. 1; Swartz, February 1965 Narrative Report; Swartz, September 1965 Narrative Report.

demonstrations, “Indian lore” learning activities, and arts and crafts sessions. This program would continue through the decade.⁴²

While the demographics of visitors cannot be ascertained from extant records, it appears that the visitor population was less than diverse. The “Reach for Fun” campaign suggests that staff were attempting to be inclusive. However, records hint at ongoing problems. In April 1968, Park Guide George Archambo wrote, “Many remarks from visitors complaining bitterly about flag being at half-mast because of death of Martin Luther King. All thought it a disgrace. Heard no favorable comment.” Several months later, Archambo reported that a tour group “composed largely of negro children led by a white woman” were involved in an incident in which the white chaperone “threatened to block the entrance of the fort” if the sales counter were not opened. It is unclear exactly what the situation was, but perhaps the woman believed the sales section was not open because the group was African American; perhaps she thought the staff feared shoplifting. This incident is confusing, and Archambo does not record details beyond the fact that a staff member “won the situation” against “the opposition.”⁴³ Moreover, he chose to categorize it under his “protection and vandalism” subheading, which is a strange place to categorize a chaperoned school group; an incident involving a woman and her young charges wanting to purchase items hardly seems threatening. Archambo’s antagonistic language suggests that African Americans may not have felt welcomed by white visitors or staff.

Efforts during this period do suggest, however, that at least the Superintendent wanted a more diverse staff. In 1967 Paul Swartz held a minority recruitment effort. He interviewed and hired several seasonal employees at Benedictine College (Columbia, South Carolina) and South Carolina State University (Orangeburg), both historically black colleges. He went back to SC State to interview a potential park naturalist.⁴⁴

CONCLUSION

While NPS staff at FOSU acquired a new site that needed restoration and interpretation from the ground up, it continued to wrestle with problems related to conservation of both cultural and natural resources. Five superintendents presided over this period—Luckett, Pratt, Swartz, Whitt, and Harrison—which no doubt contributed to what must have felt like a decade of swift changes. Still, with all the change that did occur, the story told at Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie remained fairly static, focused exclusively on military and political history, down to the “living history” exhibited through reenactments. Despite efforts to reach out to a broader and more inclusive community, it appeared that staff did not achieve much visitor diversity in this period. Still, in ten years, NPS historians, maintenance men, laborers, park guides, and administrative assistants and officers built and grew a tremendous new facility, while successfully maintaining the original site.

42. Superintendent Annual Reports reference the wide-ranging community educational outreach programs, documenting who gave talks, where, and on what topics. Swartz, March 1967 Narrative Report; Harris, 1972 Superintendent Annual Report, pp. 8–9.

43. Archambo, April 1968 Interpretive Report; George Archambo, July 1968 Interpretive Report, August 3, 1968, unprocessed at Park Archive.

44. Swartz, March 1967 Narrative Report; Paul Swartz, April 1967 Narrative Report, May 19, 1967, unprocessed at Park Archive.

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CHAPTER FOUR
MAJOR PLANS, MAJOR PROJECTS, AND A MAJOR STORM,
1973-1989

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CHAPTER 4: MAJOR PLANS, MAJOR PROJECTS, AND A MAJOR STORM 1973–1989

OVERVIEW

For the first two decades of FOSU's existence, park staff and administrators worked to get two sites restored, install interpretation, establish headquarters, and set up visitor services. Much of the initial work of Fort Moultrie was done almost ad hoc, as money and time permitted, as the focus of Mission 66 was on Fort Sumter. That all changed, however, with the Development Concept of 1973 and Master Plan of 1974, both of which were documents related to bicentennial planning. This decade-long period marked the beginning of large building, interpretive and conservation projects, as well as the upgrading of facilities for visitors at Fort Moultrie. These changes included the construction of a visitor center, the building of multiple exhibits at Fort Moultrie that told a much more expansive military history narrative, and the modernization of artifact conservation and collections management efforts.

A DEVELOPMENT CONCEPT PLAN AND A MASTER PLAN

Developed in the early 1970s, originally presented in 1973, and accepted in June 1974, the Development Concept Plan suggested just as sweeping a vision for Fort Moultrie as had the Mission 66 plan for Fort Sumter. Fort Moultrie consisted of several sites, including Fort Moultrie I (built in the 1770s); Fort Moultrie II (built between the late 1700s and early 1800s); Fort Moultrie III (begun in the early 1800s and modified for use through World War II); Construction 230, atop which sat the naval electronics evaluation system; and Battery Jasper, an Endicott-period battery. The challenge was to tie these disparate buildings (or, in the cases of Fort Moultrie I and II, the sites of former buildings) together, while keeping visitor traffic controlled to conserve the sites.

The Development Concept Plan, written by the Comprehensive Land Planning Consultants of Hilton Head with the input of NPS staff, suggested a visitor center located across the street from the fort structure. The 7,000-square-foot facility would be able to hold approximately two hundred visitors at a time and would consist of exhibition space, a lobby, administrative offices, and a 150-person auditorium. This would be the embarkation point to the fort across the street and would control the flow of foot traffic from a proposed parking lot behind the visitor center through to the fort. The plan noted, "The main function of the facility would be to introduce the story of 200 years of coastal fortifications, the evolution of those fortifications, as a reflection of continuing changes in armaments, and the hand-in-hand development of both the nation's place in world affairs and its concepts of national defense." The exhibits would include information on Fort Sumter and the Civil War as well as other periods of war.¹

1. Arthur H. Beyer, Development Concept Fort Sumter/Fort Moultrie, September 1974, pp. 4, 6, Box 12, Folder 29, Park Archive.

The layout dictated the development plan for the fort. Interpretation would follow the buildings from front to back. Visitors would begin by walking to the Osceola gravesite and the memorial to sixty-two crew members of the USS *Pataspc*, an ironclad sunk by a mine in the Charleston Harbor during the Civil War. The naval building on top of Construction 230 would be highlighted, as would Battery Logan *if* Sullivan’s Island ceded the land to the National Park Service. For improved visitor services, the proposal suggested a new boat dock for the concessioner to use as an embarkation point to Fort Sumter, which would involve dredging the intercoastal waterway.²

The proposal also suggested additional property acquisitions. The original plan recommended legislation to acquire houses on the “southeastern corner of Fort and Middle streets.” This proposition included the acquisition of thirty-eight privately or city-owned lots via legislation to provide a clear view of Fort Moultrie as visitors drove down Middle Street.³ Also, NPS staff wanted to acquire the Coast Guard station on Station 18 ½ and I’On streets for storage and maintenance, as well as potential ranger quarters. The Coast Guard planned to vacate the property and the four buildings at the site. The lighthouse, which would be automated, would remain in operation and Coast Guard property.⁴ Fort Sumter needed the space and the buildings, but Superintendent Harris admitted, “We are not sure how the Coast Guard property might meet the standards of National Monument and National Historic Site purposes We might need to again give a very liberal interpretation of the Fort Sumter enabling legislation to acquire this property.”⁵ The Denver Service Center (DSC), which is the central office for management, planning, and construction design for the National Park Service, agreed that the acquisition would benefit FOSU for maintenance and storage purposes. It could also serve as seasonal housing, because of the park’s lack of space in general. DSC did not think it would work for park headquarters, however, “primarily because of the limited park staffing available in our parks and the need for the park staff to double up at the new interpretive facility especially at the off season periods.”⁶ This was before the Fort Moultrie Visitor Center was built, and park headquarters were located inside Fort Moultrie itself.⁷

The Fort Sumter National Monument Development Concept, presented as a draft in December 1973, announced to the public in 1974, and revised and approved in June, was an even more ambitious document meant to address concerns at both Forts Sumter and Moultrie. While some of the Development Concept ended up being dropped, the study explains where park staff wanted to go in the 1970s. Ultimately, community pushback and financial cost made the plan impossible to execute in its entirety, but understanding its basic tenets is important to seeing the ideal vision park staff had in the early 1970s.

2. Beyer, Development Concept Fort Sumter/Fort Moultrie, September 1974, pp. 6–8.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

4. Sullivan’s Island has many streets named for stations for an old trolley that used to traverse the island. “Coast Guard Unit May Close Spokesman Says,” *Charleston News and Courier*, March 12, 1973.

5. Memorandum from William A. Harris to Director of Southeast Region, Sullivan’s Island Coast Guard Station, March 30, 1973, Box 47 Folder 3, Park Archive.

6. Memorandum from Arthur H. Beyer to Director of Southeast Region, Sullivan’s Island Coast Guard Station, April 27, 1973, Box 47, Folder 3, Park Archive.

7. Letter from David D. Thompson Jr. to Rear Admiral O. R. Smeder April 11, 1973, Box 47, Folder 3, Park Archive.

Interpretively, the development plan positioned Forts Moultrie and Sumter in juxtaposition. As Fort Moultrie would show the development of coastal defense to better explain “the Nation’s place in world affairs and its concepts of national defense,” Fort Sumter would be exhibited as a “slice-in-time,” focused entirely on the Civil War era. At Fort Sumter, this would entail a feasibility study of removing Battery Huger and reconstructing the original sally port entrance. In addition, the writer said, “Improved interpretation will be provided that will concentrate on the events of the war between the states at Charleston.” So while the interpretive plan for Fort Moultrie departed from the static time-period display favored by historic site museums at the time, the interpretation of Fort Sumter remained traditional, not just in its favoring of one era but in its narrative language. Fort Moultrie’s ambitious dynamic interpretation would be challenging, as “The story is difficult for the visitor to grasp . . . because only the most recent series of modifications are visible.” So the plan was to focus on restoring several sections in different periods, beginning in 1809, to best present the evolution of the fort’s construction over time.⁸

What both forts had in common, according to the plan, was their significance in the nation’s military history, which would be interpreted accordingly. This shift from presenting Fort Moultrie as an auxiliary unit in previous proposals may have been related to the General Authorities Act of 1970, which mandated that NPS sites be managed as holistic units rather than as miscellaneous independent entities. This could mean that policies had to be applied across park units, so it may have been an administrative change.⁹

The plan noted significant differences in the two sites but presented Fort Moultrie as an opportunity for a new direction in historic interpretation. As the plan explained (incorrectly, apparently, based on earlier Superintendent reports), “Visitation levels at Fort Moultrie have never approached that of Fort Sumter . . . Quite naturally, Fort Sumter has great romantic appeal, especially to Southerners, because it stood as a symbol of Southern resistance.” But Fort Moultrie’s significance was as the site of one of the first significant patriot victories during the American Revolution and in its development for subsequent use. The plan proposed a film for Fort Moultrie explaining the 171 years of coastal defense and a self-guided tour of the structure in reverse with a side trip to Battery Jasper. This “zone concept” would highlight Construction 230 and World War II, with a recreation of the Harbor Entrance Control Post (HECP), then moving back in time through Endicott-era Batteries Bingham and McCorkle, with Spanish-American War-era Endicott rifles, should they be secured, and a living history interpreter from the period because so few NPS sites interpreted this era. The plan suggested removing Battery Lord to restore the 1870s Rodman gun platforms (which ultimately happened), then provide a walkway to the southwest Civil War-era zone, with period guns and interpreters. The northwest portion of the fort would highlight the masonry and powder magazines in use between 1809 and 1861, and from there visitors could go to an open area between the fort and harbor where a

8. NPS, Fort Sumter National Monument Development Plan, June 1974, pp. 2, 21, Box 13, Folder 7, Park Archive. Note, the plan lists the construction date as 1807.

9. See Lary Dilsaver, *America’s National Park System: The Critical Documents* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1994); Angela Sirna and Rebecca Conard, *Stones River National Battlefield Administrative History* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2016), 79; Donald J. Hellmann, “The National Park Service at 100,” *Akron Law Review* 50, no. 1 (June 2017): 5–80.

wayside would interpret Fort Moultries I and II. In the bicentennial year, a costumed interpreter would be stationed there.¹⁰

The “slice in time” concept was not quite as challenging to interpret, and of course Fort Sumter had a head start in terms of excavation of the fort structure and installation of a museum. At Fort Sumter, a sound and light program would be installed to represent the battle and subsequent Civil War engagements, a self-guided tour, and costumed interpreters in the casements. Information would be provided in audio formats on the tour boats. The study said, however, that “Until the question of the future of Battery Huger is resolved, the later day features . . . must be explained to visitors as post–Civil War resources of the Fort.”¹¹ What is interesting, however, is the fact that the Battery Huger issue was seen as something that would take resolution; the Director of the Southeast Region sent a memo to the Director of the Denver Service Center about the bicentennial plans for the parks in which he said that the Fort Moultrie plans should be detached from the Fort Sumter proposal so it would not “become embroiled in prolonged discussions” related to Battery Huger, the boat dock, and a land bridge that was still being promoted by some.¹²

The plan also detailed what park service officials saw as the major conservation challenges of the time, many of which were manmade. The spoilage from Charleston Harbor dredging created an artificial sandbar between Fort Sumter and Fort Johnson that “constitute[s] an artificiality and a diminution of the historic setting.” The dredging enabled larger boats to use Charleston Harbor, which caused a bigger problem than the spoilage: “The wake of large vessels passing nearby Fort Sumter and wind-driven seas have resulted in surf action that threatens the foundations of Fort Sumter.” Riprap was a temporary protection but detracted from what the development plan called the “historic scene” of the fort—and it was only a solution where the water was not too deep. At Fort Moultrie a jetty protected the beach.¹³

The damage caused by water-related problems was one issue; so was the sheer volume of visitors to both fragile historic structures. As the plan noted, visitation in 1967 (which was South Carolina’s tricentennial year) was 85,536. By 1970, visitation was up to 106,631, and in 1972, 103,109 people toured the forts. As the writer explained, more visitors to both relatively small sites could be problematic, and so the plan tried to balance conservation with visitor engagement: “On the one hand, the historic fabric of the forts should be preserved, restored, and better interpreted so that they will prove authentic, attractive, and educational historic shrines On the other hand, the quality of the visitor experience will suffer” if visitors congested the sites.¹⁴

10. NPS, Fort Sumter National Monument Development Plan, June 1974, pp. 17, 41–42. The acknowledgment of the fort as a place romanticized as part of the Lost Cause is interesting here. This document used the term “Civil War,” but “War Between the States” appears on page 12—perhaps lifted from an earlier Master Plan.

11. NPS, Fort Sumter National Monument Development Plan, June 1974, pp. 17, 41, 44.

12. Memorandum from Southeast Regional Director to Director, Denver Service Center, January 5, 1973, Box 13, Folder 23, Park Archive.

13. NPS, Fort Sumter National Monument Development Plan, June 1974, pp. 13–14.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 17.

Expanding visitor services for Fort Sumter were also part of this master plan. The plan sought new ways to provide water to visitors at Fort Sumter, perhaps in bringing water out via barge or using new technology for sewage treatment, to address the problems with the cisterns, which often ran out of water. The other issue was the continued problem with trying to put so many people on tour boats at the small and overused City Marina. The plan suggested that a site on Broad Street could have at least 160 parking spaces. The plan mentioned the naval museum at Hogg Island (being called Patriots Point), which could serve as a tour boat center as well. This site supplemented the proposed embarkation point at Fort Moultrie.¹⁵

The proposed embarkation point at Fort Moultrie was the most recent in a series of attempts to find an adequate place to accommodate the crowds that sought passage to Fort Sumter. NPS officials had also wanted a better site downtown than the Charleston City Marina from which tours were currently leaving. The National Park Service planned to ask the Coast Guard to transfer 2.5 acres in Charleston Harbor overlooking the Ashley River at the corner of Broad and Chisholm. This negotiation involved Congressman Mendel Rivers, who would ask the Secretary to sign any land transfer by executive order. The catch was that the Coast Guard had transferred “administration, custody, control, and jurisdiction” to the Army in 1950. However, Superintendent Paul Swartz noted in 1966 that the Army did not use 146 feet of the property behind a fence line. Later that year, the Rear Admiral of the Coast Guard offered the National Park Service a “revocable permit” for use of the acreage. In 1967, the Coast Guard transferred 2 acres to the National Park Service, but the Army Reserve refused to transfer its portion of the property, which comprised .58 acres of the original Coast Guard holding. So Fort Moultrie looked like the most feasible option at this point.¹⁶

COMMUNITY

The Master Plan then went out for review to the public in 1974, and responses were decidedly mixed, with notable resistance from the vast majority of Sullivan’s Island residents. Wilfred Lipman, chair of the Sullivan’s Island Board of Commissioners, summed up the points of contention at a meeting held to review the plan on April 22, 1974. In it, he protested the forced sale of private property, which would cause the city lost tax revenue. He said the Lutheran church would revert back to the synod for a retreat center. The Coast Guard property, he asserted, was to go back to the town according to the deed it originally signed, and the town was planning a skating rink for the land. Townspeople were especially affronted that the National Park Service proposed to acquire land upon which the Community Hall, Island Club, Fireman’s Fish Fry, and numerous private dwellings sat, even if owners were compensated. They opposed the visitor center, and most particularly the building of the dock, in principle, as “*Traffic conditions would be unbearable.*” The town said that it was not planning to ever give up Battery

15. NPS, Fort Sumter National Monument Development Plan, June 1974, pp. 29, 33.

16. NPS, Status of Land Acquisition, n.d., Box 27, Folder 1, Follow up Slip from Fort Sumter Meeting, January 21, 1966, Transfer from the Commandant of US Coast Guard to Chief of Engineers, Department of Army, April 25, 1950, memorandum from Paul Swartz to Director Harriman, March 4, 1966, L. M. Thayer to Director, National Park Service, August 19, 1966, Folder 2, H. J. McCormack to Clifford Harriman, August 11, 1967, memorandum from Richard Stanton to Southeast Regional Director, December 13, 1967, Folder 3, all in Box 27, Land Acquisition Files, 1933-70 (Division of Land Acquisition), RG 79, NPS.

Logan. The town council and the townspeople who attended the meeting resolved unanimously to adopt a statement of resolutions against the expansion of Fort Moultrie.¹⁷

At a meeting held at the Citadel on May 24, 1974, even those who supported the concept of the plan had reservations about parts of it. Lipman again spoke against the plan, calling it “inaccurate in many points” and that it “does not fully present all of the facts in their true perspectives of governmental ramifications.” Citing fears of federalism’s “cancerous tentacles,” he noted “if the Federal government continues to gobble up what it chooses, that ultimately, the Federal government will be telling us what to think, what to do, and what we can do if we don’t like it.” He noted that the proposed acquisition of thirty-eight parcels of land would be an “unmitigated rape of individual rights” and that the traffic would threaten Sullivan’s Island’s “present lifestyle and serene integrity.”¹⁸ Almost all of the residents felt similarly. W. J. Woods, who purchased a house on Fort Moultrie grounds, wondered “whether Fort Moultrie should be expanded to the point that it becomes a detriment to the community.” Dr. James C. Byrd called Sullivan’s Island residents “beleaguered [and] anxious,” and John Cappelman Jr. said “The Islanders are not against Fort Moultrie . . . We just don’t want Fort Moultrie to become a vast tourist Disneyesque proposition.” Many claimed that they were angry and anxious about the possibility of losing homes to acquisition or children to traffic accidents. Citadel history professor Jamie Moore called the historical narrative of the plan “sheer historical nonsense,” claiming that the Battle for Sullivan’s Island was not that significant, that Fort Moultrie had little to do with Civil War defense, and that nothing much happened after that. He said the interpretation should be limited to just the American Revolution, and that “We have a very real heritage to be proud of, but this isn’t it.”¹⁹

After the meeting, Sullivan’s Island residents continued to sign petitions and send letters to NPS officials decrying the new plan. A few supported the plan, but at a meeting of six hundred people, only two came out in support of the National Park Service, according to a letter to the Secretary of the Interior from Lipman. In addition, of a list of seventy-five entries sent to the National Park Service, only two were in full support of the plan.²⁰

What really seemed at stake here, based on the statements made by the residents, was the concern over loss of community identity. Sullivan’s Island had a population of 1,426 located on 2 square miles. Many of the homes were owned by local residents as summer cottages, and it lacked large hotels or major industrial zones. A trolley service that had begun in the early twentieth century was discontinued, and throughout the development meeting, people cited the quiet, rural nature of the community. In a representative listing of seventy-five comments that came in to the National Park Service, only three were in favor of the plan. Many cited the concern with traffic already and the small “family” atmosphere of Sullivan’s Island, more a

17. Wilfred E. Lipman, Summarization of Proposed Position Fort Moultrie Development, 1974, Box 13, Folder 2, Park Archive (emphasis in original).

18. NPS, Fort Sumter National Monument Master Plan Meeting, May 24, 1974, Box 13, Folder 4, Park Archive.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 31, 34, 43.

20. Wilfred Lipman to Rogers C. Morton, May 27, 1974, and list of names and addresses of correspondents over this issue, both in Box 13, Folder 2, Park Archive.

community than a tourist base. Many feared that more development would bring more people to crowd the small island.²¹

Even boosters disagreed with the plan. While Aiden McCain of the Charleston Bicentennial Commission supported it, the Charleston County Recreational Facility Commission representative agreed with the boat launch, interpretive center, and parking lot, he did not support the land acquisition because it was “not vital to the overall project’s viability.” The Chamber of Commerce president Leonard Croton supported the plan but “withholds judgment” on the acquisition of private property. Harry Hooker of the Sullivan’s Island Civic Club supported none of the proposition and agreed with the township commission, explaining “We will see the bulldozing of our homes and we will see the distinctive tracks of American tourists discarded hamburger wrappers on the side of our street and we will have to pay to have the litter removed.” He saw the project as a danger to his “tranquil community.” And C. Michael Pugh, Director of the Charleston-Dorchester Regional Planning Council, wrote to Vincent Gannon of SERO and, while supportive of the project, suggested not to try to put a boat dock at the fort because of traffic concerns in the area.²²

While the NPS officials understood the concerns of the community, they also noted the holes in the arguments made by residents. Even before the public meeting, Superintendent William Harris sent a highway study to Lipman, and explained that “Most of the travel to Fort Moultrie occurs between the hours of 9:00 a.m. and 4:00 p.m. daily and thus does not compete with normal commuter travel on Sullivan’s Island and S.C. Route 703.” He also argued the travel season to Fort Moultrie was longer than the summer months and “accounts for less than 100 vehicles a day during the peak travel season.” He asserted that visitors to the fort comprised fewer than 2 percent of cars on the road during the summer and even less the rest of the year. Later, the SERO Regional Director James Bainbridge wrote to Washington Office (WASO) Associate Director of Legislation that “park visitors seem to be receiving blame on Sullivan’s Island for a number of offenses, such as littering and reckless driving, that should be shared (at least in great part) with summer season users of the beaches on Sullivan’s Island.”²³ These NPS officers seemed to understand quite clearly that the concern might be more philosophical than real.

Community challenges, however, altered the physical site development portion of the Master Plan. James Bainbridge said in a *Memo to the Manager of the DSC* that the language about Sullivan’s Island donating Battery Logan was changed to read that the National Park Service “would favorably consider any future offer” from the town. He also noted that officials held off on discussing a tour boat dock until after development of the Fort Moultrie site. They took out language of private land acquisition with the exception of one house directly to the west of the fort. In a memo to the Associate Director of Legislation-WASO, James Bainbridge pointed out

21. NPS, Fort Sumter National Monument Master Plan Meeting, May 24, 1974, p. 14; David B. Schneider, “Historic Resources of Sullivan’s Island, South Carolina,” National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, September 6, 2007, accessed August 13, 2019, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/118995904>; List of comments.

22. Schneider, “Historic Resources of Sullivan’s Island,” pp. 20-21, 17-18, 23; List of comments; Statement of the SI Civic Club, and Michael Pugh to Vincent Gannon, June 24, 1974, both Box 13, Folder 2, Park Archive.

23. William Harris to Walter Lipman, March 19, 1973, Box 13, Folder 3, Park Archive; James Bainbridge to WASO Legislative Associate Director, n.d., Box 13, Folder 2, Park Archive.

that “The current plan provides for proposed acquisition of only a single property and accepts the perpetuation in private and township ownership of the other properties for so long as present land uses persist.” NPS officials also dropped the plan to acquire private residences unless Sullivan’s Island determined to rezone, which could threaten the integrity of the site with “intrusive structures.” In addition, they altered the dock plan for Fort Moultrie as well. They proposed that the fee structure for tour boats be identical at both sites so there would be “no advantage” to using Fort Moultrie, and that they would only do boat launches on a “trial basis” to see if people only went to Fort Moultrie to take the ferry to Fort Sumter, which they suspected would not be the case. The only pleasure boats allowed to dock would have to be shorter than the drawbridge so that they would not affect the bridge.²⁴

Park officials maintained the basic concepts of development and the justifications for that work. Supported by US Senator Ernest Hollings of South Carolina, and not halted by Senator Strom Thurmond, who according to Don Harper of Thurmond’s office said he planned to stay neutral and was “keeping a low profile on these issues,” the National Park Service moved ahead with plans, although without enabling legislation to acquire land (including the house they still wanted to get, which would remain in private hands through the 2000s). Noted NPS Historian Ed Bearss of WASO sent a “purposely lengthy” rebuttal to Professor Moore, establishing not only the significance of Fort Moultrie in the Revolution, but also as the site of Anderson’s original encampment in the area. He also pointed out the significance of the Endicott-area batteries and the importance of the fort in showing coastal defense developments.²⁵

At the meeting, a representative of the Board of Township Commissioners also broached the subject of ownership of the tract of Coast Guard land. According to the Town of Sullivan’s Island, the island granted the federal government the use of the land as a life-saving station, and if the land were no longer used as a life-saving station, the land would revert back to the Town of Sullivan’s Island. Fort Sumter began investigating the question of ownership and deeds.²⁶ For the next decade, the United States Coast Guard, the National Park Service, and the Town of Sullivan’s Island were embroiled in the question of land ownership and a reverter clause.

The federal government determined that the original land transfer, which was from the unincorporated Town of Moultrieville to the state of South Carolina in 1891 and had the reverter clause, was void because such a grant from an unincorporated town was “*beyond its*

24. Memorandum from SERO Regional Director to Manager, Denver Service Center, June 10, 1974, and Map Included with Memo, June 6, 1974, memorandum from James Bainbridge to WASO Associate Director of Legislation, July 17, 1974, all in Box 13, Folder 2, Park Archive.

25. Sergeant C. Boyd Finch to Associate Regional Director, Professional Services, June 4, 1974, memorandum from Edwin Bearss to Vince Gannon, June 7, 1974, both Box 13, Folder 2, Park Archive. Bearss moved to Washington, DC, in 1966, although Merrill Mattes noted that he was on the DSC preservation team for the bicentennial in “Landmarks of Liberty.” For more information on Bearss see “Edwin C. Bearss,” American Battlefield Trust, accessed August 13, 2019, <https://www.battlefields.org/preserve/champions/edwin-c-bearss>.

26. Letter from William A. Harris to Wilfred E. Lipman Chairman, Board of Township Commissioners, September 12, 1974, Box 47, Folder 3, Park Archive.

powers as defined by State Statutes.”²⁷ Twentieth-century legislation, in which the state of South Carolina ceded the property to the federal government, had no reverter clause.²⁸ More than a decade after this issue first arose, the Town of Sullivan’s Island and the National Park Service finally reached an agreement about a land transfer. The town would not dispute a transfer of the property to the National Park Service, but the town requested that a town police officer reside at the site in the administration/barracks building “on a year round basis.” Superintendent Brien Varnado urged the Southeast Region to accept this arrangement. First, he said, the facilities were “critically needed.” Second, he argued that it would benefit the town, which would help to maintain what had become a good relationship by this time. And finally, rental income from the units would provide funds for regular maintenance on the historic structures.²⁹ By this time, FOSU depended on the extra space the Life-Saving Station provided them. Varnado also requested to use the administrative/barracks building as permanent quarters and to use rental income to help fund the maintenance of all four buildings.³⁰

Ultimately, NPS staff got a visitor center, the US Coast Guard property, and a parking lot, and the race to build before 1976 was officially on. In a study of the American Revolution Bicentennial Development Program, of which Fort Moultrie was part, DSC head of interpretation Merrill Mattes explained that the DSC received funding to work on designated bicentennial sites. He maintained because of the compressed timeline “it was clear that only a crash program effort by its Southeast Team could accomplish the work in time.” The team had only two years before the bicentennial to complete projects after federal funds materialized.³¹



FIGURE 4.1 THE US LIFE-SAVING STATION, 1919 (COURTESY OF NPS).

The entire site received new interpretive tools. The visitor center, planned to be 7,800 square feet upon its completion, would have an observatory roof to view the harbor from the vantage of Fort Moultrie. The visitor center exhibit was described later by W. P. Crawford as an “interim exhibit” which displayed artifacts unearthed in excavations from the past two years, arranged in timeline fashion from prior to 1776 through World War II. The grounds were landscaped with live oak, cabbage palm, Carolina jessamine, and other native plants, and the oyster shell and soil

27. James A. Costello to James L. Bainbridge August 27, 1974, Box 47, Folder 3, Park Archive, emphasis in original.

28. Memorandum from Superintendent William A. Harris to Associate Regional Director, Administration, SER Sullivan’s Island Coast Guard Property, October 2, 1974, and James A. Costello to Mark C. Tanenbaum, November 11, 1975, both in Box 47, Folder 3, Park Archive.

29. Memorandum from R. Brien Varnado to Chief, Contracting and Property Management Division, Southeast Region, Coast Guard Station, Administration/Barracks Building/Sullivan’s Island, June 11, 1984, Box 47, Folder 3, Park Archive. There is no known evidence that a town police officer ever resided at the NPS-occupied Life-Saving Station.

30. Varnado, Coast Guard Station, Administration/Barracks Building/Sullivan’s Island.

31. Merrill Mattes, “Landmarks of Liberty,” 1989, pp. 58–59, Box 20, Folder 16, Park Archive.

cement trails led from the seventy-five-car parking lot to the restored fort, and finally to Battery Jasper. At Harpers Ferry, Saul Shiffman planned out the museum installations, and Historian Ed Bearss completed research on Fort Moultrie I, II, and the Battle of Sullivan’s Island. All told, with the building of a palmetto fort replica station beyond Fort Moultrie III, the project cost \$1.3 million.³²

What they did not get, however, was the tour boat dock at Fort Moultrie. Throughout this period, staff struggled with where to place a visitor embarkation site, from Broad Street to Fleet Landing, located at the end of the City Market on Concord Street. Details of the struggle for a location on the peninsula can be found in the next chapter. No matter where the embarkation point on the peninsula, staff wanted an additional landing site. In 1976, however, citizens of Sullivan’s Island filed a lawsuit in an attempt to stop the building of the dock at Fort Moultrie. The situation resolved itself, as Superintendent W. P. “Ping” Crawford noted: “Most of the opposition was dropped with our acceptance of the Corps of Engineers permit with a restriction on primary embarcation [*sic*] at Fort Moultrie.” The Army Corps of Engineers granted a permit for construction of a dock at Fort Moultrie on February 15, 1977, which prohibited any tour boat from embarking from Fort Moultrie and allowed only private boats and the NPS boat to dock.³³



FIGURE 4.2 “A WOODEN HULL, 36-FOOT, SINGLE CREW, UTILITY BOAT IS THE ONLY LINK FOR FORT SUMTER TO THE MAINLAND. THE VESSEL, WHICH IS OVER 20 YEARS OLD, . . . IS ON LOAN TO THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE FROM THE U.S. ARMY” (COURTESY OF NPS).

32. Mattes, “Landmarks of Liberty,” 1989, pp. 58–59; W. P. Crawford, Southeastern Region Interpretive Needs Document, August 14, 1984, Box 18, Folder 2, Park Archive. Perhaps because of the haste in exhibit installation, W. P. Crawford stated that the exhibit did not hit the mark in explaining how construction of the fort changed over time. He proposed a budget to rehabilitate the exhibit to make it an image-based timeline that would include physical building materials to better contextualize the periods interpreted.

33. W. P. Crawford, 1976 Superintendent Annual Report, January 3, 1976, p. 6, Box 1, Folder 40, Park Archive; Statement for Management, December 1, 1977, Box 13, Folder 19, Park Archive.

INTERPRETATION

The main interpretive thrust in the period between 1973 and 1989 focused on restoration and exhibit installation in Fort Moultrie, but Fort Sumter received attention, too. Because of the bicentennial and the focus on developing Fort Moultrie and its status as a new unit in FOSU, it made sense to concentrate efforts there. The interpretation was complicated by the fact that staff had to exhibit almost 200 years of history, but their efforts yielded an outdoor site exhibit in the Harbor Entrance Control Post that visitors still enjoy today.

One of the priorities of the NPS staff in the early 1970s was to try to determine the location of the original structures. To that end, it signed a contract with the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology at University of South Carolina (USC) to determine both the location of Fort Moultrie I (1776–83) and Fort Moultrie II (1798–1804) as well as features lost in Fort Moultrie III. The 1973 report noted that excavation unearthed artifacts dating from the American Revolutionary period to the present. Once the National Park Service located the original boundaries, the Southeast Regional Office used DSC funds (most likely those allocated to the bicentennial project) to replicate a section of Fort Moultrie I. John Garner, historic architect, designed the fort, and Kenneth May supervised the construction work of Charleston's Dawson Engineering Company. The 120-foot long, 48-foot wide, and 18-foot high section was created with palmetto cribbing and sand fill and featured three artillery emplacements and cannon embrasures. Three replica iron 18-pounders were mounted on the gun platforms.³⁴

As the archeological team worked on locating the original fort structure, the historians planned a comprehensive wayside exhibit for the entire site. Sid Abel wrote the exhibit plan for Stage 1. From Osceola to the USS *Patapsco*, visitors would walk through the sally port and see a display of regimental flags representing the different units that served at the fort, view pictures of soldiers who served in different periods, and read explanations of rapid-fire batteries, descriptions of Rodmans and Endicott batteries, a Brook and Columbiad exhibit, and the difficulties of moving large guns. There were to be panels on the powder magazines, enlisted men's barracks, and range maps. Exhibits would move all the way through World War II constructions. All of this was to be accompanied by audio descriptions that would lend drama to the words. As the exhibit plan

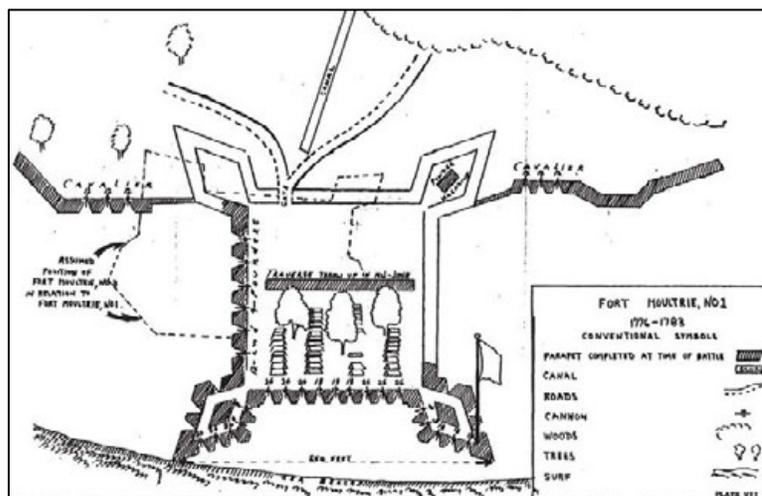


FIGURE 4.3 EDWIN C. BEARSS RESEARCHED THE POSITION OF THE ORIGINAL FORT MOULTRIE (1776–1783) (COURTESY OF NPS).

34. John Garner, Historic Structure Report, FOMO III—1973 Historic Structures Report Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive; William Harris, 1973 Superintendent Annual Report, January 18, 1974, pp. 4–5, Box 1, Folder 40, Park Archive; Mattes, "Landmarks of Liberty," 59.

noted, for example, “In a re-creation of Fort Moultrie during the height of the War Between the States, the visitor will receive a verbal picture of the military situation in Charleston harbor.”³⁵

Although this language suggests that some interpretations had not necessarily moved forward, the Exhibit Plan Phase 1 incorporated a new interpretation—for the first time—in exhibit panel 14, titled “To Meet the Crisis.” In this panel, “The haste, in which, during the centuries since 1776 with the port of Charleston threatened by various enemies, three Fort Moultries as well as additional batteries were built and the contribution of black men to their construction.” The audio would use “carefully chosen language” to provide “an account” of the “contribution of blacks ranging from the simple labor of constructing the ‘palmetto’ fort of 1776 to the skilled masonry of FOMO III.” The purpose, as stated, would be “To pay tribute to an unsung army of South Carolina blacks who, by their muscle and craftsmanship, built each of the various Fort Moultries from the ground up.” Although the period here would cover from the 1770s to the 1940s, it did not appear to mention the fact that until the 1860s these African American men would have been enslaved.³⁶

The “Fort Sumter Interpretive Prospectus,” developed by L. Clifford Subier of the DSC, FOSU Superintendent William Harris, FOSU Historian William Hubbard, and others, carried through the zone concept at Fort Moultrie and the “moment in time” at Fort Sumter using new technology and research. Audio would be used in key places, to tell of America’s increasing interest in foreign affairs in the twentieth century, as well as Anderson’s move from Moultrie to Sumter. The final prospectus called for anti-aircraft guns and the reactivation of a shell-lifting device for Battery Jasper. The visitor center would feature an exhibit on the long history of the site, using artifacts unearthed during excavations. Juxtaposed against the more fluid Fort Moultrie, Fort Sumter would be fixed in the time of the Civil War. Rather than an “exact historical state of ruin,” Fort Sumter would give an “*impression* of the fort’s wartime appearance.” A self-guided tour would begin after a five-minute production featuring an audio and light show focused on the garrison flag. This would take place in a facility that would be located on the gorge site interior, which visitors would enter through the sally port if Huger could be removed. It suggested a presentation on blockade runners on the trip back, which was the focus of current research. The prospectus also called for revisions of the Fort Sumter Handbook, the creation of a new Fort Moultrie Handbook, and a publication on Osceola, although no evidence suggests that the publication on Osceola was done in the following two decades.³⁷

The interpretive prospectus mentioned Battery Huger’s removal, which had been proposed in earnest a year earlier. Removal would cost an estimated \$510,000. The removal would allow staff to interpret Fort Sumter as described in the plans. Perhaps the renewed desire to remove Huger stemmed from interpretive needs to juxtapose Fort Moultrie’s dynamic interpretation with Fort

35. Memorandum from Superintendent, Wayside Exhibit Plan, Fort Moultrie, February 21, 1975, Memorandum from Associate Regional Director, Review of Wayside Exhibit Plan—Fort Moultrie, n.d., Memorandum from John Garner to Manager HFC, October 4, 1974, Sid Abel, Exhibit Plan, August 20, 1974, all in Box 18, Folder 6, Park Archive.

36. Abel, Exhibit Plan, August 20, 1974.

37. L. Clifford Soubier et al., “Fort Sumter Interpretive Prospectus,” August 13, 1974, pp. 10, 12, 14, 17, Box 143, Folder 8, Park Archive. Team Members: L. Clifford Soubier (DSC), William Harris (Superintendent FOSU), William Hubbard (Historian, FOSU), Robert Schreffler (Landscape Architect, DSC), Wilber Dutton and Ellsworth Swift (Harpers Ferry), and Edwin Bearss (Historic Preservation).

Sumter's "moment in time" Civil War-era interpretation. For the first time, however, there was a reason given besides historic integrity; engineers had said "the battery represents a force which is detrimental to the historic fabric of Fort Sumter." Obviously, the half-million dollars did not come through for removal, so plans evolved around the enormous structure.³⁸

For three years prior to the bicentennial, staff worked to make Fort Moultrie look more historically accurate, as it was a site central to the commemoration effort. In 1973, the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission presented the "*Certificate of Official Recognition*" and the bicentennial flag to staff at Fort Moultrie, designating the area a "national focal point," in front of several hundred people. Staff cleared vegetation to present a more historically authentic view of Fort Moultrie, which would also help with maintenance.³⁹ From June to September 1974, two service archeologists and thirty-five seasonal laborers worked to reconstruct the fort according to the periods defined in the zones. Superintendent Harris reported that the public "enjoyed the experience of seeing archaeological work" during their visits, and the excavations netted five cannon tubes, including two 10-inch Rodmans, two 8-inch Parrott rifles, and a 15-inch Rodman. The site of the British-made fort begun in 1782 was located, as were the foundations of the 1832 and 1900 post hospitals and a ca. 1840 cemetery. In 1975, staff mounted new interpretive signs to explain the fort's restoration, created a new booklet on the technical study of fort history and a minifolder, and wrote the script for the orientation movie. More than 5,100 people attended living history programs.⁴⁰

Visitors flocked to both sites, perhaps in anticipation of the bicentennial. Although Harris noted that Fort Moultrie traffic was down, partly because the fort was closed down for some of the interior restoration, a total of 178,727 people visited FOSU in 1975. Fort Sumter Tours carried 107,332 to Fort Sumter, up from 84,668 the year before. Although work focused on Fort Moultrie, the staff also made a change at Fort Sumter in 1974, replacing the "traditional highly structured formal talks" with "informal, introductory remarks" at the site. This, according to Harris, led to a "relaxed atmosphere" which was an improvement over the more guided tours. The visitors to Fort Sumter also enjoyed the demonstrations of military weaponry there.⁴¹

In 1975, staff focused on restoring and reproducing ordnance for the bicentennial, which proved to be a tremendous expense. Bethlehem Steel made 15-inch Rodman carriages, and staff worked to get two 4.7 Armstrong cannons from Kane County, Illinois, for Battery Bingham. They received a 3-inch rapid fire gun for Battery McCorkle from Harpers Ferry Center. Restoration on ordnance continued at a furious pace, and the interpretive needs outstripped the funding. Ellsworth Swift of Harpers Ferry Center informed the SERO Director, "We will not have enough funds to do all the cannon work proposed." Unless the National Park Service would come up with an additional \$88,900, staff would have to scale back on the ordnance exhibit. Swift laid out a few options: Fort Sumter could use the existing two 32-pounders rather

38. Soubier et al., "Fort Sumter Interpretive Prospectus," 13; Proposal to Remove Fort Sumter's Battery Huger, October 29, 1973, Box 13, Folder 3, Park Archive.

39. Benjamin Nelson, "Fort Sumter National Monument," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Fort Sumter National Monument, October 10, 1973; Harris, 1973 Superintendent Annual Report, pp. 5, 7-8; 9-10.

40. William Harris, 1974 Superintendent Annual Report, April 21, 1975, p. 3, and William Harris, 1975 Superintendent Annual Report, February 20, 1976, pp. 2, 6, both in Box 1, Folder 40, Park Archive.

41. Harris, 1975 Superintendent Annual Report, 1; Harris, 1974 Superintendent Annual Report, 3.

than have five exhibited at a cost savings of \$42,000 or could get the five 32-pound carriages, two 10-inch Columbiads, two 15-inch Rodmans, and leave the rest incomplete. David Thompson, SERO Director, confirmed with the Manager of Harpers Ferry Center that William Harris concurred with the first option, and that they find a way to reduce Battery Bingham costs by \$10,000. These alterations would require SERO to ask for only an additional \$36,900, which Thompson noted that WASO seemed “favorably disposed” to providing. In early 1976, Acting Superintendent Brien Varnado confirmed that the first option, which Swift supported, would be the best. He also explained that staff uncovered photos that show a 10-inch Columbiad carriage modified to fit an 8-inch tube where a Brooke was thought to be, as well as one 10-inch Columbiad rather than two, so he asked for some additional exhibit modifications.⁴²

During this time, Lee Wallace Jr. also created the furnishing plan for the Harbor Entrance Control Post–Harbor Defense Command Post, based on Ed Bearss’s 1973 “Historic Data Section and Furnishing Plan” for the World War II–era Harbor Entrance Control Post (HECP). As Wallace noted, the exhibit should “attempt to clarify for the visitor the distinctive missions” of both sites, which served as the “nerve center” for Charleston defenses, much like other control posts along the coasts. This one was actually one of sixteen. The exhibit would incorporate “barely audible” audio of wireless codes for maximum effect, living history demonstrations in the signal tower, observation posts, and radio room “as staffing permits,” and barricaded viewing into the room. The HECP did have a list of property the Navy said it would provide at the time, including a search light, blinker gun, telescope, spyglass, binoculars, signal equipment, and flags. Wallace attempted to merge oral histories, illustrations, and requisition lists to build as complete an exhibit as possible, down to the suggestions of magazines, pinups, coffee cups (army regulation, without handles), and cigarettes. The total furnishing costs would be more than ten thousand dollars for artifacts and related expenses. In 1977, David Wallace, Chief of the Division of Reference Services, approved the exhibit with Superintendent W. P. Crawford’s suggestions, which included a barricade design to allow viewing when staff was not present and seasonal changes to uniforms and other artifacts. The exhibit would be installed in 1980 for a 1981 opening.⁴³

The wayside exhibit draft went through several iterations in 1975 to make it accessible to a wider public. In a series of back-and-forth memos and draft comments, it appears that NPS regional and national staff were attempting to bring tenets of modern museology to FOSU in the form of shorter text and audio presentations and more creative presentations. In a memo to the manager of Harpers Ferry Center, creator of the waysides, the SERO Regional Director explained that audio messages were “too complex for retention on one hearing.” He maintained that visitors did not read information in museums, let alone in the heat outside, so suggested simplifying panels. He suggested on one panel, “Let us rewrite this one to talk about human experiences

42. Memorandum from William Brown III to William Harris, May 21, 1975, memorandum from Ellsworth Swift to Regional Director SERO, February 13, 1975, memorandum from David Thompson to Manager, Harpers Ferry Center, March 10, 1975, memorandum from R. Brien Varnado to Assistant Manager Southeast/Southwest Team DSC, February 14, 1976, all in FOMO III Restoration Endicott Batteries Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive.

43. Harris, 1973 Superintendent Annual Report, 6; Lee Wallace Jr., “Furnishing Plan for the Fort Moultrie HECP-HDCP,” June 1975, p. 1, memorandum from David Wallace to Regional Director SERO, March 21, 1977, memorandum from W. P. Crawford to Chief, Division of Reference Services, February 15, 1979, all in FOMO/Furnishing Plan for HECP-HDCP 1975 Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive; R. Brien Varnado, 1980 Superintendent Annual Report, March 10, 1981, Box 1, Folder 40, Park Archive.

rather than the experience of the Fort. We find it hard to relate to the Fort as a protagonist.” He asserted the audio messages were too complicated. The Regional Director asked to incorporate more listener participation, perhaps enabling people to send a message via blinker or field telephone to someone at Battery Jasper, for example, or working to “invite visitors to play a game” to learn about coastal defense. He questioned what else could be done to maintain the interest and engagement of families with children through the extended exhibit.⁴⁴

These critiques suggested that regional staff were looking to the future of museum exhibits. Since the 1960s, there was a movement of pushback against “didactic” institutional museums. Led by Michael Spock of the Boston Children’s Museum and other innovative directors and curators, forward-looking museums underwent a change to present less as educational institutions and more as collaborative learning experiences. This was influenced in part by the social history movement of the 1970s and by the growth of professional museum programs in universities. New curators and museum professionals sought to invigorate museums by introducing audiovisual exhibits, reducing the number of artifacts on display and promoting more social history. It is from this place the regional staff most likely came. Superintendent William Harris, however, was having none of it. He did not see visitor participation as “practical” and stated, “We do not approve or support a concept of ‘let us invite visitors to play a game.’ Coastal defense is not a game—it is very serious business. We prefer to leave to Kenner, Milton Bradley, and the likes to provide the public with games.” He also resisted a suggestion for visitor feedback, explaining that “it sounds like child’s [sic] play, which we cannot support.” He said, “We have full confidence in our interpretive personnel’s ability to judge whether or not the wayside exhibits are effective.” He did admit that a rewrite of the audio draft would be a good idea, however.⁴⁵

In 1976, Chief of Interpretation and Management Brien Varnado worked closely with Glen Dines, who authored the draft of the first audio exhibit. Its intent was obviously to add drama to the interpretive panels, and it did incorporate some elements that were more progressive than had been previously seen in park interpretation. Still, the theme seemed to center on American exceptionalism. While one script explained that in 1790 “no one thought to count the Indians forced from their homelands or still roaming free in the magnificent forests” as part of the American population, and another said the Civil War marked the “ceremonial end of three centuries of slavery” and ushered in “a period of growth for women’s rights,” much of the language was florid. The Civil War–era audio included “Call it the War between the States or the Civil War . . . it was a bitter and bloody [sic] test of national unity” in which the “North’s industrial might—harbinger of the Nation’s future”—broke “the valiant lines of Grey.” It described Charleston as a “beautiful southern belle” in an exhibit at the Fort Moultrie I site, and “Daniel Boone and other trailblazers . . . carrying a spark of tough, self-reliance . . .” characterized the post-Revolutionary population in one script. So, while the audio touched on

44. Memorandum from Regional Director, SERO to Manager, Harpers Ferry Center, March 21, 1975, Box 18, Folder 6, Park Archive.

45. A history of museums and changes that took place in the latter half of the twentieth century can be found in Steven Conn, *Do Museums Still Need Objects?*; Memorandum from William Harris to Associate Director, March 21, 1975, Box 18, Folder 6, Park Archive.

gender and race, perhaps a nod to the National Park Service's new focus on social history, it still embraced "rugged Americanism" as a trope.⁴⁶

Excavation and initial interpretation for Fort Moultrie was complete by Carolina Day, June 28, 1976, the bicentennial of the Battle of Sullivan's Island. Approximately 2,500 people were on hand to witness the formal opening of the visitor center and the ceremony dedicating the fort. Assistant Secretary of the Interior Douglas Wheeler was the speaker, and NPS Director Gary Everhart acted as emcee of the event. The minifolder was printed in time for the ceremony, and the year's living history programs were, in the words of new superintendent W. P. Crawford, "a complete success" with 9,175 visitors participating. The movie shoot wrapped and would be available in time "for the next visitor season." According to Varnado, "The response has been quite favorable" to the audio exhibit, and with the exception of a few "jamming audio buttons and loose graphic panels," everything worked well. Superintendent Crawford wrote to the Manager of Harpers Ferry Center about the wayside exhibits in February 1977, explaining "The quality of the finished product . . . is excellent" due in large part to the "spirit of cooperation and sensitivity shown by the Branch of Waysides."⁴⁷

One other "bicentennial issue" challenged the staff of FOSU and actually disregarded the NPS policy of burials at park sites. The battle over William Moultrie's burial at the fort pitted NPS staff against powerful and elite South Carolinians, as well as politicians, and the elites eventually got what they wanted. Since the early 1970s, Reverend Edward Guerry, a descendent of the general, had been fighting for a fitting memorial to Moultrie, whose remains were on private land in North Charleston. In 1975, Guerry began to request reinterment of Moultrie's remains at Fort Moultrie. The Citadel Sons of the Revolution as well as other groups endorsed his request. As Superintendent William Harrison wrote to the SERO Director in 1975, "Their interest in Fort Moultrie is no doubt associated with the recent publicity of the site and its Bicentennial developments."⁴⁸

Harris and his staff were decidedly against any permanent artifact or memorial to Moultrie at the site. Earlier, a FOSU superintendent had offered to keep Moultrie's gravestone, if found, in permanent storage. When the missing stone was located in the woods nearby, Harris said, "We do not recommend this course of action since the stone has no historic significance to this site." He suggested that it should be put in a public church graveyard. To the suggestion of a memorial to Moultrie, Harris said the staff did not "encourage this proposal" but it was the only one they would support, as long as they could approve the design and it was placed outside the bounds of the fort itself. He said quite emphatically, "We do not favor reinterment at Fort Moultrie" but suggested it was a nonissue because there was no evidence that the remains found in the graveyard in 1972 were actually Moultrie's.⁴⁹

46. Glen Dines to Brien Varnado, 1976 Wayside Audio Draft and Response, February 17, 1976. R. Brien Varnado to Glen Dines, letter, February 5, 1976, Box 18, Folder 7 in Park Archive; NPS, Wayside Audio, draft, 1976, Box 145, Folder 70, Park Archive.

47. Crawford, 1976 Superintendent Annual Report, 3; Memorandum from Varnado to Chief of Waysides, August 11, 1976, Box 17, Folder 6, Park Archive; Memorandum from W. P. Crawford to Manager, Harpers Ferry Center, February 1, 1977, Box 18, Folder 6, Park Archive.

48. Memorandum from William Harris to SERO Director, October 3, 1975, Box 2, Folder 28, Park Archive.

49. Memorandum from William Harris to SERO Director, October 3, 1975, Box 2, Folder 28, Park Archive.

Undeterred, Guerry and his supporters continued to press for a move of the remains. To a judge who was assisting with the legalities of exhuming the body, Guerry wrote that although the National Park Service turned down the request for the body and the gravestone, he would persist, as he had the support of the mayor of Sullivan’s Island and the South Carolina Governor James B. Edwards. And it was not just state government officials involved—US Senator Ernest Hollings wrote to Julian Brandt, president of the Citadel-Charleston Sons of the American Revolution Chapter, explaining, “I have initiated several inquiries with the Department of the Interior concerning the possible relocation . . . Be assured of my interest in this situation.” And Guerry had reminded the governor of his promise to speak with President Gerald Ford about the situation, something Governor Edwards had apparently mentioned when visiting Moultrie’s grave in 1976. Harris’s contention that Moultrie’s body could not be proved to be in the grave was invalidated in 1977, when a team of USC archeologists supported by Governor Edwards located what they contended to be his bones, along with several other bodies.⁵⁰

By 1978, despite the original protests of NPS staff, Moultrie’s remains (or what was thought to be his remains), came to the site that bore his name. Edward Guerry wrote to the descendants that the Department of the Interior approved Governor Edwards’s request to bring the remains to Moultrie, and that the state would pay the related expenses and for the memorial. On Carolina Day 1978, Moultrie’s remains were officially reinterred in front of one hundred descendants, the governor, and Neal Guse, Deputy Director of SER. Moultrie is buried behind the parking lot, near the boat dock, so at least his memorial does not impede the historic view of the fort. A journalist featured Moultrie’s story in a *Smithsonian* article on the reinterment of patriot bodies throughout the country.⁵¹



FIGURE 4.4 GENERAL WILLIAM MOULTRIE’S GRAVE MARKER AT FORT MOULTRIE.

50. Edward Guerry to James Brailsford, September 11, 1976, Ernest Hollings to Julian Brandt, October 15, 1975, Edward Guerry to James Edwards, October 1, 1976, all in General Moultrie Gravesite Legal and Financial Papers Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive; “Moultrie’s Grave Marked at Last,” *Charleston News and Courier*, clipping in General Moultrie Newspaper and Magazine Articles Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive.

51. William Guerry to descendants of William Moultrie, April 24, 1978, General Moultrie Gravesite Legal and Financial Papers Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive; Dave Doubrava, “General Moultrie Eulogized at Ceremony,” clipping in General Moultrie Newspaper and Magazine articles, unprocessed at Park Archive; James V. Murfin, “Our Old Patriots’ Remains Don’t Get to Rest in Peace,” *Smithsonian* 11, no. 2 (May 1980): 119–30.



FIGURE 4.5 GENERAL MOULTRIE'S GRAVESITE AT FORT MOULTRIE.

Interpretive programming at both forts continued to expand in the late 1970s and into the 1980s. Staff tried to make programming relevant and expansive by offering living history experiences and nightly dramas at Fort Sumter during Historic Charleston's Garden Week as well as Carolina Day celebrations. They also expanded the interpretation at Fort Moultrie to include special nighttime events and lectures on Edgar Allen Poe, who was stationed there in the early nineteenth century, and a lecture series and exhibit cosponsored with the Charleston Museum on the 125 Anniversary of the Civil War.⁵²

Staff also continued to conduct research, upgrade exhibits, and maintain installations in the post-bicentennial period that would inform and enhance interpretation. Park Historian David Ruth researched and authenticated the Palmetto Garrison flag in 1983. To replace the original Fort Moultrie I bicentennial exhibit, which had succumbed to the "effects of rain and constant moisture," staff proposed a wayside timeline and mural constructed from "Materials that would provide for greater permanency in the humid

salt-air environment of coastal South Carolina." Staff opened part of Battery Jasper, painted black, with more shells and dummy powder kegs in the magazines, to the public. Staff also proposed painting Position #2 camouflage as it would have been during World War II, and with a 90-mm anti-aircraft gun and a video sequence of these guns in action. They proposed to restore catwalks that had been down since after World War II (which was not done).⁵³

Signaling a departure from the traditional narratives of FOSU, staff also began to take interest in interpreting the role of African Americans at the forts, beyond their role as laborers. In 1984, staff designed a new exhibit on the siege of Fort Sumter, and Superintendent Varnado noted in

52. Details of these programs, additional activities, and the crowds they drew can be found in W. P. Crawford, 1977 Superintendent Annual Report, January 4, 1978, pp. 2–3, Varnado, 1980 Superintendent Annual Report, p. 2, R. Brien Varnado, 1982 Superintendent Annual Report, May 19, 1983, pp. 1–4, R. Brien Varnado, 1983 Superintendent Annual Report, February 17, 1984, pp. 2–3, R. Brien Varnado, 1984 Superintendent Annual Report, February 26, 1985, pp. 2–3, R. Brien Varnado, 1985 Superintendent Annual Report, March 1, 1986, R. Brien Varnado, 1987 Superintendent Annual Report, February 16, 1988, p. 3, R. Brien Varnado, 1988 Superintendent Annual Report, March 2, 1989, pp. 2–3, and John Tucker, 1989 Superintendent Annual Report, March 19, 1990, pp. 2–3, all in Box 1, Folder 40, Park Archive.

53. Varnado, 1983 Superintendent Annual Report, 3; Charles Wyatt, Southeast Region Rehabilitation Needs, August 14, 1984, Box 18, Folder 2, Park Archive; Memorandum from R. Brien Varnado SER Director, April 19, 1986, Box 18, Folder 7, Park Archive.

his annual report that the exhibit would include a section on the 54th Massachusetts, the famed African American regiment that attacked from Morris Island.⁵⁴

The National Park Service initiated a “special departmental program” with Julian Simmons of St. Augustine’s College in Raleigh, North Carolina, who began researching African American builders and soldiers at the forts. In 1985, Varnado reported that the information he found would be incorporated into the current site interpretation. The draft Simmons produced in 1986 discussed enslaved African Americans building forts; being assigned to harbor defense positions; and working as cooks, laborers, and servants at the forts. The study explained the terrible conditions under which enslaved people worked, although it also claimed, “Slaves working on the fort were also filled with pride that they had been to the war zone and could boast to other slaves of their military knowledge and experience.”⁵⁵ This quote somewhat mitigated the impact of his research on the conditions of the enslaved people forced to work for the Confederacy.

Simmons also discussed free African Americans, as well as black citizens in the twentieth century. The draft examined the experience of Joseph Rainey, a free black man who served on a Confederate blockade runner as a steward and was impressed and forced to work on fortifications. He escaped with his wife to the West Indies for the duration of the war and on his return became the first African American US Representative. Simmons also discussed Robert Smalls’s activities. Simmons explained that some African American troops were stationed at Fort Moultrie during World Wars I and II. He also mentioned that of the hundreds of Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) men working at the fort in the 1930s, eight companies, or about 640 to 1,200 men, were African American. The study noted that African American troops stationed at the fort were mainly in “support” roles. The research project was completed in 1987.⁵⁶

During this period, the National Park Service made significant strides in both the exhibit installation and the direction of narratives, but the exhibits continued to suffer from a narrow focus. A 1988 Statement of Management Plan, approved by Superintendent R. Brien Varnado and Associate Regional Director C. W. Ogle, still noted the lack of information about African Americans at the fort, as well as gaps in knowledge about harbor fortifications, ordnance, base maps, and troop rosters. Also, because Battery Jasper’s restoration was “incomplete,” visitors, it claimed, did not get a whole picture of the significance of the fort. In addition, it explained that visitors were confused about the relationship between Fort Moultrie I and III. The film created for the bicentennial (used to this day) centers entirely on the history of military installations. Even with such deficiencies, the exhibits had come a long way in a very short amount of time.⁵⁷

The 1988 Statement for Management also solidified the significance of both sites by linking their interpretive themes to the larger National Park System Plan. Based on a 1982 Basic Operations Study at the site, this Statement for Management noted the theme of Fort Sumter as “Major

54. Varnado, 1984 Superintendent Annual Report, 3.

55. R. Brien Varnado, 1985 Superintendent Annual Report; R. Brien Varnado, 1986 Superintendent Annual Report, December 11, 1986; Elaine Nichols, “Somewhere Among the Good and the Great: African American Military Presence Within the Charleston Harbor,” draft, 1990, Box 20, Folder 18, Park Archive.

56. Nichols, “Somewhere Among the Good and the Great,” draft. For more information about African Americans and the CCC, see “African Americans and the CCC,” *The Living New Deal*, December 28, 2014, accessed August 13, 2019, <https://livingnewdeal.org/tag/african-americans-and-the-ccc/>; Varnado, 1987 Superintendent Annual Report, 3.

57. R. Brien Varnado, Statement for Management, April 6, 1988, pp. 11, 23–24, 26–27, 34, Box 13, Folder 23, Park Archive.

American Wars” and “Civil War in the East.” Fort Moultrie represented “America at Work: Science and Invention” with subthemes of “Engineering” within “Military Fortifications.” Interpretation of the now-125-acre site (59.28 acres of which was the Fort Moultrie Unit—with 29.28 acres owned by the government and the rest as an easement) was grounded in the Historic Structures Reports for Fort Moultrie and an archeological database for Fort Sumter.⁵⁸

CONSERVATION OF CULTURAL AND NATURAL RESOURCES

After working to maintain Fort Sumter for two decades and Fort Moultrie for ten years, staff had a good idea of the damage wrought by the environment. A 1973 Historic Structure Report by John Garner addressed the key problem at both parks—water. Noting that leaking in the Fort Moultrie sally port was sealed with polysulfide polymer sealant and Hydrozo to the exposed concrete, rainwater still flooded the magazines with more than a foot of rain, needing hand pumping. Garner blamed this problem on the addition of structures higher than the original walls, and someone handwrote an aside, “Some of them put in by NPS.” Battery Jasper faced constant moisture inside, and staff repaired drains and installed vents to help deal with the high humidity there.⁵⁹

Structures seemed to constantly need upkeep because of the adverse environmental conditions. In 1983, for example, Superintendent Varnado noted that the Youth Conservation Corps assisted in sealing Batteries Jasper, McCorkle, Bingham, and Huger with an asphalt mixture to prevent leaking, which was a return to the original color and method of building preservation of these sites. Annual reports discussed repainting artifacts, dealing with rust, and managing rotted wood. He also estimated it would cost fifty thousand dollars to replace pilings, bumpers, and ladders at the docks. This same year, Fort Sumter adopted a “park-wide cyclic maintenance” program, which is still practiced today. Designed to space out preservation processes, the program was meant to stave off major problems before they occurred.⁶⁰

The staff looked to natural conservation issues and the problems made by humans during this period, as well. Staff were concerned about development on the sandbar created by spoilage, as well as on Morris Island, which came up frequently in Master Plans and annual reports. In addition, Governor John West had proposed a “bridge causeway” to Fort Sumter, which, luckily, “All comments we have heard are in opposition to the governor’s proposal,” according to William Harris. In 1980, staff programmed a Sun Day, Energy Awareness program. Annual reports and Master Plans explain the ways in which staff continuously monitored potential development surrounding the fort, such as private development potential at Morris Island.⁶¹

58. Varnado, Statement for Management, 1988, pp. 10–12.

59. Garner, Historic Structures Report, p. 6; Superintendent Annual Reports, 1973–1988 in Box 1, Folder 40, Park Archive, note the many repairs and conservation efforts undertaken during this period.

60. Varnado, 1983 Superintendent Annual Report, 4–5. In comments to the authors, Dawn Davis noted that the asphalt mixture signaled a return to the way the original buildings looked and were preserved. Dawn Davis, written comments to authors on earlier draft of administrative history, August 26, 2018.

61. Harris, 1973 Superintendent Annual Report, 10; Varnado, 1980 Superintendent Annual Report, 2. Brien Varnado explained that the state had conveyed Fort Sumter to the United States in 1840 with its original land mass of 125 acres. The Department of the Army records showed only the 2.5-acre island in the NPS cession, so in 1984, NPS “assumed jurisdiction” over the entire site. See Statement for Management Update, April 11, 1985, Box 13, Folder 20, Park Archive.

In the 1980s, staff worked diligently to protect the natural resources held by the National Park Service. In 1984, the Land Protection Plan, according to Varnado, covered the “125 acres ceded to the U.S. government by the State of South Carolina, added to the already existing 2.4 acres.” The Statement for Management Plan of 1988 noted that staff would work with the US Army Corps of Engineers, the South Carolina Coastal Council, and the US Fish and Wildlife Service to “minimi[ze] to the extent possible the adverse effects of dredging, marsh recreation, and other permitted activities and operations.” Staff set up an acid rain monitoring system in 1988, and stated in the Management Plan, “Recognizing . . . acid rain, harbor conditions, storms, and probable rise in sea level [as detrimental], the park must plan in advance to mitigate such factors.” The plan recognized a need for “close cooperation” with park scientists and “other professionals” to manage these impacts. The 1977 Statement for Management Plan had noted the dredging problem, wave erosion, and large vessel wake causing damage to Fort Moultrie. The updated 1985 Management Plan noted a rise in sea level could cause danger and added Charleston’s position in an earthquake zone as a problem. But it was in 1988 that park officials acknowledged that sea levels were on the rise.⁶²

It was in this period, too, that staff began to professionalize collections management. As William Harris noted in 1973, “Additions to the interpretive staff have placed quality interpretive goals within reach and provided for more efficient record keeping, control of study collections, and equipment maintenance.” With excavations, the museum collection more than doubled, as over five thousand artifacts were added. Soldiers also donated about one hundred artifacts from their years of service at Fort Moultrie, spanning from 1925 to 1947. Preservation specialist Ed Brown from Harpers Ferry Center came in 1974 to conduct a two-day training session on artifact care. In 1976, Superintendent W. P. Crawford wrote that a local curator was contacted to begin cataloging the collection, which was now housed in a climate-controlled area.⁶³

By 1984, Superintendent Varnado reported that staff worked to prepare for accreditation by the American Association of Museum’s (AAM) standards for preservation. Storage was upgraded and five hundred artifacts cataloged. That same year, Varnado purchased an IBM-PC to digitize all of the curatorial records, and he noted, “Although the beast proved a little hard to tame, by year’s end it was well used.” The National Park Service completed cataloging the following year and upgraded “filing procedures” and storage “to reflect the professional standards of the National Park Service and the A.A.M.” By 1987, staff had completed an inventory of artifacts, and by 1989 almost all artifacts were cataloged.⁶⁴

62. Varnado, 1984 Superintendent Annual Report, 5; Varnado, Statement for Management, 1988, pp. 13, 39; Statement for Management Update, April 11, 1985; W. P. Crawford, Statement for Management 1977, December 1, 1977, Box 13, Folder 7, Park Archive; Statement for Management Plan 1983, May 6, 1983, Box 13, Folder 20, Park Archive.

63. Harris, 1973 Superintendent Annual Report, 3; Harris, 1974 Superintendent Annual Report, 4–5; W. P. Crawford, 1978 Superintendent Annual Report, February 1, 1979, p. 3, Box 1, Folder 40, Park Archive.

64. Harris, 1973 Superintendent Annual Report, p. 3; Harris, 1974 Superintendent Annual Report, pp. 4–5; W. P. Crawford, 1978 Superintendent Annual Report, p. 3; Varnado, 1983 Superintendent Annual Report, pp. 3, 6–7; Varnado, 1984 Superintendent Annual Report; Varnado, 1987 Superintendent Annual Report, p. 3; and Tucker, 1989 Superintendent Annual Report, p. 3.

Artifact conservation was also a key goal at this time. Outside artifacts were placed into the cyclical management program, but superintendents asked for money to conserve specific artifacts. Crawford requested three thousand dollars in 1978 to restore the 15-inch Rodmans, along with pictures of the deterioration. In 1983, Varnado noted that the mountain howitzer and 12-pound Napoleon were repaired and the 10-inch Columbiad returned to the display at Fort Moultrie after restoration. He wrote that the maintenance crew worked for months to reconstruct the carriage themselves, which was the only financially feasible restoration method. Problems beyond funding remained, however, including the fact that electrolysis treatment was simply not available to the large ordnance because of “their size and expense of such work,” according the 1988 Statement for Management. The plan said that the problem lay in the fact that so many of the artifacts, representing a large part of the overall collection, were in unprotected exhibits. It also noted that the high humidity at Fort Sumter was a problem, and the “antiquated” HVAC failed often, placing protected artifacts in jeopardy.⁶⁵

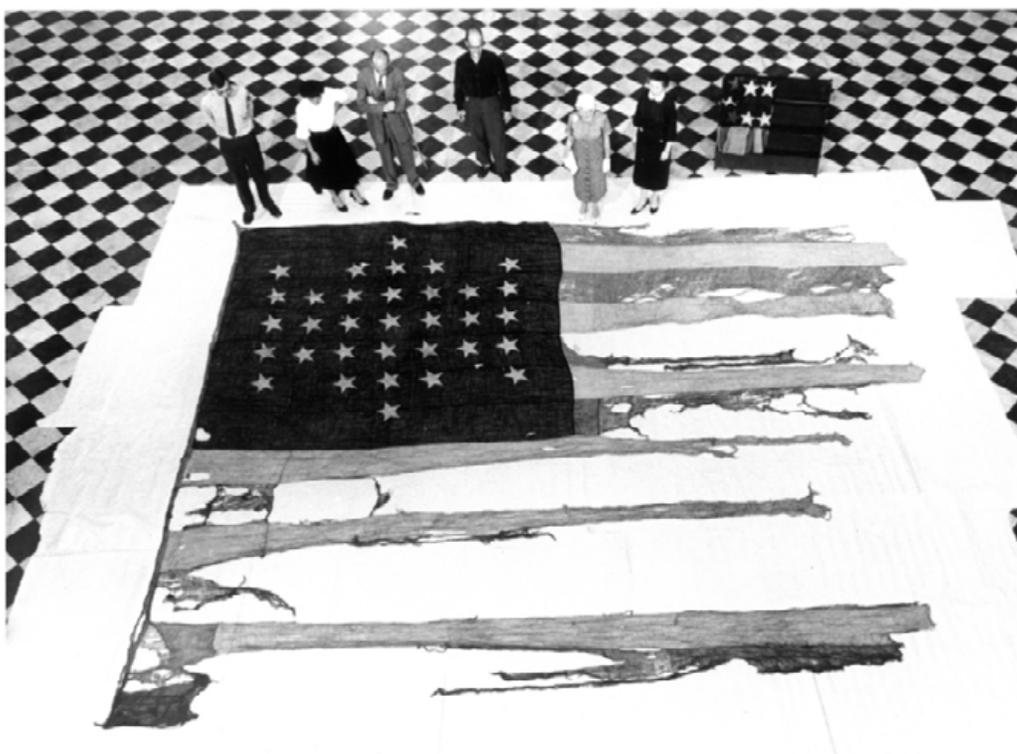


FIGURE 4.6 FOSU RECEIVED THE 33-STAR GARRISON FLAG IN 1958 (COURTESY OF NPS).

65. W. P. Crawford, Report, 1978 State of the Carriages, Cannon Carriage Paint, Etc. Folder, unprocessed at Park Archive; Varnado, 1983 Superintendent Annual Report, p. 5; Varnado, Statement for Management, 1988, pp. 12, 27.

The most significant conservation effort of this period was the Save the Flags campaign. In 1979 a descendant of John Styles Bird, a member of the Palmetto Guard volunteer unit of Charleston, gave Fort Sumter the Palmetto Guard Flag. Bird retained possession of the flag, which was the first flag flown over Fort Sumter after the Federal troops surrendered and the Charleston Guard arrived prior to the Confederate national flag's raising. Descendants of Major Anderson gave the Anderson storm flag, which had been flown during the bombardment, and the huge garrison flag, to the Secretary of War in 1905, who then transferred them to the National Park Service in 1954. These flags were in serious need of conservation, particularly the garrison flag, which had significant damage where it had been folded to put in a display case at Fort Sumter.⁶⁶



FIGURE 4.7 THE PALMETTO GUARD FLAG (COURTESY OF NPS).

Conservation work began in 1980. Chief of Interpretation and Resource Management John Tucker noted that the flags would be removed from display for conservation, which “is designed to prevent further deterioration to three of the most important artifacts remaining from the War between the States,” noting that the treatment, which included cleaning, attaching backing, and securing invisible crepelene silk to the front, was the same treatment given to the “Star-Spangled Banner.” Chief of Conservation Labs Thomas Vaughn wrote to Superintendent Crawford that while Harpers Ferry Center did not normally take artifacts “to improve the conditions for their storage,” in this case, they would do it in anticipation of appropriations of money. The money required was daunting—experts suggested that the flag restoration would cost upwards of one hundred thousand dollars, with another one hundred thousand dollars needed to properly exhibit them to protect them from humidity and other adverse environmental conditions. At this time, Harpers Ferry Center contracted with noted flag historian Les Jensen to complete a history of the flags while it conducted a physical and chemical analysis on the flag. Thomas Vaughn wrote in a postscript on an official memo to Crawford, “Ping, we may be able to get some work done on the smaller flags while they’re here, but I suspect we won’t be able to do much with the garrison flag. We’ll try!”⁶⁷

66. Memorandum from W. P. Crawford to Fonda Thomsen, July 23, 1980, memorandum from Michael Paskowsky to Superintendent, FOSU, November 3, 1977, John Tucker, “Fort Sumter Garrison Flag to Receive Preservation Treatment, n.d., all in Box 17, Folder 27, Park Archive.

67. John Tucker, Press Release, n.d., Thomas Vaughn, memorandum to file, September 22, 1980, memorandum from FOSU Superintendent to Associate Regional Director, SERO, June 8, 1982, all in Box 17, Folder 27, Park Archive.



FIGURE 4.8 THE STORM FLAG (COURTESY OF NPS).

In 1982, park staff, led by Superintendent Brien Varnado, conceived of the titled Save the Flags Campaign. In an appeal for ENPMA funding for a brochure, Varnado wrote, “Fort Sumter National Monument in conjunction with a volunteer association of individuals from South Carolina has begun an unprecedented campaign to raise funds.” A newspaper article noted that this was the first time NPS staff had “gone public” to raise funds for a FOSU project. An ad

hoc NPS committee meeting that included now–NPS Chief Historian Ed Bearss; Superintendent Brien Varnado; former commander of the SCV Joe Mitchell; and Deputy Director of SERO Jack Ogle determined how the fundraising would work. In that meeting, Associate Director of Cultural Resource Management Ross Holland said that the National Park Service’s actual involvement in fundraising would be “limited.”⁶⁸

Instead, the volunteer group “Committee to Save the Flags of Fort Sumter” solicited funds for the flags’ restoration. Led by Charles Aiken of Aiken Brothers, Inc., in Greenville, members included Mayor Joe Riley of Charleston; Mrs. Archie Watson, director of the Confederate Relic Room in Columbia; and Beau Smith, President of the South Carolina Civil War Roundtable, with honorary chairman and Charleston resident General William Westmoreland. In addition, the editor of the *Civil War Times, Illustrated* magazine, John Stanchak, put out an appeal to its 109,000-reader base. He said, “Without your help, decay and the passage of days will erase what Peter Hart and the men of the Palmetto Guard were willing to risk their lives for.” As they raised money, a textile conservator, historian, and scientist completed research on the flags, which was perhaps the “first interdisciplinary study” undertaken on such a project, according to a Briefing Statement. From 1983 to 1990, the campaign raised \$67,115 from donations and collection boxes. All flags were restored, and the storm and Palmetto Guard flag returned from conservation and were set into temporary museum cases at Fort Sumter in 1985. The organization continued to raise money for further preservation of the garrison flag and for permanent museum display cases.⁶⁹

68. Varnado, 1982 Superintendent Annual Report; Eastern National Park and Monument Association Publication Request Form, June 8, 1983, in Box 144, Folder 3, Park Archive; Fred Rigsbee, “Fort Sumter Flag Project Underway,” clipping, and memorandum from Ed Bearss to Associate Director, Cultural Resource Management, February 25, 1983, both in Box 144, Folder 3, Park Archive.

69. Varnado, 1983 Superintendent Annual Report; Tucker, 1989 Superintendent Annual Report; Varnado, 1985 Superintendent Annual Report, 1. Save the Flags Association, Briefing Statement Prepared for Committee to Save the Flags of Fort Sumter, n.d., and R. Brien Varnado, “Fort Sumter Flag Committee Members,” n.d., John Stanchak, “Behind the Lines” clipping, all in Box 144, Folder 23, Park Archive; Briefing Statement, Fort Sumter Flag Committee, May 5, 1983. While this may have been an unusual project for the NPS to directly appeal for funding, it was technically the private association that took on the task of asking for the money directly. An undated draft of a Memorandum of Understanding (the final, executed Memorandum of Understanding is not in the file) in Box 144, Folder 23 outlines the relationship between this committee, which would hold the funds, and the NPS. They would be the spokespeople for raising

VISITOR SERVICES

Fort Sumter Tours continued to provide and expand service at this time. In 1977, it transported 101,692 people to the fort, and while their concession contract was to be renewed, instead it was extended for eight months as issues were “tied up in litigation.” While it is unclear what the litigation involved from the annual reports, Fort Sumter Tours did end up receiving the contract. By 1980, tour boats carried 102,235 people and were allowed to raise their rates to \$4.50 for adults and \$2.50 for children, leading to many complaints according to the annual report. By 1983, Superintendent Varnado reported that 158,556 people visited Fort Sumter and 85,818 went to Fort Moultrie. Expanded tour boat services were desperately needed, as by 1988 there were 215,099 visitors to Fort Sumter and 95,875 to Fort Moultrie. In 1985, Brien Varnado reported that Fort Sumter Tours built a four-hundred-person boat, *Spirit of Charleston*, and Clemson University was engaged to conduct a multi-year carrying capacity study to see just how many people Fort Sumter could accommodate at any one time without too much of a strain on the infrastructure or interpretive services.⁷⁰

Fort Sumter Tours also presumably began sharing sales with ENPMA in 1980. This replaced the earlier decision from 1972 (fully implemented in 1974) that had Fort Sumter Tours selling exclusively at Fort Sumter and ENPMA at Fort Moultrie. ENPMA handled the lighter winter months, as they had only one employee available. The 1980 Superintendent Annual Report stated that when there were two boats, an interpreter had to be pulled off duty to assist the employee. ENPMA handled the store from September through February and Fort Sumter Tours ran it in the other busier months. FOSU Ranger Dawn Davis remembered this system ending in the early twenty-first century, with ENPMA taking over sales on-site and Fort Sumter Tours only selling on their boats.⁷¹

The Fort Moultrie Visitor Center was the main upgrade to visitor services at this time, but FOSU undertook other initiatives to provide a better visitor experience, as well. Staff took over the 1902 torpedo shed at Fort Moultrie from Stella Maris Catholic Church. In 1980, staff moved from the visitor center to the new offices there. In 1982, an NPS contractor completed construction on a water line from Fort Sumter to the mainland, thus addressing a water problem that had plagued staff since the beginning.⁷²

Moreover, work began to make the site more accessible to visitors with disabilities. In 1985, Varnado reported that Fort Sumter would get a handicap-accessible bathroom that would be accessible by a wheelchair lift. This lift would also enable visitors needing special assistance to get from the parade ground to the first floor of Battery Huger. The 1988 Statement for Management, however, noted that the sites still were not in compliance with Section 504 of the

the money, and Varnado asked the ENPMA to publish a publicity brochure.

70. Crawford, 1977 Superintendent Annual Report, 1–2; Varnado, 1980 Superintendent Annual Report; Varnado, 1983 Superintendent Annual Report, 1; Varnado, 1985 Superintendent Annual Report, 1, 2, 4; Varnado, 1988 Superintendent Annual Report, 1.

71. Varnado, 1980 Superintendent Annual Report, 2; Harris, 1973 Superintendent Annual Report, 2, 4; Dawn Davis, written comments to authors on earlier draft of administrative history, May 16, 2019.

72. *Ibid.*, 3; Varnado, 1982 Superintendent Annual Report, 4.

Rehabilitation Act of 1973, which required federal agencies to provide reasonable accommodations for disabled employees and others.⁷³

COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Despite strained relations with Sullivan’s Island residents, FOSU staff made connections with many community partners and tried multiple outreach programs during this period. Some of the programming undertaken no doubt brought visitors who would not have come otherwise. In addition, staff at FOSU worked to develop a more inclusive hiring policy, which would certainly better reflect the diversity of the surrounding local community.

Staff worked to develop good public relations, even with the protest of Sullivan’s Island residents. William Harris noted, “Public relations were very good overall despite some local opposition to Bicentennial developments.” In 1975, staff attended a memorial program for the 54th Massachusetts Infantry, for example. Evidence of programming for the local community can be found in Annual Reports throughout the period. In 1982, Varnado reported that the Sullivan’s Island Arts Council held ten movie nights and a sunset concert at the fort. This continued for several years. In 1984, staff turned over Fort Moultrie to the Naval Reserve unit, which held a two-week training program. The following year, Fort Sumter partnered with the East Cooper Arts Council for “A Summer of Poe” festival, which would also continue through 1988.⁷⁴ Several NPS programs focused exclusively on youth. Staff sponsored Art at the Fort, in which 790 local children under the auspices of NPS employee Peggy Howe conducted video interviews of “old time Sullivan’s Island residents.” Perhaps most importantly, ENPMA money went to fund the Reach for Fun program, which brought underprivileged children to the fort. This continued throughout the entire period, with hundreds of children participating through the decades. Although participation dwindled from its high of eight hundred in 1973, over one hundred were still enjoying the program in 1989.⁷⁵

In addition, FOSU continued to benefit from the Volunteers In Parks program. Harris noted it “got off to a good start but tapered off due to lack of funds.” Throughout the period, though, volunteers assisted with living history demonstrations, research, visitor services, and special programming. Anywhere from nine to thirty-six people volunteered at the park yearly, providing hundreds—and one year even more than fourteen hundred—hours, of labor.⁷⁶

During this period, administrators continued working to foster more inclusive workforces, which better reflected the community surrounding the NPS sites. In 1982, Varnado reported that “An intensive recruitment program was carried out during the fall to attempt to improve the number of applicants for seasonal positions from near-by predominantly minority colleges and

73. Varnado, 1985 Superintendent Annual Report; Varnado, Statement for Management, 1988, p. 7; Wikipedia, s.v. “Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act,” last modified June 27, 2019, 16:47, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Section_504_of_the_Rehabilitation_Act.

74. Harris, 1975 Superintendent Annual Report, 8–9; Varnado, 1982 Superintendent Annual Report, 2–3; Varnado, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1987, 1988 Superintendent Annual Reports all provide extensive examples of these activities.

75. Crawford, 1976 Superintendent Annual Report, 3; Crawford, 1977 Superintendent Annual Report, 2; Varnado, 1980, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988 Superintendent Annual Reports; Tucker, 1989 Superintendent Annual Report; Harris, 1973 Superintendent Annual Report.

76. William Harris, 1973, 1975 Superintendent Annual Reports; Varnado 1983, 1984, 1986, 1987, 1988 Superintendent Annual Reports; Tucker, 1989 Superintendent Annual Report.

universities.” Employees went out to give talks and handed out 143 applications. Michael Allen, who had been working as a summer co-op student since 1979, was hired as part-time staff after his graduation from the historically black South Carolina State University. He was converted to a full-time position the following year. In addition, the Equal Opportunity Committee met all goals under chairperson (and site mason) Charles Pinckney. In 1984, Varnado reported that the recruitment program continued, and Tyrone Brandyburg was hired out of South Carolina State as a cooperative education student. Phyllis Magee was hired to fill a seasonal summer position from Jackson State, another historically black university, and Varnado reported that both would be hired the next year.⁷⁷

HURRICANE HUGO

Staff at FOSU had established their interpretive plans, their conservation programs, and their visitor outreach and services. They had even begun upgrading and revising their interpretive exhibits and collections management policies and procedures. And, on Friday, September 22, 1989, Hurricane Hugo tested the strength of the local park service led by John Tucker, who had returned to Charleston to become Superintendent just a month before the hurricane hit. Hugo came on shore in Charleston at high tide, with maximum sustained winds of 140 mph when it was recorded on Sullivan’s Island. The eye was

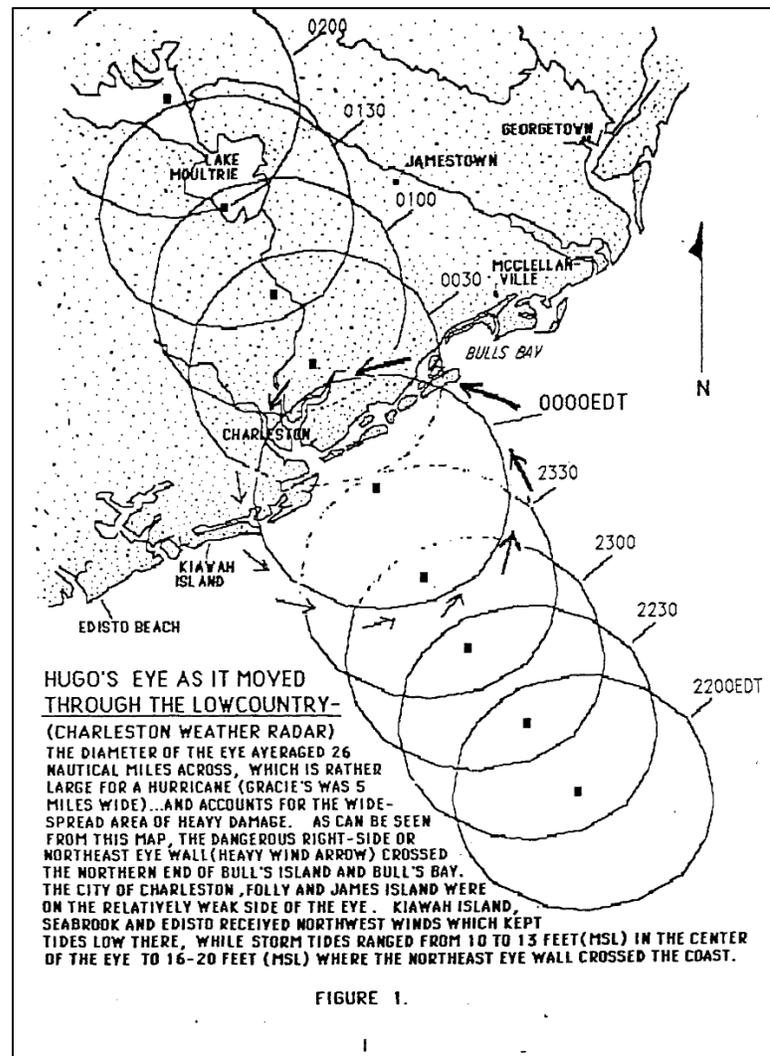


FIGURE 4.9 THE NATIONAL WEATHER SERVICE REPORT CHARTED THE PATH OF HURRICANE HUGO AND SHOWS THE EYE AS PASSING DIRECTLY OVER SULLIVAN'S ISLAND.

77. Varnado, 1982, 1983, 1984 Superintendent Annual Reports, pp. 1-2. Varnado did not explain what the goals of the EO were, but this is a program that is instituted at many businesses to create opportunities for hiring more people of color. Brandyburg went on to serve at Tuskegee National Historic Site and then became Superintendent of Carl Sandburg National Historic Site and then Harpers Ferry National Historical Park.

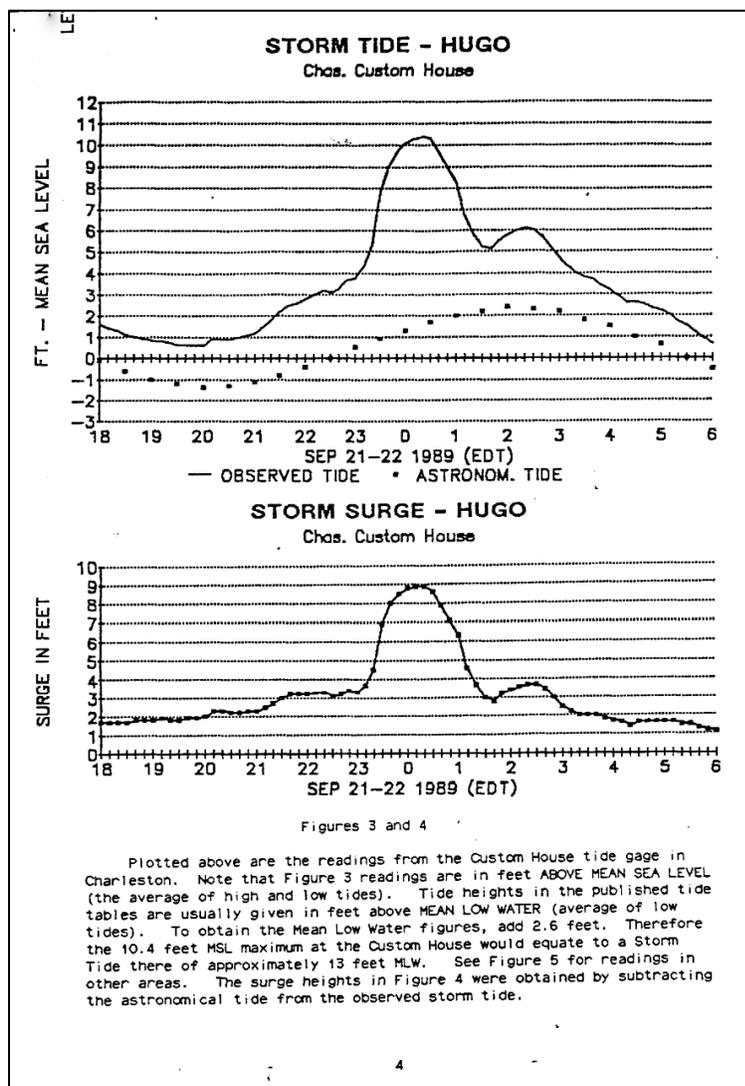


FIGURE 4.10 THE NATIONAL WEATHER SERVICE REPORT ON HURRICANE HUGO SHOWS THAT HIGH TIDE AND STORM SURGES CONVERGED AND CREATED DEVASTATING FLOODS.

thirty nautical miles in diameter, and Charleston experienced a storm surge fifteen to twenty feet above normal.⁷⁸

Staff were prepared, however, as an evacuation order went out on September 19. Those who did not evacuate met at Fort Moultrie and worked from 11 p.m. to 3 a.m. to close down the forts. Many staff members stayed in the area. Boat Operator William Richardson, worked from Tuesday to Friday with no sleep and established a headquarters at Fort Moultrie after getting the only working piece of equipment, the Boston Whaler, from the Coast Guard garage. Richardson also ferried supplies, NPS employees, kitchen crew volunteers, and town officials to and from the island. Chief of Maintenance Don Gronwaldt established temporary headquarters at his house in Mount Pleasant, housing up to eight people in his home and surrounding RVs. NPS Field Services crews showed up to help with protection, Fort Pulaski National Monument loaned generators, Ninety Six National

Historic Site loaned laborers and other supplies, and Andersonville National Historic Site provided law enforcement and a crew to chip wood. Cumberland Island National Seashore loaned their park boat and operators. And, those employees who were still in town, and who—according to Superintendent Tucker—had all suffered varying degrees of property damage, reported to work, operating with no heat and air and barely working phones, to clean up the damage.⁷⁹

78. Tucker, 1989 Superintendent Annual Report, 7; Tim Armstrong, "Hurricane Hugo," National Weather Service, last modified September 21, 2014, <https://www.weather.gov/ilm/hurricanehugo>.

79. Ibid., 8, 9, 12; Memorandum from John Tucker to SERO Director, November 14, 1989, Box 2, Folder 16, Park Archive.

The local community and NPS staff provided needed assistance to each other during this time. Community members supported the staff as well; members of Stella Maris Church operated a soup kitchen for a month, and they, along with the Red Cross, kept staff fed. Because the only bridge connecting Sullivan’s Island and the mainland was out, Fort Moultrie’s dock provided the only access between the two areas. After finding *Spirit of Charleston* stranded in the marsh, Campsen offered free service to Sullivan’s Island so residents could assess their damaged homes. According to Tucker, “His services alleviated a severely hostile situation” because “tempers began to flare as residents wanted to return to their island homes and survey the damage.” Without their own boats, townspeople could not get back to their homes—so Campsen’s service must have seemed an invaluable lifeline to them.⁸⁰



FIGURE 4.11 THE FOSU BOAT *GENERAL MOULTRIE* WAS “ANOTHER CASUALTY OF HUGO,” ACCORDING TO THE DAMAGE REPORT (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 4.12 THE *GENERAL MOULTRIE* SUBMERGED AT THE PARK DOCK (COURTESY OF NPS).

80. Memorandum from John Tucker to SERO Director, November 14, 1989.



FIGURE 4.13 THE BEN SAWYER BRIDGE, THE ONLY CONNECTION FROM THE MAINLAND TO SULLIVAN'S ISLAND, WAS DESTROYED DURING HUGO (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 4.14 CONCESSIONER GEORGE CAMPSER OFFERED RESIDENTS OF SULLIVAN'S ISLAND TRANSPORT ON HIS BOATS (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 4.15 A GENERATOR FROM FORT PULASKI HAD TO BE AIRLIFTED TO FORT SUMTER (COURTESY OF NPS).

And there was much damage to address. The thirteen-foot storm surge at Fort Moultrie left four-and-a-half feet of water in the fort. The visitor center did not flood but needed roof repairs, replacement of plaster, carpeting, and skylights, and cleaning up. Construction 230 and the HECF were fine, but Battery Jasper needed cleaning and window repair, and the generator building needed roof and window repair. The wooden flagpole was totally destroyed. The ranger quarters at the Coast Guard unit needed all new furnishings, windows, appliances, and carpeting, and all equipment in the garage was lost. Fort Sumter suffered “extensive damage” according to Tucker. The “poor condition of the Fort Sumter dock [was] exacerbated,” he claimed. Sally port doors needed replacing, the parade ground had to be restored and a new handicap lift was installed. Repairs were needed to the leach field, electrical and water lines, museum roof, HVAC, and fireplace. There were a host of minor repairs as well.⁸¹ It took the staff a tremendous amount of effort and time to save the forts from the destruction they experienced as a result of Hugo.



FIGURE 4.16 A YEAR AFTER HURRICANE HUGO, THE HANDICAP LIFT HAD NOT BEEN REPAIRED (COURTESY OF NPS).

81. Tucker, 1989 Superintendent Annual Report, 10–14. These pages provide a full list of damage.



FIGURE 4.17 THE HURRICANE DESTROYED FORT MOULTRIE’S WOODEN FLAGPOLE (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 4.18 WATER HAD RECEDED FROM ITS FIVE-FOOT HEIGHT BUT REMAINED IN FORT MOULTRIE (COURTESY OF NPS).

CONCLUSION

This “bicentennial and beyond” period saw great strides in the building of interpretation, conservation practices, and visitor services. During this time, the staff became more diverse, as did the story NPS staff attempted to exhibit. Staff tried to accommodate more visitors with better infrastructure while balancing the need to preserve historic structures. Modern museology informed collections management, artifact conservation, and exhibit installations. And when faced with serious adversity, the staff reacted by harboring in place and working to put Forts Sumter and Moultrie back online after the most devastating hurricane to hit Charleston in the twentieth century.



CHAPTER FIVE
NEW STRUCTURES, NEW INTERPRETATIONS,
1990-2003

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CHAPTER 5: NEW STRUCTURES, NEW INTERPRETATIONS 1990–2003

OVERVIEW

Between 1990 and 2003, the National Park Service expanded its holdings in the Charleston area with the establishment of Charles Pinckney National Historic Site, the FOSU acquisition of the US Coast Guard Historic District, and the construction of a new tour boat facility at Dockside II, ultimately named Liberty Square. FOSU staff renovated museums at Forts Moultrie and Sumter and built new exhibits at the Liberty Square Visitor Education Center. These new areas provided another opportunity for FOSU to frame slavery as central in the interpretation of the American Civil War and Fort Sumter. During this period, the park expanded its boundary, integrated its interpretation, and opened new buildings. This chapter will focus largely on these new structures and how FOSU interpreted them.

HURRICANE RECOVERY

As the previous chapter discussed, Forts Sumter and Moultrie both faced heavy damage in Hurricane Hugo. David M. Brewer, an NPS archeology technician, visited Fort Sumter in the weeks after the storm to assess the effects of the storm surge on the fort. He concluded the storm had not affected archeological resources in the fort because the storm had most affected the area directly inside the sally port, and the National Park Service had already extensively excavated that land in the 1950s. Brewer did determine, though, that the ground by the enlisted men's barracks had approximately two to four feet of fill that the National Park Service may want to excavate in the future. With that, he concluded his assessment of Fort Sumter.¹ The storm had wracked havoc on Charleston and the National Park Service, but from an archeological standpoint, FOSU was in good shape.

Chief of Maintenance Don Gronwaldt opened his home to use as a temporary park headquarters because he had power when much of the Charleston area, including NPS sites, did not, and maintenance staff worked to open the forts back to the public. They needed electricity, access, and administrative space. Fort Sumter relied on generators in the aftermath of the Hugo and needed a new pier to replace the one the hurricane damaged; FOSU replaced the dock about one-and-a-half or two years after the hurricane.²

1. Memorandum from David M. Brewer to SEAC Chief, Trip Report on Archeological Assessment of Hurricane Hugo Damage to Fort Sumter, Fort Moultrie, and Snee Farm, 10/3–6/89, October 17, 1989, Box 23, Folder 13, Park Archive.

2. Brewer, Trip Report on Archeological Assessment of Hurricane Hugo Damage to Fort Sumter, Fort Moultrie, and Snee Farm, 10/3–6/89; John Tucker, 1990 Superintendent Annual Report, April 8, 1991, Box 1, Folder 40, Park Archive.



FIGURE 5.1 CONSTRUCTION OF A NEW PIER AT FORT SUMTER, 1991 (COURTESY OF NPS).

According to Gronwaldt, after Hugo, staff found riprap displaced six feet from its original location. FOSU proposed to remove riprap because it battered the foundation wall and contributed to deterioration. Fort Moultrie needed sidewalk repairs where Hugo's heavy rains washed out its oyster shell walk, and the fort needed a new drain system because its gravity drain failed completely. The fort's flag pole needed to be replaced, which occurred in 1995, and the

hurricane also damaged the visitor center skylight and roof and they needed replacing; both Fort Sumter's and Fort Moultrie's facilities received new roofs in 1990.³



FIGURE 5.2 HURRICANE HUGO DISCOLORED WAYSIDES AND WASHED OUT SIDEWALKS (COURTESY OF NPS).

Even after staff repaired the forts, the sites continued to face the challenges of the Charleston subtropical climate. The heat and humidity constantly deteriorated the cannons, so FOSU staff began restoration and repainting projects and electrolysis renovations. This restoration process began in 1991 but was unsuccessful because the tank around the gun and carriage leaked.⁴

Waterproofing of the Endicott batteries continued, and the park wanted to extend the waterproofing of the deteriorating Battery Huger. Wave erosion continued to plague Fort Sumter, and FOSU attempted to repair

3. Stephen Clark and James H. Wylie, Fort Sumter Historic Structure Assessment Report (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1992), p. III.02-17; Memorandum from John Tucker to Mike LaBourne, HUGO Projects, March 5, 1990, Box 23, Folder 13, Park Archive; Tucker, 1990 Superintendent Annual Report.

4. Ann R. Childress, 1994-1995 Superintendent Annual Report, January 31, 1996, Box 1, Folder 42, Park Archive; Electrolysis Preservation, 1994-1997, Box 40, Folder 10, Park Archive; H-20 Electrolysis 199 Permit, 1995-2001, Box 21, Folder 6, Park Archive; Electrolysis Tank, 1997-1999, Box 40, Folder 2, Park Archive; H-4217 100-Pound Parrott Gun 106 (Remove from Electrolysis Tank and Stabilize), 2005, Box 24, Folder 26, Park Archive.

walls where boulders had penetrated the wall.⁵ Fort Sumter and Sullivan’s Island received a new municipal water main from James Island in 1995.⁶ In October 1998, nearly a decade after Hurricane Hugo, NPS staff began extensive repairs on Fort Moultrie’s roof. The visitor center closed for the repairs. Also during this time, FOSU staff gutted the interior of the exhibit space and redid the exhibits, one island exhibit at a time. The visitor center reopened in January 2000.⁷

During the year that Fort Moultrie Visitor Center was closed, the fort used a double-wide trailer for its interpretive offices, bookstore, and visitor center. A March 1990 memo showed work completed through February cost \$52,292, but repairs from Hugo’s damage would continue for more than a decade, making a final cost difficult to compute.⁸

At Superintendent Tucker’s request, Toby Raphael and Bart Rogers from the Division of Conservation visited the Charleston sites in February 1990 to “provide technical assistance in the aftermath of Hurricane Hugo.” They referred to Fort Sumter’s “environmental crisis” of heat and humidity and its effect on the museum’s historical artifacts, namely the storm flag and palmetto flag. The museum roof’s leak caused a “dangerously high level” of humidity (60–90 percent), and mold and corrosion appeared in the museum. Furthermore, the island remained without power, but FOSU staff was determined to keep the museum open to visitors because



FIGURE 5.3 FORT SUMTER’S WATER LINE WAS EXPOSED AND DAMAGED BY THE STORM (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 5.4 A NEW WATER LINE TO FORT SUMTER UNDER CONSTRUCTION, 1990 (COURTESY OF NPS).

5. WLA Studio, Fort Sumter National Monument Cultural Landscape Report 95% draft, 180.

6. Childress, 1994–1995 Superintendent Annual Report.

7. John Tucker, 1999 Superintendent Annual Report, February 16, 2000, and John Tucker, 2000 Superintendent Annual Report, February 12, 2001, both in Box 1 Folder 42, Park Archive; Dawn Davis, written comments to authors on earlier draft of administrative history, May 16, 2019.

8. Memorandum from Supervisory Exhibit Specialist, Historic Architecture Division, Southeast Region to Superintendent Tucker, Emergency Repairs, Weekly Field Report, Pay Period 04, Ending 02/10/90, March 13, 1990, Box 23, Folder 13, Park Archive.

“the park feels that this exhibit is central to the Fort and must be kept open.”⁹ The conservationists’ biggest recommendation was for humidity monitoring and microclimate controlling systems to be installed within the month, before Charleston’s prolonged humid season began.¹⁰ When the museum was updated again a few years later, FOSU staff eliminated the windows in case of another hurricane.¹¹

The National Park Service also worked with the City of Charleston and local preservation organizations, a partnership known as the Charleston Preservation and Restoration Services (CPRS). The NPS representatives from HABS, DSC, SERO, Williamsport Preservation Training Center, and other units aided by providing emergency technical assistance, surveying damaged buildings, assisting private homeowners with historic preservation, and several other tasks.¹² They also worked with preservationists to find “sources of proper replacement material, particularly for slate and metal roofs.”¹³

LIBERTY SQUARE



FIGURE 5.5 THE GATES TO LIBERTY SQUARE, DESIGNED BY PHILIP SIMMONS.

FOSU’s quest for a visitor center and tour boat departure point revealed both cohesion and fault lines in the National Park Service’s relationship with the city of Charleston. The search took a decade and involved local, state, and federal organizations, and the public. Mayor Joe Riley was a central figure for metro Charleston. Riley, a graduate of the Citadel and a veteran of World War II, served as city mayor for more than forty years; his tenure began in 1975, and he retired in 2016. His mayoralship

stands out not only for its longevity but also because he wielded more power than other mayors in the state. While most cities in South Carolina used a model of a weak-mayor and a city manager, in Charleston, the mayor was the city manager.¹⁴ In many ways, Riley came to symbolize the city. A relationship with Riley was synonymous with a relationship with Charleston. South Carolina renowned author and favorite son Pat Conroy encapsulated the

9. Memorandum from Staff Conservators (Division of Conservation) to Manager of Harpers Ferry Center, Condition Assessment and Recommendations—Fort Sumter Museum, March 1, 1990, Box 23, Folder 13, Park Archive.

10. Staff Conservators, Condition Assessment and Recommendations—Fort Sumter Museum.

11. Dawn Davis, written comments to authors on earlier draft of administrative history, August 26, 2018.

12. National Park Service, Hurricane Hugo Assistance Summary and Historic Property Survey, September to November 1989, n.d., Box 23, Folder 13, Park Archive.

13. “Historic City Repair Deserves the Best,” *Charleston Evening Post*, October 11, 1989.

14. Brian Hicks, *The Mayor: Joe Riley and the Rise of Charleston* (Charleston: Evening Post Books, 2015), 175.

notion of Riley as an institution, the lynchpin in Charleston's trajectory: "Until the arrival of Joe Riley, Charleston was a sleep-walking, underachieving city with its eyes still fastened on a past where its citizens began the most calamitous war in American history. The story of Joe Riley is the story of the renaissance of a city restored to greatness by the dauntless vision of a single man."¹⁵



FIGURE 5.6 A LIBERTY SQUARE WAYSIDE EXHIBIT ABOUT RENOWNED IRONWORKER PHILIP SIMMONS.

Riley oversaw the incredible growth of Charleston in the last decades. The population of metro Charleston has been growing quickly and steadily since the mid-twentieth century. Charleston County's population in 1970, for example, was about 247,000; by 1990, the county's population was more than 295,000 and still growing.¹⁶ Riley worked to draw people to Charleston. The city became home to the world-famous annual Spoleto Festival, a major tourism destination (in which FOSU featured heavily), and highly acclaimed restaurants.¹⁷ His stance on the location of a tour boat facility carried a lot of weight.

The concessioner, Fort Sumter Tours, had been using the City Marina since 1962. The marina had limited parking, no restrooms, and did not provide visitors with any orientation or information about Fort Sumter. The National Park Service had been looking for a location for its tour boat facility, referred to as Dockside II, since the 1960s. FOSU, the mayor, and the concessioner all had different priorities and considerations for the location. Once everyone

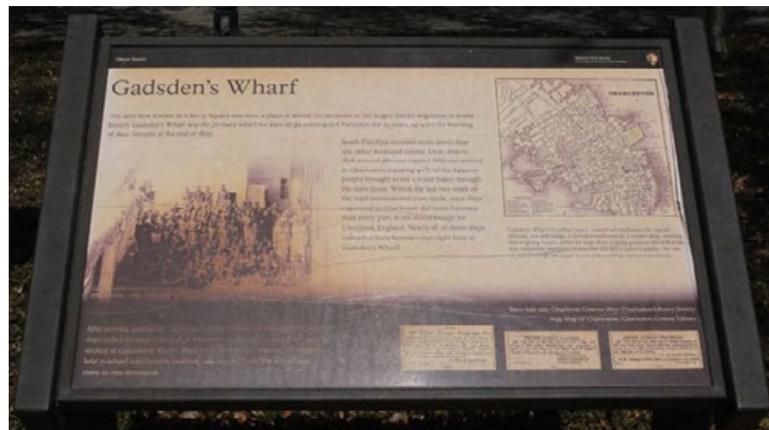


FIGURE 5.7 A LIBERTY SQUARE WAYSIDE EXHIBIT EXPLAINS THE HISTORY OF THE SITE AS A DESTINATION FOR THE IMPORTATION OF A LARGE NUMBER OF KIDNAPPED AFRICANS FORCED INTO SLAVERY.

15. Pat Conroy, "Foreword," in *The Mayor: Joe Riley and the Rise of Charleston*, by Brian Hicks (Charleston: Evening Post Books, 2015), 11.

16. 1990 US Census.

17. Hicks, *The Mayor*, 120–23, 136–37, 277–78; Rich Harrill and Thomas D. Potts, "Tourism Planning in Historic Districts: Attitudes Toward Tourism Development in Charleston," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 69, no. 3 (September 30, 2003): 233–44; Bing Pan, Tanya MacLaurin, and John C. Crotts, "Travel Blogs and the Implications for Destination Marketing," *Journal of Travel Research* 46, no. 1 (August 2007): 35–45; Donald L. Schunk and Sandra J. Teel, "The Economic Impact of the Arts in South Carolina" (South Carolina Arts Commission, 2002), accessed August 14, 2019, https://dc.statelibrary.sc.gov/bitstream/handle/10827/11691/ARTS_Economic_Impact_of_the_Arts_2002.pdf?sequence=1.

involved agreed on a site on the Cooper River at the end of Calhoun Street, the discovery and remediation of contamination slowed development; fifteen years elapsed from when the location was secured to the opening of the visitor center.

Even before they arrived at the marina, visitors had to find where tours for Fort Sumter embarked. Visitors wishing to go to Fort Sumter often accidentally found themselves at the Gray Line Water Tour pier at the Battery. Once there, Gray Line representative Carolyn Beaudry would provide inaccurate information to those wishing to see the fort. Letters from 1977 through 1981 detailed these conversations. She refused to tell one visitor how to find the ferry to Fort Sumter, stating “No one goes to the Fort because it is just rubble now.”¹⁸ She informed another visitor that the “Government had dug up everything at the Fort and moved all of the cannons, artifacts, etc., into the New Charleston Museum. That there was nothing left at Fort Sumter to see, except a table model of what the Fort once looked like.”¹⁹ When Superintendent Crawford went to the Gray Line ticket booth, the ticket office told him “there was no tour that stopped at Fort Sumter. There was nothing but a pile of rubble.”²⁰ Interestingly, Gray Line Water Tours was competing with Fort Sumter Tours for the concession contract. Beaudry had

visited Crawford at his office and Crawford recounted, “She stated to me that she did not feel that there was really very much to see at Fort Sumter and that she often tried to discourage people from finding a way out there.” He continued, “I would assume that her story would change drastically if she should get the concession.”²¹ Visitors’ confusion on where to find the concessioner exacerbated FOSU’s need for its own site.

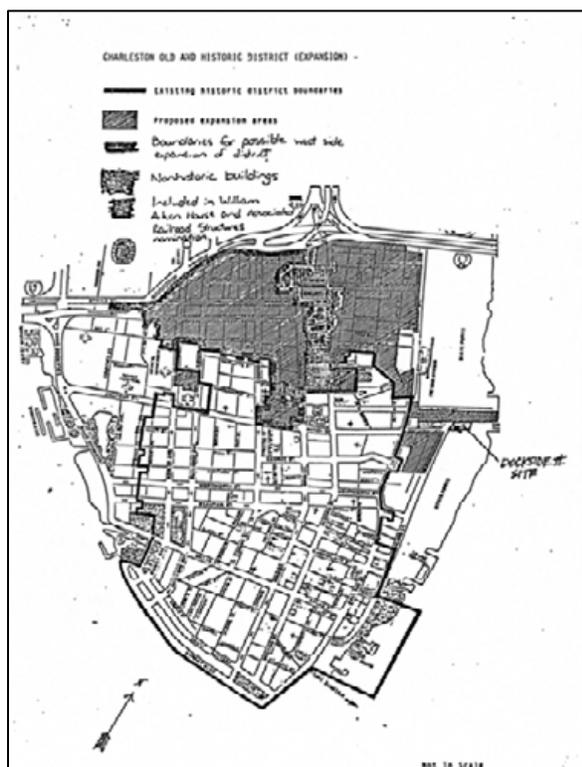


FIGURE 5-8 AN NPS MAP SHOWS THE LOCATION OF THE NEW TOUR BOAT FACILITY. THE CITY MARINA IS ON THE WEST OF THE PENINSULA (COURTESY NPS).

Earlier Locations: Broad Street and Fleet Landing

By the mid-1970s, the National Park Service had settled on a tour boat location on the west end of Broad Street. The city of Charleston did not like that location for the tour boat facility; it seems that congestion was one concern of the Broad Street location, as well as encroaching in the Historic District. The city also cited “present residential zoning and possibility of a connecting road down the peninsula shoreline”

18. Mike Thomson to Cecil D. Andus, July 13, 1978, Box 11, Folder 3, Park Archive.

19. Robert Lee Thomerson Jr. to Brien Varnado, July 31, 1981, Box 11, Folder 3, Park Archive.

20. Memorandum from Superintendent Crawford to Concessions Management, Division, WASO, Complaints against Gray Line Water Tours, July 31, 1978, Box 11, Folder 3, Park Archive.

21. Crawford, Complaints against Gray Line Water Tours.

as reasons for the National Park Service not to build its facility at Broad Street.²² The city's concern with traffic and tourism became a recurring theme in negotiating the process of finding a site for FOSU.

In February 1978, the city of Charleston issued a "Tourism Impact and Management Study."²³ The study, which was done by Barton-Aschman Associates, found that a dock site called Fleet Landing on the



FIGURE 5.9 THE CITY MARINA DID NOT ORIENT VISITORS BEFORE THEY DEPARTED FOR FORT SUMTER (COURTESY OF NPS).

Cooper River and owned by the State Ports Authority (SPA) would reinvigorate the area. The National Park Service was not interested in the Fleet Landing site at the time. FOSU had already invested a considerable amount of its allocated funds into the Broad Street location, and the Fleet Landing site was not for sale. At Fleet Landing, the National Park Service would continue the lease-by-lease uncertainty of the docking site they already experienced at the City Marina.²⁴

Undeterred, Mayor Riley continued to push for the Fleet Landing site. Then, the National Park Service began to have trouble with its Broad Street site. An undated memo explained, "We have run into difficulty obtaining construction permits for the Broad Street Site from the Army Engineers and the State because of potential damage to tidal marsh. We don't know if we would face the same difficulty at the Cooper River Site, which would require initial dredging and annual maintenance dredging."²⁵

On August 28, 1978, the National Park Service, State Ports Authority, and the city held a meeting. Representatives from the National Park Service included Acting Superintendent John Tucker, as well as Regional Director Brown and representatives from the Denver Service Center. City of Charleston representatives included Mayor Riley and his assistant, an architect, and someone from the traffic division. The director and an engineer from the State Ports Authority were present.²⁶ During the meeting, SPA representatives discussed renovating the existing structures at Fleet Landing for NPS use as well as building a new structure, although it would not be built to the NPS specifications and plans did not include a breakwater. The State

22. Charles E. Watson to Joseph P. Riley Jr., letter draft, March 31, 1978, NPS, "Charleston Tour Boat," both in Box 81, Folder 4, Park Archive.

23. NPS, "Charleston Tour Boat."

24. John H. Morgan, "Tour Boat Site Issue Is Revived," Charleston Evening Post, June 28, 1978, clipping in Box 81, Folder 4, Park Archive; Joseph P. Riley Jr., interview by Vernon Burton and Beatrice Burton, Charleston, SC, July 7, 2016; Letter from James E. Edwards to Cecil D. Andrus, September 27, 1978, Box 81, Folder 5, Park Archive; Charles E. Watson to Joseph P. Riley Jr., draft letter, March 31, 1978, Box 81, Folder 4, Park Archive.

25. "Fort Sumter National Monument, S.C.—Charleston Tour Boat Dock," n.d., Box 81, Folder 5, Park Archive.

26. Minutes from August 28, 1978, meeting, Box 81, Folder 5, Park Archive.

Ports Authority also explained its expectations for the lease agreement.²⁷ Traffic and parking were other topics in this meeting. The National Park Service expressed concern that parking would be insufficient for its expected visitation, especially because of the proposal that tourists visiting the historical Charleston City Market would use the same parking spaces. The costs discussed totaled roughly the same amount the National Park Service planned on investing at the Broad Street site, but the park service would not own any of the property and it would not cover maintenance costs. Also, by leasing the site, FOSU could not guarantee its future use.²⁸ The concessioner, George Campsen, also weighed in, advising against Fleet Landing as a site because of the high volume of water traffic.²⁹

Despite the National Park Service's reservations about the site, under pressure from Mayor Riley, in 1979 it began the formal process for acquiring the Fleet Landing Site.³⁰ That fall, the National Park Service, city of Charleston, and concessioner signed a Memorandum of Agreement. The plan for the site as the tour boat facility included updating the existing structure. The single-story building at the site would have its exterior removed, and the National Park Service would "utilize the structural skeleton, and construct a new exterior" similar to surrounding buildings in size and color. This building would house ticketing, offices, restrooms, and provide information about Fort Sumter to visitors waiting for the tour. The pier would be extended and widened. The city was planning a waterfront park at this time, as well, and the NPS site would contain a shoreline walkway that would connect to the city's park.³¹

Campsen remained very vocal about his displeasure with the site. He requested information to clarify the power of the National Park Service had over a concessioner. He wrote a letter to the director of the National Park Service, Russell E. Dickenson, asking, "whether or not the Park Service feels that it has an absolute right to compel us to operate the tours from the proposed Fleet Landing location under our concessions contract. I have some doubt if the Park Service has that right." The response was "yes."³²

Public Law 96-199, section 117 was approved on March 5, 1980, authorizing the National Park Service to acquire land at Fleet Landing to use as a tour boat facility. Still, by 1983, little progress

27. Minutes from August 28, 1978, meeting.

28. *Ibid.*

29. George E. Campsen Jr. to W. P. Crawford, September 1, 1978, Box 81, Folder 5, Park Archive.

30. W. P. Crawford to James M. Ellis, December 6, 1978, Box 81, Folder 5, Park Archive; Memorandum from Neal Guse to Director NPS, "Legislative Authorization for Acquisition and Development of the Fleet Landing Site, Charleston, Fort Sumter," November 30, 1979, Box 81, Folder 8, Park Archive. A brief history of the Fleet Landing site: The land was originally developed as an eighteenth-century wharf. During the Civil War, it was associated with a blockade runner. Charleston County sold the land to the federal government for its use as a naval base in 1941; the transfer contained a reverter clause such that when the federal government was no longer using the land, it would revert back to Charleston County. During World War II, liberty boats transported Navy personnel from ships in the harbor to the shore, postwar, the SPA used the land intermittently. In 1965, the SPA requested to acquire the property from Charleston County. The federal government agreed it did not need that location, but it did need a shore patrol facility. The SPA bought land at a different location and then leased it to the navy, thus making Fleet Landing excess and revert back to the county. Charleston County then transferred the land to the SPA ("Sections 106 Case Report, Fleet Landing Site—Fort Sumter Tour Boat Facility," n.d., Box 81, Folder 6, Park Archive; Memorandum Ira Whitlock to William Whalen, "Dock Facility Landing for Ft. Sumter," December 20, 1979, Box 81, Folder 8, Park Archive.

31. "Sections 106 Case Report, Fleet Landing Site—Fort Sumter Tour Boat Facility," n.d., Box 81, Folder 6, Park Archive. It is unlikely the existing structure was historical because the Section 106 Case Report makes no mention of effect on historic structure. The case report deals mostly with dredging.

32. George E. Campsen Jr. to Russell E. Dickenson, February 19, 1981, Box 81, Folder 1961–81, Park Archive.

had been made at Fleet Landing. Meetings between the National Park Service, the city, and the concessioner continued.

DSC representatives visited Charleston in August and September 1981. They met with various groups over their week in town, including Campsen, Riley, the Greenville-Spartanburg consulting firm Lockwood Greene, city planners, SPA, South Carolina Coastal Council (a governing body that grants permits for use of beachfront lands), US Fish and Wildlife Service and SC Wildlife and Marine Resources Department, and other city officials. Riley promised more off-street parking, including garages, during his meeting. The Denver Service Center found the State Ports Authority to be very helpful and cooperative. Lockwood Greene's estimate for construction documents (i.e., permits) was substantially higher than the National Park Service's estimate, but the groups found some compromise. Overall, DSC believed the visit went well and "that the comprehensive design was well received by the local agencies."³³ Riley made good on his word to build a garage near Fleet Landing; he secured funding from Housing and Urban Development officials.³⁴ City council approved preliminary designs for parking garages on East Bay and Concord Streets.³⁵

Campsen now exacerbated relations with the city over the site, and his actions entangled private citizens in the tour boat controversy. During the September 1981 meeting, Campsen had approved the DSC design, but he continued to express concerns about the site.³⁶ In 1982, Campsen "obtained an option to buy" land just north of Dockside condominiums and announced he planned to move the tour boat facilities to that location.³⁷ Campsen, still wary of Fleet Landing, stated he would pay for parking facilities at the new site himself.³⁸ In response, that June, city council held an emergency session to keep Campsen from developing the site as a tour boat facility, passing a temporary ordinance restricting the tour boat facility to "only appropriate locations," specifically only the City Marina and Fleet Landing.³⁹ In July, city council began proceedings to make permanent this ordinance.⁴⁰ The owners of the Dockside lot, the Detyens family, responded by suing the city for violating their Fourteenth Amendment rights.⁴¹

33. Memorandum from Ric Alesch, Trip Report—August 27–September 3, September 22, 1981, Box 81, Folder 18, Park Archive.

34. Dave Doubrava, "Riley Expects OK Soon On Lodges Alley Contract," *Charleston Evening Post*, September 19, 1981.

35. Mary A. Glass, "Design Funds Approved For 2 Garages," *Charleston Evening Post*, September 23, 1981; Mary A. Glass, "Consultants Get City OK On Garages," clipping in Box 81, folder 18, Park Archive.

36. Alesch, Trip Report—August 27–September 3.

37. Edward C. Fennell, "Ordinance Prohibiting Dock Backed," *Charleston News and Courier*, June 11, 1982, clipping in Box 81, Folder 11, Park Archive. The newspaper article stated the plat was south of the condos, but the land is in fact north.

38. Fennell, "Ordinance Prohibiting Dock Backed"; Edward C. Fennell, "Tour Boat Site Evaluation Urged," *Evening Post*, June 13, 1982.

39. Fennell, "Ordinance Prohibiting Dock Backed"; Mary A. Glass, "Council Acts to Stop Tour Boat Dock Plan," *Charleston News and Courier*, June 1982 (date illegible), clipping in Box 81, Folder 11, Park Archive.

40. Edward C. Fennell, "Chas Council Says No To Tour Dock Site," *Charleston Evening Post*, July 21, 1982; Edward C. Fennell, "Ordinance Would Limit Dock Sites," *Charleston News and Courier*, July 21, 1982.

41. Hasse H. Detyens, Margaret Detyens Lambrakos, Mary Detyens Yeager, and James W. Detyens, "Deprived of Right," Letter to the Editor, *Charleston News and Courier*, August 10, 1982; William J. Detyens, "No Justice," Letter to the Editor, *Charleston News and Courier*, August 13, 1982; Jeff Watkins, "Detyens Suing Charleston Over Tour Dock Ordinance," *Charleston News and Courier*, August 18, 1982.

Meanwhile, tour boat accommodations at the City Marina had continued to deteriorate. In November 1982, Charleston's city council leased another marina dock to Gray Line Water Tours.⁴² In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Gray Line Tours was embroiled in a legal battle over the use of the dock at the Battery, with the South Carolina State Supreme Court ruling in March 1982 that the dock was privately owned by the Fort Sumter House Association. Gray Line could only continue to use that dock through October 1982.⁴³ Unfortunately, because of the zoning ordinance city council passed in response to Campsen's option for Dockside, the only locations Gray Line could use were the City Marina and Fleet Landing.⁴⁴

In spring of 1983, Campsen wrote to FOSU Superintendent Brien Varnado that "the situation is quite bad" at the City Marina. Visitors could not find parking spaces and confused the Gray Line Tours with Fort Sumter Tours and would purchase tickets at the wrong booth. Campsen increased his personnel to help direct traffic, both in terms of parking cars and in terms of directing visitors to the correct booth, but he knew this would not fix the underlying issues. "Brien," he wrote, "as you well know, people from all over our nation desire to visit Fort Sumter National Monument and many travel great distances to come here. They deserve better arrangements. Something must be done to improve this situation."⁴⁵ Campsen wrote to Varnado just as visitation was expected to increase to its annual peak. He proposed that Fort Sumter Tours begin operation at Patriots Point in Mount Pleasant, effective the day after Labor Day. Campsen had already discussed this arrangement with the Patriots Point Development Authority. He wrote requesting the National Park Service's "*immediate approval* of this request."⁴⁶

In July 1982, Secretary of the Interior James Watt visited Charleston when Senator Strom Thurmond invited him to view the locations under dispute.⁴⁷ He met with the parties involved in the dispute and visited the contested sites.⁴⁸ After his visit, the secretary delayed a resolution when he chose to keep the tour boat departure at the City Marina.⁴⁹

As the tour boat decision languished, NPS relations with the city became more tense as the mayor applied increasing pressure to FOSU to develop Fleet Landing. In July 1982, President Ronald Reagan signed Executive Order 12372, which called for Intergovernmental Review of Federal Programs. Mayor Riley believed this law strengthened the city's claim to locating the

42. Marsha White, "Tour Boat Owner Sees Parking Woes," Charleston Evening Post, November 13, 1982. (Campsen and the author of the news article expressed that the city's new contract with Gray Line was at least partly motivated by the disagreement between Riley and Campsen over the site of the tour boat facilities.) Edward C. Fennell, "Ordinance Prohibiting Dock Backed," Charleston News and Courier, June 11, 1982. In fact, a year earlier, Riley assured Campsen that Gray Line Tours would only be at the marina on Sunday evenings, a time that Campsen's company did not do much business (George E. Campsen Jr. to Joseph P. Riley Jr., September 29, 1982, and Joseph P. Riley Jr. to George E. Campsen Jr., October 1, 1981, both in Box 81, Folder 12, Park Archive).

43. *Lund v. Gray Line Water Tours, Inc.*, 277 S.C. 447 (1982), 289 S.E.2d 404.

44. Edward C. Fennell, "Dock User Is Facing Deadline," Charleston Evening Post, July 24, 1982.

45. George E. Campsen Jr. to Brien Varnado, March 31, 1983, Box 81, Folder 8, Park Archive.

46. Campsen to Varnado, March 31, 1983, emphasis in original.

47. Edward D. Murphy, "Despite New Report, Dock Relocation Controversy Remains," Charleston Evening Post, July 29, 1982.

48. Mary A. Glass, "Riley, Watt To Discuss Tour Dock," Charleston News and Courier, July 14, 1982.

49. "Regional Staff Notes," July 23, 1982, Box 81, Folder 12, Park Archive.

tour boat facilities at Fleet Landing.⁵⁰ He promised the city would help cover the costs of dredging Fleet Landing as part of its dredging of the proposed waterfront park, and he promised street parking for school buses and the development of more parking, including garages, at no cost to the National Park Service.⁵¹ Mayor Riley often reminded the National Park Service of the Memorandum of Agreement signed in 1979. He believed the “NPS is legally and morally bound to fulfill its obligation” to build at Fleet Landing, as established by the Memorandum of Agreement.⁵²

In December 1982, following his visit to Charleston, Secretary Watt studied putting the dock at Patriots Point in Mount Pleasant.⁵³ Ultimately, the entities decided on a two-site compromise of Fleet Landing and Patriots Point in Mount Pleasant; one would house the visitor center and serve as the base, and the other would serve as a secondary pickup location. Mayor Riley pushed for Fleet Landing to be the base, but George Campsen still resisted the site,⁵⁴ preferring the site north of Fleet Landing, near Docksides condominium.⁵⁵

The National Park Service, the city, and the concessioner could not reach a decision, and the issue became not only a standoff between the strong-willed Riley and a determined Campsen, but federal representatives intervened, as well.⁵⁶ NPS representatives from the national office in Washington, DC, communicated with Mayor Riley and George Campsen, met with them individually in Washington, and made visits to Charleston to inspect the four locations: Fleet Landing, Docksides, Patriots Point, and the City Marina.⁵⁷ Charleston native US Senator Ernest “Fritz” Hollings also weighed in. He wrote to Campsen that the Fleet Landing site was the logical and economical choice.⁵⁸

The city continued its attempts to manage its tourism industry and integrate it with FOSU. Beginning in the fall of 1983, the city of Charleston and the State Ports Authority planned to redesign the cruise ship terminal at Fleet Landing into a “Festival Marketplace,” which they envisioned as a major tourist attraction. Riley proposed building an aquarium at the site, as well.⁵⁹ Campsen and the National Park Service agreed, “in principle,” to have the tour boat facilities as part of the Festival Marketplace.⁶⁰ In the fall of 1984, the city planned on increasing Fort Sumter Tours’s rent at the City Marina by a significant amount; this may account for

50. Joseph P. Riley Jr. to G. Ray Arnett, October 14, 1982, Box 82, Folder 12, Park Archive.

51. Joseph P. Riley Jr. to G. Ray Arnett, September 1, 1982, Box 82, Folder 12, Park Archive.

52. Joseph P. Riley Jr. to Brien Varnado, June 24, 1982, Box 81, Folder 12, Park Archive.

53. Marsha White, “Mayor Riley Tells Park Service Tour Dock Cost Can Be Reduced,” *Charleston News and Courier*, January 13, 1983.

54. Mary A. Glass, “Tour Boat Flap,” n.d., Box 81, Folder 8, Park Archive. The article does not have a date, but the events described—i.e., James Watt’s visit to Charleston on St. Patrick’s Day—took place in March 1983.

55. “Riley Blasts Watt’s Decision On Fort Sumter Dock Study,” *Charleston News and Courier*, December 9, 1982.

56. George E. Campsen Jr. to Brien Varnado, April 22, 1983, Box 81, Folder 9; “Riley Vs. Campsen,” *Charleston Evening Post*, December 13, 1982; “Riley Blasts Watt’s Decision on Fort Sumter Dock Study,” *Charleston News and Courier*, December 9, 1982.

57. G. Ray Arnett to Joseph P. Riley Jr., n.d. (stamped received September 30, 1982), Box 81, Folder 12, Park Archive.

58. Ernest F. Hollings to George E. Campsen Jr., February 27, 1981, Box 81, Folder 18, Park Archive.

59. National Park Service, “Fort Sumter National Monument, SC: Fiscal 1986 Budget Briefing Statement,” February 20, 1985, Box 82, Folder 1, Park Archive.

60. Assistant Secretary of the Interior to Ernest F. Hollings, draft letter, February 8, 1985, Box 81, Folder 1, Park Archive.

Campsen's willingness to consider Fleet Landing after years of disagreement.⁶¹ By January 1985, the city's planned Waterfront Park was under construction and the garages the city had promised were nearing completion. Construction of the Festival Marketplace was expected to begin within the year.⁶²

As the Riley-Campsen rivalry dragged on, costs increasingly became a concern. When the Greenville-Spartanburg consulting firm Lockwood Greene initially evaluated Fleet Landing, it estimated the cost to locate the tour boat facility there would cost more than \$4 million dollars for the acquisition, demolition, and building of the facilities. Four years later, it estimated the cost had increased to \$6 million dollars, supposedly with the National Park Service still responsible for the costs despite the increase.⁶³

The public weighed in on the sites under consideration. Area residents wrote letters and op-ed pieces expressing their preferences for the various dock sites. One op-ed author was concerned about tourists being mugged at the Dockside location.⁶⁴ US Congressman Thomas Hartnett from Charleston wrote a letter to the editor after Tom Hamrick, who ran a provocative column called "One Man's Charleston," criticized the costs for what he deemed an unnecessary project.⁶⁵ One letter to the editor in the local newspaper expressed frustration for the time and money going to "waste" studying various sites when Fleet Landing already had a building and dock that was "suitable for fulfilling the needs of the tourists."⁶⁶ Another article wrote that locating the facilities at the Cooper River site would help tourists who would already be on that side of town as well as alleviate traffic pressure for locals.⁶⁷

On April 22, 1985, Superintendent Varnado and Campsen met with SPA officials. While the State Ports Authority still favored having the tour boat facility at their dock, the officials were interested only in leasing.⁶⁸ As debate over the Fleet Landing site stretched further into 1985, Campsen continued looking for alternatives. In May 1985, he wrote to Varnado to inform him of the option to buy the previously mentioned land north of Dockside apartments: "Should the Park Service be interested in this property, with the knowledge and support of Mayor Riley, we have negotiated an Option to acquire this property, principally to make certain that same would be available, if needed."⁶⁹

61. George E. Campsen Jr. to Joseph P. Riley Jr., November 28, 1984, Box 82, Folder 1, Park Archive.

62. Joseph P. Riley Jr. to Brien Varnado, January 7, 1985, Box 82, Folder 1, Park Archive.

63. "A Money Matter," Charleston Evening Post, August 5, 1982.

64. Phyllis Pringle to James G. Watt, June 23, 1982, Folder 81, Folder 12, Park Archive; Isabella G. Leland, "Tour Boat Dock," Charleston News and Courier, August 19, 1982.

65. Thomas F. Hartnett, "Tour Boat Landing," Evening Post, August 16, 1981.

66. Chardon Harrigan, Letter to the Editor, "Tour Boat Terminal," Charleston News and Courier, September 11, 1978.

67. "Tour Boat Terminal Move," Charleston News and Courier, August 30, 1978.

68. Memorandum from FOSU Superintendent to Regional Director Southeast Region, "Fort Sumter Tour Boat Facility," April 23, 1985, Box 82, Folder 1, Park Archive.

69. George E. Campsen Jr. to Brien Varnado, May 13, 1985, Box 82, Folder 1, Park Archive.

Dockside II

On January 15, 1986, George Campsen became the owner of the Dockside location with the understanding that the National Park Service would purchase the land for the aquarium and tour boat facility.⁷⁰ Campsen had been in communication with the National Park Service, including the regional office and the national office, before he purchased the option to acquire the land.⁷¹



FIGURE 5.10 A TOUR BOAT HEADS TOWARD FORT SUMTER FROM LIBERTY SQUARE.

Before the purchase, the National Park Service, the city, and the concessioner had discussed in length questions such as division of property, designs of the buildings, maintenance of facilities, and construction of parking facilities. Campsen was hesitant to participate in a design competition and use of the same architectural engineer that the city and National Park Service would use. He also wanted a private dock for his restaurant, and the National Park Service wanted to ensure it would not interfere with the tour boat dock. Riley would not agree on land acquisition but was open to having the city purchase the highland for the aquarium with city council's approval. The parties discussed a pro-rata approach to utilities at the site, including security lighting after all facilities had closed for the night. Questions about parking, which had plagued the tour boat site at Fleet Landing, arose at Dockside as well. One option was to charge parking fees to help cover costs of parking facilities, but the National Park Service was against this approach. The National Park Service also advocated for the city to have a shuttle service to the site. Despite some differences of opinion, it seemed for the first time, all parties were on the same page.⁷²

Campsen initially wanted his building to house not only a restaurant, but also a gift shop, waiting room, and the ticket booth for the tours. The National Park Service did not approve that arrangement, however. While Superintendent Varnado did not object to the restaurant and gift shop on the property, he did not see how they could be classified as concessions and so must be owned by Campsen himself as a private citizen, not by Fort Sumter Tours. Furthermore, having

70. George E. Campsen Jr. to Joseph P. Riley Jr., January 15, 1986, Box 82, Folder 1, Park Archive.

71. George E. Campsen Jr. to Robert M. Baker, July 25, 1985, Robert Baker to George E. Campsen Jr., August 6, 1985, George E. Campsen Jr. to Robert M. Baker, August 15, 1985, all in Box 82, Folder 1, Park Archive.

72. National Park Service, "Dockside II, Revised Memorandum of Understanding," December 17, 1985, and memorandum from FOSU Superintendent to Regional Director, "Dockside II Concept Recommendations," Draft, November 4, 1985, both in Box 82, Folder 1, Park Archive. The NPS was willing to support a design competition as long as it would be able to give clear input and approve the final design.

the ticket office and waiting room in the privately owned building meant that should a different concessioner have a contract in the future, they would not have the necessary facilities.⁷³

The National Park Service also resisted some of the city's suggestions. Regarding parking, a topic which had bogged down discussions of previous sites, Varnado eschewed the notion that the National Park Service should pay for the land and development of parking facilities and then lease portions of the parking to the city and restaurant/concessioner. Based on visitation estimates for Fort Sumter and for the aquarium, which were roughly even or slightly weighted toward the aquarium, Varnado believed the National Park Service and the city should have a more equitable split of the parking costs. In a draft of a memo, he suggested the National Park Service and city each cover 45 percent and Campsen pay 10 percent of parking expenses.⁷⁴

Congress approved Public Law 99-637 on November 7, 1986, authorizing the National Park Service to acquire land at Dockside to administer as part of FOSU. The National Park Service wrote a Master Plan Amendment/Development Concept Plan/Environmental Assessment for the tour boat facility at Dockside in September 1987. While the exact locations of the structures were not yet determined, NPS SER Director Robert Baker signed a Finding of No Significant Impact, to be attached to the Master Plan Amendment.⁷⁵

In 1995, the city signed the lease documents for the land for the aquarium. The city would be responsible for certain operations and maintenance. The National Park Service, the city, and the concessioner worked together on the design for the site. In 1996, they updated the design, replacing the parking facility with more green space, including gardens, shaded structures, and walkways. The city agreed to construct a parking garage by 1998.⁷⁶

Contamination. The National Park Service, the city of Charleston, and the Campsen family, after many years of back-and-forth, had settled on the location for Dockside II. The location proved difficult, however, when Soil Consultant employees detected contaminants in 1988 and 1989. They had been doing an investigation for the foundation design for the site, as well as a city water pump station at the nearby Calhoun Park area, located across the street from the NPS property, when they uncovered "oily residues and chemical odors in the soil borings." The site had been the location of a gas plant for SCE&G, the local power company, from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries. There was also lead contamination from the location's history as a ship repair yard. Concerns over the contamination led to the closing of the Calhoun Park area in 1989. In 1991, the nearby Ansonborough Homes also closed. Dockside II became an effort among not only the National Park Service, city, concessioner, but also DHEC, office of Coastal Resource Management, US Fish and Wildlife Service, and Corps of

73. FOSU Superintendent, "Dockside II Concept Recommendations," Draft, November 4, 1985.

74. Ibid.

75. National Park Service, "Plan Approval and Finding of No Significant Impact on Master Plan Amendment/Development Concept Plan/Environmental Assessment, Fort Sumter National Monument, South Carolina," December 9, 1988, Box 77, Folder 13, Park Archive.

76. National Park Service, "History of the Tour Boat Facility/Aquarium Projects," n.d., Box 77, Folder 13, Park Archive; National Park Service, "Management Objectives," n.d., Box 77, Folder 14, Park Archive; Letter from Joseph P. Riley Jr. to John Tucker, July 6, 1990, Box 81, Folder 13, Park Archive; Memorandum from Regional Director Southeast Region to Director, National Park Service, Justification for Project Supervision by NPS Personnel at Fort Sumter, December 15, 1998, Box 77, Folder 16, Park Archive.

Engineers. Initially it seemed the contamination was minimal and the National Park Service and the parties it was coordinating with seemed optimistic it could be remediated.⁷⁷

By 1998, the US Environmental Protection Agency was managing the SCE&G site and announced, “Dockside II will be treated as an area of concern.”⁷⁸ DHEC, the office of Coastal Resource Management, US Fish and Wildlife Service, and the Corps of Engineers all became involved in the site.⁷⁹ The worse site of contamination was farther inland than the tour boat facilities and aquarium are located. That spot was cleaned out, covered with a layer of clay, and then a parking garage was built over it.⁸⁰ James Akins was the project supervisor at the site. He oversaw the construction of the tour boat facilities, coordinated with the multiple agencies, and became an expert in the local peculiarities of the Dockside site, even going so far as to design a silt curtain, necessary to hold back contaminants during construction, when previous ones proved inferior. In 2002, Dockside II, now officially named Liberty Square as explained below, received the Phoenix Award/Community Impact Award for its transformation of an environmentally hazardous site into a productive, usable space.⁸¹

The process took several years and was fraught with political tensions. It was at times frustrating and strained relations between the National Park Service and the city. But by all accounts, relations between the parties remained amicable throughout the construction at Dockside. As

77. Joseph P. Riley Jr. to Robert M. Baker, December 15, 1989, Box 81, Folder 13, Park Archive; Prentiss Findlay, “Agency to test aquarium site,” (newspaper and date illegible), Box 81, Folder 13, Park Archive; National Park Service, “Management Objectives,” n.d., Box 77, Folder 14, Park Archive.

78. Regional Director Southeast Region, “Justification for Project Supervision by NPS Personnel at Fort Sumter.”

79. Ibid. The Park Archive contains boxes upon boxes about the contaminants and soil testing, should anyone be interested in the intricacies of the contamination.

80. This solution not only provided the parking garage long promised, but it also opened up the green space for the park at the site. Riley, interview, at 0:35:45.

81. Regional Director Southeast, “Justification for Project Supervision by NPS Personnel at Fort Sumter”; John Tucker, 2002 Superintendent Annual Report, n.d., Box 1, Folder 42, Park Archive.

an example, when acrylic windows for the aquarium arrived before the contractor could install them, Superintendent Tucker agreed to the city’s request to store the windows at the incomplete tour boat facility for upwards of two weeks.⁸²

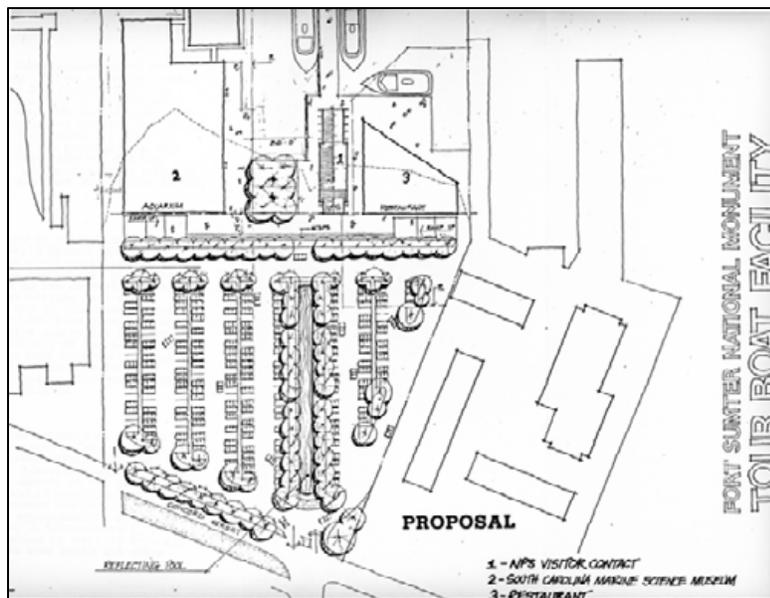


FIGURE 5.11 ORIGINAL PLANS FOR LIBERTY SQUARE INCLUDED A RESTAURANT OWNED BY THE CONCESSIONER (COURTESY OF NPS).

Restaurant. The Dockside location originally included plans for George Campsen Jr. to build a private restaurant, but these plans never came to fruition. The restaurant was fraught with difficulties from the beginning. In May 1989, the size of the restaurant was reduced from over 31,000 square feet to 19,950, a reduction of approximately 35 percent. The restaurant was also moved landward. Still, even with these changes to its footprint, the restaurant presented problems, such as encroaching on the adjacent condominiums and causing a loss of parking spaces. And later in 1989, the Dockside

condominium residents opposed the plans for dredging and building for the restaurant.⁸³

The South Carolina Coastal Council ruled that the restaurant plans were dangerous to the ecosystem and adversely affected protected tidelands. It claimed the restaurant could be further reduced in size and moved away from the protected area to remedy the problem. This decision contradicted an earlier decision by the Coastal Council Permitting Committee that initially allowed the restaurant without stipulations. The Coastal Council made the final decision, and Campsen never got his restaurant.⁸⁴

The Aquarium

Mayor Riley wrote a letter to Superintendent Varnado on June 10, 1985, about consideration of the Dockside location. Riley advocated building the South Carolina Maritime Science Museum at the same location as the FOSU tour boat facility. He wrote, “These two water-oriented uses of

82. Linda Rhodes to John Tucker, March 17, 1999, Box 77, Folder 16, Park Archive. John Tucker, interview by Vernon Burton and Beatrice Burton, January 15, 2016, Sullivan’s Island, at 0:53:13.

83. Memorandum from Lucas, Stubbs, Pascullis, Powell, and Penny Ltd., Re: The Affect of Moving Campsen Restaurant Completely Behind the Critical Line LS3P Commission No. 8649.00, May 10, 1989, and 330 Concord Street Neighborhood Association, Appellant, vs. George Campsen Jr., Permittee, in Re: P/N 88-3A-128-P, State of South Carolina before the South Carolina Coastal Council, n.d., both in Box 81, Folder 13, Park Archive.

84. Prentiss Findlay, “Ruling stalls state permit for restaurant: Coastal hearing officer says building would hurt tideland,” Charleston News and Courier, April 20, 1990. At this time we do not have sources to let us know how the restaurant’s demise affected the concessioner’s relationship with FOSU. Because the decision came from the Coastal Council, though, rather than from the NPS, it is possible that the decision did not have a negative impact.

great significance to the City, State, and Nation being located together could be of a great advantage to everyone.” The arrangement that the National Park Service has with the city of Charleston regarding the aquarium is an unusual one, and in many ways it came down to a coincidence in timing. William Penn Mott became director of the National Park Service in May 1985, just as Riley was becoming interested in an aquarium and the location of the tour boat facility was shifting from Fleet Landing to Dockside. Mott was very interested in forming partnerships in a way his predecessors were not, and the city of Charleston proved a strong partner.⁸⁵



FIGURE 5.12 AERIAL VIEW OF THE SOUTH CAROLINA AQUARIUM AND TOUR BOAT FACILITY UNDER CONSTRUCTION (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 5.13 THE SOUTH CAROLINA AQUARIUM.

responsible for certain operations and maintenance. The concessioner agreed to pay for the dock, office, storage space, and janitorial services at the new site; failure to meet these responsibilities would “result in loss of all but franchise fees.”⁸⁶

Varnado expressed skepticism about the partnership with the city for the aquarium: “With respect to the city’s wishes, there is some question, in my judgment, whether or not the Service can justify acquiring and donating (or leasing) land to the city for the [maritime] museum; particularly if reasonable restrictions over the use and maintenance of the building can be had otherwise.” Despite FOSU hesitation, the partnership moved forward. In 1995, the city had signed the lease documents for the land for the aquarium. The city would be

85. Joseph P. Riley Jr. to Brien Varnado, June 10, 1985, Box 82, Folder 1, Park Archive; Danz, “Historic Listing of National Park Service Officials”; Tucker, interview, at 1:16:50.

86. FOSU Superintendent, “Dockside II Concept Recommendations,” Draft, November 4, 1985; National Park Service, “History of the Tour Boat Facility/Aquarium Projects”; National Park Service, “Management Objectives,” n.d.; “Full Package Description, Design and Construct New Tour Boat Facility on NPS Property Known as Dockside II,” n.d. Box 70, Folder 20, Park Archive.

Visitor Education Center: Separation and Liberty



FIGURE 5.14 LIBERTY SQUARE VISITOR EDUCATION CENTER UNDER CONSTRUCTION (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 5.15 LIBERTY SQUARE VISITOR EDUCATION CENTER.

The contaminant issues delayed Liberty Square’s plans for seven or eight years, but in 2001, the National Park Service completed its tour boat facilities and visitor education center. The design was driven by considerations for the foundation and the strength of the building to withstand hurricanes and earthquakes. The architecture and masonry of the building were meant to look like Fort Sumter; this is reflected in its height, thickness of walls, and use of arches. Postmodern in design, the building is a testament to pluralism: it is a modern structure but shows the influence of historical architecture and masonry. It is meant to blend in with historic Charleston but remain distinct. It was also a great deal more accessible than some of the city’s historic buildings.⁸⁷

Planning the visitor center museum exhibit in late 1989 and the early 1990s, FOSU intended to emphasize not only the battles and bombardments of Fort Sumter and what visitors to the fort would see, but also the questions of

why the nation separated and the role that Fort Sumter played. The garrison flag would play a central role in the interpretation. As Superintendent Tucker wrote in a memo, “The story of this flag is most appropriate to convey the separation concept since it literally tore in half the day before the war opened.”⁸⁸ Separation and disunion became one theme at Liberty Square. In fact, as visitors walk toward the visitor center from Concord Street, they view banners telling of events leading to secession and Civil War.

87. Former Superintendent John Tucker spoke about the building’s accessibility in his interview. Tucker, interview, at 1:30:26.

88. Robert G. Johnsson to Paul Swartz, “Summary of agreements, Fort Sumter Tour Boat Facility,” June 22, 1989, and John Tucker to Bill Springer, “IP Information,” June 25, 1990, both in Box 70, Folder 20, Park Archive.

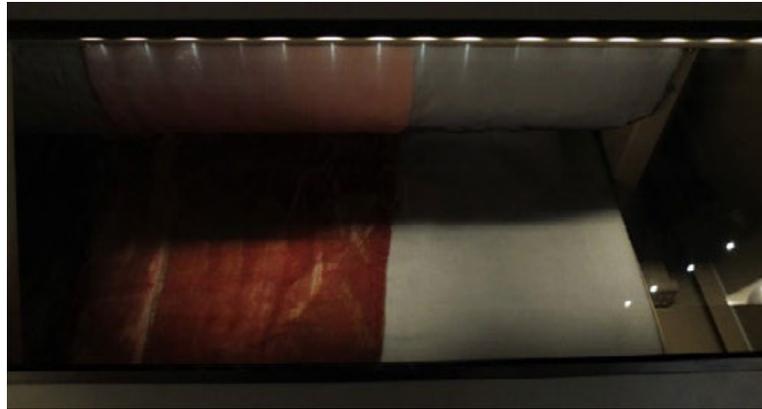


FIGURE 5.16 TO PRESERVE THE GARRISON FLAG, THE FLAG REMAINS IN A PROTECTIVE CASE WITH WINDOWS THAT DISPLAY A ROTATING SECTION OF THE FLAG.

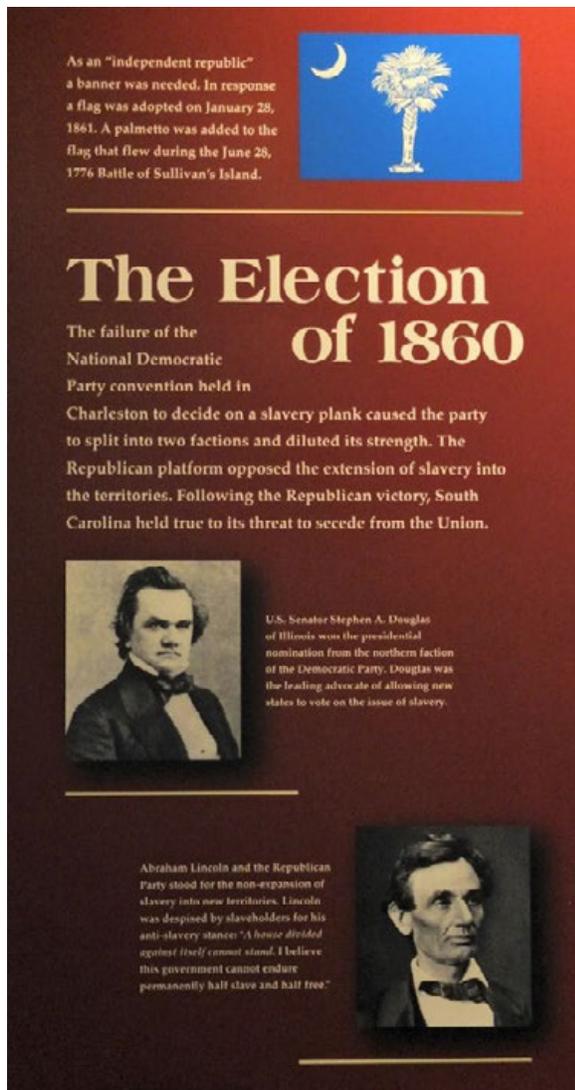


FIGURE 5.17 A LIBERTY SQUARE EXHIBIT ON THE ROLE OF THE ELECTION OF 1860 IN LEADING TO SECESSION.



FIGURE 5.18 A LIBERTY SQUARE EXHIBIT ON ANTEBELLUM CONFLICT AND THE ROLE OF SLAVERY AND WESTWARD EXPANSION.



FIGURE 5.19 THE PATH TOWARD THE VISITOR EDUCATION CENTER INCLUDES BANNERS ON EVENTS LEADING TO THE CIVIL WAR.

Liberty and union became the unifying theme of the site, as reflected in its name. The naming of the site itself illuminates the challenges the city and the National Park Service faced in their partnership. They could have named the site to mirror their joint efforts, with a name such as “Aquarium Park” or “Fort Sumter Park” that would make clear the connection with both the city and the National Park Service. But neither the mayor nor the National Park Service wanted the site’s name to incorporate their own entities. They wanted the title to be as broad and welcoming as possible.⁸⁹ Robert Rosen, a Charleston historian and lawyer, suggested “Liberty.” “Square” was used, rather than “Park,” because the National Park Service did not want visitors to be confused about what role the site plays within FOSU. The site, then, was dubbed “Liberty Square,” and *liberty* itself became a unifying theme connecting the different sites within FOSU and extending to the nearby Charles Pinckney National Historic Site.⁹⁰

From 2002 to 2003, the National Park Service, city of Charleston, and South Carolina Aquarium entered an agreement to construct a fountain at Liberty Square. On June 14, 2003, NPS Chief Historian Dwight T. Pitcaithley dedicated Liberty Square’s Septima Clark Fountain. Septima Poinsette Clark was a local educator and civil rights activist in the mid-twentieth century. She helped open and run the first citizenship schools, which offered education and services to help African Americans register to vote at a time when legal and cultural barriers disfranchised them. Clark also helped establish the citizenship school at the Penn Center in Beaufort; part of Penn Center has since been incorporated as part of Reconstruction Era National Historical Park.⁹¹

At the dedication of the fountain, Pitcaithley said on the occasion, “It is altogether fitting and proper that we dedicate a fountain in memory of a civil rights soldier of the twentieth century in a park dedicated to America’s Civil War of the nineteenth century. The connections between the

89. Riley, interview, at 0:39:40.

90. John Tucker, “Interpreting Slavery and Civil Rights at Fort Sumter National Monument,” *The George Wright Forum* 19, no. 4 (2002): 25; Riley, interview, at 0:39:40.

91. C. R. Andrews, Joseph P. Riley Jr., and John Tucker, Agreement Between the National Park Service and the City of Charleston and the South Carolina Aquarium Corporation,” 2002, Box 57, Folder 8, Park Archive; “Fountain Contract 1443C5010020903 FOSU-105DC, 2002–2003,” Box 58, Folder 22, Park Archive; Charles M. Payne, *I’ve Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 68–77, 166, 407; Katherine Mellen Charron, *Freedom’s Teacher: The Life of Septima Clark* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2009); Septima Poinsette Clark, *Ready from Within: Septima Clark and the Civil Rights Movement*, ed. Cynthia Stokes Brown (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990); Septima Poinsette Clark, *Echo in My Soul* (New York: Dutton, 1962); Orville Vernon Burton and Wilbur Cross, *Penn Center: A History Preserved* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2014), 78–80.

two are many and direct. The threads of history tightly bind the Civil War and this country's search for Civil Rights." Pitcaithley also spoke to the significance of a monument to Septima Clark on NPS land because the National Park Service, within the past decade, had "reaffirmed its responsibility as an educational institution and as a publically [*sic*] funded agency, one that needs to respond to and reflect *all* the people of the United States."⁹² In addition to furthering the theme of liberty at the site, the fountain also represented the National Park Service's commitment to expanding its narrative to include people of color, including African Americans, American Indians, and Japanese Americans.

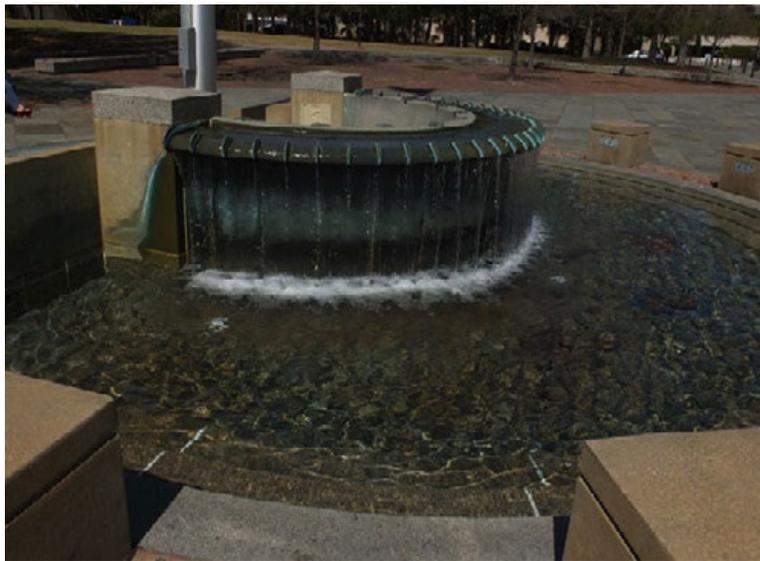


FIGURE 5.20 THE SEPTIMA CLARK FOUNTAIN.



FIGURE 5.21 A PLAQUE AT THE SEPTIMA CLARK FOUNTAIN.

92. Dwight T. Pitcaithley, "Dedication of Septima Clark Fountain, Liberty Square, Ft. Sumter, June 14, 2003," Folder Fountain Dedication, I-H-3019, unprocessed at Park Archive, emphasis in original.

INTERPRETATION

By the early 1990s, Charleston had become a premiere destination for tourism. In anticipation of greater visitation numbers, rangers began riding to and from the fort on the concessioner's ferries to maximize opportunities for interpretation. This was a practice that rangers had begun after Hurricane Hugo and would return to from time to time, especially during peak visitation times. The rangers' explanation on the ferries also expanded to incorporate more of the city's and surrounding area's local history beyond the battle site.⁹³ This program of having interpretive rangers ride on the ferries continues intermittently.

During fiscal year 1990, Fort Sumter staff "renewed efforts" (in the words of Park Ranger/Curator Deborah Osterberg) for the American Association of Museums accreditation. The process for AAM accreditation is time consuming and expensive. Museum curators see AAM accreditation as the gold standard, and it is out of reach for most smaller sites. The required annual budget alone is enough to disqualify many museums. The prestigious award would mark the gravity of FOSU's interpretation. Staff had been striving for this prestigious accreditation for years. Their continued goal of earning accreditation demonstrates their dedication to the highest standards for the site. As FOSU Cultural Resources Program Manager Sandy Pusey explained in 2001, "Fort Sumter National Monument continually strives to promote excellence in the fort's cultural and historical resources and museums." The park anticipated completing the process in two years but did not officially earn accreditation until 1994, one of only seven NPS sites at the time to become accredited.⁹⁴

FOSU staff also worked to make Fort Sumter and the museum more appealing to a wider audience. It coordinated this effort with a new exhibit and interpretation. During this time, the National Park Service greatly expanded its interpretation at Civil War battle sites. Until the mid-1990s, NPS sites avoided discussing the causes of the Civil War and instead focused on descriptions of battles and individual "honor." Attempts to avoid "ideology" were in themselves ideological; excluding the political climate around the topic of slavery in regards to the Civil War was itself a political decision.⁹⁵

In the 2000 Department of Interior appropriations bill, Congressman Jesse Jackson Jr. requested that sites "recognize and include in all of their public displays . . . the unique role that the institution of slavery played in causing the Civil War," but the bill did not appropriate additional funds for this mission. NPS Chief Historian Dwight T. Pitcaithley, and many historians throughout the organization as well as other staff members, agreed that it was past time to explicitly address slavery and the Civil War. In fact, even before this bill, superintendents had self-organized a meeting in Nashville in 1998; in other words, they initiated the meeting

93. Tucker, 1990 Superintendent Annual Report, 5.

94. Sandy Pusey to Julie Hart, January 8, 2001 "A-4219 Cooperating Associations (American Association of Museums), 1996–2006," Box 4, Folder 10, Park Archive; Deborah Osterberg to Toby Raphael, June 29, 1993, "Fort Sumter Flag Case Humidity Readings," Box 21, Folder 24, Park Archive; Childress, 1994–1995 Superintendent Annual Report.

95. Dwight T. Pitcaithley, "'A Cosmic Threat': The National Park Service Addresses the Causes of the American Civil War," in *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory*, ed. James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 169–86.

themselves rather than the meeting being a directive from WASO. At this meeting, they discussed interpretations of the Civil War and concluded battlefield interpretation must include the following: establish the site's particular place in the continuum of war; illuminate the social, economic, and cultural issues that caused or were affected by the war; illustrate the breadth of human experience during the period; and establish the relevance of the war to people today. FOSU Superintendent Tucker served as chairman of the Southeast Region's cluster—and it greatly informed how the new facilities at Liberty Square interpreted the Civil War and oriented visitors before their departure for Fort Sumter.⁹⁶

Congressman Jackson's language for the appropriations bill codified the direction that FOSU was already undertaking with its interpretation. The exhibits installed in the Fort Sumter museum between 1993 and 1995 gave the causes of the Civil War. Part of the plan for Fort Sumter suggested that "Slavery, Secession, and Civil War" was important content for the new exhibit, but a handwritten note on the outline stated, "While slavery was an issue, it was part of the larger picture of *state's rights*." The exhibit attempted to answer three questions: Why did the nation separate? What was the role of Fort Sumter in the Civil War? What do visitors to Fort Sumter see today? The interpretation of the new museum included scholarly context for the sectional crisis, which the earlier exhibits had lacked. The updated exhibit addressed slavery as the cause of the Civil War and the root of sectionalism and antebellum politics. It also discussed the site of Fort Sumter itself. In addition the museum had a section on African Americans' role in the Civil War, in particular the actions of the United States Colored Troops (USCT) 54th Massachusetts Infantry on Morris Island.⁹⁷ And in 1997, FOSU revised its brochure to begin, "On December 20, 1860, after decades of sectional conflict, the people of South Carolina responded to the election of the first Republican president, Abraham Lincoln, by voting unanimously in convention to secede from the Union." The new brochure went on to discuss the Declaration of Secession in context of protecting slavery.

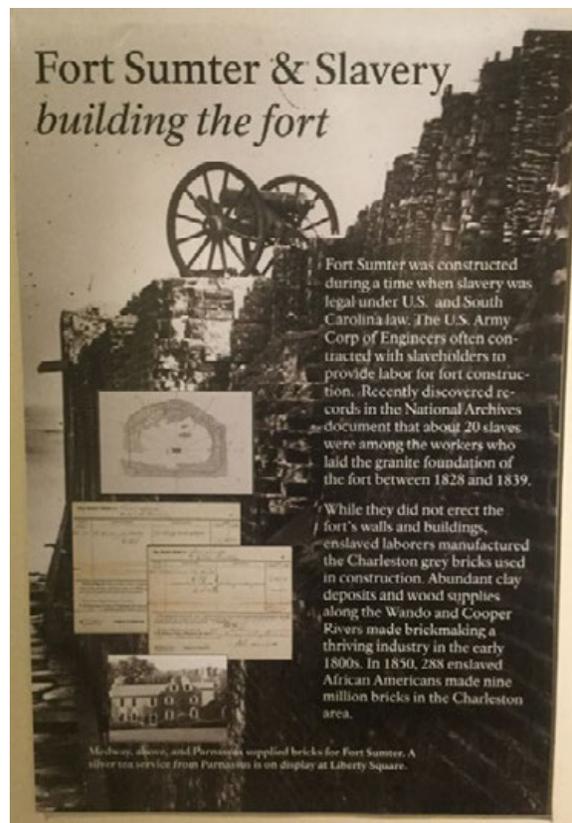


FIGURE 5.22 FORT SUMTER'S NEW MUSEUM DISCUSSED THE ROLE OF THE ENSLAVED IN BUILDING THE FORT.

96. Tucker, interview, at 1:35:00.

97. John Tucker to Chief of Museum Exhibits, HFC, October 15, 1993, Box 146, Folder 40, Park Archive; Tucker, "Interpreting Slavery and Civil Rights at Fort Sumter National Monument"; Pitcaithley, "Cosmic Threat," 249n19.



FIGURE 5.23 FORT SUMTER'S NEW MUSEUM CENTERED SLAVERY AS THE CAUSE OF THE CIVIL WAR.

FOSU made an even larger leap forward on this topic when it designed its visitor education center at Liberty Square. Plans for the exhibit had begun in 1999. There may be no more sensitive a topic in US history than slavery and race. A military historian and a social historian wrote and edited the text for the exhibit so it would satisfy different audiences. And although the writers knew it would date the exhibit to 2001, they used terms such as “enslaved Africans” and “free persons of color” for African Americans, terms in use by scholars and by African Americans themselves. The exhibit consists of six sections, all surrounding the centrality of slavery in the sectional conflict and the Civil War. Renowned South Carolina historians Walter Edgar (University of South Carolina),

who wrote the major modern textbook on the history of South Carolina and edited the encyclopedia of the history of South Carolina, and Bernard Powers (College of Charleston), one of the most respected African American historians and author of the well-regarded book *Black Charlestonians*, reviewed the text for the exhibit. Peer review is critical for scholarly works and is a mainstay of the academic world. The American Historical Association (AHA) has written about the role of review for museum exhibits. The AHA acknowledges the wide audiences that museums reach and thus the importance of the content and interpretation: “Exhibits should be grounded in scholarship, marked by intellectual integrity, and subjected to rigorous peer review.”⁹⁸ Having prominent state historians review the text ensured the exhibit reflected the most current scholarship on antebellum sectional conflict, secession, and war. Historians’ critique of the exhibit text again demonstrates FOSU’s commitment to excellence in its museums. In 2002, the Liberty Square exhibit won SERO’s “Keeper of the Light” Award. The Southeast Regional Office established this prestigious recognition in 2001 to honor exhibits that demonstrate exceptional interpretation and outreach to visitors.

NPS staff updated Fort Moultrie’s exhibits in early 2000. Plans for the museum layout and organization began in 2000, and the first “island” exhibit was installed in the museum in 2001.

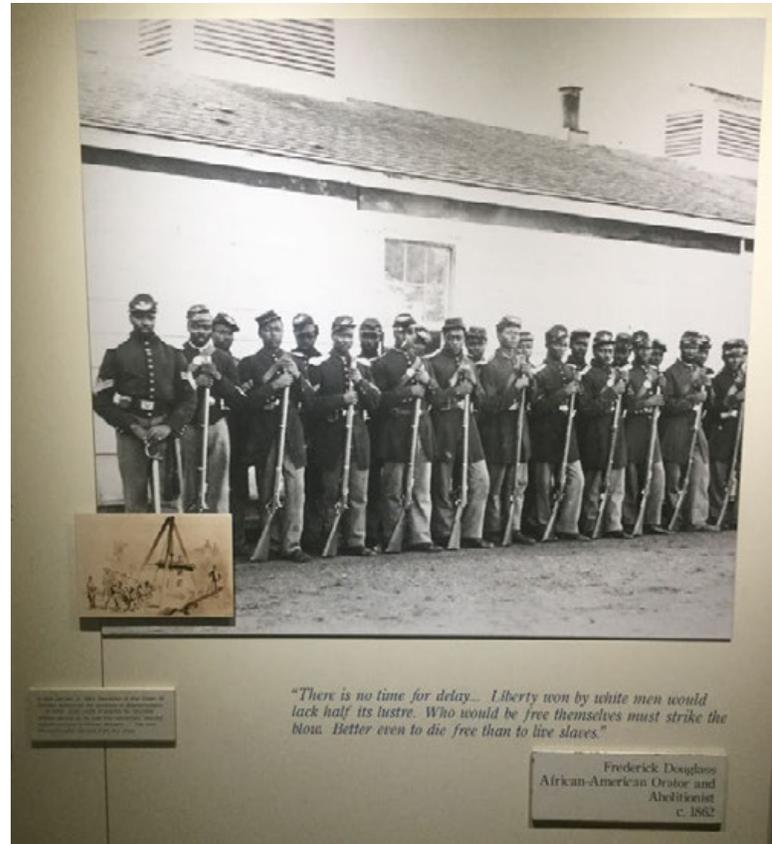


FIGURE 5.24 FORT SUMTER’S NEW MUSEUM’S EXHIBIT ON THE 54TH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT.

98. “Standards for Museum Exhibits Dealing with Historical Subjects (Updated 2017),” American Historical Association, accessed July 22, 2019, <https://www.historians.org/jobs-and-professional-development/statements-standards-and-guidelines-of-the-discipline/standards-for-museum-exhibits-dealing-with-historical-subjects>.

FOSU staff worked with Harpers Ferry Center to design an island for each major time period. The islands followed the contours of the architecture of the visitor center. Other island exhibits addressing Fort Moultrie’s role in the American Revolution and the Civil War were installed in 2002, as was a large painting of the Battle of Sullivan’s Island and a reproduction of a cannon. The Fort Moultrie HECF exhibit was also installed in 2001.⁹⁹ The island interpreting the Endicott period was installed in 2003, and the final island, on World War II, was installed in 2004. In 2005, staff at Fort Moultrie also included an exhibit on the Middle Passage and slavery at Sullivan’s Island. From December 2000 through January 2001, Fort Moultrie museum also displayed a temporary exhibit titled “Voices of the Civil War,” made possible through donations from Eastern National.¹⁰⁰

FOSU staff expanded Fort Moultrie’s interpretation and incorporated African American and Gullah history and women’s history into its exhibits as well as Seminole connections to the site. It commemorated Black History Month with temporary exhibits, had reenactors from the 54th



FIGURE 5.25 QUEEN QUET, CHIEFTESS OF THE GULLAH GEECHEE NATION, AT THE SULLIVAN’S ISLAND HISTORICAL MARKER, 1999 (COURTESY OF NPS).

Massachusetts, and hosted a living history program about the Emancipation Proclamation. In 1991 the park participated in the seventy-fifth anniversary of the National Park Service. The site also continued its traditions of Carolina Day and in the mid-1990s began its Junior Ranger programs. In 1999, FOSU also partnered in the process of adding a historic marker about the Pest House on Sullivan’s Island and honored contributions of enslaved Africans in the area. Sullivan’s Island has two other SC Historic Preservation markers: the Battle of Sullivan’s Island and the *H. L. Hunley*.

99. John Tucker, 2001 Superintendent Annual Report, n.d., Box 1, Folder 42, Park Archive.

100. Tucker, 2001 Superintendent Annual Report; Tucker, 2002 Superintendent Annual Report; John Tucker, 2003 Superintendent Annual Report, n.d., John Tucker, 2004 Superintendent Annual Report, n.d., all in Box 1, Folder 42, Park Archive. According to the 2004 Superintendent Annual Report, the exhibits had been delayed because various partner groups involved in planning the exhibits were unable “to bring all the wonderful ideas together.” The report predicted the exhibits would be installed in 2005, but subsequent superintendent reports do not verify the final date of installation.

Museum Exhibits

The Fort Sumter museum struggled with use of space—the site’s history is long and complex, but the museum itself only allows for limited text. FOSU contracted with EXPlus to conceptualize exhibits at Fort Sumter. The old museum had more artifacts and less text. The new exhibit was text heavy, and visitors expressed frustration over the limited time they had at the fort to read the text. The Fort Sumter museum exhibit had the challenge of crowd control. The vast majority of visitors arrived en masse by tour boat. Although not everyone would visit the museum at the same time, hundreds of bodies had approximately 20 minutes to view the exhibits. Therefore, “the interpretive story must be presented simply and exhibitry must be designed for easy and expedient traffic flow.” Fort Sumter planned to close its museum on November 1, 1993, renovate over the winter when visitation would be lowest, and complete the project by April 1, 1994.¹⁰¹

Fort Sumter also used this renovation as an opportunity to fix “a 30 year old design flaw in the HVAC.” The 1960s ductwork was not done correctly for the exhibit, and the new design would balance the ductwork, providing a better visitor experience and better conservation of the museum artifacts. Environmental challenges continued to plague the Fort Sumter museum. Charleston’s climate exacerbated the problem. The park closely monitored the humidity. FOSU employees were “aware of the problems posed by the hot and humid environment and have been working over the years to mitigate its effect on the collection.” In 1993, the park installed additional Smartloggers to read humidity levels; in addition to the one already measuring humidity for the 33-star US flag (storm flag) and the Palmetto Guard flag, one Smartlogger was installed at Charles Pinckney National Historic Site, and two at Fort Moultrie—one in the HECP room and one in curatorial storage.¹⁰²

During renovations, the fort also covered the stairs inside the museum so that all the exhibits were on the same level. They did this so the museum was more physically accessible. FOSU contracted with Malone Displays to construct new display cases and panels. The work fell behind schedule and had numerous avoidable errors. Fort Sumter’s museum reopened in May 1994, with the last of the new exhibits installed in 1995 and the museum rededicated in May 1995.¹⁰³

101. J. Scott Harmon to Ann Childress, April 13, 1992, and Ann Childress to Betty Jo Kaveney and Brett Beach, May 21, 1992, both Box 145, Folder 44, Park Archive; Ann R. Childress to Betty Jo Kaveney and Brett Beach, April 15, 1992, and John Tucker to Chief of Museum Exhibits, HFC, October 15, 1993, both in Box 146, Folder 40, Park Archive.

102. John Tucker to Deputy Regional Director, “Cyclic Program 94 and Reallocation of FY93,” June 8, 1993, Box 17, Folder 36, Park Archive; Ann Childress to Dale Durham, March 5, 1993, “Collection Condition Survey Draft,” Box 21, Folder 25, Park Archive; Deborah Osterberg to Toby Raphael, June 29, 1993, “Fort Sumter Flag Case Humidity Readings,” Box 21, Folder 24, all in Park Archive.

103. Dawn Davis, written comments to authors on earlier draft of administrative history, August 26, 2018; Ann Childress to Cindy Darr, August 29, 1994, and Ann R. Childress to Pat Malone, March 17, 1995, both in Box 146, Folder 41, Park Archive; Childress, 1994–1995 Superintendent Annual Report.

Special Programs

In 1993, Fort Sumter held a weekend program to commemorate the 130th anniversary of the assault on Battery Wagner on Morris Island and has since done numerous living history events on the 54th Massachusetts. The park hosted Dr. Steven Wise, the Director of the Parris Island Museum, who spoke at the Fort Moultrie Visitor Center on the topic of Battery Wagner and the Morris Island Campaign.¹⁰⁴



FIGURE 5.26 PICTURE OF MORRIS ISLAND, 1863 (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 5.27 PICTURE OF MORRIS ISLAND, 1863 (COURTESY OF NPS).

104. John Tucker to Steven Wise, May 17, 1993, Box 17, Folder 31, Park Archive; NPS, "130th Battery Wagner, 1993," Box 129, Folder 14, Park Archive.



FIGURE 5.28 PICTURE OF MICHAEL ALLEN REENACTING AS THE 54TH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT, UNDATED (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 5.29 PICTURE OF JOSEPH MCGILL REENACTING AS THE 54TH MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENT, UNDATED (COURTESY OF NPS).

FOSU continued to hold Carolina Day events on June 28 to commemorate the anniversary of the maritime battle where patriot forces on Sullivan’s Island defeated the British fleet. Through the 1990s, Carolina Day grew, with increasing community press and involvement. What was a one-and-a-half- or two-hour event in 1993 and 1994 grew to an all-day celebration all around Charleston.¹⁰⁵ The National Park Service still hosts a Carolina Day event every year at Fort Moultrie.

In 1996, 1999, and 2001, FOSU held living history programs to commemorate the 135th, 138th, and 140th anniversaries of the 1861 firing on Fort Sumter. These events took place at both forts and featured band concerts and reenactors providing “roving interpretation” on Civil War–era weapons, equipment, and uniforms, as well as women’s clothing and the role of women during the Civil War. For the 2001 event, reenactors had the rare opportunity to camp at Fort Sumter.¹⁰⁶

Other interpretive programs included the 225th Anniversary of the Revolutionary War in 1998 and in 2002, FOSU held a program titled “School of the Soldier.” This event featured musket firing demonstrations, drills, and information about camp life at Fort Moultrie during the Civil War. During “School of the Soldier,” FOSU flew the First National Confederate Flag over Fort Moultrie to add to the historical setting.¹⁰⁷

VISITOR SERVICES

The concessioner, Fort Sumter Tours, became the central focus of visitor services during this period. In addition to the building of the Liberty Square Visitor Education Center, the National Park Service and the concessioner also worked together on the departure site at Patriots Point and they became entangled in a drawn-out legal battle over franchise fees.



FIGURE 5.30 VISITORS BOARD THE FERRY AT PATRIOTS POINT (COURTESY OF NPS).

Ferry Departures and Patriots Point

With the impending opening of the Liberty Square Visitor Education Center planned for 2001, FOSU planned to consolidate all ferry departures from the new Liberty

105. John Tucker, “Carolina Day: The 217th Anniversary of the Battle of Sullivan’s Island,” Box 129, Folder 57, Park Archive; “Carolina Day, 1994,” Park Archive.

106. For more information on the interpretive programs in the 1990s and early 2000s, see the following folders: “1996 FOSU Program,” Box 129, Folder 20, “138th FOSU Program, April 12, 1999,” Box 129, Folder 15, “2001 FOSU Anniversary Program,” Box 129, Folder 25, Park Archive.

107. NPS, 2002 FOMO CW Encampment March 22–24, Box 129, Folder 28, Park Archive.

Square, as the 1998 General Management Plan laid out. At that time, more visitors to Fort Sumter departed from Patriots Point than from the City Marina. Patriots Point did not want the National Park Service to discontinue tour departures from its site, claiming it would lose business without Fort Sumter Tours. US Senator Strom Thurmond became involved in the ferry departure dispute



FIGURE 5.31 PATRIOTS POINT (COURTESY OF NPS).

between FOSU and Patriots Point. In a June 2001 letter to the Secretary of the Interior, Senator Thurmond presented his reasons that ferry service from Patriots Point should continue. He proposed a plan of a triangular voyage, from the visitor education center, to Fort Sumter, to Patriots Point, and back to the visitor education center. In a March 2000 meeting in which representatives from the National Park Service and from Patriots Point gathered in his office, Senator Thurmond believed that all parties had agreed to this plan. “Unfortunately,” he lamented, “the plan was unilaterally abandoned by the Park Service without so much as a telephone call to me.” Thurmond discounted FOSU concerns about extending the total time of the trip without extending the time spent at the fort.¹⁰⁸

An NPS draft of a response to Senator Thurmond’s letter refuted his claims to the ease and benefits of continuing to depart from Patriots Point. Using visitor feedback dating back to 1986, FOSU knew that visitors’ top criticisms of the trip were a need “for more schedule flexibility (82%), more time at the fort (65%), exhibits at the departure site (68%), and basic amenities consisting of sheltered areas, and an accessible departure facility.” The new visitor education center met these needs. Senator Thurmond’s suggested triangular route would add an additional hour to the total tour time, and that would be for travel rather than time at the fort, and the concessioner would need to add another ferry to make up the difference. All of this would come at a significant financial burden to FOSU. The National Park Service proposed utilizing the Charleston Harbor water taxi as a way to mitigate loss of business for Patriots Point. The water taxi would run between Liberty Square and Patriots Point, so Fort Sumter visitors could still visit Patriots Point, but all ferries would depart from Liberty Square.¹⁰⁹

An upcoming concessioner contract, scheduled for January 1, 2001, added an additional layer to the Patriots Point issue. Fort Sumter Tours had a long-term contract with Patriots Point, where Patriots Point leased a dock directly to Fort Sumter Tours. FOSU discovered “the exclusive lease covers all land at Patriot’s Point with the exception of the Hilton Marina.” FOSU saw this

108. NPS, General Management Plan Environmental Assessment, Fort Sumter National Monument draft, 1998, p.14; Senator Strom Thurmond to Gale A. Norton, June 20, 2001, Box 11, Folder 23, Park Archive.

109. NPS to Senator Strom Thurmond, draft letter, July 11, 2001, Box 11, Folder 23; NPS, Charleston Harbor Water Taxi, Enhancing Potential Benefits of a Charleston Harbor Water Taxi: A Summary of the Land-Side Design Workshop, June 2001, Box 38, Folder 2, HNTB, Charleston Harbor Water Taxi: Summary of System Characteristics and Recommendations, draft, 2003, Box 38, Folder 3, Park Archive. For more information on the proposed FOSU water taxi, see Box 8, Folders 1–7, Park Archive.

as unfair to potential concessioners who might apply for the contract when it came up for renewal. According to FOSU, “The NPS would not be permitted to use that Patriot’s Point dock unless the Service selected Fort Sumter Tours, Inc. for the new concession contract . . . This would be in violation of the 1998 Concession Act requiring the National Park Service to ensure open competition for new concession contracts.” With approval of the NPS director and the assistance of SERO, FOSU secured the Hilton Marina dock to keep competition for the concessioner contract fair.¹¹⁰ Fort Sumter Tours once again won the concessioner contract.

Ferry service from Liberty Square began on August 14, 2001. FOSU saw an immediate shift in visitation; before, most visitors departed from Patriots Point, but as soon as Liberty Square opened, the majority departed from the visitor center.¹¹¹ The 1998 General Management Plan had called for one consolidated departure point at Dockside II, what became Liberty Square, but in the end, FOSU kept two departure points: Liberty Square Visitor Education Center and Patriots Point. An amended GMP stated, “The need for a second ferry departure point is related to the many changes that have occurred in the Charleston area, including rapid growth and increased visitation to the park and other surrounding attractions.” The visitor education center provided the needed visitor services, such as interpretative exhibits and restrooms. Patriots Point did not (and still does not) have a strong NPS presence and FOSU interpretation to orient visitors before they depart for Fort Sumter. According to Ranger Dawn Davis, many people do not realize that Fort Sumter is part of the National Park Service until they arrive at the fort. FOSU left open the possibility of constructing a small facility at Patriots Point. FOSU held a series of public meetings about plans for its departure points in March 2003, and FOSU made the draft of the General Management Plan Amendment Environmental Assessment available to the public for feedback in November 2003. The majority of feedback supported having two departure points.¹¹²

Fort Sumter Tours and Franchise Fees

The 1965 National Park Service Systems Concessions Policy Act allows the Secretary of the Interior the right to raise franchise fees “at least every five years.” Fort Sumter Tours had signed its most recent contract in 1986, which would go through 2000. The 1986 contract stipulated a 4.25 percent franchise fee, but using the provision in the Concessions Policy Act, in 1991, the National Park Service raised the franchise fee to 12 percent.¹¹³

Fort Sumter Tours refused the fee hike, and rather than negotiate, sued the National Park Service in 1993. A federal judge upheld the new fee, as did the Fourth Circuit Court. In 1995, the US Supreme Court denied Fort Sumter Tours’s petition for writ of certiorari. Despite losing its legal case, the company still did not pay the new franchise fee to FOSU. Fort Sumter Tours

110. Unknown author to Jo [incomplete name], letter, February 14, 2005, Box 70, Folder 20, Park Archive; NPS to Thurmond, draft letter, July 11, 2001.

111. For example, in 2000, of visitors who left from the city marina and Patriots Point, 50.5 percent left from Patriots Point and 49.5 percent left from the city marina. In 2002 only 40 percent left from Patriots Point and 60 percent left from Liberty Square. In 2003, 37 percent left from Patriots Point and 63 percent left from Liberty Square. Dawn Davis, email message to authors, March 11, 2019.

112. Dawn Davis, written comments to authors on earlier draft of administrative history, May 16, 2019; NPS, “General Management Plan Amendment/Environmental Assessment Completed,” *Fort Sumter Sentinel*, Vol. 1 no. 2, [2003 or 2004], and NPS, “Meetings--Opportunity for Input,” *Fort Sumter Sentinel*, Vol. 1 no. 1, n.d., both in Box 71, Folder 28, Park Archive.

113. “Supreme Court refuses Fort Sumter case,” *Post and Courier*, May 29, 1996.

attempted to negotiate a settlement with FOSU, which the National Park Service decided “would not be in the interests of the United States.” By first quarter 1998, Fort Sumter Tours owed FOSU over \$1.6 million in franchise fees, dating back to June 1991. FOSU’s relationship with the concessioner was extremely tense during this time. As the franchise fee dispute dragged out, FOSU extended Fort Sumter Tours contract in 2001, 2002, 2003, and 2004; the dispute was settled in 2003.¹¹⁴

A Senate Budget Reconciliation Bill proposed that Fort Sumter Tours’s backlog of franchise fees pay for FOSU’s much-needed dock and Liberty Square Visitor Education Center, which FOSU did not have funds for in its operating costs. The backlog of fees roughly equaled the estimated cost of constructing the facilities. Typically, franchise fees could be used “for all government purposes,” but due to Fort Sumter’s immediate and long-overdue need for its own ferry boat departure point, “the National Park Service desires congressional approval to exclusively utilize such monies due and to become due, to help defray the cost of such construction.”¹¹⁵ The Congressional Record does not show this language made it into any bills, but FOSU surely relied on the backlog of fees to help fund development at Liberty Square.

US COAST GUARD HISTORIC DISTRICT

In 1990, the US Coast Guard Historic District became official property of the National Park Service. Following a decade-long dispute with the Town of Sullivan’s Island over a reverter clause in the original nineteenth-century legislation, FOSU had leased the property since the 1970s. FOSU used the house for seasonal quarters and as a permanent apartment for a ranger and the garage as maintenance facilities. The legislation that authorized the purchase of the land for Liberty Square also authorized the swap of the federal land on Sullivan’s Island from the Coast Guard to the National Park Service. The lighthouse, however, remained active and under the jurisdiction of the Coast Guard, and so was not part of the land swap and remained the property of the Coast Guard.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS AND PARTNERSHIPS

Overall, it seems that relations with the Town of Sullivan’s Island had improved greatly since the 1970s. One point of contention remained, however. In the 1990s with several decades of population growth, real estate in metro Charleston was booming. The Town of Sullivan’s Island owned Battery Logan, but the National Park Service had an easement on the property in perpetuity. In 1992, the town wanted to sell the land but the easement lowered the value. The National Park Service requested that the town transfer the land administratively to FOSU, but the town was not interested in that transaction. This issue continued for at least ten years; it was ongoing in 2002, at which time it was subsumed by the continuing project of establishing “Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park.” Despite continual sponsorship from South Carolina senators—initially Strom Thurmond in 2002 and most recently Tim Scott in 2019—the

114. “Supreme Court refuses Fort Sumter case”; John H. Douglas to Marvin D. Infinger, July 1, 1996, Box 11, Folder 24, Park Archive; NPS, C3825 Franchise Fee Underpayment--Monthly Reports, 1996–1997, Box 11, Folder 25, Park Archive; Unknown author to Jo [incomplete name], letter, February 14, 2005.

115. Senate Budget Reconciliation Bill, Department of the Interior, Box 11, Folder 24, Park Archive.

Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park Act had not passed Congress. Redesignating Fort Sumter National Monument as a Historical Park would elevate its status, make it more visible to the public, and could help it secure funding.¹¹⁶

Former FOSU employee Carlin Timmons is a longtime resident of Sullivan’s Island. In an oral history interview, she spoke about the changes that the island has seen over the decades. Newer residents are razing smaller and older island bungalows and replacing with larger homes. Along those lines, in 1999 an individual began construction on some private property adjacent to Fort Moultrie. Superintendent John Tucker described the situation in an oral history interview: “The first floor was level with the parapet of Fort Moultrie, and so if you walked along Fort Moultrie, you could look right into their living room.” The National Park Service could not buy the land at market value, so to cover the \$105,000 difference, a new not-for-profit formed: Fort Sumter–Fort Moultrie Historical Trust. With the help of the Trust for Public Lands, the Fort Sumter–Fort Moultrie Historic Trust bought the lot for FOSU. The Trust for Public Lands transferred the property to the National Park Service in January 2000. The new trust’s stated purposes also included less exigent goals, such as general fundraising and working for enabling legislation for Fort Moultrie discussed above. Despite ongoing goals, after FOSU acquired the property, the trust went dormant for several years.¹¹⁷ It became active again in the years leading up to the Civil War Sesquicentennial, which is discussed in the next chapter.

GENERAL MANAGEMENT ISSUES

FOSU had the unique opportunity to participate in the reraising of the Civil War submarine, the *H. L. Hunley*. FOSU staff had interpreted the *Hunley*, and when divers discovered the site of the submarine, FOSU and the National Park Service coordinated and provided support for the recovery efforts. News of the finding and reraising of the submarine circulated, and spectators crowded Charleston Harbor to view the event. In addition to this special event, FOSU also conducted a Historic Structure Assessment Report about Battery Huger and its effects on the island and the fort, implemented a fee demonstration program at Fort Moultrie, built a new structure to house curatorial, provided administration for Moores Creek National Battlefield (MOCR), and participated in the Gullah Geechee Low Country Special Resource Study.

116. NPS, New legislation establishing Fort Sumter–Fort Moultrie National Historic Park briefing statement, 2006, Box 2, Folder 10, Park Archive. Senator Strom Thurmond first introduced redesignating FOSU as Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park in 2002. More recently, Senator Tim Scott took up the cause. As we explained in the Introduction, the legislation finally passed in spring 2019 and the name change took effect in the final stages of this administrative history. Emily Williams, “Congressional Bill Would Give 2 SC Historic Sites National Park Status,” *Post and Courier*, February 18, 2019.

117. Carlin Timmons, interview by Megan Shockley and Beatrice Burton, Sullivan’s Island, May 25, 2018; Tucker, interview, at 1:58:45; Fort Sumter–Fort Moultrie Historical Trust, “The Community Foundation (TCF) Application for Fiscal Sponsorship,” draft [1999 or 2000], Box 1, Folder 16, Park Archive; NPS, New Legislation Establishing Fort Sumter–Fort Moultrie National Historic Park briefing statement; Deed, Box 28, Folder 8, Park Archive; John Tucker to Internal Revenue Service, April 6, 2006, Box 1, Folder 18, Park Archive.

The H. L. Hunley

A major project that FOSU embarked on during this time was the reraising of the *H. L. Hunley*. The Civil War submarine sank on February 17, 1864, after it hit and sank the USS *Housatonic*, one of the warships blockading Charleston Harbor. The submarine rammed the warship and set off a bomb, killing five Federal sailors and earning its place in history as the first submarine to sink a warship. The bomb may have detonated before the *Hunley* could escape, however, because the sub sank, killing its eight-person crew.¹¹⁸ Its exact location remained a mystery for 131 years.¹¹⁹ In May 1995, a diver named Harry Percorelli discovered the location of the sunken submarine. A private crew worked to resurrect the *Hunley*, and the National Park Service assisted in the efforts.¹²⁰



FIGURE 5.32 CROWDS GATHERED TO WATCH THE RERAISING OF THE H. L. HUNLEY WITH FORT SUMTER IN THE BACKGROUND (COURTESY OF NPS).



FIGURE 5.33 THE *H. L. HUNLEY* EMERGED FROM THE WATER (COURTESY OF NPS).

118. Edwin C. Bearss, "Statement of Edwin C. Bearss," July 27, 1995, in Dawn Davis Hunley papers, Hunley Testimony Ed Bearss Folder, FOSU headquarters; Schuyler Kropf, "Hunley will be slow to rise," *Post and Courier*, May 12, 1995.

119. This was actually the third time the *Hunley* had sunk. In August 1863, the submarine sank due to an inexperienced crew and human error. It sank again in October 1863 during diving practice, this time under the command of the manufacturer, Horace L. Hunley, himself.

120. In January 1995, renowned diver Clive Cussler discovered the sub some distance from the *Housatonic's* site. He explained to a crowd at the Charleston Museum, "I think they paddled like hell and just didn't make it." He continued, "The snorkel was up so they were trying to get air in." After finding the location, Cussler's team worked to uncover the *Hunley* from under several feet of silt; they finally spotted the actual submarine on May 1, 1995. Schuyler Kropf, "Hunley will be slow to rise," *Post and Courier*, May 12, 1995.



FIGURE 5.34 A PICTURE OF THE *H. L. HUNLEY* SUBMERGED IN THE HARBOR (COURTESY OF NPS).

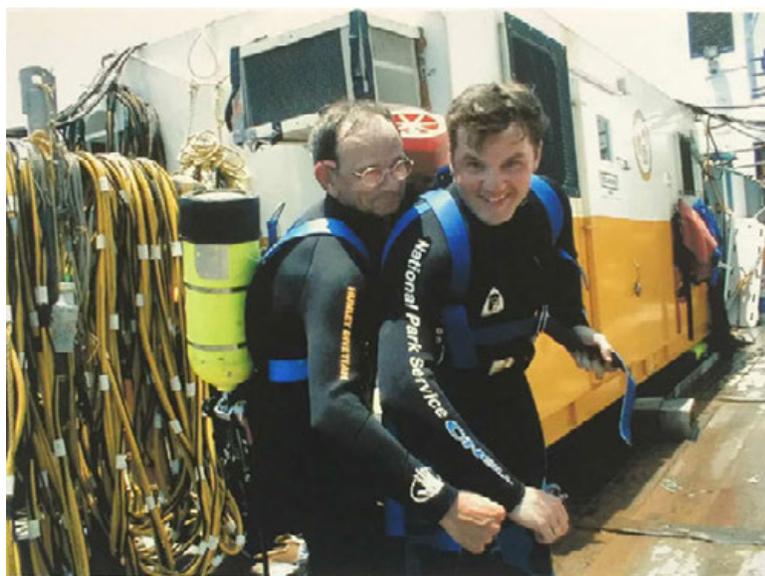


FIGURE 5.35 THE NPS WORKED WITH A PRIVATE DIVE TEAM TO RERAISE THE *H. L. HUNLEY*. PICTURE (LEFT) COMMANDER DAVID WHALL (US NAVY, RETIRED) AND (RIGHT) BRETT SEYMOUR (SCRU DIVER AND UNDERWATER PHOTOGRAPHER) (COURTESY OF NPS).

The *Hunley* found, Alabama and South Carolina disputed which state owned the uncovered submarine. Alabama claimed it should have possession because the sub was manufactured in Mobile in 1863. South Carolina claimed possession because the submarine's career and final resting place were off the coast in Charleston.¹²¹ The states' disagreement proved a moot point in the end.

The US Department of the Interior claimed the sub was federal property; it was a wartime seizure of property from the former Confederate States, and perhaps lay outside South Carolina's underwater property line, rendering the sub as federal property. But the Department of the Interior's Director Bruce Babbitt believed the *Hunley* should reside in Charleston when resurrected. NPS Historian Ed Bearss's testimony offered several reasons the submarine belonged to the federal government, including the cost, protections, and care of recovery, and that the federal government was better suited to preserve the submarine. His testimony suggested establishing a federal oversight committee. The Department of the Interior would lead the committee and would include employees from the National Park Service, the US Navy, the

121. Steve Piacente, "Alabama, S.C. wrangle over Hunley," Post and Courier, August 28, 1995. As it turned out, the site of the Hunley was actually in US territorial waters just outside the boundary of Charleston. See Edwin C. Bearss, "Summary of Testimony Recommendation for H.R. 1741," July 27, 1995, copy in Dawn Davis Hunley papers, Hunley Testimony Ed Bearss Folder, FOSU headquarters.

National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration, and the GSA. The committee would also rely on experts in history, archeology, and scientific artifact conservation.¹²²

The National Park Service and in particular Fort Moultrie Visitor Center served as a central point for *Hunley* recovery. Crews working on recovery had used Fort Moultrie's dock. August 8, 2000, was the day of the recovery. FOSU boat *Sumter's Pride* was present with NPS staff, including Lead Ranger Dawn Davis, boat captains David and Billy Richardson, and Park Historian Rick Hatcher. *Sumter's Pride* also provided transport to Sullivan's Island's mayor and members of the town council. The concessioner's boat, *Spirit of Charleston*, was also near the site of recovery. An estimated five thousand people gathered at Fort Moultrie, tens of thousands from shorelines around the harbor, and approximately three thousand on boats in the harbor to watch. FOSU brought in an incident team because staff anticipated high numbers of spectators for the event. The *H. L. Hunley* successfully resurrected from the water, the National Park Service signed custody of the submarine over to the US Navy.¹²³

Early plans for the resurrected *Hunley* called for its display at the Charleston Museum and estimated that restoration would take until 2011; visitors would be able to watch the restoration progress in a new *Hunley* wing of the museum.¹²⁴ Instead the *Hunley* now has its own museum located in North Charleston.

In 1998, a FOSU ranger compiled a site bulletin on the *Hunley* as the previous years' discovery and recovery efforts piqued visitors' interests. In 2001, FOSU installed the wayside about the *Hunley* on a walkway behind Fort Moultrie. Eastern National, which saw continual increase in sales, paid for a traveling exhibit on the *Hunley*.¹²⁵



FIGURE 5.36 THE NUT AND BOLT FROM THE *HUNLEY*'S SPAR ASSEMBLY (COURTESY OF NPS).

122. Steve Piacente, "Alabama, S.C. Wrangle over Hunley," *Charleston Post and Courier*, August 28, 1995; Tony Bartelme and Schuyler Kropf, "Battle for the Hunley: Bad Blood, Thin Egos May Torpedo Salvage," *Charleston Post and Courier*, August 17, 1995; Bearss, "Statement of Testimony Recommendation."

123. John Tucker, "Superintendent's Annual Narrative Report for Fort Sumter National Monument and Charles Pinckney National Historic Site, FY 2000," February 12, 2001, Box 1, Folder 42, Park Archive; Dawn Davis, written comments to authors on earlier draft of administrative history, May 16, 2019; Friends of the Hunley, phone call with Beatrice Burton to clarify custody of H.L. Hunley, July 2019.

124. Schuyler Kropf, "Hunley May Rise Again in 2001," *Post and Courier*, November 7, 1998.

125. Dawn Hammer (Davis) to Melinda Collier, August 25, 1998, in "Hunley Copyright permissions" file, and "H. L. Hunley site bulletin," n.d., in Dawn Davis Hunley papers, Hunley Site Bulletin Folder, FOSU headquarters; Tucker, 1999 Superintendent Annual

Battery Huger

The effects of Battery Huger on Fort Sumter and the island increasingly came under scrutiny in the 1990s. In 1990, FOSU staff investigated the structural integrity of the fort. In particular, they wanted to know if Battery Huger was contributing to cracks in casements and if it was possible to safely remove Battery Huger from Fort Sumter. A 1992 *Historic Structure Assessment Report* stated, “the fort was, and is, sinking,” and Battery Huger may be contributing. Fort Sumter staff continued to monitor, and at times debate, Battery Huger and its effect on the island and the fort. The studies that followed found that removing Battery Huger would have no negative effects on the fort, but that “the demolition method used to demolish Battery Huger should, however, be selected with care so as to cause as little vibration as possible” to protect Fort Sumter. In 1992, the estimated cost of removal was \$4.3 million.¹²⁶

Concerns over Huger and the island’s foundation were not new. Studies in 1895, before the fortification’s construction, indicated that the rock mole foundation could not support such a structure; the ground was too unstable. With an impending war with Spain on the horizon, the US Army built the concrete structure anyway. They did take precautions in light of the earlier studies about the foundation. Rather than typical pile footers, which would not support the weight of the structure, “Huger was floated upon a series of I-Beams laid in a cross grid pattern, then held in place by concrete” as an attempt to mitigate its effect on the island.¹²⁷

In 1931, a report by the Harbor Defense Commanders said that Battery Huger’s “increased weight had evidently caused the island to settle to such a degree that the base rings were seriously out of level.”¹²⁸ Early plans for FOSU included the removal of Battery Huger, but the fortification had become an integral part of the fort. Now the National Park Service had to wrestle with its deleterious effects on Fort Sumter.

Fee Demonstration Program

In the fall of 1996, the National Park Service chose FOSU as a proposed site for a fee demonstration program. In addition to the concessioner fee, visitors to the fort would pay an additional fee, of which 80 percent would stay in FOSU and pay for maintenance, staffing, and interpretive projects; the other 20 percent would go to a national fund to be dispersed as needed. Initial proposed fees were quite modest, one dollar for adults and 50 cents for children. Other NPS sites, such as Kenai Fjords National Park in Alaska, were scheduled to increase much steeper fees. Despite the low fee that FOSU proposed, the costs already associated with

Report.

126. US Army Corps of Engineers, “Proposal for Geotechnical Investigations: Removal of Battery Huger, Fort Sumter National Monument,” 1991, “D18 Removal of Battery Huger Corps/Engineers Plans/Studies, 1973–1992” folder, unprocessed at Park Archive; Clark and Wylie, Fort Sumter Historic Structure Assessment Report, p. III.02–21; Lincoln C. Blake to John Tucker, October 26, 1992, D18 Removal of Battery Huger Corps/Engineers Plans/Studies, 1973–1992 folder, unprocessed at Park Archive; US Army Corps of Engineers, “Battery Huger Foundation Investigation Report of Investigation and Analysis,” September 1, 1992, pp. 1, 7, “Foundation Investigation—Battery Huger” file, unprocessed at Park Archive.

127. Clark and Wylie, Fort Sumter Historic Structure Assessment Report, pp. III.01–17–18. In An Overview of the Events at Fort Sumter, Ferguson explains “a mole resembles an atoll in that it is a donut-shaped mass of stone with an opening to allow light ships to pass into the interior to supply materials.” Ferguson, Historic American Buildings Survey, Fort Sumter National Monument, Charleston Vicinity, South Carolina, Written Historical Report, p. 6.

128. *Ibid.*, p. III.02–14.

accessing the fort, in addition to the logistics regarding the collection of the fee, which the concessioner would collect with ferry tickets, caused consternation among FOSU, Fort Sumter Tours, and the public.¹²⁹

Superintendent Tucker suggested that as an alternative to introducing a fee to admission to Fort Sumter, the National Park Service instead charge a fee to Fort Moultrie, which unlike Fort Sumter, had no fees already associated with a visit to the site. This would allow Fort Moultrie to charge a higher fee than would be feasible for Fort Sumter “without placing an undue burden on the park visitor.” Fort Moultrie would collect two dollars for adults and one dollar for children, again a relatively modest fee compared to other NPS sites as well as other local Charleston attractions.¹³⁰

Although Fort Moultrie’s fee was less complicated than Fort Sumter’s would have been, there were still challenges. One challenge was that Fort Moultrie is easily accessible and visitors can bypass admission fees; the requirements on staff and VIPs to collect the fees proved a financial burden on the park. The first year, Fort Moultrie collected the fee in the fort itself, but the site did not generate enough income to support collecting it in the fort. In 2003, FOSU requested that Eastern National begin collecting the fee as a way to alleviate the burden on FOSU, but according to Ranger Dawn Davis, this arrangement never materialized. With fee collection in the visitor center, it is still easy for visitors not to pay to access the fort. The new fee demonstration also at times caused public confusion. For example, the National Park Service offers various passes, including the Golden Age Passport, which exempts passholders from an entrance fee. Fort Moultrie’s fee is not an entrance fee, however; it is a use fee. Visitors with the Golden Age Passport expected not to pay the demonstration fee and voiced frustration when Fort Moultrie required payment.¹³¹

With the Fort Sumter Tours contract up for renewal in 2001, FOSU planned to include a one-dollar user fee for Fort Sumter and to eliminate the fee at Fort Moultrie, stating “This has been the plan since becoming a fee demo park,” and that the Fort Moultrie fee “barely covers the collection of the fee.” As discussed earlier in this chapter, the concessioner contract was repeatedly extended during the franchise fee dispute. It seems this plan never took effect: Fort Sumter still does not have a user fee and Fort Moultrie still does.¹³²

129. Memorandum from John Tucker to Jerry Belson, “Fee Demonstration Program,” April 29, 1997, and George E. Campsen Jr. to John Tucker, “Re: Entrance Fees,” February 3, 1997, both in Box 19, Folder 44, Park Archive; Steve Piacente, “U.S. will set \$1 fee to tour Fort Sumter,” *The Post and Courier*, April 8, 1997.

130. Memorandum from Ann Childress to Interpretation and Visitors Services Staff FOSU/CHPI, “Fee Demo Program,” June 20, 1997, and memorandum from John Tucker to Jerry Belson, “Fee Demonstration Program,” April 29, 1997, both in Box 19, Folder 44, Park Archive. This was an increase from the initial proposed fee of 50 cents per child.

131. John Tucker to Chelsey Moroz, June 26, 2003, Box 19, Folder 25, Park Archive; Dawn Davis, written comments to authors on earlier draft of administrative history, May 16, 2019; Eldon H. Sund to Kay Bailey Hutchinson, January 9, 1999, and Maureen Finnerty to Kay Bailey Hutchinson, June 28, 1999, Box 19, Folder 45, Park Archive.

132. Email message from Dawn Hammer Davis to Bill Sturgeon, “2001 Recreation Use Fee Rate Review,” n.d., Box 19, Folder 45, Park Archive; “Fees and Passes—Fort Sumter National Monument,” National Park Service, last modified November 17, 2017, <http://www.nps.gov/fosu/planyourvisit/fees.htm>.

Curatorial

In 1990, Congress established Charles Pinckney National Historic Site (CHPI), which fell under the same administration as FOSU. In the 1990s, FOSU and CHPI built a new structure to store both parks' museum collections and records. Before the construction of a designated curatorial facility, staff kept artifacts at the Fort Moultrie Visitor Center. In 1991 and 1992, staff moved its collections in Construction 230 on Sullivan's Island. Construction 230 was problematic, however, leaving the collection vulnerable to flooding and hurricanes. Furthermore, Construction 230 did not initially have an HVAC system, and even after staff created an air conditioned space, the humid coastal conditions could cause deterioration of the collections stored there. Constructing a new facility at CHPI allowed more room for the collections, offered a workspace for curatorial, and provided a proper climate controlled environment. The new curatorial building was completed in 1996.¹³³

Moore's Creek National Battlefield

Moore's Creek National Battlefield is located in Currie, North Carolina, about three and a half hours north of Fort Sumter. In 1994, the National Park Service moved administration of MOCR under the administration of FOSU. From December 1994 through January 1998, John Tucker served as superintendent for FOSU, CHPI, and MOCR. In 1998, longtime FOSU employee Ann Childress became the on-site superintendent for MOCR, although the administration remained part of FOSU.¹³⁴

Gullah Geechee Low Country Special Resource Study

Another important partnership emerged during this time. FOSU had done much to broaden its interpretation and narrative to include African American experiences. In 2000, FOSU and CHPI participated in a Congress-mandated study of Gullah Geechee Low Country Special Resource Study (SRS).¹³⁵ This study sought community input from African American communities along the coasts of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida to determine if the Gullah culture was worth preserving and what the National Park Service's role in preservation should be. In 2002, FOSU Superintendent Tucker attended a Gullah Culture SRS Alternative Workshop. He worked with Beaufort Committee on Reconstruction SRS Planning, a partner member of the International African American Museum. (US Senator Hollings from South Carolina introduced legislation for the Reconstruction SRS in 2002, but the bill did not pass.¹³⁶) This relationship would continue as the National Park Service worked on the Gullah Geechee Heritage Area.

133. Memorandum from Deborah Osterberg to Toby Raphael, "Fort Sumter Flag Case Humidity Readings," June 29, 1993, Box 21, Folder 24, Park Archive; John Tucker to Regional Curator, "Curatorial Storage," June 14, 1993, Box 17, Folder 36, Park Archive.

134. Michael A. Capps and Steven A. Davis, "Appendix 2: Moore's Creek NMP/NB Superintendents," in Moore's Creek National Battlefield: An Administrative History (Atlanta, GA: National Park Service, June 1999), accessed August 14, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/mocr/adhi_appendix2.htm.

135. Bob Dodson to Glenda Simmons-Jenkins, March 18, 2008, Box 2, Folder 25, Park Archive.

136. National Reconstruction Study Area Act of 2002, S.2388, 107th Cong. (2002).

CONCLUSION

Through the 1990s and into the beginning of the new century, FOSU added new areas, expanded interpretation, and formed partnerships that widened the audience and reach of the park. Staff built or rebuilt museums at Fort Moultrie, Fort Sumter, and Liberty Square, and incorporated the US Coast Guard Historic District. FOSU staff oversaw the development and opening of the new Charles Pinckney National Historic Site and helped pave the way for the forthcoming Reconstruction Era National Historical Park and the Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor. Interpretive programs, such as Carolina Day and the commemoration of the 1861 firing on Fort Sumter, continued as traditions, and FOSU staff was integral to the unique endeavor of the discovery and recovery of the *H. L. Hunley*. FOSU was poised to enter the twenty-first century.

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CHAPTER SIX
CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY,
2003-2019

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CHAPTER 6: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY 2003–2019

OVERVIEW

This chapter focuses on the first decades of the twenty-first century. The National Park Service commemorated the Civil War Sesquicentennial, celebrated the NPS centennial, and began planning the American Revolution Sestercentennial. Such events provide the National Park Service and FOSU an opportunity to consider its messages and its audience. Congress finally passed legislation in 2019 to redesignate the site Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park, providing another opportunity for FOSU to hone its message and widen its audience. The National Park Service also acquired the Charleston Light, more commonly known as the Sullivan’s Island Lighthouse, in this period. Finally, FOSU has to face the challenges of the twenty-first century, but these new challenges are often new iterations of old challenges for which the site’s history has prepared it.

INTERPRETATION

FOSU interpretation worked on additional museum exhibits. Fort Moultrie opened its African Passage exhibit in 2009, and it included the Middle Passage and slavery in Sullivan’s Island and Charleston.¹ It earned SERO’s “Keeper of the Light Award,” and US Congressman James Clyburn, from South Carolina, offered a tribute to the African Passages Exhibit in Congress.² The previous decade’s expanded interpretation and new museum exhibits on slavery and the Civil War positioned FOSU to commemorate the Civil War Sesquicentennial without the “trouble” of the centennial commemoration.³

1. NPS, “[FOMO] Maintenance Manual Fort Moultrie—African Passages Exhibit, 2009,” 2009, Box 125, Folders 33–35, Park Archive.

2. Bob Dodson, 2009 Superintendent Annual Report, n.d., Box 2, Folder 1, Park Archive; 111 Cong Record. E727 (March 19, 2009) (statement of Congressman Clyburn).

3. Hermina Glass-Avery, “The War of Jubilee: Tell Our Story and We Will Come: Assessing African American Attitudes toward the Civil War,” prepared for Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park, 2011; Robert K. Sutton, “Holding the High Ground: Interpreting the Civil War in National Parks,” *The George Wright Forum* 25, no. 3 (2008): 47–57; Olivia Williams Black, “The 150-Year War: The Struggle to Create and Control Civil War Memory at Fort Sumter National Monument,” *The Public Historian* 38, no. 4 (November 1, 2016): 149–66; Anne Mitchell Whisnant et al., *Imperiled Promise: The State of History in the National Park Service* (Bloomington, IN: Organization of American Historians, 2011).



FIGURE 6.1 AFRICAN PASSAGES EXHIBIT AT FORT MOULTRIE.

A couple of months after the end of the sesquicentennial celebration, FOSU and the National Park Service had to contend with a local and national tragedy. A massacre occurred in the historic Emanuel AME Church. Following the shooting, Fort Sumter relocated the five historic flags—the 33-star U.S. flag, 35-star U.S. flag, the first and second national Confederate flags, and the South Carolina state flag—from the top of the fort to the lower level, leaving only the current US flag flying above the fort. In August 2018, Fort Sumter museum unveiled a new exhibit for the flags. The path to this decision to relocate the historical flags began at the local level of Fort Sumter National Monument and changed how all Civil War battlefield sites display Confederate flags.



FIGURE 6.2 THE MIDDLE PASSAGE SECTION OF THE AFRICAN PASSAGES EXHIBIT AT FORT MOULTRIE.

South Carolina Flag Day, January 28, 2011

On January 28, 1861, following South Carolina's secession from the United States, the state officially adopted its current state flag. In 2010, the South Carolina legislature passed a resolution establishing January 28, 2011, as "South Carolina Flag Day." The flag added the palmetto tree to the eighteenth-century version that Colonel Moultrie designed for the 2nd South Carolina Regiment which featured the militia's crescent emblem on an indigo background. The state still uses the 1861 flag, and on its 150th anniversary, the State's resolution

was also “to request the National Park Service to conduct appropriate interpretive and educational events at the Fort Moultrie National Monument, and to encourage public and private institutions to participate.”⁴ The State of South Carolina had approached FOSU to interpret the flag. This exchange provides an example of the interpretive role FOSU plays in South Carolina and highlights the state and community relations.

Focus on African American Experience

Fort Moultrie exhibits on the Middle Passage and slavery at Sullivan’s Island and Charleston continued to experience “false starts.” Fort Moultrie moved ahead with the slavery exhibit despite complications and delays from the partnered group (the Committee of Descendants, led by Ed Ball, author of *Slaves in the Family*). The park planned on having the Middle Passage exhibit installed in 2007, although completion was delayed until 2009. Furthermore, FOSU continued to expand its interpretation and events focusing on African American experiences. February’s celebration of Black History Month expanded to include March and annual Gullah Heritage programs at Charles Pinckney National Historic Site, and Fort Sumter continued interpreting Morris Island, the 54th Massachusetts and Battery Wagner, and Robert Smalls, including trips for school children.⁵

In July 2008, FOSU partnered with the Toni Morrison Society and the College of Charleston to install a Morrison “Bench by the Road” in the picnic area of Fort Moultrie. The Bench by the Road project chooses sites of historically “significant moments, individuals, and locations” for the African Diaspora. In 1989, Morrison, a renowned African American author, observed a lack of monuments that honored the enslaved: “There is no place you or I can go, to think about or not think about, to summon the presences of, or recollect the absences of slaves . . . There is no suitable memorial, or plaque, or wreath, or park, or skyscraper lobby.” In the two decades since Morrison made these remarks, the United States has done more to commemorate the enslaved, but the Bench by the Road Project fulfills a different mission. “The goal of the Bench by the Road Project is to address the lament that Toni Morrison expressed in her interview by placing Benches and plaques at sites commemorating significant moments, individuals, and locations within the history of the African Diaspora.” Fort Moultrie became the inaugural bench because scholars estimate that nearly half of enslaved Africans arrived in the United States through Sullivan’s Island, one stating that “South Carolina was easily the largest importer of slaves on the mainland.”⁶

4. South Carolina Legislature, 118th Session, S. Bill 1450, May 20, 2010.

5. John Tucker, 2004 Superintendent Annual Report, n.d., John Keck (Acting Superintendent), 2005 Superintendent Annual Report, n.d., Bob Dodson, 2006 Superintendent Annual Report, March 23, 2007, all in Box 1, Folder 42, Park Archive; NPS, “[FOMO] Maintenance Manual Fort Moultrie African Passages Exhibit [1 of 3], 2009.”

6. Bob Dodson, 2008 Superintendent Annual Report, n.d., Box 2, Folder 1, Park Archive. It is not clear from archival records who initiated the bench at FOSU, whether the Toni Morrison Society approached the NPS or the NPS approached the Toni Morrison Society. “Bench by the Road,” Toni Morrison Society, accessed May 1, 2018, <https://www.tonimorrisonociety.org/bench.html>; “Resources,” Toni Morrison Society, accessed May 1, 2018, https://www.tonimorrisonociety.org/bench_histories.html; Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1998), 67; Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1998), 79.



FIGURE 6.3 TONI MORRISON SOCIETY’S “BENCH BY THE ROAD” SITS ON THE EDGE OF FORT MOULTRIE, OVERLOOKING THE INTERCOASTAL WATERWAY HE M

Civil War Sesquicentennial

FOSU began gearing up for the Civil War Sesquicentennial in 2008, but found “Thus far, the effort has fallen on deaf ears as politically it appears the anniversary is taboo and lacks support or interest at either national or state level.” According to Dawn Davis, the Chief of Interpretation at that time, the perception at FOSU was that the National Park Service at the national level was more interested in planning its centennial for 2016 than in the Civil War’s sesquicentennial. Perhaps WASO saw the sesquicentennial as too controversial. The Southeast Regional Office stepped in and took the lead in planning the sesquicentennial. The SER team first met in January 2010. Also in 2009, the Fort Sumter–Fort Moultrie Trust became active again and began planning the sesquicentennial. They hired a part-time employee to coordinate the planning (the funds for the employee came from the Concessioner’s “Defend Fort Sumter” campaign, which it began in March 2009).⁷ Sesquicentennial events ran from 2010 through 2015.

The sesquicentennial was the culmination of the past two decades of NPS reinterpretation of the role of slavery in the Civil War. From Forts Sumter and Moultrie museum exhibits in the mid-1990s, to the 2000 budget appropriations bill, to the 2001 exhibit at the visitor education

⁷ Dodson, 2008 Superintendent Annual Report; Dodson, 2009 Superintendent Annual Report; Dawn Davis, written comments to authors on earlier draft of administrative history, August 26, 2018.

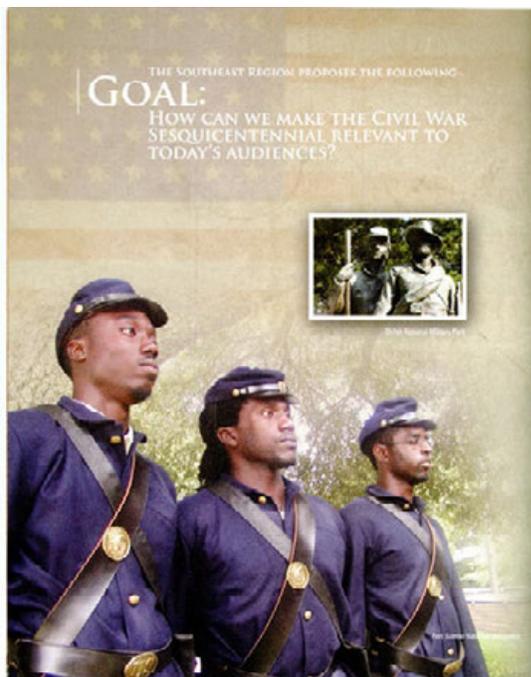
center at Liberty Square, the previous decades lay the groundwork for the sesquicentennial commemoration.

The National Park Service had engaged in internal reflection as well as public outreach on how to ensure that its sites—in particular its Civil War sites—told the story of all Americans, and especially how they incorporated African American experiences and voices. In 2011, days after the sesquicentennial of South Carolina’s secession, the National Park Service published *The War of Jubilee: Tell Our Story and We Will Come*, the final report from a series of focus groups with African American visitors to Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park. The focus groups, who met in May and June 2010, communicated great interest in seeing the National Park Service Civil War sites address slavery and African American experiences. Overall, the groups saw the Civil War as important both for its historical role and for its relevance in the twenty-first century. One participant described the Civil War as “a war of Jubilee.” Others expressed concern over the whitewashing of history to downplay slavery in school textbooks. Focus groups saw the modern civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s as intricately linked to the Civil War, with the promises of emancipation and the Reconstruction Amendments realized with the civil rights movement and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Participants noted that civil rights leaders, such as Martin Luther King Jr., had made similar comparisons.⁸ For example, King’s famous I Have a Dream Speech was conceived as an Emancipation Proclamation celebration.

In the past decades, the National Park Service has battled its own history, and national public perception, that excluded African American voices. As one focus group participant said of Kennesaw Mountain, “African American history is not a part of that park.” From these focus group meetings, it was clear that African Americans wanted a reinterpretation of Civil War history that told their stories at NPS sites: “There has to be a desire to see the human aspect of the Civil War—including stories of African Americans in the war and afterwards.” One participant went further than reinterpreting the Civil War, and commented on representation not only in interpretation but also in personnel: “Imagery. We need to see people who look like us—Black people—to feel comfortable. They need to be part of the staff and decision makers.” Another made a similar statement about the need for southern people of color to be involved in the NPS: “We keep getting people from, no offense, these big universities up north somewhere to come down here and to tell us about the South. We need to invite people who look like African Americans—not just our White friends. We need people from Talladagas, the Tugalooos, the Tuskegees, because they have kept a record of this history . . . We really need to bring the people who have lived these experiences.”⁹

8. Glass-Avery, “War of Jubilee,” 11, 13–14. Renowned southern historian C. Vann Woodward is credited with coining the term “Second Reconstruction” for the modern civil rights movement in his 1957 article, “The Political Legacy of Reconstruction,” *Journal of Negro Education* 26, no. 3 (Summer 1957): 231–240.

9. *Ibid.*, 14, 15–16.



FIGURES 6.4 AND 6.5 A SERO SESQUICENTENNIAL INTERNAL STRATEGIC PLAN ON MAKING THE COMMEMORATION "RELEVANT TO TODAY'S AUDIENCES" (COURTESY OF NPS).

Despite focus groups' enthusiasm for incorporating African American experiences in interpretation of the Civil War, participants also expressed trepidation, fearing that shifting focus from battles and "honor" would ignite controversy and perhaps even backlash from white Americans. In addition to a reinterpretation, "participants across the groups stated that [Kennesaw Mountain, and by association, other NPS sites, such as Fort Sumter National Monument] should implement strategies to make African Americans feel safe and welcome at the battlefield."¹

Of course, this new focus was not new history. African Americans had participated in military campaigns since the founding of the nation, and the American Civil War was no different. As *The War of Jubilee* so succinctly stated, "African American soldiers participated in every major campaign of 1864–1865 except Sherman's invasion of Georgia." At Fort Sumter, the story of the 54th Massachusetts is integral to the story of the Civil War in Charleston. Overall, 180,000 African Americans—northern, southern, and formerly enslaved—served the Union Army, and others joined the Union Navy. Even with the Federal acceptance of African American soldiers following the Emancipation Proclamation, however, the soldiers faced discrimination, from pay discrepancies to especially heinous atrocities on the battlefield, such as at Fort Pillow, Tennessee. The death rate for African American soldiers was higher than for their white counterparts: one-third of all soldiers of color died during the Civil War.²

1. Ibid., 19.

2. Glass-Avery, "War of Jubilee," 6–7; Orville Vernon Burton, *The Age of Lincoln* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007), 183.

To prepare for the sesquicentennial, FOSU staff worked with the SERO committee, which proved more helpful and engaging than the organizing at the national level, which had some internal divisions. FOSU remained above the fray, and although Chief of Interpretation Dawn Davis was unaware of the controversy at the time, it is still useful to look at the NPS approach to the sesquicentennial. For the sesquicentennial, the National Park Service considered decades' worth of change in the agency itself and reflected on the "troubled commemoration" of the 1961 centennial. But, despite academic scholars' near unanimity on slavery as the cause of the Civil War, and on the National Park Service's own work in interpreting African American experiences, it was not always a given that the National Park Service would forge a new path of commemoration. In December 2009, the NPS Civil War Sesquicentennial group met for the first time to draft the agency's vision statement for the four-year commemoration. This group included interpreters but did not include NPS historians or academics and included only one African American. Controversy erupted over the inclusion of three phrases in the sesquicentennial vision statement: "Civil War to Civil Rights," "African American," and "slavery." Despite dissension, the majority of the group decided to include "African American" but that the National Park Service should avoid the phrases "civil rights" and "slavery" because they were "distractions." The majority wished to forestall controversy and backlash from some Civil War groups, encapsulating the NPS "tendency towards timidity in the case of controversy."³

The NPS Sesquicentennial group instead faced backlash from inside the agency itself. NPS interpreters and historians accused the group of propagating a "Lost Cause" mentality. The sesquicentennial could have resembled the "troubled commemoration" of the 1961 centennial had the National Park Service accepted the original draft of the vision statement; it could have been a four-year commemoration "marked by battle reenactments and exhibits presenting a narrative of a gallant struggle fought by two equally determined and legitimate armies." Instead, NPS Chief Historian Bob Sutton issued a statement: "Civil War has no meaning to anyone today, unless we understand where it fits into context—with slavery as the cause and civil rights as the eventual outcome—which are far more important than who shot whom where." The National Park Service revisited the group's vision statement, and Sutton wrote additional sentences that addressed slavery as the cause of the war.⁴

A fourteen-person conference call in April 2010 convened to decide which vision statement the National Park Service would use for the sesquicentennial. Like the original meeting in 2009, this discussion proved divisive, as well. In the end, eight members voted in favor of the new vision statement—the one with slavery and civil rights—while six voted for the previous version. The new sentences read: "In particular, the NPS will address the institution of slavery as the principal cause of the Civil War, as well as the transition from slavery to freedom—after the

3. Timothy S. Good, "The Need for Intellectual Courage, the History Leadership Council, and the History Advisory Board," *The George Wright Forum* 29, no. 2 (2012): 268; Pam Sanfilippo, "Continuing Conversations, Civil War compilation," 9, <https://ncph.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/Working-Groups-Continuing-Conversations-Civil-War-compilation-2.pdf>; Marty Blatt, "From Civil War to Civil Rights," *The George Wright Forum* 31, no. 1 (2014): 7. The authors of *Organization of American Historians' Imperiled Promise* (2011) used this characterization.

4. Blatt, "From Civil War to Civil Rights," 8–9; quoted in Good, "The Need for Intellectual Courage, the History Leadership Council, and the History Advisory Board," 269; CW 150 National Planning Team, Conference Call Notes, 150th Events, April 27, 2010, unprocessed at Park Archive.

war—for the 4 million previously enslaved African Americans” and the National Park Service will “deliver meaningful opportunities to understand, contemplate, and debate the events of the Civil War, the Reconstruction Era, the Civil Rights Movement, and their significance today.” The SERO committee wrote an action plan that was shared at the national level, “Slavery in the Civil War,” to keep in line with new interpretations of the causes of the war, and set out to forge a new path for commemoration, one that demonstrated courage over timidity.⁵ Fort Sumter would be at the forefront of the sesquicentennial, as Charleston was both the site of the first secession as well as the site of the first shots of the Civil War.

But, as a former Fort Sumter ranger wrote, “old historical narratives do not disappear easily.” In December 2010, the Sons of Confederate Veterans held a secession ball, officially titled Secession Gala and held at Gaillard Municipal Auditorium, and several prominent white South Carolina politicians attended in period costumes. Members of the NAACP protested outside. Other community events, however, gave a more scholarly account of secession. The Fort Sumter–Fort Moultrie Historical Trust sponsored a lecture series called “A House Divided: Secession and Its Legacy Symposium,” in which a number of scholars such as David Blight and William Freehling discussed the 1860 election and the secession of South Carolina.⁶

The official Fort Sumter sesquicentennial began with a rocky start as the threat of a government shutdown loomed as Congress feuded over the debt-ceiling. In the case of a shutdown, all National Park services would cease and the sites would cancel scheduled events. This included the April 12, 2011, “150th Anniversary, first shots of the Civil War, Fort Sumter National Monument.” So while FOSU put the final plans into place for the launch of the sesquicentennial—which included nine days of activities at three park sites—the park also had to watch for the possibility of a government shutdown, which would close the site. As late as April 9, 2011, the kickoff of the park’s 150th events, Fort Sumter printed its “Government Shutdown Contingency Plan: Incident Action Plan.” This document gave instructions on what to do with black powder (“transfer to . . . re-enactors”) and the logistical assignments, such which employees “will move firewood and hay for re-enactors at Fort Moultrie to alternate site” and “remove chairs and stage” from Liberty Square. NPS staff also met with local municipalities to discuss how to proceed without the National Park Service if necessary.⁷

Given the publicity of the forthcoming sesquicentennial, early on media outlets showed more interest than usual in how a shutdown would affect FOSU. The NPS Incident team met with FOSU leadership in February and they agreed on the need for a media team. To handle the volume of calls from media outlets and the public—one document provides the figure of “as many as 30 calls an hour”—the park established an Information team and media center to serve

5. Good, “The Need for Intellectual Courage, the History Leadership Council, and the History Advisory Board,” 270; CW 150 National Planning Team, November 12, 2010, Conference Call Notes, 150th Events, unprocessed at Park Archive; Dawn Davis, written comments to authors on earlier draft of administrative history, May 16, 2019.

6. Black, “The 150-Year War,” 160; Kytte and Roberts, Denmark Vesey’s Garden, 231; NPS, “A House Divided: Secession and Its Legacy” program, December 3–4, 2010, 150th Events, unprocessed at Park Archive. It is worth noting that the early NAACP planning meeting for protesting the ball was held at Emanuel AME Church, the same church where nine parishioners were murdered weeks after the conclusion of the Civil War Sesquicentennial. The historic Mother Emanuel AME Church bookended the sesquicentennial.

7. NPS, Shutdown Guidance: National Impacts, n.d., in “Shutdown Guidance” file, and NPS, Government Shutdown Contingency Plan: Incident Action Plan, Fort Sumter National Monument, Saturday, April 9, 2011, n.d., in “Contingency Plan(s)” file, 150th Events, unprocessed at Park Archive; Dawn Davis, written comments to authors on earlier draft of administrative history, August 26, 2018, and May 16, 2019.

as the park spokespeople, who would stay on message regarding a shutdown. Still, coordinating three different park sites proved difficult. Furthermore, FOSU was concerned that reenactors may say something that the National Park Service would not approve of, either regarding the shutdown or something historically inaccurate, and made the recommendation that in the future the park establish a reenactor liaison early “in order to coordinate and manage media interviews to assure continuity with information going out.”⁸

Fortunately, the government did not shut down and FOSU proceeded with its commemoration. Taking the recommendations of “Civil War to Civil Rights” to heart, the initial 150th events, which ran April 9–17, 2011, incorporated history beyond the battlefield. The events featured life on the home front; food (including Gullah cuisine); a day dedicated to African American life in antebellum Charleston, featuring talks by prominent local African American scholars and public historians; military medical practices; period music, dance, and games; and the life of women and the “skills a woman needed to survive during the Civil War,” such as candle making, rice processing, and making home remedies.⁹



FIGURE 6.6 A SESQUICENTENNIAL JUNIOR COMPANY COOK BADGE
(COURTESY OF NPS).

FOSU held several special events in commemoration of the sesquicentennial. In May 2012, the park held a program on Robert Smalls, a local enslaved man who commandeered a Confederate ship and sailed to freedom and then went on to become a politician during Reconstruction. (Robert Smalls’s great-grandson participated in the event.) In July 2013, Fort Sumter events centered on the 54th Massachusetts and the assault on Battery Wagner. Other events included the *Hunley* in February 2014 and a joint event with Richmond in May 2014. FOSU concluded its

8. Dawn Davis, written comments to authors on earlier draft of administrative history, May 16, 2019; Linda Friar, Eastern Incident Management Team, FOSU 150th Anniversary Event, Information Team Summary, 150th Events, n.d., “Documentation: Summary” file, unprocessed at Park Archive.

9. NPS, 150th Anniversary of the First Shots of the Civil War, April 9–11, 2011, Commemorative Program, 2011, in “Media Information—including Photo and Video of 150th Events,” unprocessed at Park Archive.

sesquicentennial in April 2015, with the reraising of the US flag. Despite Fort Sumter's attempts to attract African American audiences during the sesquicentennial events, according to Ranger Dawn Davis, "It was not any different than any other day of the week for who was in our audience."¹⁰

The National Park Service and the Confederate Flag

The sesquicentennial had ended, but Charleston and FOSU remained central to discussions of historical memory, race relations, and symbols of white supremacy. On June 17, 2015, breaking news that a white gunman had entered a prayer meeting at the historical Mother Emanuel AME Church in downtown Charleston and killed nine African American parishioners shook the South Carolina lowcountry and the nation. Authorities arrested the perpetrator, Dylann Roof, the next day in North Carolina. As investigators and media retraced his steps leading up the shooting, they found a March 2015 photograph of him at the Sullivan's Island historical marker that the National Park Service had partnered in erecting, discussed in the previous chapter. He had also visited other area attractions of historical tourism, including Mount Pleasant's Boone Plantation, one of the nation's oldest plantations and one that has extant slave quarters, and James Island's McLeod Plantation, a site which provides the enslaved's perspective and is part of the NPS Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor.¹¹

Ethan J. Kytle and Blain Roberts, historians of public memory and former residents of Charleston, recounted that the Fort Sumter Memorial, which is located in White Point Garden at the Battery and is unaffiliated with the National Park Service, was vandalized after the Emanuel massacre, painted with "Black lives matter" and "This is the problem #racist."¹² Other sites around the city were also vandalized, including the John C. Calhoun statue at Marion Square (mentioned in chapter 1), mere blocks from Emanuel AME Church.¹³ Kytle and Roberts described Charleston "as the capital of American slavery and a longtime mecca of historical tourism," making the city an important place to study historical memory and symbolism around slavery. The mass murder of African American parishioners thrust Charleston's history and legacy of slavery into the spotlight, and FOSU, as the site of the first shots of the Civil War as well as a main attraction of historical tourism, needed to deal with such symbols of slavery and oppression.

The Emanuel killing gripped the nation's attention and recast light on long-simmering racial tensions, including the role and symbolism of Confederate flags. Debate over the Confederate

10. For more information on Robert Smalls, see Lu Ann Jones and Robert K. Sutton, *The Life and Legacy of Robert Smalls of South Carolina's Sea Islands* (Fort Washington, PA: Eastern National, 2012); Southeast Region, *A Strategic Plan for Commemorating the Civil War's Important Places and Compelling Stories within the National Park Service's Southeast Region: A Nation Divided, A Nation Reunited; And the First Steps on the Path to Full Citizenship for All Americans*, 2010, in "Brochures, Strategic Plan, Program, Press Releases for FOSU 150th of 1st Shots" folder, unprocessed at Park Archive; Dawn Davis, written comments to authors on earlier draft of administrative history, August 26, 2018.

11. Justin Miller, "Dylann Roof Visited Slave Plantations, Confederate Landmarks," *The Daily Beast*, June 20, 2015, <https://www.thedailybeast.com/dylann-roof-visited-slave-plantations-confederatelandmarks?>

12. The social media platform Twitter popularized the use of hashtags (#) as a way of tracking trends. For example, if someone tweeted "#racist," a Twitter follower could click on the hashtag and see all other tweets that also included "#racist." "Black lives matter" (abbreviated as BLM) often appears as a hashtag when African Americans are killed, especially if unprovoked. Black Lives Matter became an official organization after a jury acquitted the white-presenting killer of an unarmed black teenager in 2013.

13. Kytle and Roberts, *Denmark Vesey's Garden*, 2–3; Kytle and Roberts, "Looking the Thing in the Face," 657–58.

flag was not new to South Carolina. The state had erected the Confederate battle flag on the state capitol dome in 1961, as the modern civil rights movement saw increased activity and increased backlash. Battles over the flag raged, with the NAACP calling for a boycott of the state. In 2000, state lawmakers reached a compromise: They removed the Confederate flag from the capitol dome and placed it with a historical marker for Confederate soldiers. They added a monument to African Americans on statehouse grounds, as well. In the wake of the Emanuel shooting, however, state lawmakers again saw increased calls for the removal of the Confederate flag altogether from statehouse grounds. FOSU concessioner Chip Campsen, a state senator, urged his colleagues in the legislature to remove the flag. In an op-ed piece, he wrote, “If the confederate flag on our statehouse grounds upsets a significant number of citizens, let’s remove it in the name of peace and mutual upbuilding.”¹⁴ On July 10, 2015, South Carolina Highway Patrol honor guards removed the flag and interred it at the nearby Confederate Relic Room and Military Museum.

The National Park Service faced a similar difficult decision on the display of Confederate flags at its Civil War sites. Fort Sumter National Monument did not fly the Confederate battle flag, the symbol most embroiled in white supremacy and controversy. But Fort Sumter did display the first and second national Confederate flags as part of its historic flag display.¹⁵ The second national Confederate flag has the familiar battle flag design in a corner on a larger white background. To visitors unaware of the distinction, the second national Confederate flag looks like the Confederate battle flag. Visitor complaints about having Confederate flags at Fort Sumter predate the 2015 shooting. As recently as February 2015, a Fort Sumter ranger came across a review on TripAdvisor (a website where people can post reviews of their experiences at various sites, such as restaurants, hotels, and attractions) of FOSU that criticized the site’s use of Confederate flags. The reviewer “was utterly shocked that [the Confederate flags] were flying on a national historic sight [*sic.*]. There is something to be said about recreating history for knowledge’s sake, but is it necessary to fly reproduction of Confederate flags?” The reviewer suggested that “If the purpose is to inform visitors, why not put these flags in the museum rather than flying them for all to see?” The reviewer’s concern extended to those viewing Fort Sumter from the harbor: “If one was to view these flags from a boat cruising by or a visitor who didn’t read the plaque, one might think that these flying Confederate flags have some significance.”¹⁶ In the wake of the Emanuel shooting, FOSU and the National Park Service addressed these very concerns.

Longtime FOSU employee Michael Allen, when he learned that the perpetrator had visited the Sullivan’s Island historical marker, took it upon himself to email NPS Director Jonathan B. Jarvis. He told the director, “Things are not well here.” He encouraged Jarvis to send a letter to FOSU and CHPI staff on behalf of the National Park Service and to all NPS employees, “because

14. Senator Chip Campsen, “Remove Confederate Flag from Statehouse Grounds,” *Island Connection News*, July 2, 2015, <http://islandconnectionnews.com/op-ed-remove-confederate-flag-fromstatehouse-grounds/>.

15. Fort Sumter’s historic flag display, erected in 1972, included the 33-star United States flag, the first national Confederate flag, the second national Confederate flag, and 35-star United States flag, and the South Carolina state flag.

16. This review can no longer be found on TripAdvisor, but its contents were recorded in an email from Ranger Olivia Williams to Ranger Dawn Davis on February 22, 2015, in possession of authors.

now we're in this whether we want to be or not." Allen discussed the flags with Jarvis, and their conversation affected all NPS battle sites.¹⁷

In the immediate aftermath of the June 17 shooting, Fort Sumter did not raise the five historic flags and flew its Fort Moultrie South Carolina flag at half-staff "so the park could show solidarity with the Charleston community." This display continued until the last victim's funeral on June 28.¹⁸ During this time, FOSU received messages about its use of Confederate flags. An African American from Richmond, Virginia, wrote: "The confederate flag at Fort Sumter needs removal," citing the Confederacy's purpose as protecting the institution of slavery and decrying the perception of the flag as honoring southern heritage. Another email questioned the flags: "I don't know if a recreation [of the time period] outweighs the symbolism of the Confederate flag, and institution that upheld a system of racism and oppression," and suggested removing the historic flags to the fort's museum.¹⁹ FOSU also received numerous messages that supported displaying the Confederate flag, and years later visitors still comment on this issue.

The national—and state—debate over Confederate flags raged. A letter from NPS Director Jarvis explained the impetus for change.

*The mass shooting in Charleston, South Carolina, that tragically took the lives of nine people has raised important questions about gun violence, terrorism, and race in America, and has galvanized a national discussion around these questions. A rightful part of that discussion is the symbols and relics from our nation's past, such as the Confederate Battle flag, that are imbued with meaning.*²⁰

The National Park Service examined its own policy at its sites and in its bookstores. WASO directed superintendents

*Confederate flags shall not be flown in units of the national park system and related sites with the exception of specific circumstances where the flags provide historical context, for instance to signify troop location or movement or as part of a historical reenactment or living history program. All superintendents and program managers should evaluate how Confederate flags are used in interpretive and educational media, programs, and historical landscapes and remove the flags where appropriate.*²¹

17. Michael Allen, interview by Megan Shockley, Beatrice Burton, and Vernon Burton, Sullivan's Island, December 18, 2017, at 1:23:33.

18. Tim Stone, email message to FOSU employees, "Historic Flag Display at Fort Sumter National Monument Talking Points," August 10, 2015, in possession of authors. As Dawn Davis pointed out, only the US president can issue a proclamation to lower the US flag to half-staff, and President Obama did not issue such a proclamation. Dawn Davis, written comments to authors on earlier draft of administrative history, May 16, 2019.

19. David Young, email message to FOSU employees, June 23, 2015, in possession of authors; Linda Mende, email message to FOSU employees, June 23, 2015, in possession of authors. There is some overlap between this email and the TripAdvisor review above, suggesting that Mende may be the person who left the February 2015 review about the flag.

20. Director Jonathan B. Jarvis to National Park Service Cooperating Associations, Partners, and Concessioners, June 24, 2015, in possession of authors.

21. Memorandum from Director Jonathan B. Jarvis to Regional Directors, Associate and Assistant Directors, and all Park Superintendents, "Immediate Action Required, No Reply Needed: Confederate Flags," June 24, 2015, in possession of authors (emphasis in original).

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WASO issued the directive, and FOSU complied, acting quickly to remove “all Confederate flags as well as any Confederate flag logoed product” from its bookstore locations. Fort Sumter also decided to change its display. It moved the historic flags to the parade ground, near where they would have flown during the Civil War. The park installed shorter flagpoles and smaller flags, and the historic flags were no longer visible over the fort’s walls. It moved and updated its wayside to reflect these changes. This was in line with NPS efforts to fulfill its “mission in not only preserving our nation’s heritage, but in telling a balanced narrative that is inclusive of all Americans.” In an email of “Talking Points” for Interpreters, the Associate Director for Interpretation, Education and Volunteers explained, “The National Park Service is not trying to erase history nor diminish the contributions of the Confederate soldiers, but we will not be embracing a symbol of hatred outside of the historical context of the Civil War.” The National Park Service hopes that the relatively recent removal of Confederate flags from nonhistorical contexts can open dialogue with visitors about difficult issues of race and history, and for interpreters to “take this opportunity to help the visitor explore this as a moment of healing and reconciliation.”²³

FOSU intended the flags on the parade ground as a temporary solution. In 2018, Fort Sumter began working to relocate the five flags once again, this time to an exhibit in its museum. The exhibit opened in August 2018.²⁴ Although the exhibit contextualizes the flags’ histories, it makes no mention of the reason why FOSU, and Civil War sites everywhere, relocated them.

22. Memorandum from Director Jonathan B. Jarvis to Regional Directors, Associate and Assistant Directors, and all Park Superintendents, “Immediate Action Required, No Reply Needed: Confederate Flags,” June 24, 2015, in possession of authors (emphasis in original).

23. Kevin Bates, email message to Tim Stone, “Confederate flags and logos,” June 23, 2015, in possession of authors; Stone, “Historic Flag Display at Fort Sumter National Monument Talking Points”; Katie Bliss, email message from Julia Washburn to Interpreters, June 26, 2015, in possession of authors; NPS Interpretive Development Program Facilitated Dialogue Guide, “Removal of Confederate flag: Facilitated Dialogue Guide,” June 2015, in possession of authors.

24. Paula Ogden-Musee, email message, “Temporary flags moved to Fort Sumter Museum,” February 22, 2018, in possession of authors.

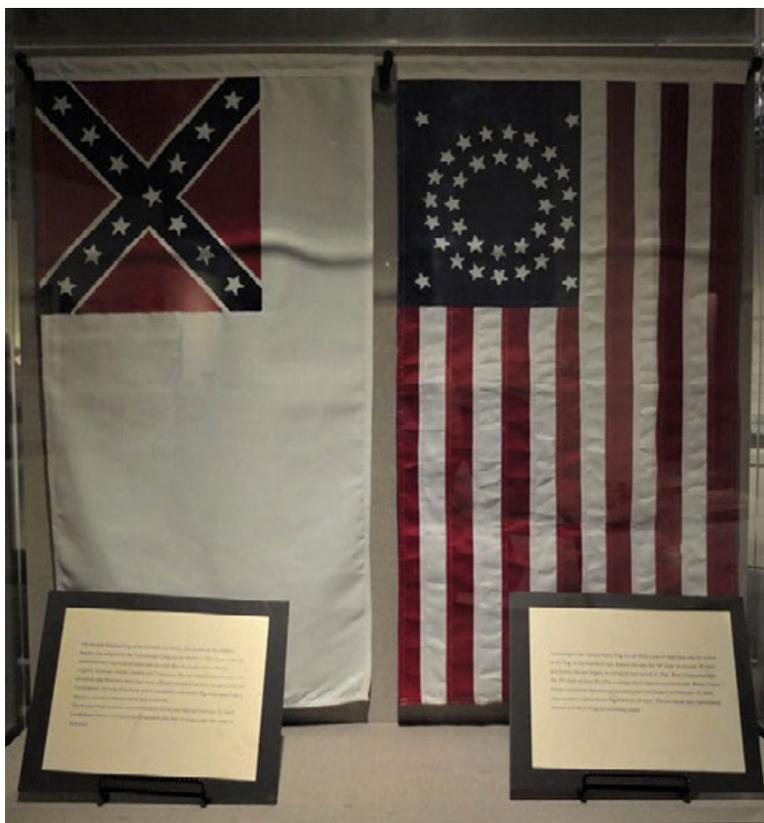


FIGURE 6.7 A NEW EXHIBIT IN THE FORT SUMTER MUSEUM DISPLAYS THE HISTORICAL FLAGS THAT HAVE BEEN REMOVED FROM ATOP BATTERY HUGER.

GENERAL MANAGEMENT ISSUES

From 2006 through at least 2009, FOSU assisted with Congaree National Park administration. The National Park Service continued to work on renaming the park “Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park,” and Fort Moultrie continued to work on its boundary issues. In 2009 the boundary issue and name change were rolled into one with WASO. In March 2019, Congress did pass legislation that changed the name to Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park.²⁵

Battery Huger

Battery Huger remains a challenge for the National Park Service. It was “a state-of-the-art design for a fortification” when it was built at the time of the Spanish-American War, but FOSU has done little to incorporate the structure into the site beyond its use for the museum and bookstore. Exhibits in the museum, waysides, and a site bulletin do provide information on the history of Battery Huger, but the story of the Civil War overshadows the interpretation of Battery Huger.²⁶

25. Dodson, 2009 Superintendent Annual Report; John D. Dingell Jr., Conservation, Management, and Recreation Act of 2019, Pub. L. No. 116-9.

26. Joseph K. Oppermann, Fort Sumter National Monument: Historic Structure Report, vol. I (Washington, DC: National Park Service,

Battery Huger has played an important role in the National Park Service by providing facilities for the museum, bookstore, and restrooms. Visitors can also enjoy the view from the observation deck, which along with waysides for interpretation, provides a scenic look at the Charleston skyline, surrounding barrier islands, and the harbor. Unfortunately, as is the case with many aspects of FOSU, the environment wreaks havoc on the facilities. The hot and humid climate of Charleston Harbor interferes with the elevator lifts to accommodate visitors with limited mobility. Although Fort Sumter has elevator lifts, none work. According to Ranger Dawn Davis, in late 2011 or early 2012, FOSU decided to cease using the lifts because their unreliability made them a safety hazard. This means that the interior rooms of Battery Huger and the observation deck are not accessible.

To complicate the matter further, Battery Huger seems to have a negative effect on Fort Sumter. In the 2015 *Historic Structure Report*, the recommendation was to preserve Battery Huger because of its historical significance as an Endicott-era fortification as well as its much-needed facilities at the fort. The cost of preservation “requires significant expenditure” because the structure has deteriorated, and this recommendation “assumes that Battery Huger is not causing the man-made island to sink, or creating conditions threatening the structural integrity of Fort Sumter or itself.”²⁷

Two possible alternatives for Fort Sumter rely on the removal of Battery Huger. One possibility echoes the initial NPS Management Plan of 1949. It requires removing Battery Huger, excavating the eastern section of the fort, and essentially leaving Fort Sumter as it is, other than any necessary repairs and stabilizing of the fort. It does leave the disadvantages of leaving Fort Sumter without a museum, bookstore, or restrooms, all of which diminishes the visitor experience. And without Battery Huger on site, visitors would not have an example of an Endicott fortification, although they could rectify this with a visit to Fort Moultrie, where Endicott structures are “more complete” and “with greater historic integrity.” But this plan would give visitors the experience most closely “authentic” to Civil War-era Fort Sumter. It eliminates the ongoing costs—and frustrations—of the out-of-order accessibility lifts, as well as the ever-increasing costs of maintaining Battery Huger.²⁸ A counterargument to this plan is that even without Battery Huger, the remains of Fort Sumter provide an experience far from authentic. The fort walls are one-third of their original height and the fort is in ruins. A visit to Fort Sumter would not replicate the Civil War experience.

Another possible alternative plan for Fort Sumter offered solutions to the lack of facilities that Battery Huger’s removal would mean for the fort. In addition to repairing and stabilizing the fort, this plan suggested “reconstructing portions of Fort Sumter in a ruinous state with sections of the reconstructed areas adapted for restrooms, museum, bookstore, staff offices, lecture rooms, exhibit rooms, and other ancillary spaces.” The plan has the same advantages as the first

2015), 252, 258.

27. Oppermann, *Historic Structure Report*, 259.

28. *Ibid.*, 265–66.

alternative plan, but it also means that Fort Sumter could continue to provide facilities needed to enhance the visitor experience. It is also the costliest of the plans.²⁹

In 2017, Meghan Olson, a student in the Clemson and College of Charleston graduate program in historic preservation, wrote her Master's thesis on the structural integrity of Fort Sumter, in particular the effects of Battery Huger on the fort. She found that Battery Huger was causing strain on the island and the fort, but it was not the sole culprit. The geometry of the sea floor itself contributes to the movement and settlement of Fort Sumter. Her thesis suggested some options for treatment, and her plans varied some from the HSR options. One option she proposed is to excavate the eastern fill; this would remove some of the weight and would allow the National Park Service to uncover additional artifacts. Another, less feasible option, would be to somehow reduce the depth of the water around Fort Sumter, or even expand the man-made island. The third option she presented is to remove the infill and most of Battery Huger. By leaving the southern wall of the structure, the National Park Service would still have a visual to aid in interpreting Endicott fortifications, but the island would be relieved of most of the weight of Battery Huger and the eastern fill. Her final alternative called for the complete removal of Battery Huger and the eastern fill and restoring the fort to its Civil War-era appearance with masonry and woodwork.³⁰

Historic Coast Guard Unit

In 2008, FOSU acquired the Charleston Light (the Sullivan's Island Lighthouse) from the Coast Guard via the National Historic Lighthouse Preservation Act. Superintendent John Tucker knew that FOSU should acquire the lighthouse to keep the beach from being developed at the Coast Guard Unit. He did not worry about the cost of renovations because he saw no need to renovate.³¹

The lighthouse looms over the structures of the Life-Saving Station, both literally and figuratively. Aware of the occasional threat of hurricanes as well as the everyday threat of heat and humidity, the Coast Guard designed and built the 140-foot lighthouse for, in the words of a draft for National Register Nomination, "survivability." Its triangular shape can withstand winds over 125 mph. (Indeed, the lighthouse survived Hurricane Hugo, which had sustained winds of 140 mph and gusts of 160 mph when it made landfall.) Furthermore, the bottom levels are open and flexible, a design which allows up to 4.3 inches of movement at the top in high winds. The interior lamp room was designed to have a "naturally occurring draft up the center core of the lighthouse," which mitigates the moisture and high temperatures of Charleston summers. In the winter, electric heaters regulate the temperature and moisture of the lamp room. The design was meant to withstand hurricanes but was also cost efficient for its initial construction and its maintenance.³²

29. *Ibid.*, 265–67.

30. Meghan Olsen, "Moving Monuments: A Study of the Movement of the Exterior Walls at Fort Sumter as Affected by Battery Huger and Earthen Infill" (master's thesis, Clemson University and College of Charleston, 2017), 50, 60–63.

31. Dodson, 2008 Superintendent Annual Report; Laura L. Yeager, "Transfer of the Charleston Light, Sullivan's Island, South Carolina (GSA Control No. 4-U-SC-597)," February 15, 2008, Box 22, Folder 26, Park Archive; Tucker, interview, at 2:25:00.

32. "Sullivan's Island Coast Guard Historic District National Register Nomination," pp. 3–5, undated draft, unprocessed at Park Archive. For unknown reasons, these and the following passages did not make it into the final version: Sarah Fick, "Fort Sumter, Fort Moultrie,

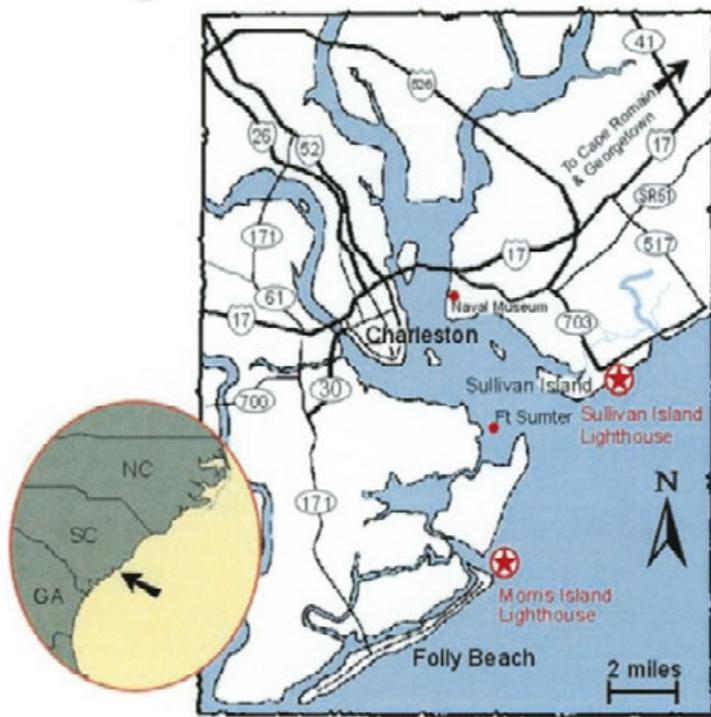


FIGURE 6.8 A MAP OF THE CHARLESTON COASTLINE SHOWS THE LOCATIONS OF THE MORRIS ISLAND LIGHTHOUSE AND THE CHARLESTON LIGHT ON SULLIVAN'S ISLAND (COURTESY OF NPS).

The Coast Guard built the Sullivan's Island lighthouse to replace the Morris Island lighthouse. Sullivan's Island's lighthouse was originally white and Coast Guard red, but residents did not like the colors, so the Coast Guard repainted it black and white. The colors are not the only physical aspects of the lighthouse that were amended in its first years. When the lighthouse first began operation in 1962, the light was the second brightest in the western hemisphere (the brightest being in France). Charleston Light shone with 28 million candlepower and was reportedly visible seventy miles off the coast. Within years it was deemed excessively bright. The Coast Guard reduced it to 1.5 million candlepower and on a clear night is still visible twenty-seven miles off the coast.³³

The Coast Guard lighthouse is the only lighthouse in the country whose design included an electric elevator. And while there is a generator adjacent to the lighthouse, the lighthouse is powered through commercial electricity; the generator is used if regular electricity to the lighthouse is interrupted.³⁴

FOSU recruited more than thirty volunteers to create a plan for lighthouse preservation and interpretation. The lighthouse is not open to the public, but once a year, FOSU has Charleston Light Day. In the past, people could tour the lighthouse, up to the third window, but FOSU stopped allowing public tours around 2011 or 2012. In 2014, FOSU staff added waysides interpreting the Life-Saving Station and the Lighthouse.³⁵

U.S. Life-Saving Station," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, 2016).

33. "Sullivan's Island Coast Guard Historic District National Register Nomination," pp. 3–5, undated draft, unprocessed at Park Archive.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 4–5, undated draft, unprocessed at Park Archive.

35. Dodson, 2009 Superintendent Annual Report; Dawn Davis, written comments to authors on earlier draft of administrative history, May 16, 2019; Robin Heddaeus to Brett Everitt, invoice, May 2, 2014, Box 127, Folder 14, Park Archive.

CONTINUING CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

The twenty-first century presents FOSU with exciting new opportunities, such as the redesignation of the site as a National Historical Park as well as several area partnerships. FOSU's work to date have paved the way for these new opportunities. FOSU also faces challenges in the twenty-first century, from environmental issues like climate change, to social issues regarding public memory, to institutional issues such as long-time employees retiring en masse. Like FOSU's opportunities, FOSU's challenges have their roots going back decades; the park now faces new iterations of old challenges.

Redesignation as Fort Sumter Fort Moultrie National Historical Park

In spring 2019, just as this Administrative History ended, a federal law redesignated Fort Sumter National Monument as Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park. FOSU has long advocated for this name change. It brings new prestige to the park, which may increase funding and visitor numbers.³⁶

Potential Partnerships

FOSU is poised to work alongside several other important historical, academic, and African American organizations. The proposed International African American Museum, the brainchild of Joe Riley and under the leadership of Robert Smalls's great-grandson Michael Moore, is located near Liberty Square and may provide increased visibility for and opportunities of collaboration with FOSU. The Avery Research Center, an institution dedicated to the study of African Americans and the African diaspora, at the College of Charleston will have a new director soon, opening the door to more partnership with top scholars. Reconstruction Era National Historical Park (REER) and the Gullah Geechee Heritage Corridor are already intricately tied to FOSU. FOSU staff helped with the SRSs and establishment of these sites. Together, with FOSU and CHPI, REER and the Corridor help tell a more complete story of Charleston, of South Carolina, and of the United States.

Climate Change

The area of the state where Charleston is located is known as the lowcountry because the coastal regions are low lying. This makes Charleston (and South Carolina in general) especially susceptible to climate change, in particular sea level rise.³⁷ Rising water levels and increasing size of ships that use Charleston Harbor continue to damage Fort Sumter. FOSU has worked with

36. Emily Williams, "President Trump signs bill that makes 2 SC historic sites national parks," Post and Courier, March 12, 2019, https://www.postandcourier.com/business/president-trump-signs-bill-that-makes-sc-historic-sites-national/article_4206fe50-44d9-11e9-a0fc-e71c18649efb.html.

37. Abigail Darlington, "Sea Level Rise Study Shows Charleston Area One of the Riskiest Places to Live in Southeast," Post and Courier, June 18, 2018, https://www.postandcourier.com/news/sea-level-rise-study-shows-charleston-area-one-of-the/article_c4b499d4-6ff5-11e8-abee-b32f453c638c.html; Bo Petersen, "Walls to Hold Sea Rise Would Cost Charleston \$1 Billion, All of SC \$20 Billion, Study Says," Post and Courier, June 20, 2019, https://www.postandcourier.com/business/real_estate/walls-to-hold-sea-rise-would-cost-charleston-billion-all/article_2650bdd0-929b-11e9-8d97-cfa8973a7144.html; Bo Petersen, "Sea Rise along South Carolina Coast Accelerating Faster than Realized, Researcher Says," Post and Courier, February 1, 2019, https://www.postandcourier.com/news/sea-rise-along-south-carolina-coast-accelerating-faster-than-realized/article_e52df75e-2586-11e9-a6fa-1fc47eb68ab8.html.

SC Sea Grant and the South Carolina Aquarium, and has conducted Teacher Workshops on Sea Level Rise. FOSU staff also developed a wayside on sea level rise and placed it at Fort Sumter.

FOSU staff are eager to begin is the Proposed Breakwater Rehabilitation project. The stone riprap, added around 1970–1971 to protect the fort from erosion, has in turn damaged the bricks of the fort. This project, originally recommended in a 1999 Corps of Engineers report, proposes building a new breakwater approximately sixty feet away from the fort and adding a living shoreline.³⁸ Also related to climate change, FOSU will need to respond to increased frequency of weather events (2015’s flooding from hurricane Joaquin, 2016’s Hurricane Matthew, 2017’s Hurricane Irma all affected Charleston; 2018’s Hurricane Florence luckily spared Charleston, but for a few days projections showed a possible direct hit).

Civil War, Reconstruction, and Public Memory

Since the conclusion of the sesquicentennial, the nation has seen a significant shift in discourse over the memory of the Civil War. On the national stage, riots erupted in Charlottesville, Virginia, over Confederate memorials, and locally, Charleston’s movement about the Calhoun monument in Marion Square. The Emanuel massacre was a local tragedy played out in national debates over public memory. Fort Sumter is situated in the birthplace of the Confederacy in a town that flourishes with historic tourism. FOSU has diligently worked since at least the 1990s to reinterpret the history of the Civil War to incorporate African American experiences and the role of slavery in the conflict. It appears that Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie will continue to need to “overcome a tendency towards timidity in the face of controversy.”³⁹

Doing More with Less

FOSU must continue to establish creative ways to fill funding and personnel vacancies. This is not a new challenge to the National Park Service, but the shortfalls continue to grow. Superintendent narratives in the twenty-first century repeatedly mention understaffed positions. Furthermore, FOSU’s portfolio of parks is growing. FOSU works in partnership with CHPI, REER, and the Gullah Geechee Heritage Corridor. Staff are stretched increasingly thin. VIPs fill a tremendous need, and superintendent narratives demonstrated the increasing reliance on volunteers, a trend that certainly continues.

Loss of Institutional Knowledge

The National Park Service in general has many employees who have already retired or on the verge of retirement. The National Park Service is not alone in this regard; the gray wave (mass retirement) affects all of society.⁴⁰ For the National Park Service, though, this means a great loss of institutional knowledge. These retirees have been part of the National Park Service for a significant proportion of the institution’s existence, and the National Park Service and its many

38. National Park Service, Fort Sumter National Monument: Proposed Rehabilitation of the Breakwater at Fort Sumter National Monument, Environmental Assessment (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2019).

39. Blatt, “From Civil War to Civil Rights,” 7.

40. Peter Rosenberger, “Aging America Forecasts a ‘gray Wave’ for U.S.—Opinion,” *The Commercial Appeal*, accessed July 29, 2019, <https://www.commercialappeal.com/story/opinion/contributors/2018/10/18/aging-america-forecasts-gray-wave-u-s-opinion/1647261002/>.

sites will feel their absence. Furthermore, around 2010, superintendents stopped writing their annual Superintendent Narratives. These annual reports have provided a wealth of information about the inner workings of NPS parks. Administrative histories may help fill gaps in parks' knowledge, but the administrative histories rely on oral history interviews and an aging population means it will be more difficult to conduct these interviews.

Personnel and Representation

Despite past attempts, FOSU personnel does not reflect the population of Charleston. There are very few rangers of color; most African Americans are maintenance staff. This is not a problem unique to FOSU—the National Park Service is white dominated both in staffing and in visitation, and those are self-reinforcing. In the twenty-first century, however, FOSU can continue to make a concerted effort to recruit African Americans for employment.⁴¹

41. Allen, interview, at 0:16:47 and 2:05:55; Laura Burd Schiavo, "'White People Like Hiking': Some Implications of NPS Narratives of Relevance and Diversity," *The Public Historian* 38, no. 4 (November 1, 2016): 206–35.



CHAPTER SEVEN CONCLUSION

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CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park illustrates how the National Park Service's policies, procedures, and beliefs about history changed dramatically in the twentieth century. The site can serve as a case study of the ways in which the National Park Service has faced challenges, sometimes leading the way in preservation and interpretation, often following the trajectory of academic scholarship and museology to foreground the most recent understandings about history, archeology and conservation, and exhibiting techniques. Although staff have successfully addressed dilemmas about how to present the historic structures of Forts Sumter and Moultrie, how to incorporate social history and a more inclusive narrative at the sites, how to mitigate the effects of the coastal environment on buildings and artifacts, and how to better accommodate visitors on the fragile historic grounds, they will continue to face challenges in the twenty-first century.

INTERPRETATION

Through the twentieth century, staff at Forts Sumter and Moultrie moved from a narrow interpretation of the military history related solely to battles at the sites themselves to a more expansive narrative that included discussions of slavery as the root cause of the Civil War, the role of African Americans and American Indians in shaping the country's history, and the impact of slavery and racial hierarchies on the development of the region. In addition, they moved from a "moment-in-time" technique of interpretation to placing both forts in a broader timeframe, more successfully contextualizing the significance of each site as a result. Unfortunately, the earlier interpretive techniques meant that the National Park Service razed historic structures because it deemed them unrelated to the original structure's significance, which reflected the mindset of the National Park Service in the early twentieth century. Currently, existing structures such as Battery Huger and the HECP attest to the dynamic military histories of the sites.

As long as ongoing debate over the issues central to the Civil War still resonate in the United States and in South Carolina, Fort Sumter will stand in the crosshairs of the controversy. The Emanuel AME Church massacre reminded the nation of the challenges of preserving and interpreting the Civil War's hotly debated history. The country mourned, and South Carolina again entered the nation's spotlight for reasons of race relations. Following the outrage and debate stemming from the shooting, South Carolina removed the Confederate battle flag from its state capitol, where it had been flying amid controversy since the civil rights movement, and the National Park Service relocated Confederate flags from its Civil War-era parks, including Fort Sumter. Even this move garnered controversy, gaining national attention and making the fort once again ground zero for battles over racism, symbolism, and meaning in the United States.

EXCAVATION AND CONSERVATION

Early park officials embraced what at the time were current museological techniques, which have dramatically improved over the years. When NPS staff first encountered Fort Sumter, they worked with what they could to excavate down to the original 1860 structure with the money

available. From hiring local contractors and laborers with no experience in archeological excavation, to allowing visitors to walk through and around excavation sites, NPS staff showed their relative lack of experience with archeology. As the field of archeology professionalized, so did the National Park Service. Despite initial and ongoing challenges, FOSU staff successfully restored parts of Fort Sumter to the way it looks today.

In terms of preservation techniques, staff worked throughout the history of the sites to conserve artifacts and buildings using the most up-to-date techniques, which, of course, evolved over time. The challenge to these efforts are both financial and environmental. The humidity and salt air cause constant erosion, and brick repointing, electrolysis, and fabric conservation require a tremendous amount of money and effort. The threat of hurricanes poses another problem for local staff, and given the recent spate of hurricanes in the early twenty-first century, it is not unreasonable to think that another Hugo could do more damage to the buildings and collections. Still, staff have done everything they can to protect the fragile artifacts, large and small, and to catalog both artifact and manuscript collections for future researchers.

Through the last decades of the twentieth century, staff became increasingly aware of, and concerned with, natural resource management. Erosion, dredging, and the wake caused by large ships pose serious threats to Fort Sumter, and rising sea levels and the increase in precipitation cause flooding at both sites. The fill caused by dredging the harbor, as well as the loss of land to the ocean, has caused permanent changes to the sight lines at both sites. The Charleston population continues to grow, as does the visitation to Sullivan's Island, challenging the resources of the fort and the community in which it resides. It is clear that climate change will continue to be a major concern for staff as they work to conserve both the manmade artifacts and the natural landscape surrounding them.

VISITOR SERVICES AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

It is in visitor services that the National Park Service in the Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park has perhaps made the most strides. In 1948, the National Park Service acquired a two-acre island lacking facilities, an interpretive or administrative center, or even an independent way to get to the island. Completely reliant on a concessioner to transport visitors to the site, and dependent on acquiring sites on the mainland for a base of operations, the NPS staff has "made a way out of no way" to expand the presence and footprint of the national park in Charleston and the surrounding environs. From moving the administrative offices from the Custom House to a permanent visitor center constructed for Fort Moultrie, and moving the docks for concessioners from the Battery, to the Charleston City Marina, and finally to Liberty Square, which serves as a second interpretive site, the National Park Service worked through a huge amount of change in just half a century. This change also included accommodating visitors with disabilities. The work done by the National Park Service in providing better visitor accommodations permanently altered the landscape of downtown Charleston and Sullivan's Island. The change was not without controversy, though, as local residents often challenged the plans of the National Park Service for myriad reasons. Through the years, however, the National Park Service provided programming for and assistance to local residents, and relations have become extremely positive. Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park enjoys high

visitation numbers from tourists and locals alike and has become a key attraction in the already-crowded Charleston tourism scene.

Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park has seen tremendous change in a very short time. Staff worked to improve the site's interpretative narrative, progressed in both cultural and natural conservation techniques, and added significantly to the services and accommodations for visitors. The growing pains experienced by the new park were evident in the way staff wrestled to incorporate new histories at the sites, struggled to adopt more modern conservation techniques that would suit the sites and their artifacts, and negotiated with concessioners and cities over expansion of services. Some problems cannot be solved by the local staff, however. Climate change will continue to prove a threat to the natural and manmade environment of the district. Population density has continued to rise over the past two decades, straining the traffic and parking around these urban sites. As the twenty-first century progresses, NPS staff will surely find new and innovative ways to manage the change, as they have in the past.

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CHAPTER EIGHT
BIBLIOGRAPHY

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CHAPTER 8: BIBLIOGRAPHY

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APPENDIX
**LEGISLATION, KEY EVENTS, SUPERINTENDENTS OF FORT SUMTER
AND FORT MOULTRIE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK**

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APPENDIX A: LEGISLATION

ENABLING LEGISLATION, 1948

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[CHAPTER 239]

JOINT RESOLUTION

April 28, 1948
[S. J. Res. 94]
[Public Law 504]

To establish the Fort Sumter National Monument in the State of South Carolina.

Fort Sumter Na-
tional Monument,
S. C.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Army is authorized and directed to transfer, without consideration, to the Secretary of the Interior title to the site of the historic structure known as Fort Sumter, situated in Charleston Harbor, Charleston, South Carolina, together with such buildings and other improvements as are appurtenant to such site.

Sec. 2. The property acquired by the Secretary of the Interior under this joint resolution shall constitute the Fort Sumter National Monument and shall be a public national memorial commemorating historical events at or near Fort Sumter. The Director of the National Park Service under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior shall have the supervision, management, and control of such national monument, and shall maintain and preserve it for the benefit and enjoyment of the people of the United States, subject to the provisions of the Act entitled "An Act to establish a National Park Service and for other purposes", approved August 25, 1916, as amended.

39 Stat. 535.
16 U. S. C. §§ 1-4,
22, 43.

Approved April 28, 1948.

PUBLIC LAW 99-637 (1986)

100 STAT. 3532

PUBLIC LAW 99-637—NOV. 7, 1986

Public Law 99-637
99th Congress

An Act

Nov. 7, 1986
[S. 2534]

To authorize the acquisition and development of a mainland tour boat facility for the Fort Sumter National Monument, South Carolina, and for other purposes.

Gifts and property. Public information.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in order to provide for needed facilities for visitors to Fort Sumter National Monument, including a tour boat dock and associated facilities, and an interpretive and museum facility in cooperation with the State of South Carolina and the city of Charleston, the Secretary of the Interior (in this Act referred to as the "Secretary"), is authorized to acquire by purchase with donated or appropriated funds, donation, or exchange, not to exceed 8.91 acres of lands, including submerged lands, and interests in lands, within the area generally depicted on the map entitled "Dockside II, Proposed Site, Tourboat Facility," which map shall be on file and available for public inspection in the office of the National Park Service. When acquired, lands, including submerged lands and interests in lands, depicted on such map shall be administered by the Secretary as a part of Fort Sumter National Monument, subject to the laws and regulations applicable to such monument, and subject to the provisions of this Act.

SEC. 2. (a) With respect to the lands, including submerged lands, and interests in lands acquired pursuant to the first section of this Act, the Secretary is authorized—

16 USC 4601-22.

(1) to convey, notwithstanding the provisions of section 5 of Public Law 90-400 (82 Stat. 356) and subject to the provisions of subsection (b), a leasehold interest in not to exceed one and a half acres to the State of South Carolina or the city of Charleston or either of them for development by either of them or their agents or lessees of a marine museum and associated administrative facilities;

(2) to grant covenants or easements for ingress, and egress to the State of South Carolina, the city of Charleston, and to other parties as the Secretary may deem necessary to facilitate public use; and

Contracts. Public buildings and grounds.

(3) to enter into cooperative agreements with the State of South Carolina, the city of Charleston, and other parties as the Secretary may deem necessary, pursuant to which construction, maintenance, and use of buildings, utilities, parking facilities, and other improvements may be shared among the parties to the agreement.

(b) Any conveyance made pursuant to subsection (a)(1) and any renewal thereof may be for a period of up to 50 years, and may include the option to purchase the property in fee by the lessee within the first 10 years, upon payment by the lessee of the cost of the property to the United States plus interest based on the average yield of United States Treasury notes with maturities of one year. The Secretary may convey title to the property in fee in the event such option to purchase is exercised, subject to the condition that



the property is used for a public marine museum and associated administrative facilities. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, any leasehold interest conveyed pursuant to subsection (a)(1) shall be conveyed without monetary consideration. The proceeds from any conveyance of property in fee pursuant to subsection (a)(1) shall be deposited in the Land and Water Conservation Fund in the Treasury of the United States.

SEC. 3. Section 117 of Public Law 96-199 (94 Stat. 71) is hereby repealed.

SEC. 4. (a) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, sums heretofore appropriated but not, on the date of enactment of this Act, obligated for construction of a tourboat facility at the Broad Street site, and for the acquisition and construction of the Fleet landing site for Fort Sumter National Monument, which was authorized by section 117 of Public Law 96-199 (94 Stat. 71) are hereby made available for obligation for the acquisition of the lands including submerged lands, and interests in lands identified in the first section of this Act and for construction of necessary facilities thereon, and to the extent that sums heretofore appropriated for land acquisition of the Fleet landing site are not sufficient to cover the cost of acquisition of the properties identified in the first section of this Act, sums heretofore appropriated for construction of facilities at the Broad Street site and the Fleet landing site may be obligated for the purposes of acquisition as authorized in the first section of this Act.

(b) In addition to the sums made available under subsection (a), there is authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

SEC. 5. The Secretary of the Interior shall transfer administrative jurisdiction over the Federal property, consisting of approximately 1 acre, known as the Broad Street site, to the Secretary of the Department in which the Coast Guard is operating, who shall transfer to the Secretary of the Interior, subject to such reservations, terms, and conditions as may be necessary for Coast Guard purposes, administrative jurisdiction over the Federal property, consisting of approximately 1 acre located near Fort Moultrie on Sullivan's Island for purposes of maintenance workshop, storage, and seasonal housing in connection with the administration and protection of the Fort Sumter National Monument.

SEC. 6. (a) Not later than 45 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the Interior shall receive, consider, and act on the application of Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Wells of Waynesboro, Mississippi, for a patent for the land described in subsection (c) of this section under the Act entitled "An Act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patents for lands held under color of title" approved December 22, 1928 (43 U.S.C. 1068 et seq.), notwithstanding the requirement of that Act that a tract of public land be held in good faith and in peaceful, adverse, possession by a claimant, his ancestors or grantors, under claim or color of title for the period commencing not later than January 1, 1901, to the date of application during which time they have paid taxes levied on the land by State and local governmental units.

THE VESTING

Appropriation authorization.

Uniformed services.

Patents and trademarks.
Public lands.
Claims.
Taxes.

100 STAT. 3534

PUBLIC LAW 99-637—NOV. 7, 1986

Minerals and
mining.

(b) Any patent issued pursuant to subsection (a) shall be without any mineral reservation to the United States, and all mineral interests of the United States in and to the land described in subsection (c) shall be transferred to Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Wells without consideration.

(c) The land referred to in this section, comprising approximately 160 acres, is the NW¼ of Section 21, T. 10 N., R. 8 W., St. Stephens Meridian.

Approved November 7, 1986.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY—S. 2534:

SENATE REPORTS: No. 99-476 (Comm. on Energy and Natural Resources).

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 132 (1986):

Oct. 10, considered and passed Senate.

Oct. 15, considered and passed House, amended.

Oct. 17, Senate concurred in House amendment.

PUBLIC LAW 116-9 (2019)

S. 47—156

Park in accordance with this section and the laws generally applicable to units of the National Park System, including—

(A) section 100101(a), chapter 1003, and sections 100751(a), 100752, 100753, and 102101 of title 54, United States Code; and

(B) chapter 3201 of title 54, United States Code.

(2) INTERPRETATION OF HISTORICAL EVENTS.—The Secretary shall provide for the interpretation of historical events and activities that occurred in the vicinity of Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie, including—

(A) the Battle of Sullivan's Island on June 28, 1776;

(B) the Siege of Charleston during 1780;

(C) the Civil War, including—

(i) the bombardment of Fort Sumter by Confederate forces on April 12, 1861; and

(ii) any other events of the Civil War that are associated with Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie;

(D) the development of the coastal defense system of the United States during the period from the Revolutionary War to World War II, including

(i) the Sullivan's Island Life Saving Station;

(ii) the lighthouse associated with the Sullivan's Island Life Saving Station; and

(iii) the coastal defense sites constructed during the period of fortification construction from 1898 to 1942, known as the "Endicott Period"; and

(E) the lives of—

(i) the free and enslaved workers who built and maintained Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie;

(ii) the soldiers who defended the forts;

(iii) the prisoners held at the forts; and

(iv) captive Africans bound for slavery who, after first landing in the United States, were brought to quarantine houses in the vicinity of Fort Moultrie in the 18th century, if the Secretary determines that the quarantine houses and associated historical values are nationally significant.

(f) COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS.—The Secretary may enter into cooperative agreements with public and private entities and individuals to carry out this section.

(g) REPEAL OF EXISTING LAW.—Section 2 of the Joint Resolution entitled "Joint Resolution to establish the Fort Sumter National Monument in the State of South Carolina", approved April 28, 1948 (16 U.S.C. 450ce-1), is repealed.

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APPENDIX B: KEY EVENTS

FORT SUMTER

1829	construction of Fort Sumter begins
1860	secession
1861	firing on Fort Sumter
1863–1865	bombardment
1876–1898	fort neglected
1885	hurricane
1893	hurricane
1898	Spanish-American War begins
1899	construction of Battery Huger
1911	hurricane
1929	hurricane
1940	hurricane
1942	World War II
1948	Fort Sumter transferred to NPS by joint resolution

FORT MOULTRIE

1776	first Fort Moultrie
1798	second Fort Moultrie
1804	hurricane destroys second Moultrie
1809	third Fort Moultrie
1894	two gun platforms built
1898–1899	construction of Batteries Bingham and McCorkle
1899	Battery Jasper
1902	Battery Lord
	Torpedo Storage building
1944–1945	Construction 230
1947	Fort Moultrie deactivated
1960	NPS took jurisdiction of Fort Moultrie

HISTORIC COAST GUARD UNIT

1891	Town of Moultrieville cedes land to South Carolina for Life-Saving Station
1906	Property ceded to federal government
1915	Life-Saving Station merged to create US Coast Guard
1919	Construction of sightseeing station
1938	Construction of boathouse and signal tower
1962	Lighthouse constructed
1973	FOSU begins leasing space
1989	Hurricane Hugo damages structures

FORT SUMTER AND FORT MOULTRIE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

1951–1960	Fort Sumter archeological work
1952	hurricane
1959	hurricane
1961	centennial of the Civil War
1963	Fort Moultrie opened to public
1973	excavation of third Fort Moultrie FOSU leases US Coast Guard property
1976	Fort Moultrie Visitor Center opens
1980	NPS acquires Fleet Landing site (PL 96-199)
1985	Patriots Point tour boats begin
1986	National Park Services acquires Liberty Square (PL 99-637)
1989	Hurricane Hugo
1990	Four structures of US Coast Guard Historic District transferred to FOSU
1995	National Park Service leases land to city of Charleston for aquarium
2001	Liberty Square Visitor Education Center opens
2002	Liberty Square exhibits installed
2008	Charleston Light transferred to FOSU
2011–2015	Civil War Sesquicentennial
2016	centennial of the National Park Service
2019	name change to Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park

APPENDIX C: SUPERINTENDENTS OF FORT SUMTER AND FORT MOULTRIE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

William W. Lockett	1948–1961
E. J. Pratt	1961–1964
Paul C. Swartz	1964–1970
Lloyd K. Whitt	1970–1972
William A. Harris	1972–1975
W. P. “Ping” Crawford	1976–1980
R. Brien Varnado	1981–1989
John Tucker	1989–2006
Bob Dodson	2006–2011
Tim Stone	2011–2017
J. Tracy Stakely	2018–Present

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As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering sound use of our land and water resources; protecting our fish, wildlife, and biological diversity; preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historic places; and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to ensure that their development is in the best interests of all our people by encouraging stewardship and citizen participation in their care. The department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

FOSU 392/174948
November 2020

Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park

