Advancing African American Scholarship

A Report for the US National Park Service Interior Region 2 (legacy Southeast Region)

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Images on the cover:

Top row (left to right):

1. Tuskegee Institute staff (with George Washington Carver front row, center), taken by Frances Benjamin Johnston, 1902. Source: US Library of Congress.
2. Pedro Albizu Campos, a leader of the Puerto Rican Independence movement in the mid-1900s. Photograph from 1936. Source: US Library of Congress.
3. Photograph of jazz musicians in New Orleans, Louisiana, including George Lewis. Photograph taken by either Janet Mevi or Stanley Kubrick for LOOK magazine, 1950. Source: US Library of Congress.

Second row (left to right):

1. Mary McLeod Bethune with a line of girls from the Daytona Literary and Industrial School for Training Negro Girls in Daytona Beach, Florida, founded by Bethune 1904. Photograph from 1911. Source: State Library and Archives of Florida.
2. Dr. Ralph David Abernathy, Juanita Abernathy, Dr. Martin Luther King, Coretta Scott King, and the Abernathy children hold hands during the civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery in 1965. The name of the White minister in the photograph is unknown. 1965. Source: Abernathy Family, NPS.
3. Mat Bransford and Nick Bransford, guides at Mammoth Cave, pictured here near the entrance to the cave. Undated. NPS.

Bottom row (left to right):

1. Street vendors in Charleston, South Carolina, ca. 1879. Source: US Library of Congress.
2. Charlotte Forten Grimké, an educator and activist from Philadelphia who taught at the Penn School on St. Helena Island, in Beaufort County, South Carolina (a Reconstruction-era school for formerly enslaved individuals) beginning in 1862. Photograph by Charles Milton Bell, ca. 1870–1879. Source: New York Public Library.
3. Booker T. Washington Agricultural Truck, developed by George Washington Carver to bring tools and crops to farmers. Photograph from 1917. Source: US Department of Agriculture.
4. A Folk Life Festival at Virgin Islands National Park. In the foreground, Mr. Yisrael Peterson is wearing a colorful costume and standing on moko jumbie stilts. In the background are festival attendees and the stone ruins of the Annaberg windmill. Photograph from 2021. Source: National Park Service.

Preface

Historical Research Associates, Inc., was hired by the National Park Service (NPS) Interior Region 2 (legacy Southeast Region) in 2021 to conduct a study of historical research needs relating to African American history at parks in the Southeastern United States and US Caribbean territories.

A team of historians analyzed over 300 reports, over 1,300 webpages, and surveyed over 120 employees or partners of NPS sites in the Southeast Region. They looked for needs and gaps related to how the NPS understands and interprets African American history in its southeastern parks. HRA then made recommendations for future research projects (and related partnership and outreach initiatives) to better interpret the experiences of Americans of African descent. These recommendations address needs at the regional and park levels.

The resulting report, below, is structured in a way that should allow readers to easily access what information they need. If you are an interpreter or cultural resource manager at one of the parks in the region, you can flip straight to that park (Section 5). If you work at the regional office, you can go directly to the regional recommendations (Section 4). Perhaps, before you propose a project, you would first like to see examples of previous successful initiatives (see Section 6). If you are a partner of a park and want to know how the NPS is doing in general, you can look at the Summary of Findings section (Section 3). And if you'd like to learn more about the historical context of African American history, you can turn to the historical overview section (Section 1). Throughout the report, HRA has built in redundancies to help refer readers to other relevant material.

It is important to note that the term "African American" does not always represent the reality of the heritage or identity of people of color in the southeastern United States and Caribbean territories. Many thousands of people with African ancestry lived in this region under different colonial regimes before and after the United States of America existed. Some might have spoken French or Spanish, perhaps in addition to an Igbo or Yoruba language, or a Creole combining the many African, Indigenous, and European languages. This report uses the terms "African American" or "Black" (for a detailed explanation, see the "Terminology" section in the Introduction). However, not everyone identifies with one of these terms, and neither encapsulates the varied heritages, cultures, and lifeways of people of color in this massive region. Furthermore, since language is always changing, these terms could appear outdated to future readers of the report. For the latest terminology, readers should refer to style guides that are frequently updated, like the NPS Harpers Ferry Center Editorial Style Guide.

Table of Contents

PREFACE i

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS ix

ALPHA CODES FOR PARKS IN INTERIOR REGION 2 xi

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS xv

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY xvii

INTRODUCTION 1

Section Outline 4

Terminology 5

1. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE AFRICAN AMERICAN EXPERIENCE IN THE SOUTHEAST AND CARIBBEAN TERRITORIES 7

Introduction 7

European Exploration and Colonization: Historical Overview 9

Slavery: Historical Overview 19

Abolition and Emancipation: Historical Overview 30

Reconstruction: Historical Overview 40

Jim Crow and Segregation: Historical Overview 49

Modern Civil Rights Movement: Historical Overview 58

2. METHODOLOGY 67

3. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS 70

Reports and Websites Review 70

Survey 79

Research 80

4. REGIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS 82

Best Practices for Contracting 82

Best Practices for Historical Research 82

Research Needs Applicable to All Parks in Region 85

Web Content Needs 94
Community Outreach Needs 95
Staffing 97
Training 100
Research Tools for Interpreters 102
5. PARK-BY-PARK ASSESSMENT AND RECOMMENDATIONS 106
Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Park (ABLI) 107
Andersonville National Historic Site (ANDE) 111
Andrew Johnson National Historic Site (ANJO) 116
Big Cypress National Preserve (BICY) 121
Big South Fork National River & Recreation Area (BISO) 125
Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument (BICR) 128
Biscayne National Park (BISC) 133
Blue Ridge Parkway (BLRI) 139
Brices Crossroads National Battlefield (BRCR) 147
Buck Island Reef National Monument (BUIS) 148
Camp Nelson National Monument (CANE) 151
Canaveral National Seashore (CANA) 155
Cane River Creole National Historical Park (CARI) 159
Cape Hatteras National Seashore (CAHA) 168
Cape Lookout National Seashore (CALO) 173
Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site (CARL) 180
Castillo de San Marcos National Monument (CASA) 184
Charles Pinckney Home National Historic Site (CHPI) 188
Chattahoochee River National Recreation Area (CHAT) 192
Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park (CHCH) 197
Christiansted National Historic Site (CHRI) 203
Congaree National Park (CONG) 207
Cowpens National Battlefield (COWP) 213

Cumberland Gap National Historical Park (CUGA) 217
Cumberland Island National Seashore (CUIS) 221
De Soto National Memorial (DESO) 225
Dry Tortugas National Park (DRTO) 228
Everglades National Park (EVER) 232
Fort Caroline National Memorial (FOCA) 238
Fort Donelson National Battlefield (FODO) 239
Fort Frederica National Monument (FOFR) 246
Fort Matanzas National Monument (FOMA) 250
Fort Pulaski National Monument (FOPU) 252
Fort Raleigh National Historic Site (FORA) 257
Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park (FOSU) 261
Freedom Riders National Monument (FRRI) 265
Great Smoky Mountains National Park (GRSM) 268
Guilford Courthouse National Military Park (GUCO) 273
Gulf Islands National Seashore (GUIS) 277
Horseshoe Bend National Military Park (HOBE) 284
Jean Lafitte National Historical Park (JELA) 288
Jimmy Carter National Historic Site (JICA) 294
Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park (KEMO) 299
Kings Mountain National Military Park (KIMO) 305
Little River Canyon National Preserve (LIRI) 309
Mammoth Cave National Park (MACA) 312
Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historical Park (MALU) 319
Medgar and Myrlie Evers Home National Monument (MEMY) 324
Mill Springs Battlefield National Monument (MISP) 327
Moores Creek National Battlefield (MOCR) 330
Natchez National Historical Park (NATC) 333
Natchez Trace Parkway (NATR) 338

New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park (JAZZ) 344
Ninety Six National Historic Site (NISI) 349
Obed Wild & Scenic River (OBED) 352
Ocmulgee National Monument (OCMU) 354
Overmountain Victory National Historic Trail (OVVI) 358
Reconstruction Era National Historical Park (REER) 361
Russell Cave National Monument (RUCA) 365
Salt River Bay National Historical Park and Ecological Preserve (SARI) 368
San Juan National Historic Site (SAJU) 371
Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail (SEMO) 375
Shiloh National Military Park (SHIL) 381
Stones River National Battlefield (STRI) 386
Timucuan Ecological & Historic Preserve (TIMU) 391
Tupelo National Battlefield (TUPE) 397
Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site (TUAI) 398
Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site (TUIN) 402
Vicksburg National Military Park (VICK) 406
Virgin Islands Coral Reef National Monument (VICR) 411
Virgin Islands National Park (VIIS) 415
Wright Brothers National Memorial (WRBR) 419
6. EXAMPLE PROJECTS 422
Administrative Histories 423
Annotated Bibliographies 423
Archeological and Historical Research Partnerships 424
Ethnographic Overview and Assessments 424
Foundation Documents 425
Historic Resource Studies 425
Interpretive Outreach 425
Long-Range Interpretive Plans 425

National Register of Historic Places Nominations 426
Oral History Projects 426
Special History Studies 427
Websites 427
Other Miscellaneous Reports 428
7. CONCLUSION 430
BIBLIOGRAPHY 431
Primary Sources 431
Public Laws 431
Books and Articles 431
Government Reports 453
NPS Park Websites 465
National Register of Historic Places and National Historic Landscape Nomination Forms 468
Theses and Dissertations 473
APPENDICES 475
APPENDIX A: EVALUATIVE MATRIX SPREADSHEET REVIEW CATEGORIES 477
APPENDIX B: LIST OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS BY PARK 481
Parks in which staff or partners responded to the survey: 481
Parks in which no staff or partners responded to the survey: 483

List of Illustrations

Figure 1. Fort Christiansvaern, in Christiansted, St. Croix, US Virgin Islands, was built in the 1700s by enslaved people of African descent and conscripted Danish soldiers. Photograph from 2015. 14
Figure 2. This image of the slave trading ship *Brookes* depicted how people were forced to spend long ocean journeys from Africa. It was printed around 1788 and widely circulated in Britain in support of abolition movements to show how slavery remained inhumane, even after the implementation of legal reforms. 24
Figure 3. Illustration from *A popular history of the United States* (New York: Scribner, Armstrong, and Company, 1876–1881) depicts enslaved individuals in handcuffs and shackles passing the US Capitol. The image is supposed to represent events that occurred around 1815. 25
Figure 4. A man named Peter (also identified as Gordon in some sources) displayed scars on his back from an overseer beating him. This photograph was widely circulated and was a visual representation of the horrors of slavery. Photograph taken near Baton Rouge, Louisiana, by McPherson & Oliver, 1863. 35

Figure 5. Group portrait of African American legislators from the 41st and 42nd US Congress (1869–1873). From left to right: Hiram R. Revels (Mississippi), Benjamin S. Turner (Alabama), Robert S. De Large (South Carolina), Josiah T. Walls (Florida), Jefferson H. Long (Georgia), Joseph H. Rainy [i.e., Rainey] (South Carolina), and Robert Brown Elliot (South Carolina). 45
Figure 6. Pea Island, an area now within Cape Hatteras National Seashore, housed an all-Black Life-Saving Service crew. Here, Keeper Richard Etheridge with crew members Benjamin Bowser, Dorman Pugh, Theodore Meekins, Lewis Wescott, Stanley Wise, and William Irving. Original photograph by H. H. Brimley, 1896. 54
Figure 7. Photograph showing wreckage of a bomb that exploded near the Gaston Motel in Birmingham, Alabama, where Southern Christian Leadership Conference leaders were staying during the Birmingham Campaign. This site is preserved and interpreted by Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument. Photograph by Marion S. Trikosko, May 14, 1963. 63
Figure 8. Change Over Time: Extent to Which NPS Reports Address African American History 70
Figure 9. Change Over Time: Extent to Which NPS Reports Reviewed Address African American History (by percentage) 71
Figure 10. Mention African American History (at all): Reports 72
Figure 11. Mention African American History (at all): Websites 73
Figure 12. Extent of Focus on African American History: Reports 73
Figure 13. Extent of Focus on African American History: Websites 74
Figure 14. Reports: Connection made to experience of African American individual(s)? 74
Figure 15. Websites: Connection made to experience of African American individual(s)? 75
Figure 16. Number of Reports that Address Themes in the Civil Rights Framework 78
Figure 17. Needs Indicated in Survey Responses 79

List of Tables

Table 1: Survey Questions 68
Table 2: Document Type: How Different Types of Reports Address African American History 76
Table 3: Discipline: How Reports of Different Disciplines Address African American History 76
Table 4: Comparison of NPS Workforce to US Population 98

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AAAM	Association of African American Museums
AAHSRC	African American Heritage Society of Rutherford County
AAIHS	African American Intellectual History Society
ABWH	Association of Black Women Historians
AME	African Methodist Episcopal
ASALH	Association for the Study of African American Life and History
CBC	Clean Beaches Council
CCC	Civilian Conservation Corps
CRI	Civil Rights Initiative
DOI	Department of the Interior
DWP	Diving with a Purpose
FRESH	Flat Rock's Exceptional Sandburg Helpers
FWC	Florida Fish and Wildlife Conservation Commission
GTMNERR	Guana Tolomato Matanzas National Estuarine Research Reserve
HAER	Historic American Engineering Record
HBCUs	Historically Black Colleges and Universities
HFC	Harper's Ferry Center
HID	Hole-in-Donut
HIPAA	Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act
HRS	Historic Resource Study
IR2	Interior Region 2
KKK	Ku Klux Klan
LRIP	Long-Range Interpretive Plan
MPS	Multiple Property Submission
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NABS	National Association of Black Scuba Divers
NAGPRA	Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration

NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NERI	New River Gorge National Park & Preserve
NHL	National Historic Landscape
NOAA	National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration
NPS	National Park Service
NRHP	National Register of Historic Places
OAH	Organization of American Historians
POWs	prisoners of war
SCLC	Southern Christian Leadership Conference
SHPO	State Historic Preservation Officer
SNCC	Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
SOFL	South Florida National Parks and Preserve
SOW	Statement of Work
SRCO	Southeast Rural Community Outreach
SWP	Slave Wrecks Project
USCT	US Colored Troops
USFWS	US Fish and Wildlife Service
WAC	Women's Air Corps
WAVES	Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Services
WPA	Works Progress Administration

Alpha Codes for Parks in Interior Region 2

The dates in parenthesis represent the year the park was established, either by Presidential proclamation or by Congress. Parks in bold were created explicitly for their connection to African American history and are identified in the region as civil rights parks.

ABLI	Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Park (1916, renamed from Abraham Lincoln National Historic Site in 2009)
ANDE	Andersonville National Historic Site (1970)
ANJO	Andrew Johnson National Historic Site (1935, redesignated 1963)
BICY	Big Cypress National Preserve (1974)
BISO	Big South Fork National River & Recreation Area (1974)
BICR	**Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument (2017)**
BISC	Biscayne National Park (1968 by executive order; expanded in 1980)
BLRI	Blue Ridge Parkway (1933)
BRCR	Brices Crossroads National Battlefield Site (1929)
BUIS	Buck Island Reef National Monument (1961)
CANE	**Camp Nelson National Monument (2018)**
CANA	Canaveral National Seashore (1975)
CARI	Cane River Creole National Historical Park (1994)
CAHA	Cape Hatteras National Seashore (1937)
CALO	Cape Lookout National Seashore (1966)
CARL	Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site (1968)
CASA	Castillo de San Marcos National Monument (1924)
CHPI	Charles Pinckney National Historic Site (1988)
CHAT	Chattahoochee River National Recreation Area (1978)
CHCH	Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park (1890)
CHRI	Christiansted National Historic Site (1952)
CONG	Congaree National Park (1976)
COWP	Cowpens National Battlefield (1929)
CUGA	Cumberland Gap National Historical Park (1940)
CUIS	Cumberland Island National Seashore (1972)

DESO De Soto National Memorial (1948)

DRTO Dry Tortugas National Park (1992)

EVER Everglades National Park (1934)

FOCA Fort Caroline National Memorial (1950)

FODO Fort Donelson National Battlefield (1933)

FOFR Fort Frederica National Monument (1936)

FOMA Fort Matanzas National Monument (1924)

FOPU Fort Pulaski National Monument (1924)

FORA Fort Raleigh National Historic Site (1941)

FOSU Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park (1948, renamed from Fort Sumter National Monument in 2019)

FRRI Freedom Riders National Monument (2017)

GRSM Great Smoky Mountains National Park (1926)

GUCO Guilford Courthouse National Military Park (1917)

GUIS Gulf Islands National Seashore (1971)

HOBE Horseshoe Bend National Military Park (1956)

JELA Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve (1907)

JICA Jimmy Carter National Historical Park (1987)

KEMO Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park (1917)

KIMO Kings Mountain National Military Park (1933)

LIRI Little River Canyon National Preserve (1992)

MACA Mammoth Cave National Park (1926)

MALU Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historical Park (1980) (renamed and redesignated from Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site in 2018)

MEMY Medgar and Myrlie Evers Home National Monument (2020)

MISP Mill Springs Battlefield National Monument (2020)

MOCR Moores Creek National Battlefield (1926)

NATC Natchez National Historical Park (1988)

NATR Natchez Trace Parkway (1933–1938)

JAZZ New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park (1994)

NISI Ninety Six National Historic Site (1976)

OBED	Obed Wild & Scenic River (1976)
OCMU	Ocmulgee National Monument (1934)
OVVI	Overmountain Victory National Historic Trail (1987)
REER	**Reconstruction Era National Historical Park (2017)**
RUCA	Russell Cave National Monument (1961)
SARI	Salt River Bay National Historical Park and Ecological Preserve (1992)
SAJU	San Juan National Historic Site (1949)
SEMO	**Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail (1996)**
SHIL	Shiloh National Military Park (1894)
STRI	Stones River National Battlefield (1927)
TIMU	Timucuan Ecological & Historic Preserve (1988)
TUPE	Tupelo National Battlefield (1933)
TUAI	**Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site (1998)**
TUIN	**Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site (1974)**
VICK	Vicksburg National Military Park (1899)
VICR	Virgin Islands Coral Reef National Monument (2001)
VIIS	Virgin Islands National Park (1956)
WRBR	Wright Brothers National Memorial (1927)

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The authors would like to thank NPS collaborators and reviewers in Interior Region 2: Christiana Admiral, Julie Ernstein, Dustin Fuqua, Amanda Griffis, Amanda Hammond, Bill Hunter, Sheri Jackson, Déanda Johnson, Cesar Vasquez, and Cynthia Walton. We would also like to thank the NPS staff and partners who responded to the survey or corresponded with the authors about ongoing reports. Their input was immensely helpful in shaping the priorities outlined below. Last but not least, many thanks go to Dawn Vogel and Jessi Frank at HRA for their support copyediting and formatting the report.

Executive Summary

This report identifies historical research needs for the National Park Service (NPS) to tell more fully the stories of people of African descent at NPS units in Interior Region 2 (IR2). The purpose of this review is to articulate discrete historical research needs to facilitate the future funding of these projects. This report should serve as a reference for regional and park-level managers as they prioritize initiatives related to African American historical research and interpretation. All recommendations in this report should build on the hard work already being done by staff, partners, and volunteers at parks across the region.

In order to assess historical research needs, a team of historians reviewed over 300 NPS reports and over 1,300 NPS webpages and conducted a survey of park staff in the region. The NPS selected the reports to be reviewed, and all website review occurred in 2021 and early 2022. For more on website review, selection of the reports (and limitations of that approach), and the details of the survey, see the Methodology section.

The report is structured as follows:

- Section 1, "Historical Overviews," provides general historical contexts related to African American history. This is to help park staff contextualize local understandings of Black history within regional, national, and international frameworks. This section is split into the following topics:
    - European Exploration and Colonization
    - Slavery
    - Abolition and Emancipation
    - Reconstruction
    - Segregation and Jim Crow
    - Modern Civil Rights Movement
- Section 2, "Methodology," provides background on the approach to the document review and survey.
- Section 3, "Summary of Findings," gives a brief summary of trends identified during the document evaluation and survey processes.
- Section 4, "Regional Recommendations," provides a list of ideas for future research projects (and related needs) at the regional level to better understand and interpret African American stories in the region.
- Section 5, "Park-by-Park Recommendations," includes an assessment of findings and recommendations for future study for each park unit in the region.
- Section 6, "Example Projects," lists as case studies several exemplary projects that can serve as models for future research undertaken at the park or regional level.

The goal of the report is to advance the NPS's efforts to tell the stories of all Americans, by continuing to build a framework for an increasingly thorough interpretation of the experiences of African Americans.[1] It is structured to facilitate simple navigation between topics. Think of it as modular: readers can use the linked Table of Contents to turn directly to pages relevant to their needs, and most sections of the report include cross-references to other sections. Future research recommendations—discrete projects that the NPS could embark upon as soon as funding allows—are grouped by region (Section 4) and by park (Section 5). And the Historical Overview sections are intended to be useful to park employees who might not know much about Black history but are deeply familiar with their park's history: they are historic contexts, meant to serve as backdrops upon which employees can situate the history of their park.

Many employees, partners, and volunteers at parks across the region are already telling these stories, but the long exclusionary history of the NPS has momentum that takes years to shift. The Civil Rights Initiative (CRI), among other recent NPS programs and funding streams, has led to significantly more and more meaningful telling of Black stories in IR2. And yet, much NPS history is produced outside of the Park History realm. Where is this history being written? On what scales? With what staying power? As the NPS considers how to broaden institutionalized interpretive narratives, thinking through how history is made in the NPS should be a central question that directs programs and funding.

This report attempts to highlight the places where the agency, region, parks, programs, or individuals have been successful at incorporating Black stories into official NPS narratives. In some cases, individuals or certain parks might be doing excellent work, but the agency as a whole has been slow to institutionalize their research or innovative programming. Overall, the NPS still has much potential to improve how it identifies and communicates the stories of the people of African descent who lived, worked, or traveled through lands and waters now managed by the agency.

Above all, the NPS needs to publicly grapple with its own history. The agency has a long record of physical demolition of communities of color, segregation of NPS sites, a predominantly White workforce, and ties to primarily White organizations in local communities. This report's directive is to focus on historical research needs, but to truly change the relationship between the NPS and Black communities, the NPS needs to approach historical research hand-in-hand with outreach, meaningful partnerships, changes in workplace culture, and a reexamination of longstanding interpretive narratives.

This report is a starting point: a place to document what research has been done and make recommendations on where to go from here. It can perhaps be most useful in spurring conversations, connections, and future initiatives.

[1] For more on past NPS initiatives to tell the stories of all Americans, see NPS, "Telling All Americans' Stories," last updated September 27, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/index.htm.

Introduction

"At all sites it is critical to ask, 'Who is missing here?' 'Who would have walked the streets here?' to recognize voices that are missing, seek the untold stories, and find ways to tell a more complete narrative."[2]

African American history is relevant to every National Park Service (NPS) site in the southeastern United States and Caribbean islands. This is true for most parks in the nation, but it is especially true in the South. Historians have estimated that 90 percent of the nation's Black population resided in the South before the 1900s, and some southern states have historically had Black majorities.[3] By the turn of the twentieth century, the term "Black Belt" was increasingly used to define the heavily agricultural region in the South where people of color outnumbered White residents.[4] And many people who have lived in the South and Caribbean have complex and varied ancestries that belie the constructed categories of "Black" and "White."[5]

Despite the massive number of people of African ancestry who have lived in this region, most NPS sites in the region were established without meaningful consideration of how people of African descent influenced those places. Historically, many official NPS interpretive narratives discussed the specific details of the lives of White individuals connected to the site, whereas people of African descent who lived or moved through the area were discussed in generalities, often in passing references to slavery or struggles for freedom and civil rights. NPS interpreters, educators, and cultural resource professionals are developing more thorough historical understandings of and interpretive materials about the African American experience, but decades of neglect and structural discrimination still leave room for improvement.

Over the past several decades, Congress and presidents have established new NPS sites with the specific intent of commemorating Black history and the stories of other Americans of color. There are nine parks in the legacy Southeast Region with the primary purpose of preserving and communicating the stories of African Americans. In order of establishment, these are: Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site (1974), Martin Luther King, Jr., National Historical Park (1980), Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail (1996), Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site (1998), Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument (2017), Freedom Riders National Monument (2017), Reconstruction Era National Historical Park (2017), Camp Nelson National Monument (2018), and Medgar and Myrlie Evers Home National Monument (2020).

All parks, even those with enabling legislation that does not mention Black history, should discuss the history of people of African descent as it connects to each place, couched in the

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[2] Academic/consultant/interpretive planner, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[3] US Census Bureau, "Chapter Z: Colonial and Pre-Federal Statistics," in *Bicentennial Edition: Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, DC: US GPO, 1975), 1168; Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, "Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990, and by Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States," Working Paper No. 56 (Washington, DC: US Census Bureau, 2002), 115–30.

[4] Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery: An Autobiography* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1901), Chapter 7.

[5] For historiographical overviews that cite varied scholarship on the complexities of race in the South, see Vanessa M. Holden and Edward E. Baptist, "Nineteenth-Century Enslavement of Africans and African Americans in the United States," and Blair L. M. Kelley and Claudrena N. Harold, "The Historiography of the Black South: From Reconstruction to Jim Crow," both in *Reinterpreting Southern Histories: Essays in Historiography*, edited by Craig Thompson Friend and Lorri Glover (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2020), 99–138, 245–73.

understanding that the categories of Black and White are manufactured and do not adequately reflect the complex realities of peoples' descent. The relevant history of all Americans—regardless of background, ethnicity, or skin color—should be discussed at every unit of the national park system.

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This purpose of this report is to identify historical research needed for the NPS to tell more fully the story of the African American experience in Interior Region 2 (IR2) parks. The IR2 region was created in 2018, when the Department of the Interior (DOI) reorganized units across DOI agencies and bureaus into twelve unified regions, based on watershed boundaries. IR2 is slightly different than the former Southeast Region (see maps at links in footnote).[6] This report covers the seventy-two NPS units in the "legacy" region of Southeast, which includes all parks in the states and territories of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Puerto Rico, South Carolina, Tennessee, and the US Virgin Islands.

This report makes recommendations for future historic research projects at the regional and park level. It focuses on recommendations for specific projects the NPS could initiate as soon as funds become available. Because this project was conceived of and managed by the regional Park History program, the report emphasizes projects that fall under the authority of that program. However, adjacent recommendations are also included if a need arose repeatedly.

To assess needs, the authors of this report reviewed historical and interpretive reports (prepared by, or for, the NPS from 1990 to the present) and all cultural resource interpretive content on park webpages. Types of reports reviewed included: Administrative Histories, Ethnographic Overview and Assessments, Foundation Documents, Historic Resource Studies (HRSs), Long-Range Interpretive Plans (LRIPs), National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) nominations, Special History Studies, and Special Resource Studies. Notably, the review did not include Cultural Landscape Reports, Cultural Landscape Inventories, or Historic Structure Reports (per the NPS Statement of Work [SOW] for this project). HRA analyzed reports and webpages with an eye to how adequately NPS materials explore and interpret African American history and experiences at parks in IR2. For more information on this process, see the Methodology section.

HRA also conducted a survey of resource managers, interpreters, and park partners (public historians, academic historians, and community members) at IR2 NPS units. The goal of the survey was to learn what narratives related to Black history should be interpreted that are not currently addressed, whether due to a lack of research or resources. The survey, as well as multiple rounds of NPS review of this report, helped to mitigate shortcomings borne of the document review methodology.

Based on the review of documents, websites, and survey of NPS staff, HRA developed research recommendations for the region and for individual park units. If detailed research on African American history already exists for a park, then recommendations are geared toward how the park could better utilize existing studies. Other needs that arose included staffing, outreach, partnerships, training, and translating existing research into interpretive materials (whether exhibits, web content,

[6] DOI, "Unified Interior Regional Boundaries," accessed April 20, 2023, https://www.doi.gov/employees/reorg/unified-regional-boundaries; Jessie Bur, "Interior finalizes boundaries of 12 new 'Unified Regions,'" August 29, 2018, https://www.federaltimes.com/management/2018/08/29/interior-finalizes-boundaries-of-12-new-unified-regions/.

or programming). All regional recommendations are outlined in Section 4, while park-level recommendations are in Section 5.

Recommendations build on needs outlined in agencywide visioning documents, like the "National Park Service System Plan: One Hundred Years" and "Rethinking Parks for the 21st Century." The former made specific recommendations on research and interpretive needs related to Black history:

> Nationally important topics include specific historic figures (e.g., W.E.B. Du Bois, Shirley Chisolm, Fannie Lou Hamer, and Malcolm X), the exchange and evolution of music within African American groups, housing discrimination, the role of newspapers and publications, the environmental ethic of African Americans, and the history of black colleges and universities.[7]

Several of the recommendations in "Rethinking Parks for the 21st Century" are applicable to the recommendations in this report, like the stated need to "actively acknowledge the connections between native cultures and the parks, and assure that no relevant chapter in the American heritage experience remains unopened," and to build "a workforce that reflects America's diversity."[8]

The NPS scoped this study to focus specifically on historical research needs related to African Americans. At many points during the review, HRA encountered needs related to Indigenous people, women, children, and other underrepresented groups. When these needs intersected with the stories of African Americans—as they often did—this report recommends future research projects to address the shortcomings. In other cases, research needs related to other underrepresented groups fell outside of the scope of this report. Future investigations should focus on research needs related to other narratives that the NPS has historically underrepresented, and all future research should consider the varied and intersectional heritage of people who have called this region home.

Any history of the NPS in this region is tied to the NPS's own legacy of segregation, exclusion, and erasure of communities of color. What is not physically present at NPS sites is still important to the history of this nation. In some cases, the NPS actively dismantled and erased Black communities to tell history from the perspective of another group of people, or from another era.[9] In other cases, the NPS focus on the built environment has meant the agency ignored or neglected buildings that did not serve the primary narrative of the site, or that were not perceived by the NPS as serving the primary narrative. Other stories have not been told for a myriad of reasons, whether to protect the psychological comfort of White visitors or in service to the national narrative that the NPS helped to establish. Elon Cook Lee discussed this phenomenon at sites of enslavement:

> The histories of colonization, expulsion, genocide, war, slavery, segregation, wage suppression, gender violence, lynching, discrimination, union-busting, racism, and nearly any other negative thing that someone from history could have committed, advocated for, or been an accomplice to have largely been cleansed from the master

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[7] DOI, NPS, "National Park Service System Plan: One Hundred Years," January 2017, 65.

[8] NPS, "Rethinking the National Parks for the 21st Century," National Park System Advisory Board Report, 2001, 9.

[9] Fazendeville is one example, but there are others that are less well-known. See NPS, "Fazendeville," JELA webpage, last updated December 3, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/places/fazendeville.htm.

> narrative so that visitors can focus on beautiful objects, majestic mansions, and passive portrait faces.[10]

The NPS needs to address its own role in this exclusion and show visitors, through continued intentional actions, that the agency understands and values the perspectives, history, and experiences of people of color. This is bigger than any one interpreter or historian or superintendent. An employee might be interpreting Black history to the public, but overturning long-standing community mistrust stemming from the NPS's long legacy of erasing or ignoring the stories of people of color is a slow process. As a partner of Mammoth Cave National Park wrote,

> The park is very comfortable talking about the early slave period but is unwilling to talk about how the NPS intentionally buried the history of blacks at Mammoth Cave for decades. . . .
>
> So glad to see this [project] happening because it is long overdue but candidly I am concerned that NPS is not willing to accept and condemn what it has done in not just perpetuating the misstelling of history but actually creating the lie.[11]

To address and overcome this legacy, the NPS needs to continue on the path of sustained work. Recommendations in this report are intended to shine a light on possible ways forward.

Section Outline

This report is a guide to help prioritize future research needs. It is structured in a way that enables flipping to different sections, to facilitate easy navigation depending on a reader's needs. It is organized into the following sections.

- Section 1, "Historical Overviews," provides historical context of African American history for the following topics:
    - European Exploration and Colonization
    - Slavery
    - Abolition and Emancipation
    - Reconstruction
    - Segregation and Jim Crow
    - Modern Civil Rights Movement
- Section 2, "Methodology," provides background on how the authors conducted the survey and documentation evaluation.
- Section 3, "Summary of Findings," gives a brief summary of trends identified during the study.

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[10] Elon Cook Lee, "From Plantations to the National Trust's Sites of Enslavement: Reconsidering Celebrations at Sites of Enslavement, Part 2," National Trust for Historic Preservation, October 18, 2021, https://savingplaces.org/stories/from-plantations-to-the-national-trusts-sites-of-enslavement.

[11] MACA partner, survey response, October 12, 2021.

- Section 4, "Regional Recommendations," provides a list of ideas for future research projects (and related needs) that the region could fund to better understand and interpret African American stories in the region.

- Section 5, "Park-by-Park Recommendations," includes detailed assessment of findings and recommendations for future study for each park unit in the region. All parks in the region are listed alphabetically. A bulleted introduction presents the purpose and basic background of the park, and then discusses materials reviewed and relevant themes. This is followed by a brief analysis of existing research and interpretation of African American stories, based on materials reviewed. The heart of this section is a list of recommendations for future research needs at each park.

- Section 6, "Example Projects," lists exemplary projects that can serve as models for future research undertaken at the park or regional level.

The bibliography lists all reports and websites reviewed for this report, as well as all scholarly studies, government reports, and other documents consulted during the writing of this report.

Terminology

Language and terminology are products of collective culture. Terms considered acceptable are constantly changing, and appropriateness is in the eye of the beholder. This report attempts to approach all people with kindness, understanding, and recognition of our shared humanity. Although terminology used in 2023 might be outdated in one year (or two, or ten), this report is written in a way that intends to lend a generosity of spirit to all individuals, in the hopes that its contents might outlast any outdated terminology.

The below report complies with the Harpers Ferry Center (HFC) style guide, which the NPS maintains to promote consistency in terminology and style across NPS interpretive materials. Any deviation from the HFC style guide is accompanied by an explanation. NPS staff frequently update the HFC style guide as terminology changes. Park staff and interpreters should refer to the latest version, posted on the NPS website, for the most up-to-date guidance.[12]

As the HFC style guide recommends, this report uses the term "African American." In instances where "American" is not applicable—like in Spanish Florida, the Danish West Indies, French Louisiana, or the British colonies—the terms "Black" or "people of color" are used. The terms Black, White, Indigenous, and Latinx (or Latina, Latino, Latine, or Hispanic) are capitalized throughout the report when referring to constructed racial categories. To avoid dehumanizing people, the report refers to people who are enslaved, using names and additional identification when available, rather than making blanket references to "slaves." It also avoids the discontinued NPS practice of using the term "contraband" to refer to formerly enslaved Black refugees during the Civil War era.

Throughout the report, standardized NPS alpha codes are used to represent park names, since these codes help with brevity, and the target audience for this report is NPS staff who are familiar with them. For readers who are not: these codes are usually the first two letters of the park's first

[12] NPS, Harpers Ferry Center, "HFC Editorial Style Guide," last updated August 21, 2023, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/hfc/hfc-editorial-style-guide.htm.

two words (Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument is BICR, Cape Lookout National Seashore is CALO). If the park name is only one word, it is the first four letters of that word (Everglades National Park is EVER, Biscayne National Park is BISC). For a complete list of park alpha codes, see "Alpha Codes for Parks in Interior Region 2" (above).

1. Historical Overview of the African American Experience in the Southeast and Caribbean Territories

Introduction

This section provides a historical overview of African American history in the Southeast and Caribbean territories, divided by the following topics. Because these are broad, the below narratives focus on stories most relevant to parks in the region. These six sections are intended to provide historical context to future park managers and interpreters who read this report. It is important to note that the sections overlap in content. The titles of all sections are listed below, followed by the most relevant NPS time periods and thematic frameworks.[13]

European Exploration and Colonization

- NPS time periods: Early Inhabitants and Native Americans 3500 BC–AD 1600; European Exploration and Settlement 1600–1800
- NPS Thematic Framework: Peopling Places, Transforming the Environment

Slavery

- NPS time periods: European Exploration and Settlement 1600–1800; US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period 1800–1860; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism 1860–1900
- NPS Thematic Framework: Peopling Places, Transforming the Environment, Developing the American Economy, Creating Social Institutions and Movements

Abolition and Emancipation

- NPS time periods: European Exploration and Settlement 1600–1800; US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period 1800–1860; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism 1860–1900
- NPS Thematic Framework: Creating Social Institutions and Movements, Expressing Cultural Values, Changing Role of the United States in the World Community

Reconstruction

- NPS time periods: Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism 1860–1900

[13] Note that these time periods and thematic frameworks were developed in the 1990s and updated in the 2000s. They are used in this document as organizing tools, but they are not always used uniformly across the NPS. Recently, the National Historic Landmarks program has considered updating the framework.

- NPS Thematic Framework: Peopling Places, Creating Social Institutions and Movements, Expressing Cultural Values, Shaping the Political Landscape, Transforming the Environment

Segregation and Jim Crow

- NPS time periods: Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism 1860–1900; Process of Change: Progressivism, World Wars I & II, Great Depression 1900–1950
- NPS Thematic Framework: Creating Social Institutions and Movements, Expressing Cultural Values, Shaping the Political Landscape

Modern Civil Rights Movement

- NPS time periods: Process of Change: Progressivism, World Wars I & II, Great Depression 1900–1950; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam 1950–Present
- NPS Thematic Framework: Creating Social Institutions and Movements, Expressing Cultural Values, Shaping the Political Landscape, Changing Role of the United States in the World Community[14]

These six topics aim to construct a chronological framework that lends itself to understanding the African American experience. It is important to note that these are not the only topical threads relevant to Black history; it is just one way to split up time periods and significant events into manageable chunks. The authors prioritized making these overviews brief and easy for anyone to understand, while also providing citations where readers can learn more.

[14] Note that the larger struggle for civil rights cut across these themes and time periods.

European Exploration and Colonization: Historical Overview

On September 27, 1538, a man by the name of Juan Garrido submitted a petition to the Spanish courts. The testimony read in part:

> I, Juan Garrido, black resident [de color negro vecino] of this city [Mexico], appear before Your Mercy and state that I am in need of making a probanza to the perpetuity of the king [a perpetuad rey], a report on how I served Your Majesty in the conquest and pacification of this New Spain, from the time when the Marqués del Valle [Cortés] entered it; and in his company I was present at all the invasions and conquests and pacifications which were carried out, always with the said Marqués, all of which I did at my own expense without being given either salary or allotment of natives [repartimiento de indios] or anything else.[15]

Born in West Africa and later enslaved in Portugal, Garrido briefly testified to the Spanish kingdom about 30 years of experience as a conquistador in the Americas. Taking part in various expeditions led by conquistadors like Hernán Cortés and Juan Ponce de León, Garrido traveled to places like Hispaniola (modern-day Dominican Republic and Haiti) in 1508, Cuba and Puerto Rico in 1508, and Florida in 1513. With this testimony, Garrido placed himself in North America as early as 1502, earning him the distinction of being one of the first known Africans to arrive on the continent.[16]

The year 1619 has been considered by many historians as a touchstone in the history of the United States. In August of that year, a Dutch ship entered a port near the Hampton Roads in Virginia, an English colony. The ship's cargo held "20. and odd Negroes" whom Governor George Yeardley subsequently purchased.[17] In the first census taken of the colony in March 1620, 32 Africans were listed as being "in the service of several planters." While the term "slave" was not applied to this group, the English were aware of the use of slave labor by the Spanish in their respective colonies.[18]

But focusing on the events of 1619 perpetuates an Anglo-centric narrative of US history. A broader view of the history of European exploration in North America paints a different picture, as Garrido's testimony indicates. This is especially true in the Southeast and Caribbean, where many European countries staked their claim in the New World prior to 1619. People of African descent, like Garrido, were a part of these journeys.

Advancements in seafaring technology in the 1400s and 1500s had led to a significant increase in European exploration around the globe. Driven by the desire for wealth and glory, many expeditions were tasked with searching for a new trade route to the Middle East and Asia. In the first half of the 1400s, the Portuguese—spearheaded by Prince Henry the Navigator—led the way with expeditions to find a route around Africa. The Portuguese and Spanish established trading relationships with various West African states—primarily the exchange of spices and raw goods like ivory for

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[15] Quoted in Matthew Restall, "Black Conquistadors: Armed Africans in Early Spanish America," *The Americas* 57, no. 2 (2000): 171–205, here 171.

[17] Restall, "Black Conquistadors," 171–205.

[17] Martha W. McCartney, *A Study of the Africans and African Americans on Jamestown Island and at Green Spring, 1619–1803* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 2003), 27.

[18] McCartney, *A Study of the Africans and African Americans on Jamestown Island and at Green Spring*, 29.

manufactured items like cloth and iron. Eventually, humans became a highly sought after commodity, and these trade routes became central to Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.[19]

Slavery was not a foreign concept in Spain and Portugal, dating as far back as the Roman Empire. Those who were enslaved were typically captives of war. However, in the late 1400s and early 1500s, Portugal and Spain's desire to develop commerce in their newly established colonies, which coincided with a shortage in labor due to the large number of deaths of Indigenous peoples, led to an increased demand for African labor. This demand tapped into an already existing market in Africa, which was similar to that in Europe: those captured were typically prisoners of war. European traders took advantage of the political climate by supplying and pitting one group against the other.[20]

This led to a significant increase in African presence in Europe in the 1400s. According to historian Jane Landers, Africans were brought back to Spain and were a source of labor in agriculture, mines, and as artisans in port cities. However, not all Africans living in Spain were enslaved. Some free Africans became social and civil leaders in cities like Seville.[21] These individuals often became Hispanicized and adapted to Spanish culture.

Looking to avoid the West African sea routes dominated by the Portuguese, Spain invested in Christopher Columbus' 1492 expedition to reach "the Indies." This voyage to what is now known as the Americas, as well as three subsequent trips also led by Columbus, marshaled in a wave of European exploration and eventual colonization. An important aspect of Spanish colonization was spiritual conquest. In May 1493, Pope Alexander VI issued the *Inter caetera* bull, which, among other things, included a mandate that "…the Catholic faith and the Christian religion be exalted and be everywhere increased and spread…that barbarous nations be overthrown and brought to the faith itself."[22] Essentially, Spanish explorers were given permission to claim any lands they reached and convert any peoples they encountered for the Church.

Spanish crews spent the next two decades visiting other islands in the Caribbean, where they established additional colonies, including what is now Puerto Rico in 1508. Juan Ponce de Leon, who traveled with Columbus, became the first provincial governor of Puerto Rico. The presence of gold on the island led to its growing prominence in the region. Spain ordered the building of fortifications to protect the city of San Juan from attacks by other European powers (these and later fortifications are now preserved as part of **San Juan National Historic Site**).

The quick growth of Puerto Rico was only possible due to the Spanish encomienda system, which provided Spaniards legal rights to the labor of various Indigenous groups. On Puerto Rico, it led to the forced labor of Taino people. Spain considered their labor and its output a form of tribute in exchange for protection and conversion to Catholicism. This system is different from slavery in

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[19] John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1800*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 26.

[20] John K. Thornton, *Warfare in Atlantic Africa, 1500–1800* (London: Routledge, 1999), 24.

[21] Jane Landers, "Africans in the Spanish Colonies," *Historical Archaeology* 31, no. 1 (1997): 85.

[22] Pope Alexander VI, "Inter caetera by Pope Alexander VI (May 4, 1493)," in *Encyclopedia Virginia*, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/inter-caetera-by-pope-alexander-vi-may-4-1493.

that the Spanish did not "own" the laborers, and the right to their labor could not be inherited.[23] Despite these differences, this mass exploitation, coupled with exposure to European diseases, led to the devastation of Indigenous populations on many Caribbean islands. For example, the Taino people saw an estimated 70 percent decrease in population within 30 years of Columbus' arrival in the New World.

As Spain began their overland conquest of what is now the continental United States, African people were a part of that journey. In addition to Garrido, African people took part in other early Spanish expeditions, including Hernando de Soto's 1539 expedition through what is now northern Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. **De Soto National Memorial** tells the history of de Soto's four-year expedition that covered over 4,000 miles and ten modern US states.[24] However, unlike Garrido, the Africans who came with de Soto were enslaved. Most Africans arriving in America were there for the purpose of forced labor, particularly to build fortifications. In cities like St. Augustine, Florida, or San Juan, Puerto Rico.[25] Two of those fortifications—**Castillo de San Marcos** and **Fort Matanzas**—are managed and preserved by the NPS.

By the 1600s, other European powers established their own colonies in the Americas to be in direct competition with the Spanish and Portuguese. As previously mentioned, England began to establish colonies along the east coast of North America in the early 1600s. In 1663, England established the Province of Carolina (divided into two separate colonies of North Carolina and South Carolina in 1712). White indentured servants were a part of the labor force, as were people Indigenous to the Southeast. However, following several violent episodes between Indigenous communities and British colonists in the early 1700s, British leaders encouraged the importation of people from African as a labor force.[26] The enslaved African population grew with the establishment of each new colony.

Georgia, a colony established in 1732 by British General James Oglethorpe, was the exception to this rule. According to historian Betty C. Wood, the prohibition of slavery was not a moral decision, but rather a military and economic one. Spanish Florida, located to Georgia's south, offered freedom to enslaved Africans in exchange for military service. A Spanish militia bolstered by newly freed Africans was a constant threat, and Oglethorpe established **Fort Frederica** on St. Simon's Island to

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[23] Timothy J. Yeager, "Encomienda or Slavery? The Spanish Crown's Choice of Labor Organization in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America," *Journal of Economic History* 55, no. 4 (1995): 843.

[24] Morgan Norman Greig, "Conquistas and Chronicles: A Social History of the Fernando De Soto Expedition of Conquest, 1538–1543" (PhD diss., University of South Florida, 2022), 24.

[25] St. Augustine is the oldest continuously inhabited European-established settlement in the United States and the second-oldest settlement in the Americas after San Juan, Puerto Rico. One year prior to the establishment of the city, a French settlement was established by Rene Goulaine de Laudonnière in what is now Jacksonville, Florida, to serve as refuge for Huguenot Protestants. Originally called Fort Caroline, the NPS established a memorial to the fort that is managed by the **Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve**. See Charles E. Bennet's *Laudonniere & Fort Caroline: History and Documents* (Tuscaloosa: University Alabama Press, 2001).

[26] William L. Ramsey, *The Yamasee War: A Study of Culture, Economy, and Conflict in the Colonial South* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008); Allan Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670–1717* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002); Steven J. Oatis, *A Colonial Complex: South Carolina's Frontiers in the Era of the Yamasee War, 1680–1730* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004).

protect British Georgia from that threat.[27] Unfortunately, Georgia lifted its ban on slavery in 1751, as its leaders strove to create more of a South Carolina-style plantation agricultural economy.[28]

Meanwhile, after establishing colonies in what is now Canada, the French ventured farther south. In 1682, French Louisiana was established as a district of New France. The area consisted of most of the Mississippi River basin and covered a significant part of what is now the continental United States, but Indigenous peoples occupied most of that area. French settlement was concentrated along rivers in Upper Louisiana (Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri) and Lower Louisiana (Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi). According to historian Brett Rushforth, the French did not populate New France at the same rate as their European counterparts in their respective American colonies. Additionally, the French approach to colonialism led to more intertwined relationships with Indigenous communities. As a result, the Indigenous slave trade lasted longer in New France as it was not wholly replaced by African labor, although the French did begin transporting enslaved Africans to New Orleans (in and near areas that are now part of **Jean Lafitte National Historical Park**) between 1717 and 1721.[29]

This mixture of Indigenous and African labor became a cause of concern for wealthy French planters—the fear of the two groups joining forces was a constant. In 1729, Natchez people led a revolt against the French. During the events, many enslaved Africans were seized, and some of them joined the Natchez in fighting against the French.[30] The **Natchez National Historical Park** in Louisiana interprets some of this history. The number of Africans increased when Louisiana came under Spanish control in 1769 and the trade of enslaved Native American persons was banned.[31]

Another country that played a role in European exploration of the Americas was Denmark. During the 1600s and the height of the transatlantic slave trade, Denmark established Fort Christiansborg in a region of Africa commonly called the Gold Coast and within modern-day Ghana. Administered by the Danish Africa Company (later to be incorporated into the Danish West India-Guinea Company), the colony was initially established for the trade of raw materials like ivory and gold. However, with the establishment of a colony of the island of St. Thomas in 1672, the Danish shifted their attention to sugar production in the Caribbean. More colonies followed in the early 1700s: St. John in 1718 and St. Croix in 1733. Sugar production at a commercial scale required significant labor. Soon, human beings became the largest commodity traded at Christiansborg; historian Lomarsh Roopnarine estimates that Danes forcibly transported around 53,000 enslaved

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[27] In September 1739, a group of 20 enslaved Africans marched south along the Stono River in South Carolina with the hopes of escaping to Spanish Florida. The group grew to around 80 people total before the rebellion was put down after a week. Twenty-five South Carolina planters and thirty-five to forty Africans were killed. See Peter Charles Hoffer, *Cry Liberty. The Great Stono River Slave Rebellion of 1739* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

[28] Betty Wood, *Slavery in Colonial Georgia, 1730–1775* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984), 98.

[29] Brett Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 10–11.

[31] Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992), 97–100.

[31] Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 336.

Africans to the Danish West Indies.[32] **Virgin Islands National Park** on St. John and **Christiansted National Monument** on St. Croix preserve this history.

While enslaved people resisted enslavement from the beginning, the increase in population allowed for more opportunities for mass resistance, specifically armed rebellion and maroonage. The latter was quite common in the Caribbean, as self-emancipators utilized the difficult and remote geography of the islands. According to Roopnarine:

> Maroons chose domiciles that were difficult to access and easy to defend. Natural barriers or defenses such as thick forests, jungles, mountain ridges and peaks, swamps, steep slopes and caves encouraged escape and the eventual establishment of maroon communities.[33]

Maroon communities were also present in North America, although perhaps to a lesser degree than on Caribbean islands. According to historian Sylviane A. Diouf, American maroon communities were established in borderlands—"the wild land that bordered the farms and plantations and cities and towns"—or the hinterlands of the Carolinas, Georgia, and Louisiana.[34]

The existence of such communities often served as imagined, and occasionally very real, threats to the established order in the colonies. In 1733, a group of enslaved Africans rebelled against the planters and took control of the island of St. John for almost nine months—one of the longest rebellions by enslaved people in the history of the Americas. In 1765, a conspiracy for armed insurrection was discovered in South Carolina. Shortly after the conspiracy was discovered, it was reported that 107 enslaved Africans left their plantations and joined nearby maroon communities.[35] Spanish Louisiana was the site of numerous attempts at resistance including two attempted slave rebellions in Pointe Coupée Parish in 1795.[36] In all three instances, actual evidence of maroon involvement in armed rebellion was hard to find.

People of African descent have been present in North America and the Caribbean since some of the earliest European expeditions to the western hemisphere. Individuals of African descent were part of Spanish missions to the new world, and French and British colonies imported enslaved Africans to their colonies. Very few people of African descent came to the Americas as free people in the 1400s through 1600s, although there were some. Throughout the early colonial period, people of African descent resisted bondage, formed communities, and changed their circumstances when they could. This resistance in turn shaped colonial policies meant to control enslaved people, as the fear of African-Indigenous uprisings loomed ever larger in the eyes of European colonial governments.

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[32] Lomarsh Roopnarine, "Maroon Resistance and Settlement on Danish St. Croix," *Journal of Third World Studies* 27, no. 2 (Fall 2010): 91–92.

[33] Roopnarine, "Maroon Resistance and Settlement on Danish St. Croix," 96.

[34] Sylviane A. Diouf, *Slavery's Exiles: The Story of the American Maroons* (New York: New York University Press, 2014), 5; **Congaree National Park** in South Carolina highlights stories of self-emancipating African Americans who took refuge in the wilderness along the Congaree River.

[35] Diouf, *Slavery's Exiles*, 257.

[36] Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 344–74.



Figure 1. Fort Christiansvaern, in Christiansted, St. Croix, US Virgin Islands, was built in the 1700s by enslaved people of African descent and conscripted Danish soldiers. Photograph from 2015.

Source: Wayne Hsieh, Flickr, https://flic.kr/p/sofGEF. No changes were made to the image.

Related National Park Service Sites

Buck Island Reef National Monument

Canaveral National Seashore

Cane River Creole National Historical Park

Cape Hatteras National Seashore

Castillo de San Marcos National Monument

Christiansted National Historic Site

Congaree National Park

Cumberland Island National Seashore

De Soto National Memorial

Everglades National Park

Fort Caroline National Memorial

Fort Frederica National Monument

Fort Matanzas National Monument

Fort Raleigh National Historic Site

Little River Canyon National Preserve

Natchez National Historical Park

Natchez Trace National Scenic Trail

Natchez Trace Parkway

Ninety Six National Historic Site

Obed Wild & Scenic River

Ocmulgee Mounds National Historical Park

Russell Cave National Monument

Salt River Bay National Historical Park and Ecological Preserve

San Juan National Historic Site

Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve

Virgin Islands Coral Reef National Monument

Virgin Islands National Park

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Slavery: Historical Overview

On June 5, 1749, an advertisement in the *South Carolina Gazette* announced that a ship, the *Hector*, had recently arrived near Charleston from the "Windward Coast of Africa" with a "Parcel of young healthy slaves." Upon its arrival in South Carolina, the likely first destination of the *Hector* was Sullivan's Island. The island was the location of four pestilence houses where the enslaved Africans aboard the ship quarantined for weeks before they were sold at public auction. Historians estimate that nearly 40 percent of all enslaved Africans passed through the Charleston Port, earning it the label of the Ellis Island for African Americans.[37]

By the late 1700s, slavery was already a well-established institution in most European colonies in North America. As the population of Africans increased, so did the number of laws that restricted their rights, for both the free and the enslaved. Slave codes were laws enacted with the goal of limiting and controlling the autonomy of free and enslaved Africans in the Americas. France enacted in its colonies a law known as the Code Noir, a 1724 decree that detailed severe punishments allowed for enslaved people who ran away; if a free Black person was found guilty of harboring a runaway, they could face a fine or even enslavement.[38] In 1740, South Carolina passed an act that made it a criminal offense to teach an enslaved person how to read or write.[39]

As slavery became more institutionalized, anti-slavery sentiment grew with it. In 1688, the Germantown, Pennsylvania, meeting of the Religious Society of Friends issued a statement against "the traffick of men-body."[40] In 1789, Olaudah Equiano, a formerly enslaved Nigerian, penned *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African*. This autobiography went on to be an international best-seller and influenced anti-slavery movements globally.[41] For more on anti-slavery movements, see the "Abolition and Emancipation" section.

In 1772, William Murray, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, ruled in *Somerset v. Stewart* that James Somerset, an enslaved person, could not be forcibly removed from England and sent to Jamaica against his will. In his opinion, Murray described slavery as "odious" and unsupported by English law. This ruling bolstered the abolitionism movement across the British Empire.

In reaction to this growing abolition movement, American colonists from southern states rallied behind the institution of slavery. This became a driving force behind the push for independence from Great Britain. At the First Continental Congress in 1774, delegates from the southern states were promised that their right to maintain slavery would be protected in exchange for their support

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[37] Peter Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974), iv; Fort Moultrie, a fortification built by enslaved labor in 1776, is located on Sullivan's Island and is a part of the **Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park**.

[38] Gilbert Din, *Spaniards, Planters, and Slaves: The Spanish Regulation of Slavery in Louisiana, 1763–1803* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999), 9.

[39] Birgit Brander Rasmussen, "'Attended with Great Inconveniences': Slave Literacy and the 1740 South Carolina Negro Act," *PMLA* 125, no. 1 (2010): 201. Rasmussen explains that the passage of this 1740 act, which amended pre-existing slave codes, was in direct response to the Stono Rebellion which occurred the year prior.

[40] Katharine Gerbner, "'We Are against the Traffik of Men-Body': The Germantown Quaker Protest of 1688 and the Origins of American Abolitionism," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 74, no. 2 (April 1, 2007): 166.

[41] Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African. Written by Himself. Vol I*, (1745; Chapel Hill: Documenting the American South, University Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2001), https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/equiano1/equiano1.html.

for an eventual declaration of independence.[42] The 1776 declaration read, ". . . all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." These words became the basis upon which the United States of America was established. However, these principles were not afforded to all who lived in the new nation.

African Americans were not considered citizens of the new nation, but they had participated in the American Revolutionary War on both sides of the conflict. It is estimated that between 9,000 and 10,000 free and enslaved Black people served in the Continental Army, the majority of whom were free Black men who voluntary enlisted in their local militias.[43] For example, **Cowpens National Battlefield** has documented evidence of at least 15 Black men who fought with the Americans at the Battle of Cowpens in 1781.[44]

On the British side of the conflict, thousands of enslaved Black people sought shelter with the British forces after John Murray, 4th Earl of Dunmore and Royal Governor of Virginia, issued a proclamation in 1775 offering freedom to all enslaved people who were willing to serve in the British army. The declaration applied only to people enslaved in Virginia, but it spurred mass resistance movements across the British colonies. Estimates vary wildly, but somewhere between a few thousand and tens of thousands of enslaved people—men, women, and children—escaped to the British following Dunmore's declaration. Most men, women, and children worked as laborers, although some were organized into regiments and others participated in battles like the Siege of Savannah in 1779.[45]

After the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, some enslaved Black men who served were rewarded with their freedom, but many African Americans did not fare better than before the war. In fact, in the new United States of America, slavery became even further codified in law. Delegates to the 1787 Constitutional Convention—at least one-third of whom were enslavers—added two articles that directly impacted enslaved African Americans: The Three-Fifths Compromise and the Fugitive Slave Clause. The Three-Fifths Compromise was born out of debate over how to calculate the number of seats each state would receive in the House of representatives, the number of allocated electoral votes of each state, and to determine federal taxes to be paid. Representatives from slave-holding states wanted enslaved people to count toward the total population count, which would give them significantly more political power—something that leaders of states that outlawed slavery did not want. The compromise ultimately allowed for three-fifths of the enslaved population

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[42] Alfred W. Blumrosen and Ruth G. Blumrosen, *Slave Nation: How Slavery United the Colonies & Sparked the American Revolution* (Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks, 2005).

[43] Gary B. Nash, "The African Americans' Revolution," in *Oxford Handbook of the American Revolution*, ed. Edward G. Gray and Jane Kamensky (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 268.

[44] NPS, "Patriot Minorities at the Battle of Cowpens," COWP, last updated January 26, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/cowp/learn/historyculture/patriot-minorities-at-the-battle-of-cowpens.htm.

[45] Nash, "The African Americans' Revolution," 258–60, 269; John Hannigan, "Service with the British Army," NPS, Minute Man National Historical Park, last updated October 12, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/john-hannigan-patriots-of-color-paper-2.htm. See also Sylvia R. Frey, *Water from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991). At the Siege of Savannah, more than 500 Black soldiers from the French colony of Saint-Domingue were recruited and fought alongside American forces. Led by French general Charles Hector, Comte d'Estaing, the soldiers comprised Black men (free and enslaved), some of whom later served in the Haitian Revolution (1791–1804). See George P. Clark, "The Role of the Haitian Volunteers at Savannah in 1779: An Attempt at an Objective View," *Phylon* 41, no. 4 (1980): 356–66.

to count toward a state's overall population number. The Fugitive Slave Clause allowed the seizure of enslaved people within free states.[46] These enshrined the institution of slavery within America's founding documents.

The young United States wanted to expand its borders to the west of the Mississippi River and into the territory of Louisiana, which stretched up the Mississippi River and its tributaries. As of the late 1700s, most towns and settlements in Louisiana were Indigenous communities, apart from a few French towns like New Orleans, Mobile, St. Louis, and other fortified locations. France held full legal title to the area—like most European colonies, it was an area drawn on the map that France declared the right to claim for itself. Following the Seven Years' War (1755–1763), Spain took control over Louisiana (in 1763), but France regained control after the Treaty of Aranjuez (1801).[47] Just two years later (1803), the United States purchased from France the right to claim territory, for 15 million dollars. With this purchase, the United States doubled in potential size.[48]

The lives of enslaved and free people of African descent who lived in the Louisiana territory were impacted as colonial powers changed. During the initial period of Spanish colonization, France's Code Noir essentially remained in effect. By 1765, however, Spanish laws known as Las siete partidas began to take priority. One significant difference was a law called coartación, which allowed enslaved people to buy their freedom and that of other enslaved people. Another difference was that free Black men could serve in the militia and even purchase and sell enslaved individuals. French planters generally considered Spanish law too lenient, especially in terms of punishments of free and enslaved Black people. In the 1790s, the Poydras plantation in Pointe Coupée Parish was at the center of an uprising that was quashed when informants came forward. The resulting anxiety compelled the Spanish government to impose stricter measures, including a regulation that created a fugitive slave fund. Even still, the historian Gilbert C. Din argues that the most significant change in Louisiana during Spanish rule was the increase in the number of free people of color: "Only under the Spaniards did free people of color achieve the status of a class."[49]

Under US governance, slavery expanded in the Louisiana Territory as more people settled in the new territory seeking their fortune on the new commodity of cotton. This labor-intensive crop led to a boom in the enslaved population of the region. After the United States banned the international

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[46] Charles Pinckney and Pierce Butler, the delegates from South Carolina, initiated the debate that led to the addition of the Fugitive Slave Clause, arguing that fugitive slaves "be delivered up like criminals." See David O. Stewart, *The Summer of 1787* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2007), 68–69; Earl Malts, "Fugitive Slave Laws," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, accessed February 15, 2023, https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/fugitive-slave-laws/.

[47] The American theater of the Seven Years' War is known as the French and Indian War. During this conflict, British colonists fought French colonists who allied with various Indigenous tribes such as the Ojibwa, Lenape, and the Abenaki. The conflict resulted in the Treaty of Paris in 1763 in which France ceded land east of the Mississippi River to Britain and their Louisiana colony to Spain.

[48] The Treaty of Aranjuez between Spain and France was signed on March 21, 1801. Spain gave Louisiana to France in exchange for territories in Tuscany, Italy. For more on the Louisiana Purchase, see Robert J. Miller, *Native America, Discovered and Conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis and Clark, and Manifest Destiny* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), esp. 71–72, 79–82.

[49] Din, *Spaniards, Planters, and Slaves*, 42–45, 154–155, 182, 234; **Cane River Creole National Historical Park** tells the histories of Black and Creole of color people in Louisiana.

slave trade in 1807, cities like New Orleans and Natchez played an important role in the domestic slave trade.[50]

In January 1811, Louisiana was the site of the largest slave revolt in US history. It is estimated that between 64 and 125 enslaved people participated in a two-day uprising. While only two White people lost their lives, what made the uprising significant was the number of participants and their mixed demographic. According to trial records, most of the leaders were mixed-race Creoles and mulattoes. This is indicative of the unique social structure of Louisiana. In the French and Spanish eras, Creoles of color were afforded many of the same rights and freedoms as White Louisianians. Under American control, Creoles and mulattoes were no longer considered a class of their own and were categorized as Black; however, they were allowed to maintain some of their previous rights like enlistment in the militia.[51] These militias later proved crucial during the War of 1812 (1812–1815), particularly at the Battle of New Orleans where Joseph Savary, a Creole refugee of the Haitian Revolution, led Major D'Aquin's Battalion of Free Men of Color to victory.[52] **Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve** preserves and tells this history.

Similar to the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783), the War of 1812 provided some opportunities for Black people, whether free or enslaved. Enslaved men who served as sailors and soldiers were promised their freedom at the conclusion of the war in exchange for their service. Jordan B. Noble, born in slavery in Georgia, served as a drummer boy during the Battle of New Orleans; he later served in the 1836 Seminole War. At the Battle of Fort Point Peter in 1815, British soldiers, led by Rear Admiral George Cockburn, took over **Cumberland Island** on the Georgia coast. Upon Cockburn's arrival, he offered freedom to any enslaved person who joined his ranks. This offer was something that the British offered during the war and between 4,000 and 5,000 people took advantage of it. One such person was Ned Simmons, a Black man enslaved on a Cumberland Island plantation. When the Treaty of Ghent brought the war to a conclusion, the British promised to return all confiscated property—including enslaved people—back to the Americans. Simmons remained enslaved until 1863.[53]

A Spanish colony until the Adams-Onís Treaty (1819), Florida holds a unique place in the history of slavery in the United States. Since 1693, self-emancipating enslaved persons from English colonies were granted automatic freedom if they made their way to Florida.[54] In 1739, Spain designated Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, near St. Augustine, as a settlement for those seeking refuge (the story of this settlement is told at **Castillo de San Marcos National Monument**). The town, which was built within a walled fort, also served as the first line of defense

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[50] Steven Deyle, "The Irony of Liberty: Origins of the Domestic Slave Trade," *Journal of the Early Republic*. 12, no. 1 (Spring 1992): 37–62.

[51] Daniel Rasmussen, *American Uprising: The Untold Story of America's Largest Slave Revolt* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2011).

[52] Sara E. Johnson, *The Fear of French Negroes: Transcolonial Collaboration in the Revolutionary Americas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 105.

[53] Mike Bezemek, "A Chance for Freedom," *National Parks* 95, no. 2 (Spring 2021): 57–59.

[54] Patrick Riordan, "Finding Freedom in Florida: Native Peoples, African Americans, and Colonists, 1670–1816," *Florida Historical Society* 75, no. 1 (Summer 1996): 30.

against attacks from the English.[55] Relationships between free Black and Indigenous peoples in Florida was complicated: some Indigenous peoples agreed to capture those who had fled slavery, in exchange for bounties from the British. Other people of African descent lived in communities under the protection of Seminole people.[56]

Long before the arrival of Europeans, Indigenous communities in the Southeast had practiced slavery based on a lack of kinship ties. Only in the early 1800s did Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole communities begin to practice race-based, multi-generational slavery in the style of British (and now American) colonists.[57] Despite adopting this and other facets of southern American culture, the US government forced Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole peoples to leave their towns and move west in the 1830s (the **Natchez Trace Parkway** tells some of this story, and **Horseshoe Bend National Military Park** interprets resistance to land cessions by Muskogee Creek people). Upon arrival in Indian Territory in Oklahoma, enslaved African Americans helped rebuild communities. According to historian Michael Doran, an estimated 4,500 to 5,000 enslaved African Americans resided in Indian Territory by 1839.[58]

Spaniards first brought enslaved Africans to Puerto Rico in the 1500s, although not in large numbers. As sugar became ever more important as an export, often in the form of rum, Spanish colonists imported more enslaved people from Africa to perform the hard labor required. Unlike other Caribbean islands, enslaved people were not a majority of the population; enslaved people of color never exceeded 12 percent of the island's populations. In areas with extensive sugar cultivation, like Ponce, enslaved people of color made up over 80 percent of the labor force. Free people of color made up a significant part of the population, as well. Spain outlawed slavery in Puerto Rico in 1873, long after its abolition on other Caribbean islands.[59]

In the Danish West Indies, the 1800s was a time of dramatic change in the lives of Black residents of the islands. In 1803, Denmark became the first European monarchy to cease its participation in the transatlantic slave trade.[60] Trade in sugar was no longer as profitable as it was in the previous century, and the slave trade was operated at a financial loss.[61] Denmark was also ruled by a series of monarchs who proved to be amenable to reforms. In 1776, King Christian VII issued an ordinance that protected "the negroes who either have purchased their freedom or have obtained

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[55] Jane Landers, "Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose: A Free Black Town in Spanish Colonial Florida," *American Historical Review* 95, no. 1 (1990): 17–18.

[56] Anthony E. Dixon, "Black Seminole Ethnogenesis," *Phylon* 57, no. 1 (Summer 2020): 8–24; Christina Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 213–43; Kevin Kokomoor, "A Re-assessment of Seminoles, Africans, and Slavery on the Florida Frontier," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 88, no. 2 (Fall 2009): 209–36, esp. 211–12.

[57] See Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country*.

[58] Michael Doran, "Negro Slaves of the Five Civilized Tribes," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 68, no. 3, (September 1, 1978): 340.

[59] See Luis A. Figueroa, *Sugar, Slavery, and Freedom in Nineteenth-Century Puerto Rico* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Francisco A. Scarano, *Sugar and Slavery in Puerto Rico: The Plantation Economy of Ponce, 1800–1850* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984).

[60] In 1792, Danish King Christian VII announced that Denmark's participation in the transatlantic slave trade would be outlawed beginning in 1803.

[61] Pernilla Røge, "Why the Danes Got There First – A Trans-Imperial Study of the Abolition of the Danish Slave Trade in 1792," *Slavery & Abolition* 35, no. 4 (2014): 576–92, esp. 583–86.

the same through their owners' liberality." An 1834 ordinance gave full civil rights to those freedpeople.[62] Full emancipation finally came to the forefront on July 28, 1847, with a proclamation that granted freedom to all born after that date and delayed emancipation set for 1859.[63] However, almost one year later, 8,000 enslaved people on St. Croix gathered at Fort Frederiksted and demanded their freedom on July 2, 1848. Immediate and total emancipation was announced the next day.[64]

Emancipation for enslaved people living in the United States came almost two decades later at a much bloodier cost. For more, see the next section, "Abolition and Emancipation."

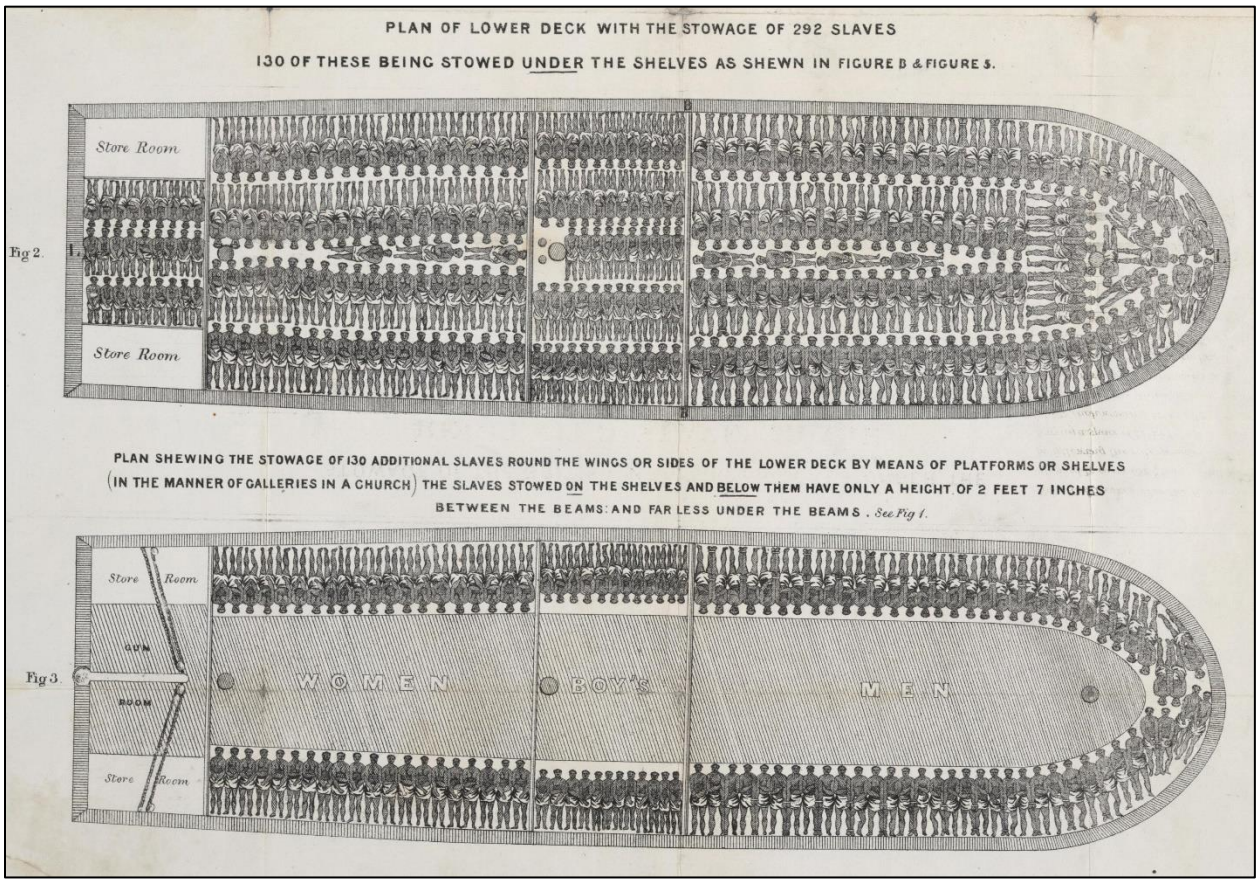


Figure 2. This image of the slave trading ship *Brookes* depicted how people were forced to spend long ocean journeys from Africa. It was printed around 1788 and widely circulated in Britain in support of abolition movements to show how slavery remained inhumane, even after the implementation of legal reforms.

Source: US Library of Congress.

[62] Nevilla A. T. Hall, "The Victor Vanquished: Emancipation in St. Croix; its Antecedents and Immediate Aftermath," *New West Indian Guide* 58, no. 1 (1984): 145, 190.

[63] Hall, "The Victor Vanquished," 207.

[64] Hall, "The Victor Vanquished," 208–11.



Figure 3. Illustration from *A popular history of the United States* (New York: Scribner, Armstrong, and Company, 1876–1881) depicts enslaved individuals in handcuffs and shackles passing the US Capitol. The image is supposed to represent events that occurred around 1815.

Source: US Library of Congress.

Related National Park Service Sites

Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park

Cowpens National Battlefield

Cumberland Gap National Historical Park

Cumberland Island National Seashore

Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park

Guilford Courthouse National Military Park

Horseshoe Bend National Military Park

Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve

Kings Mountain National Military Park

Little River Canyon National Preserve

Moores Creek National Battlefield

Overmountain Victory National Historic Trail

Trail of Tears National Historic Trail

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Abolition and Emancipation: Historical Overview

As the borders of the United States expanded in the 1800s so, too, did the institution of slavery. But that was not without great debate. The addition of territories through the Louisiana Purchase greatly increased the country's enslaved population, since slavery was legal in the area under France and Spain. Louisiana was eventually admitted to the union as a slave-holding state in 1812, and Missouri was in line to follow suit. However, this would tip the scales of political power in Congress onto the side of slave-holding states. A series of debates in 1819 resulted in what is known as the Missouri Compromise, which prohibited slavery in any territory north of the 36° 30' parallel. Several subsequent events further fanned sectionalism between the North and South: the annexation of Texas as a slave state in 1845; the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850; the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 (which effectively repealed the Missouri Compromise), and the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* Supreme Court decision in 1857.

On the social side of things, there was a growing call for the abolition of slavery in the United States. While abolitionism pre-dates the founding of the United States, it became an issue of national debate during the 1820s and 1830s.[65] In 1822, Denmark Vesey, born into slavery in St. Thomas, plotted a slave revolt in Charleston, South Carolina. After purchasing his freedom in 1799, Vesey had remained embedded in Charleston's Black community.[66] It was alleged in court that Vesey conspired to seize weapons from the military arsenal and kill White enslavers in the entire city. His plot was discovered, and he was executed on July 2, 1822. The facts related to Vesey's plot have been called into question by historians whose only source on the events is the official report of secret proceedings led by the Charleston Court of Magistrates and Freeholders. For instance, historian Michael P. Johnson has argued that local politicians conspired to create the rumor of a rebellion to foment racist paranoia among the White planter elite.[67]

It is important to note that abolitionism was not just a northern issue, as it is often portrayed. Stanley Harrold argues that historians have centered "so intensely for so long on abolitionism as a function of northern religious, economic, cultural, and behavioral developments," which has often obscured the active abolitionist movement in the South.[68] In 1808, the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (also known as Quakers) worked to free enslaved people held in bondage by their members. A special committee was formed to establish a fund that went toward their resettlement. Quakers also formed a large part of the North Carolina Manumission Society, a group which advocated for gradual emancipation. These anti-slavery sentiments influenced many individuals into more direct action.[69]

Movements to resist slavery were often led by people of color, despite historiographical tendencies to focus on the White individuals who assisted those who fled slavery. Most freedom

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[65] Katharine Gerbner, "Antislavery in Print," *Early American Studies, An Interdisciplinary Journal* 9, no. 3 (2011): 563.

[66] Vesey was one of the founders of Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. Founded in 1817, Mother Emanuel, as it is called, is the oldest AME church in the Southern United States. See Jeremy Schipper, "'On Such Texts Comment Is Unnecessary': Biblical Interpretation in the Trial of Denmark Vesey," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 85, no. 4 (December 2017): 1032–49.

[67] Michael P. Johnson, "Denmark Vesey and His Co-Conspirators," *William and Mary Quarterly* 58, no. 4 (2001): 934.

[68] Stanley Harrold, *The Abolitionists and the South, 1831–1861* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995), 25.

[69] Peter Kent Opper, "North Carolina Quakers: Reluctant Slaveholders," *North Carolina Historical Review* 52, no. 1 (1975): 39.

seekers on the Underground Railroad—defined as the resistance to enslavement through escape and flight—began and completed their journey unassisted.[70] William and Ellen Craft are a well-known example. Enslaved in Macon, Georgia, the couple took advantage of Ellen's lighter skin color to disguise her as a young White man, while William played the role of her enslaved personal servant. They successfully traveled by steamers and trains to Philadelphia. Afterward, they lived in Boston and then England before settling in Charleston, South Carolina, after the Civil War.[71]

Free and enslaved African Americans also liberated others through the Underground Railroad. Harriet Tubman, the most famous operator, is believed to have personally ushered 70 people to freedom. She also played a more direct role in the Civil War: in June 1863, Tubman led an armed raid on the Combahee Ferry in South Carolina. Working in collaboration with the 2nd South Carolina Volunteer Infantry Regiment—troops comprising free Black men and refugee former slaves—Tubman successfully liberated over 700 enslaved people from the rice plantations along the Combahee River.[72] One year prior in Charleston, Robert Smalls, born into slavery in South Carolina, was made to pilot the *CSS Planter*, a Confederate boat, in the Charleston Harbor. On May 13, 1862, Smalls took over the boat and navigated it by Fort Sumter and to the Union blockade. Aboard the ship was Smalls, his wife and two children, and twelve others. For the duration of the Civil War, Smalls served as a pilot of various boats—including the *Planter*—for the Union Navy.[73] Smalls' bravery is highlighted by the **Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park** in South Carolina.

Advocating for abolitionism was not without its risks of violence on both sides of the spectrum. Lewis Hayden, born in Kentucky, escaped from slavery and moved to Boston, where he ran a clothing store. This store became the location of abolitionist meetings and became a safe house on the Underground Railroad. When those who he provided shelter to were in immediate danger, Hayden was prepared to utilize violence to protect them. When William and Ellen Craft were almost in danger of being captured by a US Marshal, Hayden barricaded windows and doors and sat "around a table covered with loaded weapons." It was also alleged that he kept two kegs of gunpowder in the house in preparation for a final act of resistance.[74]

Indigenous Americans also participated in the movement for freedom. Historian Tiya Miles notes that some routes that self-emancipating enslaved persons took toward freedom went through territory occupied and controlled by Indigenous peoples, like the Cherokee in the Carolinas or the Shawnee and Cayuga in Ohio. Miles references evidence from missionary records, Indigenous oral histories, and slave narratives.[75] Abolitionist Josiah Henson recounted in a narrative that he and his

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[70] In addition to traveling north to Canada, it is estimated that between 5,000 to 10,000 people escaped to freedom in Mexico. See Alice Baumgartner, *South to Freedom: Runaway Slaves to Mexico and the Road to the Civil War* (New York: Basic Books, 2020).

[71] Stanley J. Robboy and Anita W. Robboy. "Lewis Hayden: From Fugitive Slave to Statesman," *New England Quarterly* 46, no. 4 (1973): 601.

[72] Kate Clifford Larson, *Bound for the Promised Land: Harriet Tubman, Portrait of an American Hero* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2004), 206–15.

[73] Andrew Billingsley, *Yearning to Breathe Free: Robert Smalls of South Carolina and His Families* (Charleston: University of South Carolina Press, 2007).

[74] Robboy and Robboy. "Lewis Hayden: From Fugitive Slave to Statesman," 591–613, quote from 601.

[75] Tiya Miles, "Native Americans and the Underground Railroad," NPS, last updated December 16, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/native-americans-and-the-underground-railroad.htm.

family were provided aid by a group of Indigenous people while traveling through Ohio as they made their escape from Kentucky to Canada:

> . . . a little while sufficed to make them understand whither we were going, and what we needed; and then they supplied our wants, fed us bountifully, and gave us a comfortable wigwam for our night's rest. The next day we resumed our march, having ascertained from the Indians that we were only about twenty-five miles from the lake. They sent some of their young men to point out the place where we were to turn off and parted from us with as much kindness as possible.[76]

Abolitionism was often expressed through religion, such as in the previously noted case of the Quackers. During the early 1800s, a religious revival known as the Second Great Awakening spread through the country. New Protestant denominations emerged, and many of them advocated for social reform. The early Methodist Episcopal Church held a strong opposition to slavery, which drew many Black parishioners, both free and enslaved.[77] Despite the support for abolition, White members of the church still held discriminatory beliefs toward Black members. This created a conflict within the church that led to the establishment of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church in 1816.[78]

The AME Church provided community to many abolitionists, including David Walker. Born in 1830 to an enslaved father and free-born mother in Wilmington, North Carolina, Walker lived for a time in Charleston, South Carolina, where he joined Emanuel AME Church, the oldest AME church in the South. Likely influenced by his time there, Walker became a staunch abolitionist and activist while working as a journalist in Boston. In 1849, Walker published an appeal imploring readers to actively resist against slavery and discrimination:

> Compare your own language above, extracted from your Declaration of Independence, with your cruelties and murders inflicted by your cruel and unmerciful fathers and yourselves on our fathers and on us – men who have never given your fathers or you the least provocation!!!!!![79]

Walker distributed his pamphlet by shipping it south. However, the pamphlets' arrival in some southern cities were met with great resistance. In December 1829, a docked ship was discovered to have copies of the document. Upon learning of this, Mayor William T. Williams sent a letter to Harrison Gray Otis, the mayor of Boston, to inform "him that his city was the source of a highly inflammatory work." Otis refused to acquiesce to Williams' demand that the author be arrested. Williams then corresponded with the governor of Georgia, who convened a special session of the

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[76] Josiah Henson, *An Autobiography of the Rev. Josiah Henson ("Uncle Tom"). From 1789 to 1881* (1881; Chapel Hill: Documenting the American South, University Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1998), http://docsouth.unc.edu/southlit/chopinawake/chopin.html.

[77] By 1786, African Americans made up 10 percent of the church's membership. See Wesley Roberts, "Rejecting the 'Negro Pew'," *Christian History* 14, no. 1 (February 1995): 35.

[78] The AME Church was founded by Richard Allen in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

[79] David Walker, *Walker's Appeal, in Four Articles; Together with a Preamble, to the Coloured Citizens of the World, but in Particular, and Very Expressly, to Those of the United States of America* (1829: Chapel Hill: Documenting the American South, University Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2001), https://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/walker/walker.html.

state legislature that made it illegal for Black sailors to disembark in Georgia or communicate with Black people within the state.[80]

An abolitionist movement also existed in Puerto Rico. In 1856, Ramón Emeterio Betances, a medical doctor, founded the Secret Abolitionist Society. Betances held an abolitionist stance early in his life, influenced by the philosophy of the Freemasons. He was also an advocate for Puerto Rican independence and authored "Los Diez Mandamientos de los Hombres Libres" ("The Ten Commandments of Free Men") in 1867. One of those commandments was the immediate abolition of slavery. In 1868, Betances, along with Segundo Ruiz Belvis, began to plan an armed rebellion. On September 23 of that year, between 400 and 600 people took over the city hall in Lares and declared the start of the republic of Puerto Rico; freedom was offered to any enslaved person who joined them. However, the rebellion (known as El Grito de Lares) was put down the following day, and the abolition of slavery in Puerto Rico did not occur until 1873, when the Spanish Parliament passed a bill that included compensation for former enslavers and required enslaved people to purchase their own freedom and sign three-year contracts with their former enslavers or the government.[81]

The American Civil War (1861–1865) was preceded by decades of sectional turmoil, as noted above. The final straw was the 1860 election of Abraham Lincoln as president of the United States. Lincoln, born in the slave-holding state of Kentucky, was a member of the newly emergent Republican party, which was known for its anti-slavery stance. His election marked a shift in political power away from the pro-slavery and heavily Southern Democratic party. After Lincoln's electoral victory, seven southern states declared that they were seceding from the Union, starting with South Carolina on December 20, 1860. The seceding states—Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas—formed a separate Confederate States of America. A subsequent bombardment and siege on **Fort Sumter** by the Confederate Navy led to a call to arms to put down the rebellion, which then turned into an all-out war. Four other states—Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina joined after the war began.

The Civil War marked a turning point in the lives of Black Americans. In 1861, the US Congress passed two laws: the Confiscation Act, which allowed for any Confederate property—including enslaved men, women, and children—to be confiscated by the Union Army, and the Act Prohibiting the Return of Slaves. Those seeking refuge became known as "contraband" and resided in camps established by the Union Army. Many camps were established in the South, in places like Corinth, Mississippi (now a part of **Shiloh National Military Park**), Roanoke Island in North Carolina (the site of **Fort Raleigh National Historic Site**), and other sites across the Southeast (within areas that

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[80] Hasan Crockett, "The Incendiary Pamphlet: David Walker's Appeal in Georgia," *Journal of Negro History* 86, no. 3 (2001): 309–11; The US Postal Service was often the target of anti-abolitionists. In 1835, a group known as the Lynch Men broke into a post office in Charleston, South Carolina, to steal abolitionist newspapers and journals that were scheduled for delivery. The materials, published by the American Anti-Slavery Society, were publicly burned the following day, along with effigies of three abolitionists. See Susan Wyly-Jones, "The 1835 Anti-Abolition Meetings in the South: A New Look at the Controversy over the Abolition Postal Campaign," *Civil War History* 47, no. 4 (2001): 289–309.

[81] Laird W. Bergad "Toward Puerto Rico's Grito de Lares: Coffee, Social Stratification, and Class Conflicts, 1828–1868," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 60, no. 4 (1980): 617–42; Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, "The End of Slavery and the End of Empire: Slave Emancipation in Cuba and Puerto Rico," *Slavery and Abolition* 21, no. 1 (January 2000): 192.

are now parts of **Fort Donelson National Battlefield**, **Fort Frederica National Monument**, and **Stones River National Battlefield**).[82]

From the onset, both the Union and Confederate Armies used enslaved laborers to construct forts, roads, and supply depots, among other tasks. In Kentucky, the US Army at Camp Nelson was authorized to impress "all male negroes from the ages of sixteen to forty-five" to build military roads, as well as a system of fortifications that are now a part of **Camp Nelson National Monument**.[83]

In January 1863, President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. A few months later, the US War Department issued General Order #143, which established the Bureau of Colored Troops. By the end of the war, nearly 180,000 men had enlisted in 175 Colored Troop regiments.[84] Some Black men—free and enslaved—were also allowed to enlist in the US Army. In 1862, the 1st Louisiana Native Guard (also known as the Corps D'Afrique) was established; they later took part in the Siege of Port Hudson from May to June 1863.[85] Many previously mentioned impressed laborers later obtained their emancipation upon their enlistment in the US Army. However, some Union states were hesitant to recruit Black soldiers. Kentucky was the last Union state to allow enlistment, likely impacted by its status as a status as a slave-holding border state with well-established Confederate sympathies.[86] Once recruitment for the US Colored Troops was permitted, Kentucky was second only to Louisiana in numbers of recruited Black soldiers, and **Camp Nelson** became one of the largest recruitment centers during the Civil War.[87]

On April 16, 1865—five days after General Robert E. Lee of the Army of Northern Virginia signed articles of surrender at Appomattox Court House—President Abraham Lincoln was assassinated in Washington, DC. In the last two years of his life, Lincoln changed from a gradual abolitionist to an advocate for immediate abolition. According to historian Eric Foner, Lincoln was concerned that the Emancipation Proclamation could be reversed after the war and believed that a constitutional amendment was the best resolution.[88] In his 1864 State of the Union address, Lincoln declared, "there is only a question of time as to when the proposed amendment will go to the States for their action. And as it is to so go . . . may we not agree that the sooner the better?" The Thirteenth Amendment passed the Senate on April 8, 1864, the House of Representatives on January 31, 1865, and was ratified on December 6, 1865.

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[82] NPS, "The Freedmen's Colony on Roanoke Island," last updated May 14, 2023, https://www.nps.gov/articles/the-freedmen-s-colony-on-roanoke-island.htm.

[83] NPS, "Impressed Enslaved Laborers," CANE, last updated December 17, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/cane/impressed-enslaved-laborers.htm.

[84] War Department General Order 143 Ordering the Creation of the U.S. Colored Troops; 5/22/1863; Orders and Circulars, 1797–1910; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94; National Archives Building, Washington, DC. https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/war-department-general-order-143; Camp Nelson was the third largest US Colored Troops (USCT) recruitment center in the country.

[85] Natasha Trethewey, "Native Guard," *Callaloo* 24, no. 4 (2001): 1194–97.

[86] Kentucky was one of four slave-holding states that remained in the Union; the others were Delaware, Maryland, and Missouri. Delegates from counties located in the northwestern corner of Virginia who voted against secession eventually voted to form a new state in 1862 that became West Virginia.

[87] NPS, "Foundation Document Camp Nelson National Monument," April 2020, 8.

[88] Eric Foner, *The Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2010), 312–14.

While the Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery as it existed at the time in the United States, slavery remained legal in Indian Territory until 1866, when Congress negotiated new treaties with the five largest Tribes with homelands in the Southeast: the Cherokee, Creek, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Seminole. The impetus for the new treaties was to reestablish formal relationships with the Tribes after they had made formal alliances with the Confederate States of America. These treaties declared all freed slaves as citizens of their respective Tribes.[89] With this action, slavery was abolished in the entirety of the land that made up the United States at the time.

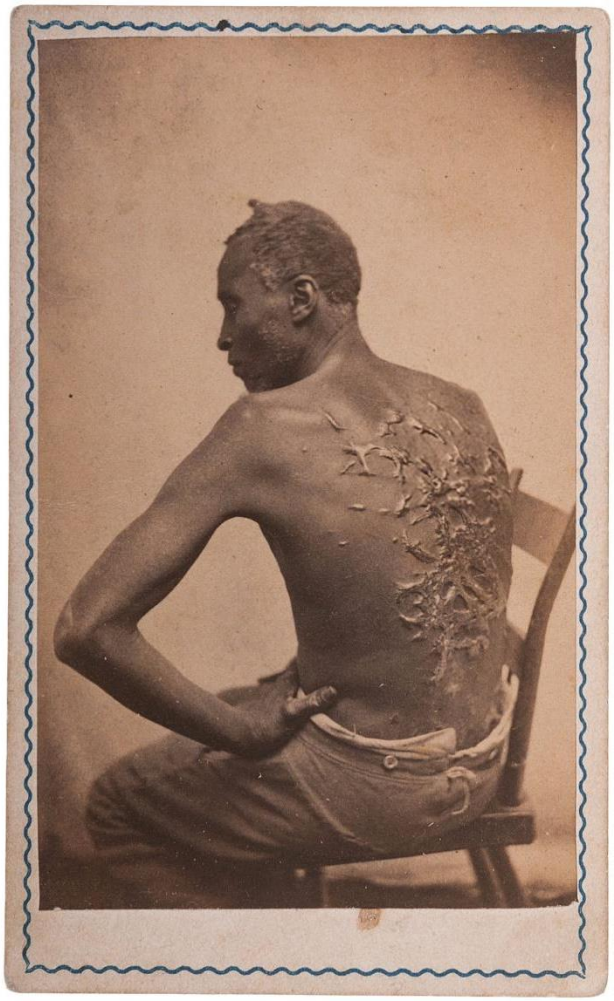


Figure 4. A man named Peter (also identified as Gordon in some sources) displayed scars on his back from an overseer beating him. This photograph was widely circulated and was a visual representation of the horrors of slavery. Photograph taken near Baton Rouge, Louisiana, by McPherson & Oliver, 1863.[90]

Source: Various institutions hold copies, including the Met Museum and the National Gallery of Art.

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[89] Claudio Saunt, "The Paradox of Freedom: Tribal Sovereignty and Emancipation during the Reconstruction of Indian Territory," *Journal of Southern History* 70, no. 1 (January 2004), 72–73.

[90] For more on this portrait, see "Peter (formerly identified as 'Gordon')," website of the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, accessed August 21, 2023, https://npg.si.edu/learn/classroom-resource/gordon-lifedates-unknown.

Related National Park Service Sites

Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Park

Andersonville National Historic Site

Big South Fork National River & Recreation Area

Brices Crossroads National Battlefield Site

Camp Nelson National Monument

Cape Lookout National Seashore

Chattahoochee River National Recreation Area

Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park

Dry Tortugas National Park

Fort Donelson National Battlefield

For Pulaski National Monument

Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park

Gulf Island National Seashore

Horseshoe Bend National Military Park

Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park

Little River Canyon National Preserve

Mammoth Cave National Park

Mill Springs Battlefield National Monument

Shiloh National Military Park

Tupelo National Battlefield

Vicksburg National Military Park

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Reconstruction: Historical Overview

The Reconstruction era is a brief period of US history, but the events that occurred during the mid- to late 1800s helped set the tone for issues of race and civil rights for the next 100 years. The period was marked by both civil rights gains and extreme violence.

There are two primary schools of thought as to when Reconstruction began. For some, Reconstruction began in 1861, as soon as the Union captured Confederate territories and discussions began to bring areas back into the Union. One example of this was the Port Royal Experiment, within what is now **Reconstruction Era National Historical Park** in South Carolina. On November 7, 1861, Union soldiers captured the Sea Islands off the coast of South Carolina, along with their main harbor, Port Royal. Confederate soldiers retreated and White residents fled, leaving behind nearly 8,000 enslaved people.[91] According to historian Akiko Ochiai, northern abolitionists viewed the island as an opportunity to create a test case to "demonstrate the fitness of four million African Americans for possible citizenship." Dozens of volunteers from benevolent societies in the North descended upon the area to set up schools, churches, and provide other general guidance.[92] However, the failure of this experiment to address past injustices and define the status of freed people in society foreshadowed the issues that would plague the entire Reconstruction period.

Other historians consider 1865 (the end of the Civil War) or 1863 (the year Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation) as the beginning of Reconstruction.[93] After the death of President Lincoln in April 1865, Vice President Andrew Johnson became President, tasked with carrying forward Lincoln's vision of reconstructing the nation. This would not be without complications: Johnson was from Tennessee (his home in Greeneville is preserved as part of **Andrew Johnson National Historic Site**) and had previously advocated for the continuation of slavery. But when faced with the destruction of order within the Union, he shifted his stance:

> Before the rebellion, I was for sustaining the Government with slavery; now I am for sustaining the Government without slavery, without regard to a particular institution. Institutions must be subordinate, and the Government must be supreme.[94]

This adherence to law and order shaped Johnson's approach to Reconstruction and often put him at odds with the Republican-controlled Congress.

In March 1865, Congress established the Freedmen's Bureau. Part of the US Department of War, the Bureau was tasked with providing "provisions, clothing, and fuel . . . for the immediate and temporary shelter and supply of . . . refugees and freedmen and their wives and children."[95] But the following year, President Johnson vetoed the bill that would have renewed the Bureau's charter. He reasoned that its existence would leave Black people dependent on the government and promote a

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[91] Akiko Ochiai, "The Port Royal Experiment Revisited: Northern Visions of Reconstruction and the Land Question," *The New England Quarterly* 74, no. 1 (2001): 94.

[92] Ochiai, "The Port Royal Experiment Revisited," 95.

[93] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), xxvii.

[94] NPS, "Andrew Johnson and Emancipation in Tennessee," ANJO, last updated February 5, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/anjo/learn/historyculture/johnson-and-tn-emancipation.htm.

[95] "An Act to establish a Bureau for the Relief of Freedmen and Refugees," March 3, 1865 (13 Stat. 507).

"life of indolence."[96] Congress overrode the veto, but the Bureau was slowly deprived of federal funding and was ended in 1872.

Another point of contention between Congress and President Johnson was the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which sought to define citizenship and affirm equal protections under the law. The act, in Johnson's opinion, represented an overstepping of federal powers. In his veto of the Civil Rights Act, Johnson stated that giving Black people citizenship was discriminatory against White people: "the distinction of race and color is by the bill made to operate in favor of the colored and against the white race."[97] Fortunately, Congress overrode his two vetoes. Republicans then moved quickly to enshrine citizenship and voting rights for Black men in the Constitution, through the passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments in 1866 and 1870, respectively.

Reconstruction brought about vast political and social change for Black Americans. James K. Green, a formerly enslaved man from Alabama who served in the Alabama legislature, referred to this as the "tocsin of freedom." Political and community organizing took place in all aspects of Black life, from churches to sugar plantations.[98] According to historian Eric Foner, almost 2,000 Black men served as officeholders during Reconstruction.[99] Many of these individuals had their freedom before the war, like Hiram Revels, the first African American to serve in Congress. Revels was born in North Carolina and served as a minister for the AME Church. However, some formerly enslaved persons did obtain political office, like Blanche K. Bruce, who was born into slavery in Virginia and elected to the US Senate by the Mississippi state legislature in 1874.[100]

The Reconstruction Act of 1867 created military districts in all southern states except for Tennessee. For the states to be readmitted to the Union, they were required to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. Once they were readmitted, new state constitutions needed to be developed. Instrumental in the creation of these new constitutions was the newly created Black citizenry.

Although Black women were excluded from voting, Reconstruction brought about great political and social change for them, as well. According to historian Carol Faulkner, by advocating for others, Black women were also advocating for themselves, calling to mind the later motto of the National Association for Colored Women (founded in 1896), "lifting as we climb."[101] Black women organized and held rallies in support of different political causes like temperance or women's suffrage. They advocated for education for themselves and for others. In an 1869 letter to William W. Holden, governor of North Carolina, Mary A. Best wrote that she felt that it was her duty "to try to elevate

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[96] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 248.

[97] President Andrew Johnson, Veto Message on Civil Rights Legislation, March 27, 1866, available via the Miller Center, https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/march-27-1866-veto-message-civil-rights-legislation.

[98] John C. Rodrigue, *Reconstruction in the Cane Fields: From Slavery to Free Labor in Louisiana's Sugar Parishes, 1862–1880* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001), 79; Foner, *Reconstruction*, 92.

[99] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 320.

[100] Eric Foner, *Forever Free: The Story of Emancipation and Reconstruction* (New York: Knopf, 2005), 135–36.

[101] Carol Faulkner, *Women's Radical Reconstruction: The Freedmen's Aid Movement* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 7.

the minds of my color . . . [and] to elevate the poor colored children so that they would not always be trodden underfoot."[102]

Gains obtained by the Black community during this period did not come without opposition. The legal end of chattel slavery did little to combat the belief, held by many White people, that Black people were inferior. Reorganized state governments—controlled by former Confederates and enslavers—passed laws to reinforce these beliefs. Many states passed laws that only punished Black people: in Florida, disrespecting an employer was a crime; Georgia outlawed hunting on Sundays in predominantly Black counties. Many states also passed laws that restricted freedoms, including poll taxes—those who were unable to pay were labeled vagrants and were hired out to pay off their debts. These laws, known as Black Codes, served as the precursor to the Jim Crow laws that dominated the South in the late 1800s and early 1900s.[103]

Maintenance of the status quo of white supremacy occurred violently, through the establishment of paramilitary organizations, like the White League or the Red Shirts. These organizations used violence to terrorize individuals and whole communities. In 1875, members of Red Shirts in Mississippi openly campaigned for Democratic candidates. They also provoked riots at Republican rallies and used violence to intimidate Black voters.[104] Local and state government offered very little protection, so some Black citizens formed militias of their own to protect against violent threats.[105]

The federal government attempted to address this violence. In 1869, Ulysses S. Grant became president. Grant was more amenable to the Republican agenda than Johnson had been. He signed into law the Enforcement Act of 1871 (also known as the Ku Klux Klan Act), which made certain crimes—like depriving the right to vote—a federal offense. It also empowered the president with the power to suspend habeas corpus if state governments failed to prosecute these crimes.[106]

Grant also signed into law the Civil Rights Acts of 1875. The bill, drafted by Massachusetts Republican Senator Charles Sumner, prohibited racial discrimination on transportation and other public accommodations.[107] Sumner's earlier version of the bill prohibited discrimination in public schools, but this clause was removed from the final bill after Democrats argued this was an overreach of federal powers. Many civil rights advocates saw this as a miscarriage of justice. William Lloyd Garrison lamented that he "would prefer to have the bill defeated as it stands, rather than adopted with the sanction of separate schools." The final Civil Rights Act of 1875 was rarely

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[102] AnneMarie Brosnan, "'To Educate Themselves': Southern Black Teachers in North Carolina's Schools for the Freedpeople during the Civil War and Reconstruction Period, 1862–1875," *American Nineteenth Century History* 20, no. 3 (2019): 237.

[103] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 200, 203, 206.

[104] Warren A. Ellem, "The Overthrow of Reconstruction in Mississippi," *Journal of Mississippi History* 54, no. 2 (1992): 175–201.

[105] Foner, *Forever Free*, 175.

[106] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 454–55.

[107] Sumner drafted the bill with assistance from John Mercer Langston, who was the founding dean of the School of Law at Howard University. Langston was born in 1829 to a freedwoman and White planter in Louisa County, Virginia. While studying theology at Oberlin College in Ohio, as well as being admitted to the bar (the first Black person in Ohio to do so in 1854), he became active in the abolitionist movement and participated in the Underground Railroad. Langston was president of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society. He was also appointed to recruit Black men to fight for the Union Army and later inspector general for the Freedmen's Bureau. See William Francis Cheek and Aimee Lee Cheek, *John Mercer Langston and the Fight for Black Freedom, 1829–65* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989).

enforced by the federal government, and in 1883, the Supreme Court declared the act unconstitutional. As a result, segregation became increasingly ingrained in southern states.[108]

Just two months after Grant left office in 1877, President Rutherford B. Hayes ordered the removal of federal troops from the last two states under federal control, Louisiana and South Carolina. His action was the result of an informal compromise between Congressional Democrats and Republicans to settle the contested 1876 election. This is often considered the end of Reconstruction, since it was the end of formal military occupation of southern states.[109] In W.E.B. Du Bois' pioneering work, *Black Reconstruction in America*, he described Reconstruction as a time when "the slave went free; stood a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again toward slavery." That backward movement is covered the following section, "Jim Crow and Segregation."[110]

In the Caribbean, the latter half of the 1800s saw many changes, as calls for independence and labor rights increased in both Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. After the Grito de Lares (an uprising in Puerto Rico against Spanish rule) in 1868 and the abolition of slavery in 1873, Spain granted more political autonomy to Puerto Rico. However, the pro-independence movement was still in full force, both on the island and abroad. Many Puerto Rican exiles relocated to New York City, where they formed the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Committee in 1895.[111] Two years later, the committee provided financial and material support for the Intentona de Yauco, an attempt by residents of Yauco to gain control of military barracks located outside the town. While the coup was unsuccessful, Puerto Rico was granted autonomy after the election of Práxedes Mateo Sagasta as prime minister of Spain. However, their autonomy was short-lived. In April 1898, war broke out between the United States and Spain.

The Spanish-American War (1898) began after the sinking of the *USS Maine* in February 1898. The *Maine* was sent to Cuba to protect US shipping business interests; however, it sank after an explosion that resulted in the death of over 250 servicemen. An inquiry by the US Navy determined that a mine was the cause of the explosion, and the war was subsequently declared. Around 6,000 African Americans volunteered for the war, but it was not without controversy within the community. Those who volunteered hoped that service to their country would lead to "equal liberty and protection" at home.[112] Others decried the hypocrisy of serving in segregated military units. Black soldiers were deployed to various Spanish colonies like Cuba and the Philippines, where they witnessed White officers expressing similar racial sentiments that the soldiers encountered at

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[108] James M. McPherson, "Abolitionists and the Civil Rights Act of 1875," *Journal of American History* 52, no. 3 (1965): 493–510.

[109] Foner, *Reconstruction*, 582.

[110] W.E.B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860–1880* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935).

[111] Historian and activist Arturo Alfonso Schomburg was a member of the committee. Born in Puerto Rico to a free Black woman from St. Croix, Schomburg founded the Negro Society for Historical Research in New York City in 1911. His private collection was purchased by the New York Public Library and later served as the foundation for the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. See Laura E. Helton and Rafia Zafar, "Arturo Alfonso Schomburg in the Twenty-First Century [Special Issue]," *African American Review* 55, no. 1–2 (2021): 1–183.

[112] "What If War Comes" *Cleveland Gazette*, March 5, 1898.

home.[113] After nearly four months of conflict, the war came to an end with the signing of the Treaty of Paris, in which Spain relinquished control of Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines to the United States. The push for Puerto Rican independence continued under the leadership of individuals like José Celso Barbosa, an Afro-Puerto Rican doctor, who founded the pro-statehood Puerto Rican Republican Party in 1899. Barbosa later served in the Executive Cabinet from 1900 to 1917 and then as a Puerto Rican Senator from 1817 to 1921.[114] Afro-Puerto Ricans continued to play a role in the Puerto Rican politics in the following century.

Researching late nineteenth century Puerto Rican politics is challenging due to its evolving status as a Spanish colony to an American territory. Most historical research has been published as monographs or journal articles written exclusively in Spanish. Researching the Virgin Islands has proven to be even more difficult. Primary source documents from the colonial period were written from the perspective of the Danish, and many are held in repositories in Denmark. Secondary sources have also proven to be challenging, as some monographs are written by Danish historians. Additional historical research from varied perspectives is needed to bring to light more stories of people who lived on these islands.

One example is the historiography of the 1878 St. Croix Labor riot, also known as Fireburn. Since the abolition of slavery in 1848, Black laborers were subject to debt peonage. After decades of low pay and poor working conditions, laborers gathered in Frederiksted to protest. The peaceful protests became violent as Danish soldiers were attacked and over 50 plantations were destroyed. After roughly two weeks, the riot died down. Four Black women—Mary Thomas, Axeline Solomon, Mathilde McBean, and Susanna Abrahamson—were considered prominent leaders of the Fireburn movement. These women, labeled as queens, were trusted members of the community, as they were tasked with performing religious and cultural ceremonies. This role put them in the unique position to gather and disseminate information.[115] Eventually the leaders of the protest were identified and sentenced to serve jail terms in Denmark.

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[113] At the conclusion of the war, the United States annexed the Philippines, despite the country declaring their independence in June 1898. A war between the United States and the First Philippine Republic lasted from 1899 until 1902. During the war, David Fagen, an African American soldier from Florida, defected to the Philippines and became a guerilla leader. It is believed that Fagen defected due to the racism that he personally experienced and witnessed. See Michael C. Robinson and Frank N. Schubert, "David Fagen: An Afro-American Rebel in the Philippines, 1899–1901," *Pacific Historical Review* 44, no. 1 (1975): 68–83.

[114] Michael Sam Hornik, "Nationalist Sentiment in Puerto Rico from the American Invasion Until the Foundation of the Partido Nacionalista, 1898-1922" (PhD diss., State University of New York at Buffalo, 1972), 26, 152.

[115] La Vaughn Belle, Tami Navarro, Hadiya Sewer, and Tiphanie Yanique, "Ancestral Queendom: Reflections on the Prison Records of the Rebel Queens of the 1878 Fireburn in St. Croix, USVI (formerly the Danish West Indies)," *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Informationsvidenskab Og Kulturformidling* 8, no. 2 (April 2019): 26.



Figure 5. Group portrait of African American legislators from the 41st and 42nd US Congress (1869–1873). From left to right: Hiram R. Revels (Mississippi), Benjamin S. Turner (Alabama), Robert S. De Large (South Carolina), Josiah T. Walls (Florida), Jefferson H. Long (Georgia), Joseph H. Rainy [i.e., Rainey] (South Carolina), and Robert Brown Elliot (South Carolina).

Source: US Library of Congress.

Related National Park Service Sites

Andrew Johnson National Historic Site

Camp Nelson National Monument

Charles Pinckney National Historic Site

Castillo de San Marcos National Monument

Christiansted National Historic Site

Cumberland Island National Seashore

Fort Donelson National Battlefield

Fort Frederica National Monument

Fort Raleigh National Historic Site

Jean Lafitte National Historical Park

Natchez National Historical Park

Reconstruction Era National Monument

San Juan National Historic Site

Shiloh National Military Park

Stones River National Battlefield

Timucuan Ecological & Historic Preserve

Vicksburg National Military Park

Virgin Islands Coral Reef National Monument

Virgin Islands National Park

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Jim Crow and Segregation: Historical Overview

The removal of federal troops from the South and the reestablishment of "home rule" after the Compromise of 1877 signaled the end of willingness on the part of the federal government to interfere in southern politics. The advances in civil rights for Black Americans were not brought to an abrupt end; some Black political power remained strong throughout the 1880s and racial integration persisted. But a great shift occurred in the 1890s, when white supremacists began to take control of state governments.

The number of Black officeholders and registered voters decreased, thanks to policies like poll taxes and literacy tests. In 1900, Ben Tillman, a US Senator from South Carolina, proudly acknowledged the success of this widespread and violent effort by white supremacists, ". . . we have scratched our heads to find out how we could eliminate the last one of them. We stuffed ballot boxes. We shot them. We are not ashamed of it."[116] Tillman and others were resurrecting the Black Codes of the Reconstruction period in a new form, now known as Jim Crow.

Segregation, while typically synonymous with the South, had northern origins. According to historian Steve Luxenberg:

> Separation had no role in the South before the Civil War. Slavery required close contact, coercion and intimacy in order to survive and dominate. It was the free but conflicted North that gave birth to separation, in different places and different forms.[117]

From churches to railcars to schools, social segregation was common in the North before segregation existed in the South.

The legal system was also utilized to fight back against Jim Crow. Civil rights activists would find or even create test cases that could be used to issue a legal challenge against segregation laws. However, these did not always have the desired effect. In 1891, a multi-racial group of activists in New Orleans organized themselves as the Citizens' Committee to Test the Constitutionality of the Separate Car Law. The law, inspired by a similar law that existed in Mississippi, required all railroads passing through the state to provide equal, but separate accommodation for White and Black passengers. The group's goal was "an earnest effort to vindicate the cause of equal rights and American manhood." To achieve that goal, the group decided that they would purposefully have a Black person buy a first-class ticket, sit in a car designated for White passengers, and get arrested. After their first attempt in February 1891 failed to gain traction in the Louisiana courts, the group was successful in their second attempt in June 1892.[118]

One of the people involved in these protests was Homer Plessy. Plessy was a free person of color born into a Louisiana Creole family. Despite his mostly White ancestry, Plessy was still considered Black by law. On June 7, 1892, Plessy boarded a train and sat in a car reserved for Whites. He was subsequently questioned by the conductor, who had him arrested. Plessy's case

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[116] Tillman's quote is included an article by Barry Mackintosh, "A Time of Reckoning," NPS, last updated August 14, 2017, https://www.nps.gov/articles/a-time-of-reckoning.htm.

[117] Steve Luxenberg, *Separate: The Story of Plessy v. Ferguson and America's Journey from Slavery to Segregation* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2020), 4.

[118] Luxenberg, *Separate*, 385, 410, 425–29.

made its way through Louisiana courts, which ruled that Plessy was guilty, before arriving at the US Supreme Court in 1896. Plessy's attorneys argued that the Separate Car Act violated the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments.

On May 18, 1896, the Supreme Court justices ruled seven to one against Plessy. The majority opinion, written by Justice Henry Billings Brown, argued that the Thirteenth Amendment was not relevant to the case, as it "would be running the slavery argument into the ground to make it apply to every act of discrimination." Regarding the Fourteenth Amendment, Brown argued that it only guaranteed legal equality, but that "it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political, equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either." The dissenting justice, John Marshall Harlan, grasped the precedence that this ruling was setting and wrote, "In my opinion, the judgment this day rendered will, in time, prove to be quite as pernicious as the decision made by this tribunal in the *Dred Scott* Case."[119] Harlan's warning was not heeded.

The ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson* gave southern states the green light to pass laws that publicly reinforced the belief that Black people were inferior by separating them from White people.[120] This did not deter civil rights activists, although a philosophical debate did appear in the public sphere as represented by two people: Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois. Washington, a man born into slavery in Virginia, promoted economic development by way of entrepreneurship to bring about an eventual end to legal racial segregation and discrimination. Alternatively, Du Bois, born into a middle-class free Black family in Massachusetts, advocated for activism and higher education as the path forward to obtain full civil rights and due process.

In 1895, Washington gave a speech at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia, during which he asked Black people to "cast down your bucket where you are" and to ally themselves with White people. He also urged the importance of choosing professions in agriculture and domestic service, stating,

> No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.[121]

Fourteen years prior, in 1881, Washington had been hired as the principal of a new training school for Black teachers in Tuskegee, Alabama. The school evolved into the Tuskegee Institute and expanded under Washington's leadership to include training for farming and other rural trades. He also recruited talented educators, like botanist George Washington Carver, to teach at the school. Washington's home, The Oaks, and a museum dedicated to Carver is a part of the **Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site**.

After Washington's death in 1915 and the conclusion of World War I, many changes came to Tuskegee Institute, as the increase in industrial jobs in the North greatly appealed to many Black Americans who chose to escape the violent racism and poor economic conditions in the South with

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[119] Luxenberg, *Separate*, 476–79, 483.

[120] Northern states also had racial segregation laws even before the *Plessy* ruling: Justice Brown referenced the policy of school segregation in Boston, Massachusetts. See Davison M. Douglas, *Jim Crow Moves North: The Battle over Northern School Segregation, 1865–1954* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[121] Booker T. Washington, "Speech to the Atlanta Cotton States and International Expedition," October 18, 1895.

hopes of a better life in northern cities. The Great Migration, as it has come to be called, saw nearly six million Black people move from the South to the North between 1910 and 1970. According to journalist Isabel Wilkerson,

> It would transform urban America and recast the social and political order of every city it touched. It would force the South to search its soul and finally to lay aside a feudal caste system. It grew out of the unmet promises made after the Civil War and, through the sheer weight of it, helped push the country toward the civil rights revolutions of the 1960s.[122]

While W.E.B. Du Bois was a proponent of higher education, he advocated for a liberal arts education, similar to the one he obtained at Harvard University, where he was the first African American to earn a doctorate. In July 1905, Du Bois and 28 other Black activists from 14 different states met in Fort Erie, Ontario, near Niagara Falls. The Niagara Movement, as it came to be called, issued a declaration of principles that were in direct opposition to those set out by Washington in his 1895 speech. They demanded equal political, social, and economic opportunities for Black Americans. The organization had several state chapters that used their influence against racist and discriminatory policies and state legislations. Unfortunately, internal disagreements amongst members over issues like admitting women to the group and which political parties to support brought the organization to a formal end in 1910.[123]

Violence against Black people was at an all-time high during this period. White mob violence, or lynching, became ways to reinforce the perceived social order between White and Black people. Lynching was also used as a voter suppression tool.[124] Ida B. Wells-Barnett, a journalist and civil rights activist from Mississippi, began an anti-lynching campaign after three of her friends were lynched by a white mob in 1892 in Memphis, Tennessee. She publicized her work in newspapers and other publications, as well as public speeches.[125] In one such speech given in 1909 at the National Negro Conference, Wells called lynching a "national crime," which required a "national remedy."[126] According to a report by the Equal Justice Initiative, nearly 4,500 people were victims of racial lynching in the United States between 1877 and 1950.[127]

In some instances, lynching was the precursor for race riots. In 1898, a group of white supremacists staged a coup against the government that had been recently elected in Wilmington, North Carolina. Over 2,000 White men swarmed the city; many Black-owned businesses were

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[122] Isabel Wilkerson, *The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America's Great Migration*, 1st ed. (New York: Random House, 2010), 9.

[123] Angela Jones, *African American Civil Rights: Early Activism and the Niagara Movement* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2011), 19–49.

[124] According to a 2019 study by historians Brad Epperly, Christopher Witko, Ryan Stickler, and Paul White, more lynching occurred during election season. See Brad Epperly, Christopher Witko, Ryan Strickler, and Paul White, "Rule by Violence, Rule by Law: Lynching, Jim Crow, and the Continuing Evolution of Voter Suppression in the U.S.," *Perspectives on Politics* 18, no. 3 (2020): 756–69.

[125] Paula J. Giddings, *Ida, A Sword Among Lions: Ida B. Wells and the Campaign Against Lynching* (New York: Amistad, 2008), 177–83.

[126] Ida B. Wells, "Lynching, Our National Crime – June 1, 1909," Archives of Women's Political Communication, Iowa State University, https://awpc.cattcenter.iastate.edu/2017/03/09/mob-murder-in-a-christian-nation-june-1-1909/.

[127] Equal Justice Initiative, "Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror," Third Edition (Montgomery, AL: Equal Justice Initiative, 2017).

destroyed, and countless Black people were killed or banished from town. In 1906, local Atlanta newspapers reported on four sexual assaults of White women that were allegedly committed by Black men. In the days following, a large mob of nearly 10,000 White men gathered in downtown Atlanta, where they assaulted any Black person they came across and ransacked Black-owned businesses. The number of Black people killed during this event is disputed, but various newspapers reported between 26 and 47.[128] The prevalence of these riots soon demonstrated the need for a national civil rights organization. Moved by the violence of the Race Riot of 1908 in Springfield, Illinois, a multi-racial group of activists met in February 1909 in Springfield, where they founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). W.E.B. Du Bois and Ida B. Wells-Barnett attended the first conference in May of that same year. Several members of the Niagara Movement went on to serve on the board of directors of the NAACP. The NAACP became extremely influential during the later civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s (see "Modern Civil Rights Movement" section).

Racial violence against Black Americans was not just a southern phenomenon. Many instances, like the Springfield Riot, occurred in northern cities. The influx of southern Black people into urban areas in the North and the Midwest during and after World War I created economic tensions that were exploited by organizations like the American Federation of Labor, which advocated for separation in the workplace. The tension came to a head during the summer of 1919. Called "the Red Summer" by James Weldon Johnson (field secretary for the NAACP), riots broke out in 22 cities across the country between April 14 and October 1, 1919.[129] Du Bois commented on these attacks in the context of the war's conclusion (emphasis his):

> We return from the slavery of uniform which the world's madness demanded us to don to the freedom of civil garb. We stand again to look America squarely in the face and call a spade a spade. We sing: This country of ours, despite all its better souls have done and dreamed, is yet a shameful land . . .
>
> We *return*.
>
> We return *from fighting*.
>
> We return *fighting*.[130]

These events proved to be a turning point for the NAACP. The group, especially Du Bois, had strongly advocated for Black men to enlist and serve in the military during World War I as a way toward advancement.[131] However, the segregated military they faced abroad and the violence that Black veterans faced upon their return home drove home the point that widespread federal intervention was needed to accomplish the changes the civil rights activists were fighting for.

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[128] Gregory Mixon, *The Atlanta Riot: Race, Class, and Violence in a New South City* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), 85–110.

[129] Stanley B. Norvell and William M. Tuttle Jr., "Views of a Negro During 'The Red Summer' of 1919," *Journal of Negro History* 51, no. 3 (July 1, 1966): 209.

[130] W.E.B. Du Bois, "Returning Soldiers," *The Crisis*, XVIII (May 1919): 13, Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition, Yale University, https://glc.yale.edu/returning-soldiers.

[131] Chad Williams, "W. E. B. Du Bois, World War I, and the Question of Failure," February 19, 2018, *Black Perspectives*, African American Intellectual History Society, https://www.aaihs.org/w-e-b-du-bois-world-war-i-and-the-question-of-failure.

In the Caribbean, the Virgin Islands once again had a Black-led labor movement like the 1878 Fireburn riots in the early 1900s. David Hamilton Jackson (born in 1884) displayed an interest in political affairs, serving many different roles in the colonial government as a lawyer, judge, and legislator. His experience led him to speak out against Danish colonial rule and the impoverished conditions that Black Virgin Islanders were forced to live in. In 1915, Jackson founded *The Herald* and used it to discuss issues around police brutality and labor issues.[132] That same year, he formed the first labor union in the colony for sugarcane workers—the St. Croix Labor Union. After negotiations with the Planters Society failed to result in an increase in wages and better working conditions, Jackson called for a general strike in January 1916. Their demands were finally met after one month.[133]

Jackson's dissatisfaction with the Danish colonial government pushed him to advocate for the United States to take control of the islands, even traveling as a part of a delegation to Copenhagen. On March 31, 1917, the Danish West Indies became a territory of the United States. After the regime change, Jackson's work as a political activist evolved to take on the issues of racism, US citizenship, and the establishment of home-rule. Historian Derick A. Hendricks notes that the importation of American social practices awakened a Black consciousness on the island.[134]

Elsewhere in the Caribbean, Afro-Puerto Ricans also bristled under the effects of American racism and segregation. In 1917, the United States enacted the Jones-Shafroth Act, which, in part, granted citizenship to anyone born in Puerto Rico.[135] However, colorism began to stratify society, the impacts of which came to a head in the mid-1900s (see the "Modern Civil Rights Movement" section).[136]

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[132] Amrey Mathurin, "In between Waters: Nationalism and Alternative Sovereignty in Twentieth Century U.S. Virgin Islands Poetry" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2015), 40.

[133] Rosary E. Harper, "Rhetorical Analysis of Editorials Written by Two United States Virgin Islanders, David Hamilton Jackson and Rothschild Francis, During the Years 1915-1926, Compared to Arguments in Selected Speeches Delivered during the 1981 Offshore Conference" (PhD diss., Florida State University, 1983), 53–54.

[134] Derick A. Hendricks, "Black Awareness and Social Unrest in the U.S. Virgin Islands: A Case Study of Black Nationalism, 1968–1986" (PhD diss., Morgan State University, 2009), 26.

[135] Charles Venator-Santiago, "Mapping the Contours of the History of the Extension of U.S. Citizenship to Puerto Rico, 1898-Present," *Centro Journal* 29, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 47.

[136] Milagros Denis-Rosario, *Drops of Inclusivity: Racial Formations and Meanings in Puerto Rican Society, 1898–1965* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2022): 32–33.



Figure 6. Pea Island, an area now within Cape Hatteras National Seashore, housed an all-Black Life-Saving Service crew. Here, Keeper Richard Etheridge with crew members Benjamin Bowser, Dorman Pugh, Theodore Meekins, Lewis Wescott, Stanley Wise, and William Irving. Original photograph by H. H. Brimley, 1896.

Source: National Park Service.

Related National Park Service Sites

Big Cypress National Preserve

Biscayne National Park

Blue Ridge Parkway

Canaveral National Seashore

Cape Hatteras National Seashore

Cape Lookout National Seashore

Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site

Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park

Christiansted National Historic Site

Congaree National Park

Everglades National Park

Fort Raleigh National Historic Site

Great Smoky Mountains National Park

Gulf Islands National Seashore

New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park

Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site

Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site

Wright Brothers National Memorial

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Modern Civil Rights Movement: Historical Overview

Like the Reconstruction era, the definitive timeline of the civil rights movement is one that is debated amongst historians. In popular culture, the mid-1950s is often considered the beginning of the civil rights movement. This timeline begins with the US Supreme Court's *Brown vs. Board of Education* 1954 ruling that brought an end to legal racial segregation and the massive success of the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955–1956 and ends with the passage of the Civil Rights Act and Voting Rights Act of 1964 and 1965, respectively.[137]

But to focus solely on these actions misses the larger picture in which these events occurred. Recent scholarship concerning the civil rights movement makes the distinction between the "long" and the "short" movement. The "short" civil rights movement is typically viewed as occurring between 1954 and 1965 and exclusively in the South. The "long" civil rights movement pushes the start date back to the 1930s, covering the decades when smaller victories throughout the country laid the groundwork for the larger movement that eventually took hold.

The civil rights movement can be seen through economic, political, and social lenses. According to historian William A. Sundstrom, Black Americans had the highest rate of unemployment during the Great Depression, as they were often the "last hired and first fired."[138] But the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 and the launch of various programs under New Deal policies did bring some economic opportunities to people of color. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), established in 1933, was a program run by the Department of Labor that allowed for single men between the ages of 18 and 28 to obtain manual labor jobs to improve public lands and parks. Of the 2.5 million men that served in the CCC between 1933 and 1942, 250,000 of them were African American. Most served in segregated units.[139]

The CCC provided not only financial opportunities but also educational. The educational program was designed to "increase the employability of each enrollee" and "to develop his civic effectiveness."[140] For many Black participants, the literacy component was the most important aspect of the program, since it represented a step toward self-determination. Elementary, secondary, and college-level courses were offered. Vocational training was also a part of the curriculum; however, some of the courses offered to Black camps focused on domestic services like laundering or table waiting, reflective of the belief by White officials that this was "the best prospect for their employment."[141]

When the legislation that created the CCC was crafted, Oscar De Priest, a Black Congressman from Illinois, fought to have language inserted that prohibited "discrimination on account of race,

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[137] Kathryn L. Nasstrom, "Between Memory and History: Autobiographies of the Civil Rights Movement and the Writing of Civil Rights History," *Journal of Southern History* 74, no 2 (May 2008): 330.

[138] William A. Sundstrom, "Last Hired, First Fired? Unemployment and Urban Black Workers During the Great Depression," *Journal of Economic History* 52, no. 2 (1992): 420.

[139] Michael Hines, "'We Have Emerged Better Equipped to Fight Greater Battles': Black Education and the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942," *Journal of African American History* 106, no. 3 (Summer 2021): 442.

[140] Hines, "'We Have Emerged Better Equipped to Fight Greater Battles,'" 447.

[141] Hines, "'We Have Emerged Better Equipped to Fight Greater Battles,'" 451–64.

color, and creed."[142] However, the realities of segregated camps in the CCC were ever present. The existence of Black camps came with controversy, as residents of nearby all-White neighborhoods often complained of their proximity. At **Shiloh National Military Park**, a Black CCC camp was planned for McNairy County, Tennessee. County residents voiced their objections in the *McNairy County Appeal* with a statement that read, in part, "We do not want them here as ours is not a negro community, and we do not know how to handle them."[143] Despite these challenges, Black participants in the CCC were often grateful for the opportunities; Cheyney H. Thomas, an enrollee in Pennsylvania wrote that:

> We have been able to help our parents or those depending upon us; we have helped ourselves physically and mentally as well as financially. We have fought a battle of economics, against depression. We have done our bit to gain victory. We have emerged better equipped to fight greater battles.[144]

When the United States entered World War II (1939–1945) at the start of the 1940s, African Americans served in great numbers, as they did during World War I. However, they were still made to serve in a segregated military. This discrimination was not limited to military service itself. The American economy benefited greatly from the defense boom during the war; however, widespread discrimination excluded Black workers from obtaining employment. A delegation of activists, led by A. Philip Randolph, attempted to lobby President Roosevelt to desegregate the military.[145] When these efforts failed, Randolph proposed a "march on Washington as evidence to white America that black America is on a march for its rights and means business."[146] The group obtained a victory before the march took place, when Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, which made it illegal to discriminate "in the employment of workers in defense industries or Government because of race, creed, color, or national origin…"[147] The success of this movement served as the blueprint for the larger civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

While the desegregation of defense industry jobs did not apply to military service itself (it would not be until 1948 that the armed forces were integrated by President Harry S. Truman), the efforts of the previously mentioned delegation did result in funding designated for the training of African American pilots.[148] One such training program was operated by the **Tuskegee Institute**; the

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[142] Hines, "'We Have Emerged Better Equipped to Fight Greater Battles,'" 443.

[143] Timothy B. Smith, "Black Soldiers and the CCC at Shiloh National Military Park," *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 3, no. 2 (Summer 2006), https://www.nps.gov/crps/CRMJournal/Summer2006/article2.html.

[144] Hines, "'We Have Emerged Better Equipped to Fight Greater Battles,'" 466.

[145] A. Philip Randolph was the president of the Brotherhood for Sleeping Car Porters, a powerful labor union. Andrew E. Kersten and Clarence Lang, *Reframing Randolph: Labor, Black Freedom, and the Legacies of A. Philip Randolph* (New York: NYU Press, 2014), 145.

[146] Kersten and Lang, *Reframing Randolph*, 197.

[147] Executive Order 8802 dated June 25, 1941, in which President Franklin D. Roosevelt prohibits discrimination in the defense program; 6/25/1941; Executive Orders, 1862–2011; General Records of the United States Government, Record Group 11; National Archives Building, Washington, DC; Kersten and Lang, *Reframing Randolph*, 179.

[148] John l. Newby II, "The Fight for the Right to Fight and the Forgotten Negro Protest Movement: The History of Executive Order 9981 and Its Effect upon Brown V. Board of Education and Beyond," *Texas Journal on Civil Liberties & Civil Rights* 10, no. 1 (Winter 2004): 83–110.

graduates of the program became known as the "Tuskegee Airmen."[149] The NPS operates **Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site** on Moton Field in Tuskegee, Alabama.

When some Black veterans returned from fighting abroad in World War II, the discrimination they faced abroad and at home caused some to become politicized. Born in Mississippi, Medgar Evers served in the US Army. After his discharge in 1946, Evers returned to Mississippi, where he became involved in local organizing and was eventually named the Mississippi field secretary for the NAACP in 1954. Assisted by his wife, Myrlie, Evers helped to organize voter-registration drives and boycotts throughout the state, as well as to provide advice on legal challenges. In 1961, James Meredith was twice denied admission to the University of Mississippi, in direct violation of the Supreme Court's decision against racial segregation in public schools in *Brown v. Board of Education*.[150] Evers advised Meredith, who eventually filed a successful lawsuit against the university. Evers' work put him on the radar of segregationist organizations like the White Citizens' Council, and threats were made against his life.[151] Tragically, Evers was assassinated by a Council member on June 12, 1963.[152] Myrlie Evers carried on their fight for justice and told her husband's story. Their house is now preserved as the **Medgar and Myrlie Evers Home National Monument.**

Bolstered by the success of *Brown v. Board of Education*, civil rights activists began to focus their efforts on eliminating racial segregation in all aspects of American society. In Montgomery, Alabama, the local chapter of the NAACP, led by E. D. Nixon, and the Women's Political Council, led by Jo Ann Robinson, began to organize to challenge the segregated seating policy of public buses. Rosa Parks, the secretary of the chapter, was selected to be the test case. Her arrest in December 1955 spurred a 381-day bus boycott that ended after the policy was determined to be unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.[153] Historian Adam Fairclough argues, "the bus boycotts . . . represented the genesis of a new black movement, indigenous to the South, based on independent local centers, and loosely organized around the black church." The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., became the center of this network. SCLC leaders set about the work of coordinating and supporting nonviolent direct action throughout the South.[154]

The first major campaign the SCLC assisted with took place in Albany, Georgia, in November 1961. The Albany Movement was a coalition of different organizations, including the local branches of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the NAACP, whose goal was to force Albany's municipal government to abide by the Interstate Commerce Commission's desegregation order. Unfortunately, the campaign was not successful. One reason was a lack of unity

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[149] Todd J. Moye, "The Tuskegee Airmen Oral History Project and Oral History in the National Park Service," *Journal of American History* 89, no. 2 (2002): 580–87.

[150] David W. Blight, "Charles Hamilton Houston: The Legal Scholar Who Laid the Foundation for Integrated Higher Education in the United States," *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* 34 (Winter 2001–2002): 107.

[151] Neil R. McMillen, *The Citizens' Council; Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction, 1954–64* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1971).

[152] Michael Vinson Williams, *Medgar Evers: Mississippi Martyr* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2011), 285.

[153] Danielle L. McGuire, *At the Dark End of the Street: Black Women, Rape, and Resistance – a New History of the Civil Rights Movement from Rosa Parks to the Rise of Black Power* (New York: Vintage Books, 2011).

[154] Adam Fairclough, "Historians and the Civil Rights Movement." *Journal of American Studies* 24, no. 3 (December 1990): 390. The **Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historical Par**k helps to preserve the childhood home, church, and neighborhood of the Civil Rights leader.

within the coalition: members of SNCC were critical of King and the SCLC's attempt to take charge of negotiations. However, the lessons learned from these events laid the path for a more successful campaign in Birmingham, Alabama, where SCLC worked more closely with local organizations.[155]

The Birmingham campaign in 1963 did more than desegregate businesses and public facilities: it also brought national attention to the violence that the nonviolent protestors faced, thanks to photographs published in newspapers across the country.[156] The momentum continued with the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom on August 28, 1963. This march, organized by A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin (the primary instigators of an earlier call for a march on Washington in 1941), wanted to mark the centennial of the signing of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. The final speaker of the event, Dr. King, echoed words from this century-old document in his famous "I Have a Dream" speech.[157]

After the march, King and other organizers met with President John F. Kennedy to discuss his proposed civil rights bill. Prior to 1963, President Kennedy did not speak out on civil rights issues. But the increasing violence against nonviolent protests pushed him to address the country in a nationally broadcast speech on June 11, 1963. Kennedy appealed to the American public, arguing that civil rights for Black Americans was a moral issue and one that needed to be legislated. The crisis, he said, could not ". . . be met by repressive police action. It cannot be left to increased demonstrations in the streets. It cannot be quieted by token moves or talk." In the following weeks, Kennedy submitted a civil rights bill to Congress.[158]

Kennedy did not live to see his bill pass Congress. After Kennedy was assassinated in November 1963, newly sworn-in President Lyndon B. Johnson addressed Congress. Johnson declared that "[n]o memorial oration or eulogy could more eloquently honor President Kennedy's memory than the earliest possible passage of the civil rights bill for which he fought so long."[159] The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was designed to emulate the original version of the Civil Rights Act of 1875 that Charles Sumner proposed: protections against discrimination in public accommodations. It also improved upon the Civil Rights Act of 1957, which was intended to provide more federal protections for African American voting rights.[160]

As there had been after *Brown v. Board*, there was some violent resistance to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. For example, in Orangeburg, South Carolina, students from South Carolina State University, a historically Black university, protested a local bowling alley for failure to desegregate. The protestors were met with violence from the South Carolina Highway Patrol, resulting in the

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[155] Howard Zinn, *Albany: A Study in National Responsibility* (Atlanta, GA: Southern Regional Council, 1962), 18–19.

[156] The **Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument** preserves and commemorates the campaign.

[157] Joshua H. Miller, "Bolstering Bayard Rustin: Collaborative Apologia, Heteronormativity, and the 1963 March on Washington," *Southern Communication Journal* 87, no. 1 (January 2022): 47.

[158] Garth E. Pauly, "John F. Kennedy, Report to the American People on Civil Rights (11 June 1963)," *Voices of Democracy* 16 (January 2021): 16–31.

[159] President Lyndon B. Johnson's Address to a Joint Session of Congress Regarding President John F. Kennedy's Assassination, Civil Rights Legislation, and Other Topics, November 27, 1963; Records of the US House of Representatives, Record Group 233.

[160] Keith M. Finley, *Delaying the Dream: Southern Senators and the Fight against Civil Rights, 1938–1965* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008).

death of three men. The police officers were charged using excessive force, but they were acquitted by a federal jury.[161]

While the issue of voting rights was addressed by the Civil Rights Act, the act failed to outright ban voting discrimination. In some southern cities, Black citizens were arrested for trying to register to vote. One such incident in Selma, Alabama, was followed by a judicial injunction that forbade any gathering of three or more people sponsored by civil rights organizations. This led to the establishment of the Selma Voting Rights Campaign in January 1965. Local activists, led by SCLC and SNCC, organized voter registration drives, protests, and marches throughout Selma. The murder of Jimmie Lee Jackson by an Alabama State Trooper during one such march prompted organizers to organize a march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama's state capital (this march is commemorated by the **Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail**). Protestors were met with extreme violence on the first day of the 54-mile march, in an event known as "Bloody Sunday." The televised attacks prompted President Johnson to promise that he would send a voting rights bill to Congress. During a national address in March, Johnson demanded that Congress pass his bill, declaring that, "it is not just Negroes, but really it is all of us, who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice. And we *shall* overcome." Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965 just a few months later on August 6, 1965.[162]

Meanwhile, the Caribbean territories were also undergoing their own civil rights movement. Pedro Albizu Campos, an Afro-Puerto Rican, served as the president and spokesperson of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party. A World War I veteran, the racism that he encountered in the military shaped his political views.[163] In October 1950, the party led a series of insurrections against the US-supported government. Calling for full independence from the United States, revolts occurred in various cities across the island, including the capital city of San Juan. The movement came to an end after intervention by the National Guard and other government forces on October 31. The following day, two Puerto Rican nationalists failed in an assassination attempt on President Harry S. Truman in Washington, DC. The following day, Campos was arrested after a shootout with police. He received an 80-year prison sentence, which was later pardoned by the governor; however, the pardon was revoked after four Puerto Rican Nationalists fired upon members of Congress in the Capitol Building.[164]

In 1917, the US Congress granted citizenship to those born on the Virgin Islands. However, the territory was still administered by US-appointed governors. Political activism garnered a series of additional victories in the following decades—universal suffrage in 1936 and the establishment of a legislative body in 1954. But an increase in the population of White Americans, Puerto Ricans, and British West Indian migrant workers put a spotlight on the glaring racial issues around land ownership, education, housing conditions, and employment opportunities.[165] After the assassination

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[161] Jack Bass, "Documenting the Orangeburg Massacre," in *Journalism and Black America: Then and Now*, edited by Melissa Ludtke, *Nieman Reports* 57, no. 3 (Fall 2003): 8–11, https://niemanreports.org/articles/documenting-the-orangeburg-massacre/.

[162] Taylor Branch, *The King Years: Historic Moments in the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013).

[163] Juan Palacio Moreno, "Myth & Remembrance: The Harvard Life of Pedro Albizu Campos," *Harvard Latin American Law Review* 26, no. 1 (Spring 2023): 313.

[164] Moreno, "Myth and Remembrance," 323.

[165] Hendricks, "Black Awareness and Social Unrest in the U.S. Virgin Islands," 26–38. Hendricks argues that the restrictions in travel Cuba after the 1959 Cuban Revolution led to an increase in tourism to the Virgin Islands.

of Dr. King in 1968, civil rights activism increased on the islands: the Free Beach Movement, started by Marva Sprauve Browne and Edwin Hatchette in 1970, fought for beaches to be free and accessible to all Virgin Islanders; Mario Moorehead founded the United Caribbean Association of Black People, a Black nationalist organization, in 1971.[166] The impact of the civil rights movement spans a great distance across time and geography.



Figure 7. Photograph showing wreckage of a bomb that exploded near the Gaston Motel in Birmingham, Alabama, where Southern Christian Leadership Conference leaders were staying during the Birmingham Campaign. This site is preserved and interpreted by Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument. Photograph by Marion S. Trikosko, May 14, 1963.

Source: US Library of Congress.

Related National Park Service Sites

Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument

Brown v. Board of Education National Historical Park[167]

Castillo de San Marcos National Monument

[166] Hendricks, "Black Awareness and Social Unrest in the U.S. Virgin Islands," 76, 154–61.

[167] This park is managed by IR5, but its story includes the Summerton High School in Clarendon County, South Carolina, which is listed on the NRHP. See NPS, "Clarendon County, South Carolina," BRVB, last updated March 21, 2023, https://www.nps.gov/brvb/learn/historyculture/clarendoncounty.htm.

Freedom Riders National Monument

Jimmy Carter National Historical Park

Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historical Park

Medgar and Myrlie Evers Home National Monument

New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park

Reconstruction Era National Historical Park

Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail

Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site

Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site

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2. Methodology

As noted above, this project had two components: an evaluative matrix, in which HRA reviewed selected NPS reports and NPS webpages, and a survey of park staff. This section describes the methodology of these modes of analysis.

HRA reviewed all pages under each park's "History & Culture" landing page. Many parks have "People," "Places," "Stories," and "Preservation" as subsequent landing pages or articles. HRA did not review webpages linked to from "Nature," "Science and Resources," or other non-cultural resource-centered pages. The website review occurred in the fall and winter of 2021–2022, which means the review is not reflective of web content created after that period. Many parks have significantly enhanced web content regarding the stories of Americans of color in after this period. Parks had an opportunity to comment on the report and explain any changes to web content that occurred in 2022 and 2023.

The NPS provided HRA with a list of NPS cultural resource reports as part of the Statement of Work (SOW) for this project. HRA was responsible for locating and reviewing only the reports listed in the SOW. This was intended as a way to make the scope of this wide-ranging project manageable; the review could be ever-expanding if not well-defined. Selected documents only went back to 1990 to further set boundaries of study. A total of 306 NPS reports were included in the SOW for this study, representing the below report types:

- Administrative Histories
- Ethnographic Overview and Assessments
- Foundation Documents
- Historic Resource Studies (HRSs)
- Long-Range Interpretive Plans (LRIPs)
- National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) nominations
- Special History Studies
- Special Resource Studies

It is important to note that the review excluded Cultural Landscape Reports, Cultural Landscape Inventories, Historic Structure Reports, and many ethnographic reports, all of which also guide cultural resource management. But because so many public-facing documents were reviewed, and because this review was supplemented with surveys of park staff, the report's recommendations should get to the heart of each park's primary research needs.

Several recently completed or ongoing reports that included significant discussion of African American history were not included in the initial list provided to HRA in the SOW. To address this issue, HRA entered into a contract addendum with the NPS to add several completed, ongoing, and imminent projects to the review. Historians reviewed the additional completed documents and reached out to NPS staff at relevant units to discuss the status and background of reports in

progress and future reports. Those conversations and reviews are reflected in the recommendations below.

As HRA began reviewing documents and websites, historians created an Excel spreadsheet to track the analysis. Together with the NPS, historians established categories to track quantitative and qualitative information about each report or webpage (for a full list of categories in the evaluative matrix spreadsheet, see Appendix A). Also tracked were the type of documents, whether they were baseline reports, how they were prepared (discipline, NPS staff or contractors, etc.), and to what extent they addressed African American history.[168]

For each report and website, we entered this information into the spreadsheet. We used standard entries for many categories to facilitate sorting. The trends that appeared from this macro-level sorting are summarized in Section 3. Conclusions about future research needs based on this analysis are in Section 4 (regional-level recommendations) and Section 5 (park-level recommendations).

The survey component of this project helped to address some deficiencies of the report and website review. The survey was geared toward park staff or partners and included multiple-choice and open-ended questions. The HRA team wrote the survey questions in coordination with NPS staff (see Table 1).

Table 1: Survey Questions

1.) National Park site (if applicable)
2.) Job Title
3.) Email Address
4.) What do you consider to be the main interpretive narrative of your site?
5.) Are African American stories included in this narrative? If so, how?
6.) If not, what African American stories should be included in interpretation at your site?
7.) What types of resources or initiatives would assist in the addition or expansion of African American interpretation at your site? a) Additional staff b) Additional studies or research projects (please specify below) c) Training (please specify below) d) Additional publications/pamphlets e) Enhanced website content f) Additional partnerships (external to NPS) g) Additional partnerships (internal to NPS)

[168] NPS defines baseline reports as "research reports provide information that can serve a variety of purposes, from planning to interpretation" and that "should be completed before more specialized studies are undertaken." Cultural resource baseline documents are: Archeological Overview and Assessments, Archeological Identification/Evaluation Studies, Ethnographic Overview and Assessments, Cultural Affiliation Studies, Historic Resource Studies, Cultural Resources Base Maps, Park Administrative Histories, Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Projects, and Scope of Collection Statements. NPS, "NPS-28: Cultural Resource Management Guideline, Chapter 2: Research," August 16, 2002, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/nps28/28chap2.htm.

Table 1: Survey Questions

8.) Do you know of any other NPS employees, public historians, academic historians, or other individuals who would have useful knowledge for this survey? If so, and if they would be willing to have us reach out to them, please name them below and, if possible, include contact information.
9.) If you have any additional comments, please share them here.

Once the survey questions were finalized, they were entered into a shareable format via Google Forms. NPS regional staff emailed the link to the survey, along with contextual information about the project, to all superintendents and interpretive program managers at IR2 national park units. All were encouraged to send it along to other staff or partners who might have relevant feedback. Based on responses to Question No. 8, HRA reached out to additional scholars, NPS staff, volunteers, community members, or other partners asking if they would share their thoughts. The survey webform was opened in August 2021, and responses trickled in through March 2022. From August 2021 through March 2022, the survey garnered a total of 124 responses from 123 respondents (see Appendix B for a list of which parks responded to the survey).

The survey complemented the report review by helping to fill in gaps, hear directly from staff and partners about what they believed the most pressing needs were, and learn of other dynamics at play that existed outside of published materials. Survey responses cushioned negative effects of the SOW not including certain types of documents, like Cultural Landscape Reports, Cultural Landscape Inventories, and Historic Structure Reports. Respondents provided holistic and complex views from NPS staff and partners. It was also helpful to note which parks did not respond or how they responded. All recommendations made from the survey are integrated into the below report. Names are removed to protect the privacy of individuals, but footnotes retain park or office affiliation as context.

3. Summary of Findings

This section briefly summarizes the overall findings of the review of reports, websites, and survey responses. It was beyond the scope of this report to conduct further research into the reasons behind these trends, but there are suggested possible causes cited when applicable. The broad aggregations in the below section provide background for the more topically and thematically detailed recommendations for future study in Sections 4 and 5.

Readers should approach these numbers with a grain of salt. Historians who reviewed these reports and websites are trained in historical research methodologies and interpretive content writing. Still, the process of determining the extent that a report or webpage focuses on Black history—like the distinction between a "significant" or "some" focus—is a quantitative measurement with gray area around it.

Reports and Websites Review

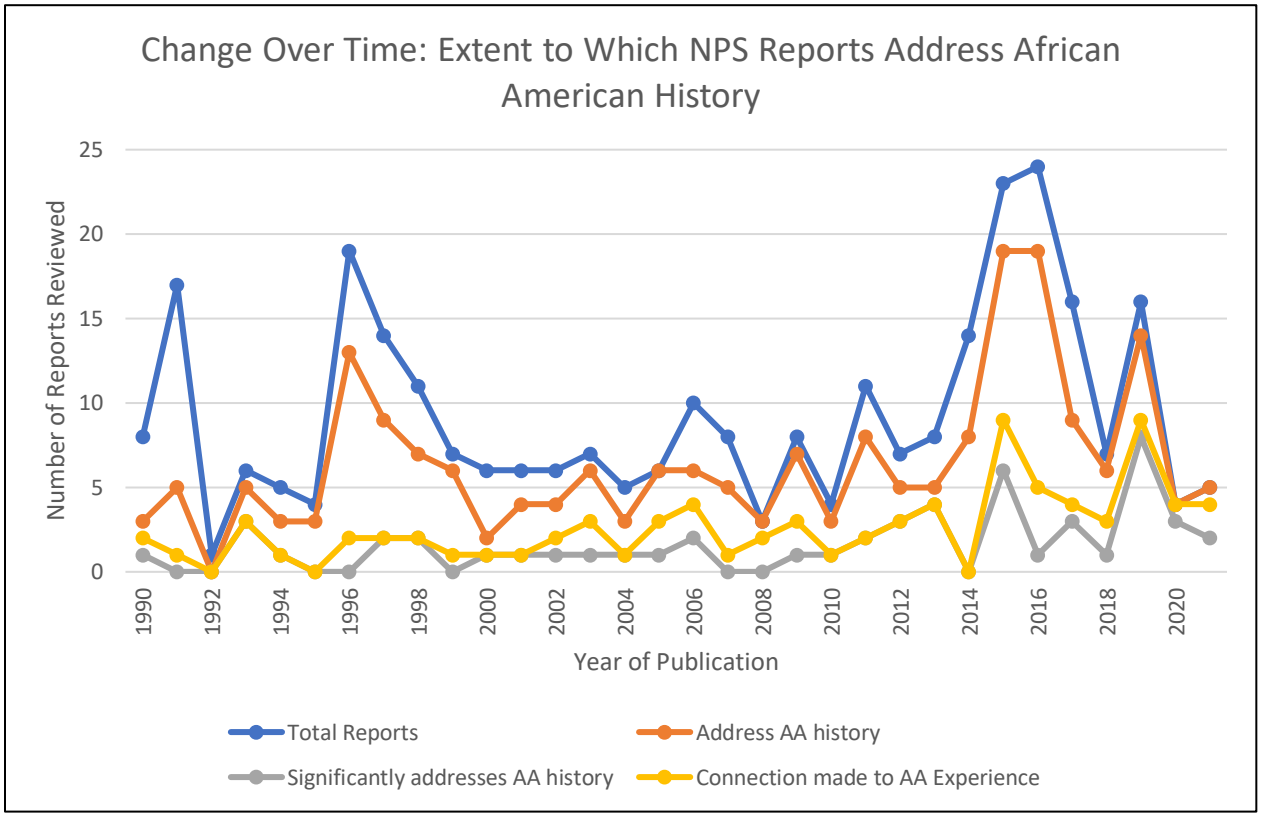


Figure 8. Change Over Time: Extent to Which NPS Reports Address African American History

Figure 8, "Change Over Time: Extent to Which NPS Reports Address African American History," summarizes the findings of the review of the reports. It represents all reports reviewed and whether the reports address African American history (represented by the orange line), significantly address African American history (gray), and make a connection to the experiences of African American individuals (yellow). The blue line represents the total number of reports reviewed. This graph's message lies in the distance between the lines. If all reports were addressing the history of African Americans in a meaningful way, all four lines would be in unison. This is not the case. There

is a significant gap between reports reviewed and the lines indicating whether those reports addressed African American history in a significant way or if they made a connection to the experiences of individual people of African descent.

When the same data is presented by percentage of total reports over time, it further clarifies this point (see Figure 9, "Change Over Time: Extent to Which NPS Reports Reviewed Address African American History (by percentage)"). As the graph shows, in some years, all cultural resource reports published (of those reviewed for this study) mentioned African American history at least in passing. However, a much smaller percentage of these addressed African American history to a significant degree, or in a way that touched on the experiences of individuals. For instance, in 2008, 100 percent of reports mentioned Black history at least in passing, but none of those focused primarily or significantly on Black history. In other years, like 2020, all reports addressed the stories and experiences of African Americans in a meaningful way.

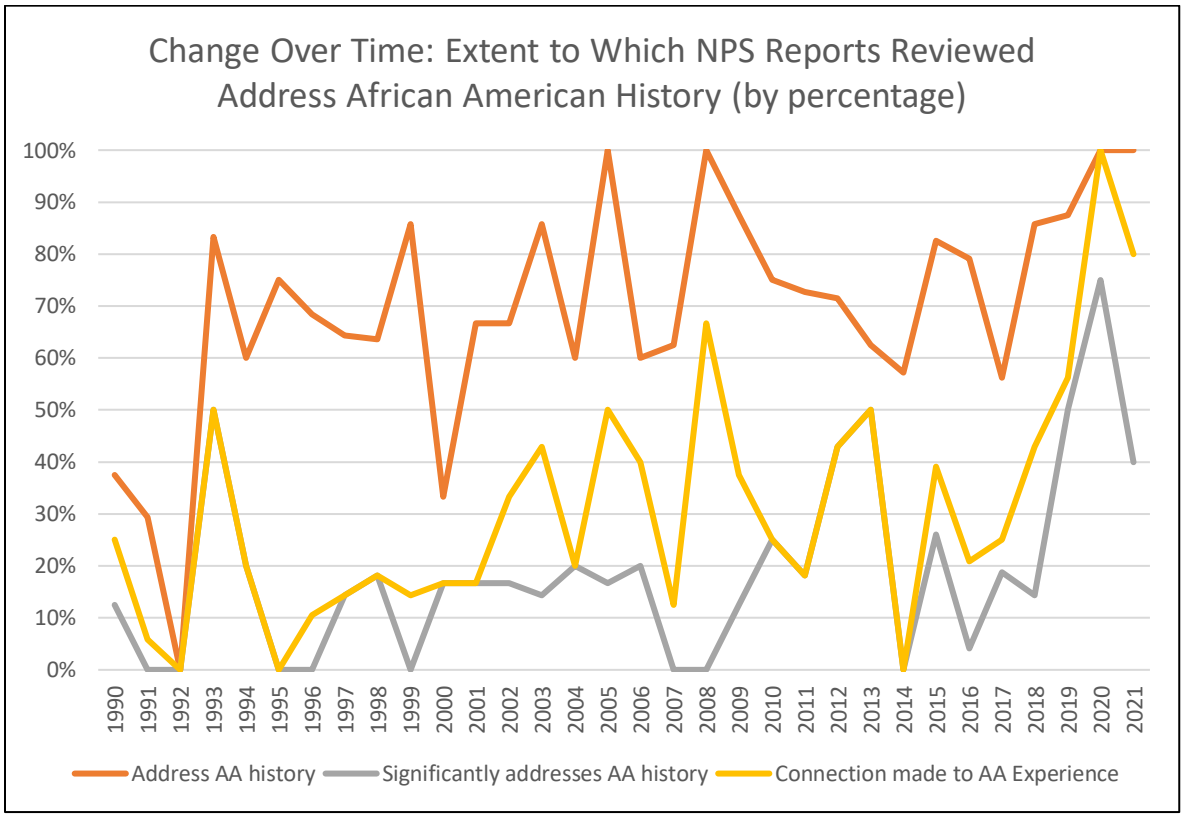


Figure 9. Change Over Time: Extent to Which NPS Reports Reviewed Address African American History (by percentage)

Several events in the history of the NPS may offer clues as to gradual increases in meaningful discussions of Black stories. In 1997, Robert G. Stanton was appointed NPS director, becoming the first Black director in the agency's history.[169] In 1998, Congress passed the National Underground

[169] "Oral History Interview with Robert G. Stanton, Director, National Park Service, 1997–2001," conducted by Janet A. McDonnell, NPS, 2006, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/director/stanton.pdf.

Railroad Network to Freedom Act, which created the NPS Network to Freedom Program.[170] In 2008, the NPS published a National Historic Landmark (NHL) theme study on African American history.[171] In 2016, the year of the NPS centennial, Congress appropriated funding for a Civil Rights Initiative (CRI), "to commemorate the Civil Rights Movement, which has inspired many groups in America and around the world to continue progress for Civil Rights."[172] In 2017, President Barack Obama established three national monuments via the Antiquities Act that specifically commemorate Black history (BICR, FRRI, and REER).[173] Other changes in interpretive of Black history resulted from the Dingell Act of 2019, which included the creation of the Reconstruction Era National Historic Network.[174] Throughout all of these changes, there have been gradual cultural shifts in the federal government and the nation at large toward diversity in hiring and research.

As established in the introduction, stories of people of African descent are relevant to all sites in the southeastern United States and Caribbean. NPS reports do not reflect this reality. Only two-thirds of reports reviewed, and fewer than one-fourth of the webpages reviewed, mention African American history at all (see Figure 10 and Figure 11). HRA counted this broadly: to qualify, a report only needed a brief mention of Black individuals, slavery, or the existence of people of African descent.

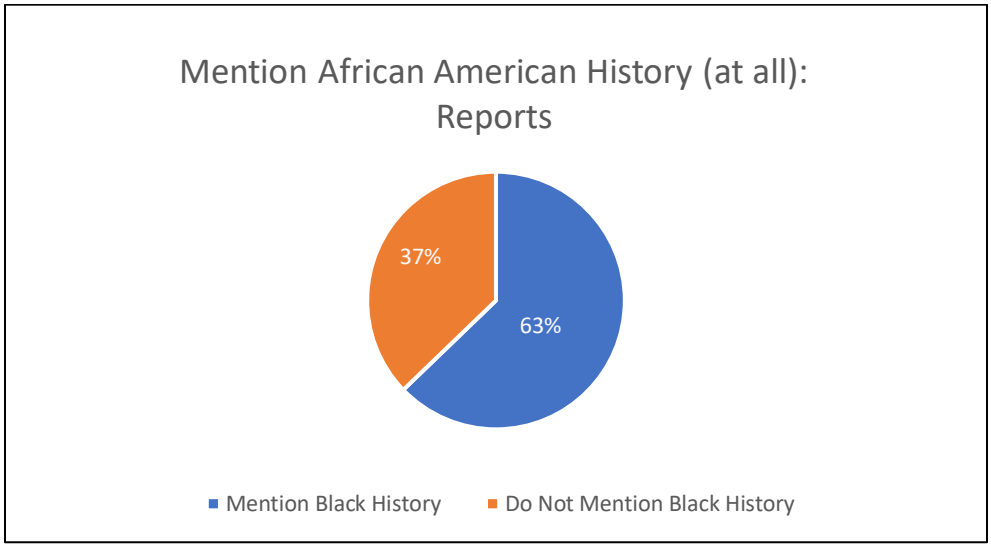


Figure 10. Mention African American History (at all): Reports

[170] National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Act of 1998, Public Law 105-203, 112 Stat. 678 (July 21, 1998).

[171] National Park Service, Organization of American Historians, and the National Museum of African American History and Culture, "African American NHL Assessment Study," February 6, 2008.

[172] NPS, "National Park Service Announces Over $7.5 Million in Grants to Preserve African American Civil Rights Movement Sites," press release, January 12, 2017, https://www.nps.gov/orgs/1207/01-12-2017-civil-rights-grants.htm.

[173] The White House, "FACT SHEET: President Obama Designates National Monuments Honoring Civil Rights History," press release, January 12, 2017.

[174] John D. Dingell, Jr., Conservation, Management, and Recreation Act, Public Law No. 116-9, 133 Stat. 580 (March 12, 2019).

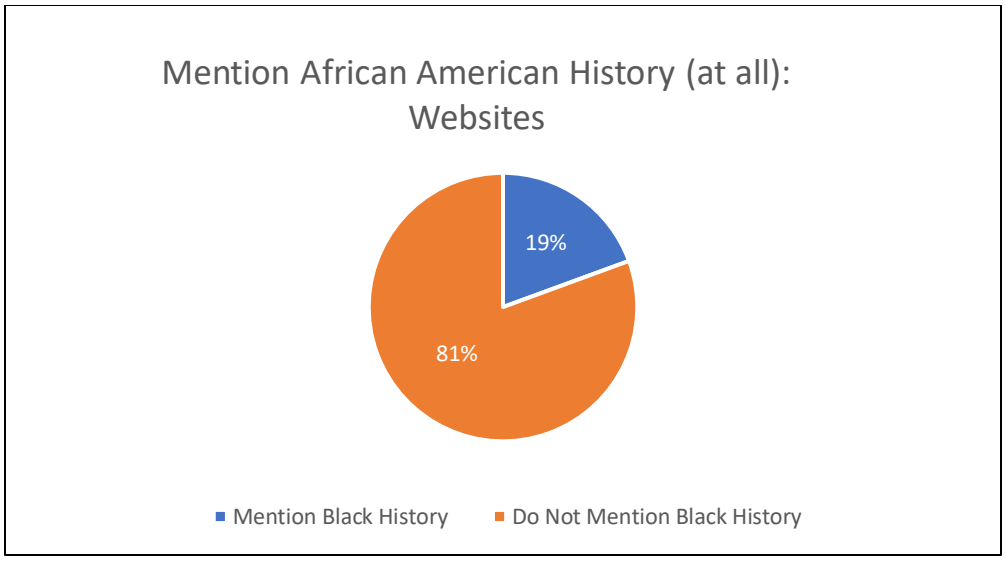


Figure 11. Mention African American History (at all): Websites

To distinguish between passing mentions of African American history and a deeper focus on the experiences of African American individuals, there are two additional categories. One of these categories is the extent of focus on the experiences of African American individuals. Reports and websites were classified as "significant," "some," "minor," or "none."

When looking at the overall results (see Figure 12 and Figure 13), what looked promising in the above charts (63 percent of reports mention Black history) is actually not what it appears at first glance (only 17 percent of reports address Black history in a significant way). For websites, only 19 percent of webpages linked to from the History & Culture page of IR2 parks mention Black history at all, and only 12 percent of those pages discuss Black history in significant detail.

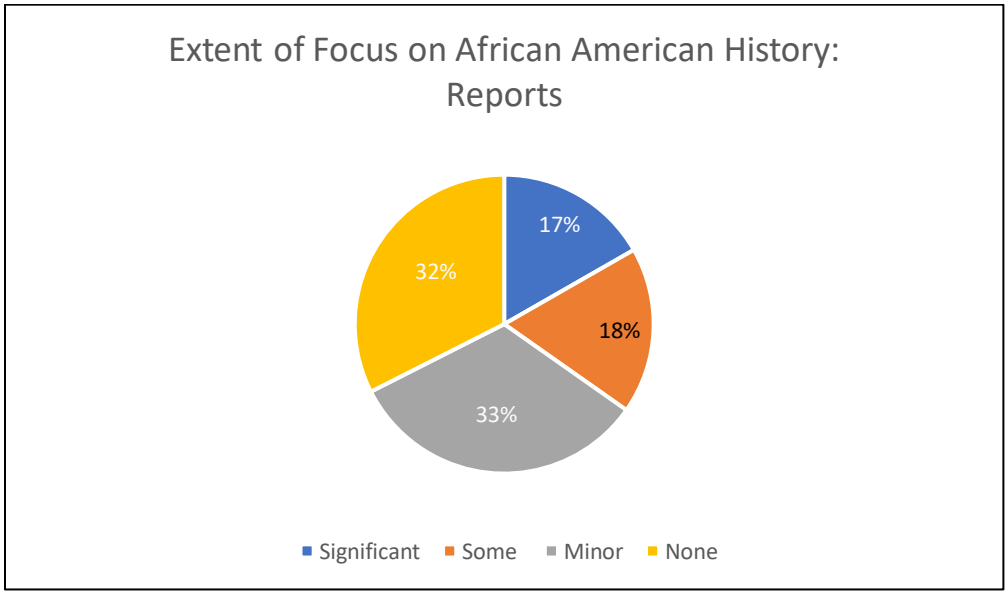


Figure 12. Extent of Focus on African American History: Reports

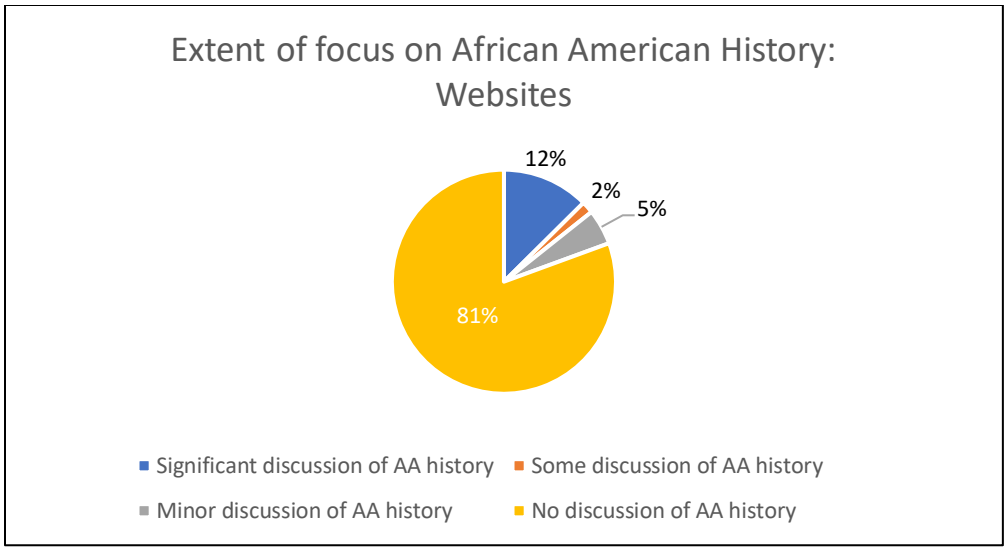


Figure 13. Extent of Focus on African American History: Websites

The final category created to try to assess the quality, and not just the quantity, of discussions of Black history assessed whether the report or website made a connection to the experiences of African American individuals. This is in contrast to simply mentioning slavery or a Black community in passing. Did the report give life to the people behind the history? In the way that much NPS content about White individuals has historically discussed their background and experiences, did the report or website do the same for African Americans? Overwhelmingly, the answer was no (see Figure 14 and Figure 15).

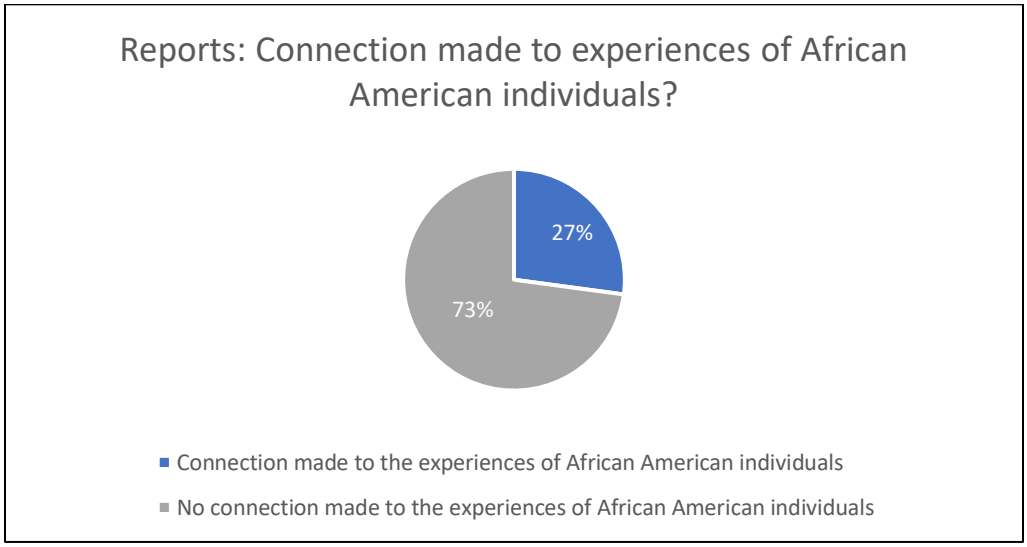


Figure 14. Reports: Connection made to experience of African American individual(s)?

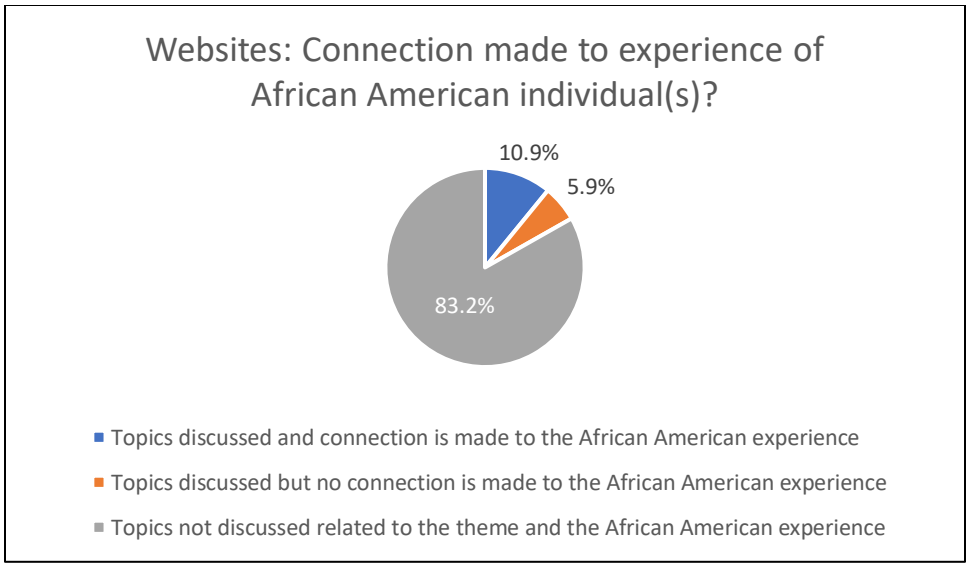


Figure 15. Websites: Connection made to experience of African American individual(s)?

This brings us back to the summary reports at the top of this section (see Figure 8 and Figure 9). These show that NPS reports are addressing Black history, but often are not doing so in a significant way. In places where the gray and yellow lines are closest to the orange lines, a higher percentage of reports address African American history in significant detail and in a way that actually discusses the experiences of people of African descent. While there is a slight trend of more reports mentioning African American history, it is only in the last few years that there is a trend toward those mentions significantly discussing the experiences of Black individuals and families.

To break down this data from the reports further, the next chart analyzes document type and the discipline in which it was prepared (Table 2 and Table 3). Table 2 (document type) breaks down reports by document type. The column "Reports Reviewed in Category" provides context as to the sample size. The column "Connection Made to African American Experiences" is sorted from highest to lowest percentage. This helps complicate the numbers in the "Mention African American History (at all)" column. While some categories have fairly high percentages of reports that mention African American history in passing, they have much lower percentage of reports that make a connection to the experiences of African American individuals.

One especially concerning finding apparent in Table 2 is the lack of in-depth discussion of African American history in Foundation Documents and Long-Range Interpretive Plans. These documents, perhaps more than any other documents reviewed, guide interpretive priorities at a park. This report began with the shared assumption that all parks have stories to tell that relate to African Americans. Yet only 64 percent of Foundation Documents mention Black history, and only 22 percent make a connection to the experiences of African American individuals. Long Range Interpretive Plans are not much better—only 77 percent mention Black history at all, and just 13 percent make a connection to the African American experience. One theme that came up consistently in survey responses is that much of the quality interpretation related to Black history is conducted by individual interpretive employees with an interest, rather than being led at an institutional level by NPS leadership.

Table 2: Document Type: How Different Types of Reports Address African American History

Category	Reports Reviewed in Category	Mention African American History (at all)	Significant focus on African American history	Connection made to African American Experience	Connection to Civil Rights Framework
Ethnographic Overview and Assessment	13	100%	31%	85%	15%
Historic Resource Study	40	90%	25%	43%	23%
Non-Standard Document	23	65%	35%	39%	4%
Special History Study	11	82%	36%	36%	36%
Special Resource Study	14	86%	29%	36%	21%
Foundation Document	67	64%	16%	22%	18%
Administrative History	18	89%	6%	22%	6%
Long-Range Interpretive Plan	31	77%	6%	13%	6%
National Register of Historic Places Nomination (includes NHL and MPS nominations)	85	44%	7%	12%	7%

When broken down by discipline (see Table 3), reports prepared in ethnography and history tend to address Black history most thoroughly, although these disciplines still leave room for improvement. (Table 3 is also sorted by the "Connection made the African American Experience" column, from highest to lowest percentage.) The fact that none of the archeological reports reviewed focus on Black history is partly because many of the archeological reports reviewed are NRHP nominations for sites that predate the arrival of people of African descent to the area. Many of the "Combination" reports are Foundation Documents, and many "Interpretation" reports, as noted above, are lacking in their discussion of Black history.

Table 3: Discipline: How Reports of Different Disciplines Address African American History

Category	Reports Reviewed in Category	Mention African American History (at all)	Significant focus on African American history	Connection made to African American Experience	Connection to Civil Rights Framework
Ethnography	10	100%	40%	80%	30%
History	54	83%	28%	39%	13%

Table 3: Discipline: How Reports of Different Disciplines Address African American History

Category	Reports Reviewed in Category	Mention African American History (at all)	Significant focus on African American history	Connection made to African American Experience	Connection to Civil Rights Framework
Combination	84	71%	18%	30%	15%
Architectural History	97	56%	13%	23%	15%
Interpretation	34	79%	12%	18%	6%
Archeology	24	50%	0%	4%	0%

NRHP nominations reviewed were particularly negligent in their coverage of Black history. Many regularly failed to contextualize Black communities and often ignored properties used by African Americans while encouraging the protection of other properties related to White histories. This is especially problematic since the NPS uses NRHP nominations to guide funding, research, interpretation, and historic structure protection.[175] Since the NPS has contributed to the neglect and outright erasure of the built environment of Black communities, the NPS is sometimes to blame for the loss of eligibility for listing in the NRHP (see Sections 4 and 5 for recommendations related to this issue).

Of the reports that touched on the experiences of Black individuals in a meaningful way, the standard NPS themes most commonly addressed were "Creating Social Institutions and Movements," "Peopling Places," and "Shaping the Political Landscape." The reports that mentioned people of African descent in passing but did not focus on those people in any meaningful individual detail were more likely to touch on the themes "Transforming the Environment" (many of these are agricultural sites where reports or websites perfunctorily mention the institution of slavery), "Changing Role of the United States in the World Community," and "Developing the American Economy." Reports that touched on multiple themes in significant detail were more likely to cover the experiences of people of African descent in depth. And for reports that did not mention anyone of African descent at all, the reports' primary themes were fairly evenly split between all of the NPS themes. A small number of reports reviewed addressed themes from the agency's recently created Civil Rights Framework, with an upward trend in recent years (see Figure 16).

[175] Many scholars, public historians, community members, and historic preservationists have written about this problem. See, for example, African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund (an initiative of the National Trust for Historic Preservation), "Preserving African American Places: Growing Preservation's Potential as a Path for Equity," October 2020; Equal Justice Initiative, "The Widespread Failure to Preserve African American History," January 31, 2020, https://eji.org/news/widespread-failure-to-preserve-african-american-history/; Casey Cep, "The Fight to Preserve African-American History," *New Yorker*, January 27, 2020, https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2020/02/03/the-fight-to-preserve-african-american-history/ .

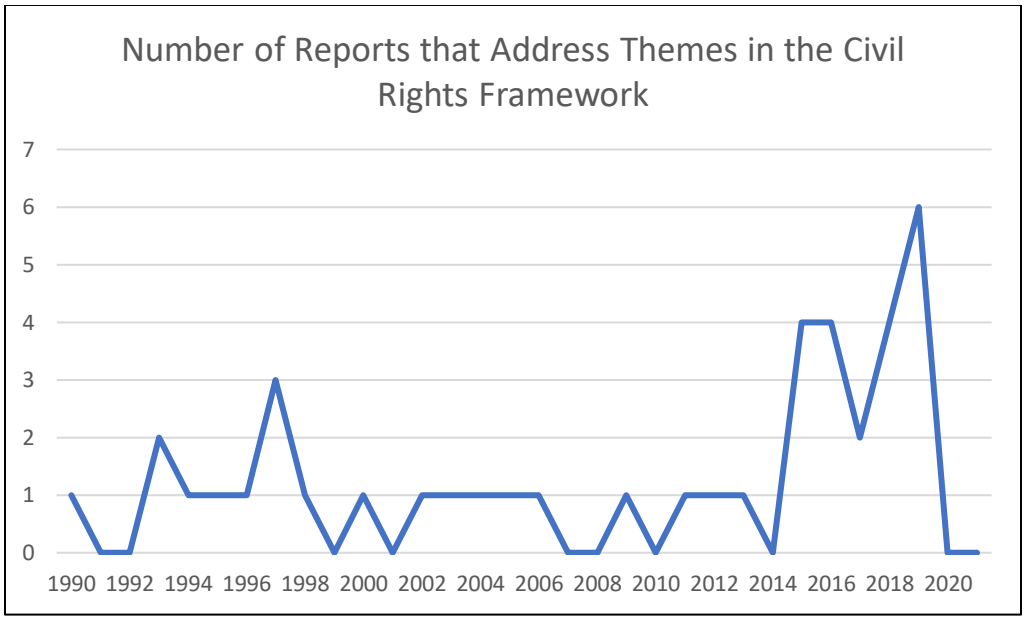


Figure 16. Number of Reports that Address Themes in the Civil Rights Framework

NPS-wide directives have influenced how NPS interpretation of the African American experience has changed. One of the most clearcut examples is the 2000 Department of the Interior Appropriations bill directing Civil War sites managed by the NPS to include in all "public displays and multimedia presentations the unique role that the institution of slavery played in causing the Civil War."[176] This has led to Civil War sites almost universally acknowledging slavery as a cause of the Civil War in research and interpretive materials, even if there is no discussion of the experiences of African American individuals. This gives some indication of the power of legislation in addressing deficiencies in NPS research and interpretive content.

There are several trends running through NPS webpages that relate to deficiencies in how the agency tells the stories of people of African descent. These include:

- Lack of consistency.
    - Websites display a lack of consistency in formatting, quality of content, and amount of content. Most websites do not cite sources, and most do not indicate an author.
- Outdated content.
    - Some websites have pages that have not been updated in almost five years. Review of webpages made clear that web content is often only updated when the park has the time and resources to commit to it, rather than at regular intervals.
- Outdated language.
    - Some webpages use outdated or insensitive language, and the HFC style guide is not utilized consistently.

[176] NPS, "Long-Range Interpretive Plan: Shiloh National Military Park," 2007, 18; NPS, "Interpretation at Civil War Sites: A Report to Congress," March 2000.

- Navigational difficulty.
    - Some pages are only accessible through links buried several pages deep from the park's primary landing site.

The above analysis discusses broad trends only. Sections 4 and 5 recommend detailed ways to address content deficiencies in websites and reports.

Survey

The survey garnered 124 responses from 123 respondents. Representatives from 60 of 72 parks responded to the survey (see Appendix B). Survey responses are quoted or cited throughout this report, to support analysis and recommendations at the regional and park level. For privacy reasons, the names and titles of respondents are not included in footnotes, but citations include the park or regional office from which they came to help provide context around the recommendation.

Respondents indicated various needs in order to better interpret African American stories at NPS sites in the Southeast Region (see Figure 17). Many mentioned the lack of resources for NPS staff to interpret African American stories. A majority of respondents indicated needs for staffing, training, research, partnerships, and enhanced website content.

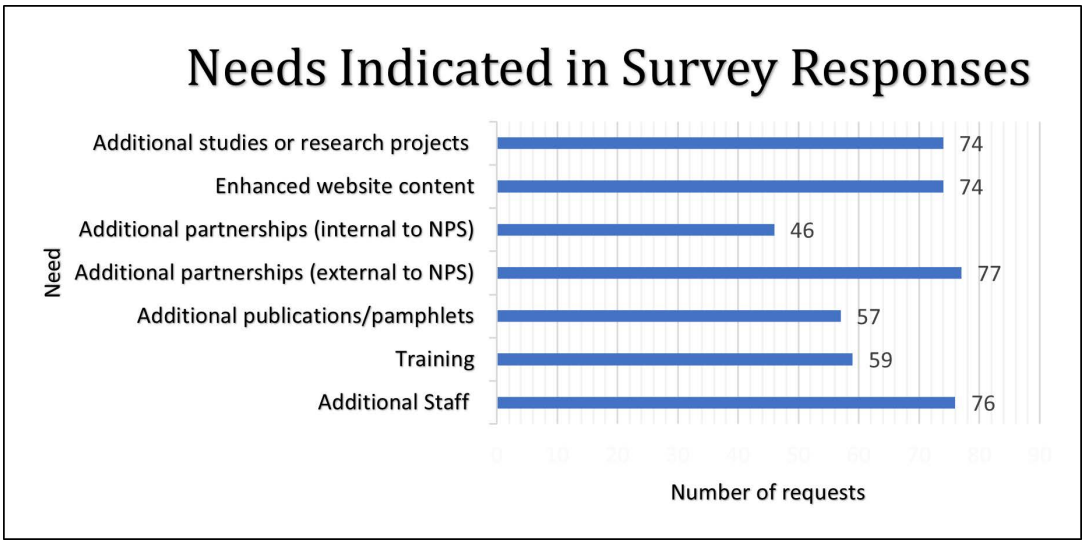


Figure 17. Needs Indicated in Survey Responses

Sections 4 and 5 of this report (regional and park-by-park recommendations) integrate survey responses into regional and park-level historical research and interpretive needs. To summarize survey responses here, needs are grouped based on categories that emerged as trends and included quotes from survey responses beneath each. These categories are:

Research

- "research–- more local, site-specific research into the people with personal connections to the site."[177]
- "Research on the role of women and the LGBTQ community in the civil rights movement would also help amplify the roles of other marginalized people in the movement."[178]
- "The lack of sufficient staff to fully man the park in the summer precludes any long term research opportunities in enhancing this story."[179]
- ". . . we tend towards the hagiographical histories of people like Martin Luther King (not a good example since the family controls the MLK narrative). . . . we focus on highlights and forget about the day to day work, the families, and relationships (thinking about Medgar and Myrlie Evers Home NM)."[180]

Training

- ". . . sensitivity and diversity training that deals with how to discuss difficult history, particularly slavery, segregation, and Civil Rights, is a must."[181]
- ". . . Staff could use inherent bias training."[182]
- ". . . Training on how to tell stories respectfully of groups you don't belong to (race, gender, tribal affiliation, etc)."[183]

Partnerships

- "We don't have strong relationships with African American community members. I'd love to see us have a robust internship program using local HBCUs [Historically Black Colleges and Universities]."[184]
- ". . . even partnerships with universities where graduate students might work on thesis involving some of these African American stories. These stories would make for excellent [t]hesis [p]apers (and likely enough information for them to write their first books!)."[185]

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[177] Academic/consultant/interpretive planner, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[178] BICR/FRRI, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[179] FORA, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[180] Southeast Region/IR2, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[181] FOPU, survey response.

[182] MACA, survey response.

[183] EVER, survey response.

[184] NATR, NATT, TUPE, and BRCR, survey response.

[185] CALO, survey response.

Staffing

- "Staff gets stuck telling the same story because it's easy and these days, who has time to research something new? We also have parks in areas that have ties to KKK [Ku Klux Klan] history (recent and distant). Interpretive training is needed, but what kind? Something that brings people into the 21st century? We all need staff, but we have to be able to manage the staff and make them successful. How can they be concise with a critical topic and keep the attention of the visitors? . . . We need staff who can focus as opposed to being pulled in a million directions like we are now. This will be a culture change for most of the NPS employees."[186]

One issue that arose repeatedly in survey responses is that the NPS needs reports to be brief and accessible but also to discuss the complexities of divergent groups of people. A respondent elaborated,

> There's a push to streamline these documents, so how do we highlight these critical aspects of parks historically interpreted without diverse histories and still draft a usable document. Keep in mind, staffing is low and employees look for something "easy" to read, as in they don't have to sit for hours to find what they need.[187]

Recommendations noted in Sections 4 and 5 are designed to address the broad issues noted above.

[186] Southeast Region/IR2, survey response.

[187] Southeast Region/IR2, survey response.

4. Regional Recommendations

This section recommends avenues of research that the NPS can pursue at the regional level to better understand and communicate stories of people of African descent. Some recommendations apply to all parks across the region, while others relate to subgroups with geographical or thematical linkages. Recommendations are structured as lists of projects. Some bullets represent one large research project, while others suggest broad types of research that could be carried out in several smaller studies, or through a series of smaller, related research projects conducted in phases.

As noted in the introduction, this report focuses on historical research recommendations. However, other shortcomings intertwine with these needs and must also be addressed if the NPS is to improve how it participates in the telling of stories of African Americans. These non-research-based deficiencies arose in document review and survey responses and include needs related to web content, community outreach, interpretive media and program content, training, and staffing. The most urgent needs are noted below. There are also tips for interpreters conducting historical research, a section inspired by comments from NPS staff.

Recommendations made in this report attempt to account for the fact that the scope of this project only included some cultural resource reports, with the notable exclusion of Cultural Landscape Reports, Cultural Landscape Inventories, and Historic Structures Reports (see methodology section for more). Recommendations are intended to be durable enough to weather the methodological shortcomings of this report and to withstand changes in the landscape of historical understanding brought on by new research and interpretation. Please note also that this section provides regional and thematic recommendations only, while Section 5 provides recommendations and analysis by NPS unit.

Best Practices for Contracting

In order to implement projects that address the historical research needs listed below, the NPS needs to think through contracting and funding. The NPS usually only has funds for a few large historical studies in each region per year. To address numerous historical research needs, the NPS also needs to fund historical research in bite-size projects or projects that can be undertaken in stages. The below recommendations attempt to address this by suggesting staged approaches or small research tasks that can add up to a larger initiative over time. Larger, more expensive studies should be reserved for the highest priority items.

Best Practices for Historical Research

Below are general recommendations for approaching future historical research projects. This list was developed based on deficiencies encountered regularly in NPS content, as well as the strengths of projects done well.

- Look for communities, families, and individuals.
    - Investigate the lives of lesser-known people of color and communities (in addition to continued investigation of famous individuals, like as Martin Luther King Jr. and Harriet Tubman). For example, Hermina Glass-Avery's report on "African American Attitudes Toward the Civil War" explains that African American residents of metropolitan Atlanta asked for this:

> While the different groups demonstrated a strong desire to know more about the African American experience during the Civil War, there were strong feelings amongst the participants that the history will not be told correctly here in the South. However, many individuals also expressed hope that a truer and more complete picture could emerge if historians would move beyond traditional viewpoints and methodologies to capture stories told within African American families. One participant stated there needs to be a shift away from the macro-histories to the micro-histories of individuals and families in specific locations . . .[188]

- Partner with local communities on historical research and interpretive content.
    - Partner with people for whom this is their community and family history. Do so in a respectful and collaborative way that builds long term relationships (rather than an extractive and short-term approach).
    - NPS staff noted a need for "more local, site-specific research into the people with personal connections to the site."[189]
- Hire Black employees and contractors.
    - Relationship building starts with shifting who works for the agency. This is a much larger issue, and one that the NPS is aware of and is taking steps to address. But it is mentioned here because outcomes are different when Black voices guide research, oral history, outreach, and interpretive projects.
- Provide training on historical research and writing for park staff performing this research.
- Partner with scholars of African American history to write reports and interpretive content.
    - Work with researchers who have experience locating historical sources and reading against the grain.
- Support oral histories for many different types of historical research.
    - Oral histories should be a component of many historical research projects to de-center historical documents written by White individuals that often excluded or dehumanized people of African descent.
    - Many institutions in the region have spent decades collecting oral histories of people who have lived in the area. Check out local libraries, university archives, state or local historical societies, and other organizations that may hold relevant oral history collections.

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[188] Hermina Glass-Avery, "The War of Jubilee: Tell Our Story and We Will Come: Assessing African American Attitudes Toward the Civil War," 2011, 44.

[189] Academic/consultant/interpretive planner, survey response, October 12, 2021.

- Connect with other parks and historic sites in the region to share stories.
    - Some regional or thematic research could be applicable to many parks. Cooperating across the region can help all parks improve.
- Set clear expectations around language and terminology.
    - The NPS HFC style guide includes acceptable terms and thoughtful commentary on the reasoning behind them. The most recent edition acknowledges varying levels of acceptability for certain terms, depending on individual or group preferences, and notes that many terms are subject to change. This living document is a valuable resource for NPS staff. However, many NPS reports and websites often do not adhere to it. The NPS should include always require adherence to the HFC style guide in project scopes and for approval of NRHP nominations (as it often already does, but this requirement should be foregrounded or followed up on to ensure compliance). Further, the NPS should work to clarify distinctions between the HFC style guide and the Denver Service Center style guide, and possibly consider consolidation.
- Integrate African American history into all baseline documents.
    - All cultural resource baseline documents should include meaningful discussions (even if brief) of African American history and experiences within the context of local and regional history. This also applies to other groups historically underrepresented in NPS narratives, like Indigenous peoples and women.
- Address intersectionality in marginalization of historic content.
    - Just as the history of people of African descent is relevant to all NPS units, the history of Indigenous peoples, all people of color, women, children, and the elderly is also relevant to all NPS units. These should also be included in the interpretive narratives of all NPS sites. Reports should operate on the assumption that no family, community, region, or nation is homogenous in identity or heritage.
- Look to other organizations that are effectively communicating Black stories.
    - The NPS has a long history of excluding and marginalizing Black voices. While the agency is reckoning with this and is on a long road to improvement, there is much to learn from other institutions who have always centered Black histories. The NPS should partner with these organizations when it is appropriate and mutually beneficial.
    - See the "Community Outreach Needs" section for examples of organizations who have strong institutional histories of communicating Black history to the public.
- Include research on, and interpretation of, African American experiences as an integral part of commemorative events.
    - Any research related to the commemoration of historical events should discuss how African Americans were involved in or excluded from the events. Major commemorations often bring with them funding for new studies and programs, like the Civil War Sesquicentennial and the upcoming 250th anniversary of the United States of America.

- Include public-facing interpretation of research as a substantial component of historical research project SOWs.
    - Or, in the case that a larger project is split into smaller sequential projects, scope the project in such a way that it includes a second stage that incorporates developing interpretive content from the research material.

Research Needs Applicable to All Parks in Region

Below are discrete recommendations for future historical research projects that could be undertaken at the regional level. Some bullets list just one project, while others represent many potential projects. Some apply to all parks in the region, while others apply to a subset. The first section lists projects by report category or discipline, while the second section lists studies by topic or subregional geographic groupings that arose in the survey or evaluation of documents. Within each section, all items are listed in alphabetical order. Priority initiatives as determined by HRA are listed in bold, but ultimate prioritization rests in the hands of the NPS.

Recommendations by Discipline or Report Type

- Administrative Histories of NPS units
    - **This is an important forum where the history between the NPS and African American communities can be addressed.** All administrative histories should grapple with the exclusionary histories behind the creation and management of NPS sites and how that is reflected in the people displaced by the site, staffing of the site, and what communities the NPS engages with to manage the site.
    - Administrative histories are often long and expensive reports. To better fund research behind a park's history of displacement and erasure, projects could be funded as smaller "updates" to the existing administrative history that focus solely on this issue, or as an outreach project to connect with community members and descendants who were affected by the park's creation, followed by a separate oral history project to interview those individuals, and followed later (only if needed) by a longer narrative report.
- Archeological studies on Black history
    - Regional or thematic archeological studies related to African American histories, in partnership with descendent communities.
    - These can occur as **subregional archeological studies**, as suggested by one survey respondent: "I'd like to include more archaeological sites with a focus on African American stories, such as the Prospect Bluff site in the Apalachicola National Forest and ties to Gulf Islands National Seashore."[190]

[190] University of West Florida, survey response, October 12, 2021.

- Ethnographic Overview and Assessments
    - For all parks that lack or have an outdated Ethnographic Overview and Assessment (see also Section 5 for specific recommendations by park).
    - Because these can often be broad, expensive studies, a staged approach to the research could be a way to begin making progress sooner than embarking on large studies for each park unit.
- Historical geography studies
    - To include development of "enhanced maps using principles of radical cartography."[191]
- Historic Resource Studies
    - For all parks that lack or have an outdated HRS (see also Section 5 for specific recommendations by park). Note that staged approaches to completing HRSes for parks could expedite this research.
- Interpretive content
    - **Translate new or existing research into interpretive materials (in-person exhibits, websites, or programming).**
    - All historical research projects should include an action plan for how this content might be translated into interpretive materials. In order for these action plans to be effective, the below recommendations regarding staffing and training must also be addressed.
- National Register of Historic Places nominations: updates to existing documentation[192]
    - **Updates of NRHP nominations to incorporate African American history at existing NRHP sites** (see Section 5 for specific examples by park).
    - Cooperation with community members who are unfamiliar with the NRHP process or lack physical structures remaining in their community because of the above noted issues of displacement and erasure.
- Special History Study on African American history for every park, to cover history within the park and in surrounding communities[193]
    - One study for each park.
    - Each study should include outreach and oral history components.

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[191] Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[192] Refer back to "Summary of Findings" for discussion of how existing documents are insufficient in their coverage of Black history.

[193] WASO CRPS, Park History Program, survey response, October 12, 2021.

- Depending on funding, these projects can vary in size, and can be split into stages (for example, research, oral histories, outline and annotated bibliography, brief report, longer report, interpretive web content).
- Follow-up series of staff training sessions, based on results of the studies.

Recommendations by Topic or Subregional Groupings

- Aviation
  - Multi-park Special History Study on the role of people of color in the history of aviation (to include BICY, CAHA, CANA, WRBR, TUAI, and potentially others).
- Children
  - **Special History Study on children of African descent at NPS sites in the region, to include recommendations for future research.** This could focus on a particular era or sub-region, like the modern civil rights movement and places like MEMY, MALU, SEMO, and FRRI, where vibrant communities of families organized protests and movements.
- Caribbean
  - Special History Study on free Black communities in the Caribbean related to NPS sites.
  - **Annotated Bibliography on the slave trade in the Caribbean and as relates to NPS sites.**
  - **Special History Study on how the Haitian Revolution influenced attitudes, movements, and ideological development in the southeastern United States.**
- Civil Rights
  - **Cross-regional Annotated Bibliography of the long civil rights movement at sites now protected by the NPS, to assist with efforts against narrow definition of civil rights movement as a "southern" movement. Study could be conducted through African American Civil Rights Network.**
  - Special History Study connecting Atlanta-area parks focused on telling the story of civil rights (MALU) with regional parks focused primarily on natural conservation (CHAT and KEMO).
  - Special History Study of seashore/coastal parks, regarding "wade-ins" and other protests of segregated public facilities in areas now managed by the NPS (whether segregated by the NPS or pre-NPS management) (GUIS, CAHA, CALO, BISC, TIMU, and others).

- Special History Study on role of women and LGBTQ+ individuals in the civil rights movement (MALU, BICR, FRRI, REER, and potentially others).[194]

- Civilian Conservation Corps sites
  - Region-wide study on segregation of CCC camps, pushback against Black camps, experiences of Black members of the CCC (to include CAHA, SHIL, BLRI, CAHA, FODO, GRSM, GUCA, LIRI, OCMU, and potentially others).

- Civil War and Reconstruction era sites
  - **Administrative History of how living history at Civil War sites has affected interpretation, outreach, and partnerships at those sites, with special consideration to how this has brought in or alienated community members of color.**
  - Study on Black families in agriculture on or near Civil War battlefields in the late 1800s and early 1900s, continuing until NPS land acquisition and displacement.
  - Experiences of Black women in Civil War campaigns.
  - Annotated bibliography covering multiple parks about the experiences of individuals who served in or traveled with the USCT during the Civil War.
  - **Special History Study on Civil War commemoration that looks at the national movement to commemorate the Civil War, how it led to many of these parks being created, and how that movement included or excluded African American veterans, families, individuals, stories. This should discuss link between sites of Confederate monuments and sites of lynching.**[195]

- Educational sites
  - Study on sites related to educational institutions and African Americans: JELA, TUIN, CONG, FODO, sites with freedpeoples' communities and associated schools for children, and potentially others.[196]

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[194] NPS, "Foundation Document: Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument," 2018, 23; BICR/FRRI, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[195] The link between sites of Confederate monuments and lynchings was established in Kyshia Henderson, Samuel Powers, Michele Claibourn, Jazmin L. Brown-Ianuzzi, and Sophie Trawalter, "Confederate monuments and the history of lynching in the American South: An empirical examination," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 118, no. 42 (October 2021), https://www.pnas.org/content/118/42/e2103519118.

[196] Note that as of 2023, a similar study has already begun, led by the NPS legacy National Capital Region and in partnership with the Southeast and Northeast Regions. That project, "Historic Resources Study of African American Schools in the South, 1865–1900," is intended to "provide a context history of the establishment of schools for African American children led at first by the Freedmen's Bureau after the Civil War, followed by state-sponsored public schools in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The context history will be accompanied by case studies of ten schools located either on or very near current NPS boundaries. This project will uncover people, places, and events that will assist parks in interpreting the complex history of Reconstruction in the United States, and the transition from slavery to freedom. The case studies and other site research may lead to new National Register and National Historic Landmark nominations as well." PMIS description for project, supplied to authors via NPS comments, July 17, 2023.

- Emancipation and Reconstruction
    - Multi-park Special History Study of the experiences of formerly enslaved people in the years following emancipation. This project could focus on parks with known Freedmen's Camps (like CANE, CHPI, REER, CUIS, and FODO). It could also explore unequal treatment of people who identified as both Black and Indigenous, and the choices they made or were forced to make following the Civil War in order to maintain their cultural identity, homes, livelihood, and property. The report would make recommendations for future research and other units that might be connected to this history.
- Erasure and displacement at natural resource-centered parks
    - **Multi-park study on the history of erasure (often of people of color) at NPS parks that focus on natural sites (could include BICY, CONG, JELA, LIRI, RUCA, VIIS/VICR, GRSM, and BISO, among others).** To include public health implications of decades of exclusion from green spaces, sites of clean air and water, and outdoor recreational opportunities. The report might also consider restorative social justice that the NPS could participate in going forward.
    - Studies of the culinary, medicinal, spiritual, economic, scientific, and recreational activities of people of color within areas that are now national park sites.
- "Frontier" communities
    - Special History Study of people of African descent in American communities the late 1700s and early 1800s. To discuss settlements established by free people of color, as well as the role of free people of color and enslaved people in newly established American towns and farming communities during the era of heavy westward colonization by the American government.[197]
- Great Migration within the South
    - Special History Study on migrations of African Americans moving around the South (especially from rural to urban areas) in the 1900s, as relates to NPS units in the region.[198]
- Gulf Coast
    - Multi-park study on the experiences of people of African descent during the Seminole Wars.

[197] This idea was prompted by an HRS for ABLI that discussed the influence that the frontier had on Lincoln without mentioning any presence of Black individuals living on the frontier. See Robert W. Blythe, Maureen Carroll, and Steven Moffson, "Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historic Site: Historic Resource Study," revised and updated by Brian F. Coffey (Atlanta: NPS Southeast Regional Office, 2001), especially Chapter 1.

[198] Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor, survey response, October 12, 2021.

- Special History Study of the role of Gulf Coast port cities in what are now Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida in the international slave trade and related history of people of African descent in these places.[199]
- Study of Indigenous/African/European cultural exchange in Gulf Coast port cities.
- Study of the history of hurricanes in the region and how they have impacted residents in the area.

- Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor
  - **Annotated bibliography of existing studies, research, and oral histories of NPS sites within the Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor**, in partnership with the Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor National Heritage Area and the Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor Commission.[200]

- Indigenous history and Black history
  - **Studies and initiatives that address the intersectionality between Black and Indigenous history in the Southeast and Caribbean, in partnership with affiliated Tribes.**[201]
  - Study on parallels and overlap between African American civil rights movements and Native American civil rights movements, in partnership with affiliated Tribes.

- Logging
  - Special History Study on Black culture, history, and experiences of logging in areas now part of national park sites (from the mountains to pine barrens to cypress swamps: BICY, BISO, BLRI, CONG, CUGA, EVER, GRSM, LIRI, and potentially others).

- Lower Mississippi Delta

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[199] University of West Florida, Florida Public Archaeology Network, survey response, October 12, 2021. Survey response also includes the following note about deficiencies in dominant interpretive narratives of the region, which could be helpful context to shaping this study: "If we consider the region as a whole, there are several interpretive narratives that I see dominate conversations about heritage: 1) Northwest Florida's tribal and indigenous heritage includes some of the oldest known archaeological sites in what is now the United States; 2) the significance of Spanish colonialism beginning in 1559; 3) ships and maritime communities as connections between Northwest Florida and the rest of the world; and 4) natural resource exploitation throughout the 19th and 20th centuries and its role in shaping Northwest Florida communities today. . . . I often hear African American stories included in these narratives, but they do not seem to be at the 'forefront' or are a particular focus of any of them. This is a disservice to our local communities and local understandings of heritage, because Northwest Florida was equally shaped by these individuals."

[200] Study should cover Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. One survey respondent from TIMU noted, "Because it was in Florida and occupied by the Spanish, its overall Gullah Geechee story is typically forgotten and overlooked by many historians and scholars." TIMU, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[201] Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor, survey response, October 12, 2021.

- Project in partnership with many local cultural institutions across the region to bring together this research and create a resource for interpreters at NPS sites and other historical sites in the region.[202]

- Maritime history sites
  - **Multi-park Special History Study (or multiple studies) of coastal parks in the Southeast Region, sites related to Black maritime history.** To discuss enslaved boatmen's understanding of waterways and navigation across the region (see, for example, Robert Smalls at REER, among many other examples[203]). Should include Black participation in the Coast Guard (see, for example, BISC) and the Life-Saving Service (see CAHA).
    - This could also be cross-regional: San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park has a helpful webpage with content about Black maritime history. Coastal parks in the Southeast could learn from this and include interpretive content as an element of any research.[204]

- Maroon communities
  - Multi-park historical research on communities of color in swamps throughout the region (to include CONG, BISC, BICY, EVER, and potentially others).

- Military service
  - Oral history project to interview military veterans whose service, or that of their ancestors, intersects with NPS parks in IR2.

- Mining
  - HRS on former mines within NPS sites in the Appalachian Mountains, with a focus on Black culture, history, and experiences at mines in areas now part of Appalachian national park sites (BISO, BLRI, CUGA, GRSM, LIRI, and potentially others). This project could have a cross-regional component, to include parks in the Appalachian Mountains in Interior Region 1.[205]

- NPS: History of the relationship between the NPS and African American communities
  - Series of historical studies that include oral histories and documentary research.

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[202] This need was noted by Southeast Region/IR2, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[203] David S. Cecelski, *The Waterman's Song: Slavery and Freedom in Maritime North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2001).

[204] NPS, "African American History," SAFR webpage, last updated February 28, 2015, https://www.nps.gov/safr/learn/historyculture/africanamericanhistory.htm.

[205] For instance, one of the author's great-grandfathers was a coal miner in a community that is now within New River Gorge National Park & Preserve (NERI). NERI already has interpretive content about African Americans who lived in the area and worked as coal miners or otherwise. See NPS, "African American Heritage Auto Tour," NERI webpage, last updated September 19, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/neri/planyourvisit/african-american-heritage-auto-tour.htm; NPS, "The Community of Harlem Heights; Oak Hill, WV," NERI webpage, accessed December 2022, https://www.nps.gov/neri/planyourvisit/the-community-of-harlem-heights-oak-hill-wv.htm.

- Potential topics of study:
    - History of segregation of national parks and related recreational facilities.[206]
    - History of NPS catering primarily to White visitors, even in cases without de jure segregation.
    - History of NPS physical displacement and erasure of Black, Indigenous, and poor White communities from the built environment, as well as displacement of these communities from the official histories and narratives of the NPS.[207]
    - Oral histories of Black individuals whose personal and family histories intersect with NPS sites.

- Revolutionary War
    - **Special History Study on Black refugees at NPS parks in IR2 from the Revolutionary War era (to include CHPI, COWP, FOPU, FOSU, GUCO, KIMO, MOCR, NISI, and OVVI).** This might be a high priority to fund in light of the upcoming 250th anniversary of the nation.

- Spanish colonial sites
    - **Multi-park project on enslaved people of African descent on Spanish expeditions to the region during the 1400s and 1500s and the people who built Spanish forts on the Florida peninsula and Caribbean islands.**

- Tourism
    - Research on what the rise of tourism meant for African Americans, regarding displacement, exclusion, or otherwise. Could be one large study or several studies within smaller regions or narrower themes.

- Trails and travel
    - Special History Study of Black history on historic routes and travel sites, like NATR and BLRI (or separate studies for difference eras). Would also cover segregation in accommodations (FRRI, MALU, and other parks that include hotels or boarding houses).
    - Special History Study on the twentieth-century tourism boom in Florida, connected to areas that are now NPS sites, and how that impacted communities of color.

- Underground Railroad

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[206] Two recent reports discuss the history of Black recreation, and both have recommendations for future research. See Andrew W. Kahrl, Malcolm Cammeron, and Brian Katen, "African American Outdoor Recreation: A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study," NPS, 2022, esp. 201–202; and Erin Krutko Devlin, "Segregation in Virginia's National Parks, 1916–1965," NPS, 2022.

[207] All sites should reckon with this, not just sites where it is already part of the interpretive narrative (such as Fazendeville at JELA—although those sites are certainly sites where that should continue to be discussed).

- **Administrative History of the Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program** (established by Congress in 1998). This would assist in assessing the effectiveness of the program in its first 25 years and inform the development of future programs.
- Historic context study on Underground Railroad sites in the region, which would recommend future avenues of study.
- Individual nominations based on the above context study.

- Women of African descent
  - As noted above, Black women should be integrated into all research and interpretation undertaken by the NPS.
  - Special History Study of Black women-owned businesses at NPS sites in the region.
  - Special History Study on the role of women of color in civil rights activism related to NPS sites in the region, focusing on the stories of lesser-known women.
  - Special History Study on childbearing at NPS sites.
  - Other potential topics of historical research related to women include:
    - Childbearing
    - Child-rearing
    - Spiritual role of women in communities
    - Culinary contributions of women
    - Economic achievements of women
    - Scientific achievements of women
    - Artistic contributions by women
    - Musical contributions by women
    - Fashion contributions by women
    - Romance and sexuality
    - Marriage
    - Sexual violence and choice
    - Women's health

Web Content Needs

There is a need for large-scale efforts to create additional digital interpretive content to tell the stories of African Americans at IR2 parks. This relates to research (the content needs to exist), staffing (someone needs to translate it into a format accessible by the public), and training (they need to know how to do it).

The IR2 Regional Office should assist parks in producing content in the NPS website's current Place Asset/Article format for the many sites with overlapping content. This might require relocation of funding or staff positions. The region and parks within the region can work with the Washington Office and other regional offices to share content and resources. For example, the webpages "Telling All Americans' Stories" and "Special Topics in African American Civil Rights History (AACRN)" were developed by the staff in the NPS Washington Office and could be useful to parks across the Southeast and Caribbean.

In IR2, additional regional-level web-based projects could address stories that tie together many parks, like civil rights, slavery, the Gullah Geechee Heritage Corridor, stories of people of color in Spanish or French-speaking parts of the Southeast, and stories of Black women. Other regional webpages could relate to the above thematic or geographic lists.

Overall, there is a lack of consistency in the quality of NPS web content. Websites are often one of the first places people learn about national parks, and many Americans trust the NPS to provide accurate information. Deficient web content is therefore a serious problem. Some questions the NPS might consider when addressing needs for web content include:

- How can web content be more universal/equitable?
- How can it be used to elevate community voices and buy-in?
- Can the broad reach of web content somehow promote more equitable visitation?

There are many resources available to assist staff with developing thoughtful and people-first interpretive web content, like this National Trust for Historic Preservation article on "Presenting the Full Story on Digital Platforms" regarding sites of enslavement.[208]

The NPS might consider contracting out the development of historical content to historians who specialize in the creation of interpretive content, who can produce well-researched and well-cited content that is also accessible to the public. Having a full-time, permanent employee update historical web content can help to maintain consistency. Better training and protocols related to the presentation of historical information in web content could also be helpful, as could regional requirements for incorporating research into web content, as are sometimes included in transfer of knowledge components.

[208] Lizzie Mekonnen, "Presenting the Full Story on Digital Platforms: Reconsidering Celebrations at Sites of Enslavement, Part 5," National Trust for Historic Preservation, October 18, 2021, https://savingplaces.org/stories/presenting-the-full-story-on-digital-platforms.

Community Outreach Needs

One consistent need that arose in document review and the survey is that the NPS should focus on long-term outreach and relationship building with local communities and descendent communities. Several survey responses mentioned this when asked about outreach needs:

- "Specific NPS sites establishing relationships with local people and groups to create trust and a working/sharing relationship leading to more complete stories of people and events."[209]
- "Enhancement of existing partnerships with local community cultural institutions through greater direct engagement of NPS staff."[210]

Engaging local communities begins with spending time and money on research of Black ancestors in the same way that the NPS has researched the history of the ancestors of White families in an area. This research can be most effective if it includes significant oral history and outreach components. Research can be a catalyst for meaningful, respectful, and long-term engagement with local communities. This can mean descendent communities or simply people who live locally who, in the past, have not seen their stories reflected in the interpretive narrative told by the NPS at a site.

One obstacle to outreach and collaboration is that, in some cases, communities of color near NPS sites do not trust the NPS because of historical wrongs, like land being taken from communities of color at higher rates and lower prices than from White families, oral histories taken and forgotten about, the NPS profiting from stories without meaningful inclusion of local community members, or racist attitudes of former NPS staff (for specific instances of above examples, see the park-by-park section). This mistrust is reflected in visitation to parks. For instance, the LRIP for CHAT (located in the Atlanta metropolitan area) noted that only 2 percent of visitors in summer 2010 were African American, even though "43.1% of Fulton County residents and 23.8% of Cobb County residents are African American."[211]

The NPS is not the only historically White institution in cultural resource preservation that has alienated people of color. Park staff can learn from other institutions who are reckoning with the same issues. The National Trust for Historic Preservation, which manages many sites of enslavement, published a report, "Engaging Descendant Communities," through its African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund in 2018, which could be a tool for NPS staff.[212]

Meaningful collaboration, knowledge sharing, and long-term relationships can help to address some of these longstanding issues. This might include partnerships with local community organizations and institutions, as well as regional or national institutions geared toward the study and interpretation of Black history. Listed below are national and regional institutions and organizations

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[209] Academic/consultant/interpretive planner, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[210] Southeast Region/IR2, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[211] NPS, "Chattahoochee River National Recreation Area: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2011, 12

[212] National Trust for Historic Preservation African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund, *Engaging Descendent Communities in the Interpretation of Slavery at Museums and Historic Sites: A Rubric of Best Practices Established by the National Summit on Teaching Slavery, V1.0*, October 25, 2018, 1.

that could be potential partners at the park or regional level (or are already partnering with the NPS and could expand these collaborations):

- African American Intellectual History Society (AAIHS)
- Association of African American Museums (AAAM)
- Association of Black Women Historians (ABWH)
- Association for the Study of African American Life and History (ASALH)
- Behind the Big House: Interpreting Slavery in Local Communities[213]
- Black Interpreters Guild
- BlackArchives.co (project of Getty Images)
- Black Cemetery Network
- BlackPast
- Getty Images Black History & Culture Collection
- Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) (The Hundred-Seven is a searchable database of all HBCUs)
- Institute on Black Life, University of South Florida
- International Coalition for Sites of Conscience
- Legacy Museum and National Memorial for Peace and Justice
- National Museum of African American History and Culture
- National Underground Railroad Freedom Center
- Slave Dwelling Project
- Society of Black Archeologists
- South Carolina African American Heritage Commission[214]
- Visitors of Color Project

At a local level, park staff should investigate whether there are any local genealogical groups or historical societies dedicated specifically to people with African American ancestry. Other site-specific partner groups are listed in the park-by-park section.

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[213] Dr. Jodi Skipper, Associate Professor of Anthropology & Southern Studies at the University of Mississippi, manages this organization. Skipper explained, "I assist private homeowners with interpreting slavery at their home sites." Survey response, October 24, 2021.

[214] Recommended by COWP/KIMO/NISI/OVVI, survey response, September 17, 2021.

In certain cases, relationship-building might be inadvertently hindered when the NPS contracts out historical studies, and contract holders (rather than NPS staff) develop relationships with community members. On one hand, non-NPS researchers can act as a buffer that might alleviate anti-NPS concerns of community members. On the other, it means that when the contract is over, the relationship might go with it. An adjacent issue is the turnover of NPS staff and frequent relocation between parks. This leads to inconsistent and short-term relationship building with local communities, and a feeling among neighbors that staff are not necessarily invested in the local community. To address this, NPS could build into contracts community outreach that involves NPS employee(s) at every step of the process. See the following section for more on recommendations related to staffing.

Staffing

Many survey respondents noted issues related to understaffing:

- "We have no full time interpretive staff at the park and no formal interpretive programs being given by NPS staff."[215]
- "Having designated staff or people to research these topics and share that information or to create those programs/exhibits would be fantastic."[216]
- "Keep in mind, staffing is low."[217]

Hiring strategies impact implementation of research, outreach, and interpretation of African American histories. And, as noted above, regular staff turnover results in a loss of relationships and institutional knowledge.

This is especially problematic in the case of the interpretation of African American histories. In many cases, research or programming on Black history at NPS sites has been self-directed by an interested interpretive employee, rather than coming from directives at an institutional level. When that person moved on, the project ended. An exception to this rule is Underground Railroad and civil rights history, which have benefitted from national networks created by acts of Congress.[218] When this work is institutionally directed, staff turnover does not create major gaps in the interpretation of Black history.

There is also significant emotional labor involved in telling these stories. It is amplified by being within an institution that has long deprioritized Black stories and by telling them to an audience who is not used to hearing them, and sometimes does not want to. This can lead some agency employees to burn out and choose to leave. Furthermore, valid safety concerns can arise related to communication of these topics. Employee wellness needs to be a consideration of NPS leadership at

[215] DRTO, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[216] FOPU, survey response, September 1, 2021.

[217] Southeast Region/IR2, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[218] National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Act of 1998, Public Law 105-203, 112 Stat. 678 (July 21, 1998); African American Civil Rights Network Act of 2017, Public Law 115-204, 131 Stat. 2260 (January 8, 2018).

an institutional level to protect, care for, and retain employees of color and all employees doing this difficult reparatory work.[219]

Compounding these issues is the fact that people of color are underrepresented in the NPS workforce. Table 4 is from a 2021 NPS analysis of its workforce. It shows that while 60.1 percent of the nation's population is White, 78.5 percent of the NPS workforce is White. This overrepresentation in turn leads to an underrepresentation of Black, Hispanic, Asian, Indigenous, and other Americans of color. African Americans make up about 13 percent of the US population but only 6 percent of the NPS workforce, while Americans identifying as Hispanic are proportionally even more underrepresented: 18.5 percent of the US population, but just 5.6 percent of the NPS workforce.[220]

Table 4: Comparison of NPS Workforce to US Population[221]

	% of NPS Workforce (2020*)	% of U.S. Population (2019*)
Hispanic	**5.6%**	**18.5%**
Black	**6.7%**	**13.4%**
Asian	**2.3%**	**5.9%**
American Indian & Alaska Native	**2.5%**	**1.3%**
Native Hawaiian & Pacific Islander	**0.7%**	**0.2%**
Two or More Races	**0.4%**	**2.8%**
White	**78.5%**	**60.1%**

* Most Recent Data Available

Even when the NPS hires people of color, there is an issue of those individuals not always remaining within the agency workforce. This "leaky pipeline" occurs for a multitude of reasons. Many people of color are hired into entry-level jobs that pay little, require frequent moves, and provide only intermittent work. It can be difficult to secure full-time, long-term work within the federal hiring system, which privileges people with existing connections in or knowledge of that system. Cultural biases of supervisors play a role in driving away people of color from wanting to continue working in the NPS. And an imbalance of people of color across divisions (interpretation,

[219] Based on comments from and discussions with many NPS employees.

[220] NPS, "By the Numbers," last updated May 4, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/by-the-numbers.htm.

[221] Table from NPS, "By the Numbers," last updated May 4, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/by-the-numbers.htm.

natural resources, cultural resources, etc.) affects which stories are told to the public. To address these issues, the NPS needs to prioritize diverse hiring at supervisory/management levels and cultural awareness training to create a more welcoming atmosphere for employees of color.[222]NPS units are not telling the story of why the agency's staff is mostly White. A park guide at Mammoth Cave National Park wrote,

> The African American history at Mammoth Cave is only shared up until it became a National Park in 1941. Black guides were then fired, which led to a loss of the stories, history, and legacy of those guides. We need to do a better job telling the story of the 1940s, 50s, and 60s—park policy on segregation, how previous residents were treated, how decisions were made in regard to buildings, churches, and cemeteries that were allowed to remain versus those that were demolished. How do we tell the story of how we became a mostly white staff?[223]

The NPS needs to address issues like this one in public-facing materials.

Frequent staff turnover means that it is vital that changes come from an institutional level within the NPS. The below survey response from a former interpretive ranger at Fort Pulaski hints at how individual-directed exhibits and programming are not effective long-term, due to the common practice of NPS staff frequently moving from park to park:

> I don't know about any official project [related to interpretation of African American history] that was in place while I was there; most of what we did for African American history came about on a more localized individual level. Before I left in November 2021, I know that I had created an exhibit that discussed various African American people and how their stories impacted FOPU. Additionally, I had created signage that was placed in front of key aspects of the fort to discuss African American contributions to the fort (ex: fingerprints from the enslaved who made the bricks, a mention of the construction village turned freedom camp). For the website, we also intertwined the African American story with the island and fort history. But whether any of that is still on display or used, I have no idea.[224]

As noted earlier in the report, there are often long-standing tensions between the NPS and local Black communities. A volunteer at Fort Donelson National Battlefield highlighted this:

> Something needs to be done about the racial tension that exists around the park because it deters current and future African American park attendees.[225]

NPS staff, whatever their heritage or skin color, step into this paradigm. If they are not aware of the historical context of the tension between the NPS and local Black communities, they cannot be effective in interpreting African American history or building partnerships with local communities.

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[222] NPS comments on draft report, March 2023.

[223] MACA, survey response, August 28, 2021.

[224] Interpretive Ranger to Jackie Gonzales, email, October 11, 2022.

[225] FODO, survey responses, February 4, 2022, and February 22, 2022.

With that in mind, here are a few recommendations related to NPS staffing and contracting with historical and cultural resource consultants:

- Hire people of color into cultural resource positions.
    - Use an all-of-the-above approach to hiring people from groups who are currently not well-represented in the NPS workforce. This can include local hire résumé workshops, job advertisements with language requirements, job fairs with direct hiring authorities, pathways, HBCU partnerships, and more.
- Find the right people for contract work.
    - It is better to take time and find the right people for the task than to rush it or assume that someone's racial presentation is a qualification. Rather, certain skills, background, relationships, communal knowledge, diplomacy, heritage, proximity, or many other factors, potentially mixed with ethnic or racial self-identification, make someone a good fit for a particular research project. For example, at Cumberland Island, one trained historian conducting oral histories had ancestors who lived on the island, which was a major factor in the success of that project.[226]
- Make collaborative tasks central to position descriptions.
    - Hiring staff in positions like public outreach coordinator, oral historian, or other outreach-oriented positions that focus on building long-term, collaborative (not extractive) relationships with local communities and descendant communities.
    - TIMU employs a "public outreach coordinator" who has been able to build long-term relationships with descendent communities. This job series could be a useful one for hiring staff with joint outreach and cultural resource roles.
- Build long-term relationships with communities through public outreach positions or long-term contractors.
    - To facilitate long-term relationships, consider having staff conduct outreach and/or retaining some sort of partnership agreement with a researcher/historian who can be available as needed but is expected to have a long-term presence at the park.[227]

Training

"Staff gets stuck telling the same story because it's easy and these days, who has time to research something new? We also have parks in areas that have ties to KKK history (recent and distant). Interpretive training is needed, but what kind? Something that brings people into the 21st century? We all need staff, but we have to be able to manage the staff and make them successful. How can they be concise with a critical topic and keep the attention of the visitors? . . . We need staff who can focus as opposed to being pulled in a million directions like we are now. This will be a culture change for most of the NPS employees."[228]

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[226] Cultural Resource Consultant to Jackie Gonzales, phone conversation, October 12, 2022.

[227] Cultural Resource Consultant to Jackie Gonzales, phone conversation, October 12, 2022.

[228] Southeast Region/IR2, survey response, August 25, 2021.

Training needs for existing and future staff are closely related to the aforementioned staffing needs. It is beyond the scope of this report to recommend types of training, but because many survey respondents noted a need for training, below are several suggestions. The NPS should investigate this issue further. Specific ideas include:

- Region-wide content training of staff on African American history, like a region-wide "Big Read" and discussion of John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom; A History of African Americans* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947).[229]
- Archival research training specifically geared at helping locate African American stories.
    - This training can be offered to members of the community, as well. This could be an opportunity to help descendants who want to research their family's history learn how, while also providing a forum for NPS employees and community members to work together toward a common goal.
    - "It would be helpful to have an expert from outside of the NPS train us on where to go to research information on African American history at our site."[230]
    - "More training in recognizing missing people/stories and practices of gather current and past histories."[231]
    - See also the following section, "Research Tools for Interpreters."
- Training on how to update NRHP documentation to include narratives currently underrepresented in those documents, in consultation with NPS staff in regional and national offices and relevant State Historic Preservation Officers (SHPOs).
- Training regarding use of existing NPS-developed materials (including but not limited to the HFC style guide, IR2 Interpretive Training Pilot, and the IR2 Social Justice Interpretive Toolkit).
- Diversity and Equity Training related to historical content.
    - Training on "how to tell stories respectfully of groups you don't belong to (race, gender, tribal affiliation, etc)."[232]
    - "sensitivity and diversity training that deals with how to discuss difficult history, particularly slavery, segregation, and Civil Rights, is a must."[233]
    - The National Museum of African American History and Culture has a webpage entitled, "Talking About Race," that can be a helpful starting point for interpretive training.

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[229] WASO, Park History Program, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[230] NATR, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[231] Academic/consultant/interpretive planner, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[232] EVER, survey response, August 26, 2021.

[233] FOPU, survey response, September 1, 2021.

- "Interpreting Slavery at Historic Sites."[234]
- "I'd like to see training that helps the interp staff deal with what can be a confrontational local audience, helps them better understand their own bias, and builds skills to help them talk about race in a productive way. We don't have strong relationships with African American community members. I'd love to see us have a robust internship program using local HBCUs. If I zoom out and look at the park as a whole, I'd like to see the staff behave in a more inclusive, empathetic way."[235]
- A community engagement specialist at TIMU noted a need for training in bias awareness, but also in stress management and wellness.[236] What does mental health care and psychological safety look like for park staff, particularly for staff of color? What about for visitors?

- Training on language usage in interpretive content and programming.
  - "Training on correct terminology when it comes to slavery."[237]
  - This training should underscore the importance of being communicative and respectful of the particular wishes of individuals and communities.

- Training contracted tour guides and docents.[238]
  - "We know that slaves were used in construction and that the site is part of the Underground Railroad, but we do not do a good job at including this information in our programs due to a lack of factual information and training of our contracted tour guides."[239]

Research Tools for Interpreters

Survey respondents expressed a need to train staff on "how to identify untold stories in primary resources."[240] Another respondent wrote, "There are just so many stories that are not discussed in many cases because no one has searched for them and thus staff don't know full stories and are hesitant to share them."[241] Even if interpretive employees try to find materials, they sometimes come up empty. Another survey respondent wrote,

> Most of our park interpretive narratives focus on the biological and natural resources. But the park has identified human stories and American Indian tribal archeological resources as narratives as well. . . . Very minimal African American

[234] CUIS, survey response, February 16, 2022.

[235] NATR, survey response, September 9, 2021.

[236] TIMU, survey response, September 10, 2021.

[237] CASA, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[238] BICR/FRRI, survey response, September 20, 2021.

[239] DRTO, survey response, September 27, 2021.

[240] EVER, survey response, August 26, 2021.

[241] FOPU, survey response, September 1, 2021.

> stories are told in the park and next to none in the western districts of the park. One African American employee underwent extensive effort to uncover African American and black stories for this western region of Everglades and experienced immense trouble in finding primary sources that told their stories, he was unable to develop a program or publication with what little he found.[242]

The authors of the HRS on African American life and culture at CARL make a methodological note that might give some hope to interpreters doing their own research:

> Because of the expected difficulty of finding detailed biographical or genealogical information about individual African Americans, we focused initially upon generating better data on general numbers and aggregated stories of enslaved or (later) free African American workers in the larger Flat Rock community and western North Carolina region. However, due largely to the growing number of digitized sources related to African American history, names and biographical details about a substantial number of individuals turned out to be more discoverable than we anticipated, and we have included all information uncovered.[243]

There is plenty of information out there. Knowing resources and having the skills to find them is often the hardest part.

A lot of this information is very difficult to find because many of the White individuals who enslaved Black people wrote the records. Historians train for years to be able to find this information and tell the stories of people overlooked or dehumanized in these documents. They call this reading and writing "against the grain."[244] It can be difficult to do. Non-documentary research—like oral stories and family knowledge—can be central to piecing puzzles together. If interpreters have a difficult time finding information, that is okay; they are not alone in that. This underscores why it is so important to fund studies conducted by professional historians and/or community members to draw out stories that are difficult to find in documentary research. It is also why oral histories, oral traditions, and community memory are vital to telling full stories.

So, while it is ideal to fund professional historians and members of the community to undertake complex historical studies, the reality is that park interpreters often piece together histories as part of their jobs. To assist in these cases, the following list is for park interpreters to keep in mind when they are conducting research on their own:

- Oral histories and community traditions are important sources that place a check on written sources.
- Partner with local community members and researchers (see "Outreach" section, above).

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[242] EVER, survey response, August 26, 2021.

[243] David E. Whisnant and Anne Mitchell Whisnant, "Black Lives, Whitened Stories: From the Low Country to the Mountains: A Historic Resource Study of Black History at Rock Hill-Connemara," 2021, 3.

[244] For a brief description of reading and writing against the grain, see Rebecca Brenner, "Walter Benjamin, Walter Johnson, and Reading Early African-American History 'Against the Grain,'" *Society for U.S. Intellectual History Blog*, July 24, 2018, https://s-usih.org/2018/07/walter-benjamin-walter-johnson-and-reading-early-african-american-history-against-the-grain/.

- In some instances, there might only be records from an enslaver or various legal documents informing the story. It is important to approach these sources with some skepticism without completely devaluing the source.
- If language in a historical document perpetuates racial stereotypes, dehumanization, or violence, it is best not to directly quote from it for interpretive materials.
- In cases where there are not good individual records or stories about an individual, it might be possible to look through secondary source research about others in the same region in the same situation, to help piece together what life may have been like.
- Remember that these are not always stories that people want the NPS to tell. Respect the wishes of community members and tell stories only if descendants want them to be shared.
- See Section 6, "Example Projects," for examples of historical research done well. Read through the methodologies, footnotes, and bibliographies of these reports to get a sense of where the historians who wrote them found their sources. Try to use similar sources in your own research.
- Below is a list of resource guides from several museums, libraries, and other cultural institutions. These provide useful roadmaps for how to get started researching African American history.
    - Library of Congress, "African American History Online: A Resource Guide."
    - BlackPast, "African American History: Research Guides & Websites."
    - National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), "Black History."
    - National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), "African American Heritage."
    - Black Craftspeople Digital Archive.
    - Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery.
    - Ask local librarians and archivists. They will have ideas about where to start when doing research in your region.
- The below articles discuss processes behind research related to Black history. They can be helpful when creating a plan on how to approach a new research project:
    - Jacqueline Hudson, "Henrietta Wood: The Enslaved Woman Who Sued for (and Won) Reparations."[245]
        - Research by a professional historian written for a public audience. This article describes source materials used, how the author found information from these

[245] Jacqueline Hudson, "Henrietta Wood: The Enslaved Woman Who Sued for (and Won) Reparations," National Underground Railroad Freedom Center, October 7, 2022, https://freedomcenter.org/voice/henrietta-wood/.

documents, and how she used that information to piece together Henrietta Wood's story.

- Rachel L. Swarns, "The Search for a Meaningful Clue to the Mystery of an Enslaved Ancestor."[246]
    - This source walks the reader through the research process and discussions of the limitations of documentary research while also noting what information can be found from it.
- Lina Mann, "Building the White House."[247]
    - Example (from the partner of an NPS-managed site) of what sources can be helpful in figuring out who built a house, rather than just stating the vague "enslaved people built the house." This article walks the reader through sources to show how to find personal stories.

[246] Rachel L. Swarns, "The Search for a Meaningful Clue to the Mystery of an Enslaved Ancestor," *New York Times*, August 8, 2022, https://www.nytimes.com/2022/08/06/us/slavery-black-newspaper-ads-ancestry.html.

[247] Lina Mann, "Building the White House," White House Historical Association, January 3, 2020, https://www.whitehousehistory.org/building-the-white-house.

5. Park-by-Park Assessment and Recommendations

This section provides detailed analysis and recommendations by park. Every park in the region receives its own listing, in alphabetical order.[248] Under each park are three subsections: Introduction, Analysis, and Recommendations.

The Introduction subsection provides a general overview of the park, a summary of materials reviewed, and a list of relevant categories associated with reviewed materials for each park (to help with cross-referencing to other sections in the report). Themes and categories listed apply only to the material that HRA reviewed.

The Analysis subsection discusses (in narrative form) how and to what extent all materials reviewed address African American history and the experiences of people of African descent. It also includes a list of "Upcoming or Ongoing Projects" and a list of any "Example Projects" that other parks might look to for guidance. As noted above, HRA was not tasked with reviewing the entire universe of cultural resource documents for each park (notable exceptions being Cultural Landscape Reports, Cultural Resource Inventories, and Historic Structures Reports). The narrative analyses are therefore structured by document, to show shortcomings and strengths of each.

The Recommendations subsection lists "Future Project Ideas." The NPS and HRA cooperatively arrived at these recommendations after several rounds of revisions and review by regional and park-level staff. Each park has one or more bolded project suggestions, indicating that those initiatives are priorities. For some parks, many other potential projects are listed alongside the priority projects. All parks have a mixture of large-scale projects and less costly projects that could be conducted in phases, as smaller one-off projects, or as ongoing initiatives.

Recommendations are, for the most part, in the fields of history, architectural history, ethnography, or archeology, in keeping with the scope of this report. In cases where pressing needs relate to interpretation of existing research or outreach to the community, recommendations include interpretive initiatives to share existing historical research, or interpretive components to historical research projects. The Recommendations subsection ends with a list of "Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners" that arose during the survey component of this project.

[248] If a park is co-managed with another park, that is indicated in the introductory bullets. Co-managed parks that have separate Foundation Documents are listed separately. If a Park has a combined Foundation Document, in which each park has its own statement of purpose, it is listed separately with its own analysis and recommendations section (this includes TUAI/TUIN and VICR/VIIS). For parks that are co-managed and lack a separate Foundation Document, the analysis and recommendations section are combined (for example, TUPE and BRCR have separate headers and introductory material, but each includes a note to look at the NATR entry for full analysis and recommendations). And if a park does not have a Foundation Document yet due to recent establishment, it receives an individual entry (such as MEMY and MISP). Additional explanatory notes in the text points reader to relevant information.

Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Park (ABLI)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1916 (most recently re-designated in 2009, from Abraham Lincoln National Historic Site)

State(s): Kentucky

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Park in Kentucky preserves, protects, and interprets the significant cultural and natural resources associated with Abraham Lincoln's birth, early boyhood, and memorialization, including the symbolic birth cabin, memorial building, and Knob Creek Farm."[249]

Materials Reviewed:

- 10 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/abli
- 3 reports:
    - Blythe, Robert W., Maureen Carroll, and Steven Moffson. "Abraham Lincoln Birthplace Historic Resource Study." 2001.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Park." 2015.
    - Hudepohl, Kate, and Darlene Applegate. "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Park." Phase III Final Report. 2021.
- 0 survey responses from employees or partners of ABLI

Relevant Time Period(s):

- US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Underground Railroad and Abolition

NPS Themes:

- Shaping the Political Landscape, Peopling Places, Transforming the Environment

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Civil War, Indigenous history, slavery, women's history

[249] NPS, "Foundation Document: Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Park," 2015.

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation

Partner Organizations:

- Lincoln Museum; Lincoln Days Inc.; LaRue County; the Town of Hodgenville; the Lincoln Scenic Byway board; the Kentucky Lincoln Heritage Trail Alliance; Kentucky Lincoln National Heritage Area; Lincoln Home National Historic Site in Springfield, IL (NPS); Lincoln Boyhood National Memorial in Lincoln City, IN (NPS)

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

ABLI's Foundation Document includes no discussion of African American history.[250] As of 2021, the only mention of African American history on the park webpages was a sentence noting that, "From here, Abraham first traveled on a flatboat loaded with produce to New Orleans where he witnessed a slave auction."[251] The park HRS mentions African American history only in the context of the Lincoln-Douglas debates including a discussion on slavery, and when it notes that the Freedmen's Monument in Washington, DC, was "funded mostly by African Americans, many of whom had served with Black regiments during the Civil War."[252] None of these reports or webpages address the experiences of African American individuals or families.

A 2021 Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of ABLI includes discussion of local African American history in the region and descendants of these individuals. A table includes information on "Select Surnames of African Americans, 1880 census," and one interview discusses Underground Railroad efforts in the area and the first Black police chief of Hodgenville, John Cox. The report notes that there are Black individuals buried in local cemeteries and that Hodgenville has a neighborhood, Georgetown, that has a predominantly African American population. The report brings these issues to the present and discusses school segregation and inequitable health care access based on race. Resources identified for additional research include African American genealogy sources available at the LaRue County Public Library and records of religious facilities like the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church and the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church.[253]

Over the last few years, staff at ABLI have been working hard on many research initiatives to uncover and share "untold stories" related to the park that include stories of African Americans and other historically underrepresented groups. These efforts occurred after the analysis phase of this report concluded.[254] Readers should visit the ABLI website for up-to-date interpretive content. The

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[250] NPS, "Foundation Document: Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Park," 2015.

[251] "Abraham Lincoln," ABLI webpage, last updated April 19, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/abli/learn/historyculture/abraham-lincoln.htm.

[252] Robert W. Blythe, Maureen Carroll, and Steven Moffson, "Abraham Lincoln Birthplace Historic Resource Study," 2001, 21–23, 60.

[253] Kate Hudepohl, and Darlene Applegate, "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Park," Phase III Final Report, 2021, 13–14, 18, 65, 94, 102–104, 156, 167, 432.

[254] NPS comments on draft report, August 2023.

below recommendations reflect the most recent comments from ABLI staff regarding ongoing initiatives and needs.

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Long Range Interpretive Plan, scheduled to be completed in 2023, and to address "roles that African Americans played in the life of young Abraham."[255]

Example Projects

- Knob Creek Tavern Visitor Center Exhibits: "This project started in January 2016 and the completed exhibits were installed in August of 2021. The exhibits feature reproduction 'shackles' that visitors can touch and feel and the exhibits point out that the Lincolns, including young Abraham would have seen all manner of travelers using the road in front of their cabin at Knob Creek. This would have included the enslaved being moved to markets to be sold. The Lincoln's neighbors the Gallaher family owned slaves and we know that the Lincolns (Thomas and Nancy) were anti-slavery in their leanings. While living at Knob Creek, the Lincolns also attended an anti-slavery Baptist church so young Abraham would have not only heard anti-slavery teachings at home but also from the pulpit on Sunday mornings."[256]

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Develop and install new interpretive waysides**, based on interpretive wayside plan completed in 2016, to discuss highlight the role of African American and Indigenous peoples, as well as women, in Lincoln's early life.
- **Joint study between all three Lincoln parks about Lincoln and African American experiences**, with a special focus on the memorialization of the Emancipation Proclamation as relates to Black communities.
- Research on African Americans in the Ohio Valley during heavy migration to the area in the late 1700s and early 1800s.
- "Develop a more extensive consideration of the effects of the presence of the local slave population on Lincoln and/or the effects of Lincoln's legacy on the local African American population" (recommended in Ethnographic Overview and Assessment).[257]
- Oral histories with descendants (the park Ethnographic Overview and Assessment recommends future researchers "undertake ethnographic interviews with African American

[255] ABLI, comment on draft report, August 2023.

[256] ABLI, comment on draft report, August 2023.

[257] Hudepohl and Applegate, "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Park," 272.

residents in gateway communities. Members of this group represent important traditionally associated peoples whose perspectives were not represented during Phase II research").[258]

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- n/a (no survey responses from park staff)

[258] Hudepohl and Applegate, "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Park," 68.

Andersonville National Historic Site (ANDE)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1970

State(s): Georgia

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "The purpose of Andersonville National Historic Site is to preserve the resources and stories that illustrate the experiences of American prisoners of war throughout U.S. history and to educate the public about the deadliest ground of the Civil War."[259]

Materials Reviewed:

- 10 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/ande
- 5 reports:
    - Peterson, Pete. "National Prisoner of War Museum Dedication Program." 1998.
    - NPS. "Andersonville National Historic Site, Long-Range Interpretive Plan." 2010.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Andersonville National Historic Site." 2014.
    - Sargent, Liz, Deborah Slaton, and Tim Penich. "Andersonville National Historic Site, Historic Resource Study." 2018.
    - Kutzler, Evan, Julia Brock, Ann McCleary, Keri Adams, Ronald Bastien, and Larry O. Rivers. "In Plain Sight: African Americans at Andersonville National Historic Site, A Special History Study." 2020.
- 5 survey responses from employees or partners of ANDE

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Underground Railroad and Abolition

NPS Themes:

- Shaping the Political Landscape

[259] NPS, "Foundation Document: Andersonville National Historic Site," 2014, 4.

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Cemeteries, Civil War sites, enslaved laborers building infrastructure, Indigenous history, military service, prisoner of war sites, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction

Partner Organizations:

- Friends of Andersonville, Korean War Ex-POW, Veterans Service Organizations (American Ex-Prisoners of War Association, NAM-POWs groups)[260]

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

When asked whether the site's interpretive narrative address African American experiences, park staff and partners responded,

- "We would like to include more of their stories. Enslaved African Americans built the prison site; US Colored Troops were held prisoner here; freedmen built structures on the site after the war and a Freedmen's School was located nearby; African Americans owned some of the land that is now part of the park; and African Americans have been held as POWs across American history."[261]

- "The park just touches on the fact that enslaved African Americans built the prison. We do limited interpretation about USCT POWs held there. We have not yet interpreted the role African Americans played in preservation and memorialization of the site or how they owned some of the land. We do limited interpretation of African American POWs."[262]

- "In my opinion, our programs cover the contributions of African Americans at Andersonville. We are responsive to any additional questions or inquiries we receive from the public. An African American study was published last year about Andersonville and our staff is familiar with its contents. Any tour of the cemetery includes veterans of all races as well. While our site is not primarily an African American site, special attention has been paid to this subject."[263]

Reports reviewed repeatedly emphasize that Andersonville's legislative directive is to interpret the stories of all prisoners of war (POWs), and the National Prisoner of War Museum is dedicated

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[260] NPS, "Andersonville National Historic Site, Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2010, 8.

[261] ANDE, survey response, October 18, 2021.

[262] ANDE, survey response, February 8, 2022.

[263] ANDE, survey response, February 2, 2022.

to all prisoners of war.[264] However, the stories of POWs of color have historically been underemphasized in the park interpretive materials. The program from the National Prisoner of War Museum dedication (1998) includes an introductory message from President Bill Clinton, then has several articles about the dedication, history of the museum's creation, and its funding, provided in part through the sale of a commemorative coin and through the organization American Ex-Prisoners of War. It notes that oral histories were conducted as part of the museum's creation. All images in the program are of White men.[265]

ANDE's LRIP (2010) stresses the need to tell the stories of people of color who have been POWs. Primary Interpretive Theme #3 discusses the diversity of American POWs across the world, stating that "The U.S. citizens held as POWs through the years reflect the great diversity of the American population," and that "Camp Sumter itself reflected this diversity, with prisoners of many different ethnicities, including African Americans and American Indians."[266]

The site's Foundation Document (2014) notes slavery as causal to the Civil War, but does not identify Black individuals, history, or experience when discussing the prison, cemetery, or POW museum. There is no discussion of any predominantly Black community groups as existing or potential stakeholders.[267] ANDE's HRS (2018) discusses how POWs were segregated based on perceived racial categories and the horrific treatment of all POWs, including African Americans, at Andersonville.[268]

In 2020, several historians co-wrote a Special History Study on Black history at and around Andersonville. This report notes the region's history of enslaved families of color being forced to labor for White families on cotton farms and the critical role that enslaved laborers played in constructing the prison camp at Andersonville. It also discusses how, in the aftermath of the Civil War, the American Missionary Association established freedpeoples' schools at the site, which became a symbol of "emancipation and freedom."[269]

Two of the 10 webpages reviewed discuss Black or African American experiences. One provides summary information of individuals of African descent who are known to have been incarcerated at Andersonville.[270] The other is a biography of James Gooding, "a formerly enslaved man who, prior to the Civil War, worked in the whaling industry," enlisted in the Massachusetts militia, and died as a POW at Andersonville in 1864.[271]

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[264] ANDE, survey response, October 12, 2021; ANDE, survey response, February 2, 2022; ANDE, survey response, February 8, 2022; ANDE, survey response, February 2, 2022; ANDE, survey response, October 18, 2021.

[265] Pete Peterson, "National Prisoner of War Museum Dedication Program," 1998, 31–33.

[266] NPS, "Andersonville National Historic Site, Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2010, 5.

[267] NPS, "Foundation Document: Andersonville National Historic Site," 2014.

[268] Liz Sargent, Deborah Slaton, and Tim Penich, "Andersonville National Historic Site, Historic Resource Study," 2018, 37–46.

[269] Evan Kutzler, Julia Brock, Ann McCleary, Keri Adams, Ronald Bastien, and Larry O. Rivers, "In Plain Sight: African Americans at Andersonville National Historic Site, A Special History Study," 2020.

[270] "African Americans," ANDE webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/ande/learn/historyculture/african_americans.htm.

[271] "Biography: J. H. Gooding," ANDE webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/ande/learn/historyculture/j-h-gooding.htm.

Survey respondents noted the interpretation of Black history at Andersonville includes the stories of the "about 100 African Americans imprisoned at Andersonville prison," how enslaved Black individuals built the site, and how some of the Black soldiers imprisoned at the site are buried at the national cemetery.[272]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Andersonville National Historic Site[273] (PMIS #313354).

Example Projects

- Kutzler, Evan, Julia Brock, Ann McCleary, Keri Adams, Ronald Bastien, and Larry O. Rivers. "In Plain Sight: African Americans at Andersonville National Historic Site, A Special History Study." 2020.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Oral histories with Black POWs** (from any era) about their experiences, for possible use in developing future interpretive content.
- Interpretative content development and trainings based on the 2020 Special History Study on the role of African Americans at Andersonville (see especially Chapters 4 and 7 of 2020 Special History Study).[274] This project should include outreach to descendants and other area residents (as of 2023, approximately 60 percent of Macon County's population identified as Black).
- Research and interpretation on the displacement of the African American residents of the area when the park was created.[275]

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, training for staff (especially related to the 2020 Special History Study discussed above), additional publications/pamphlets, additional partnerships (both internal and external to the NPS), and enhanced website content. One survey respondent elaborated,

> Training in sharing untold stories and being inclusive in terms of varied perspectives would be beneficial. The park currently is so short staffed we

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[272] ANDE, survey response, October 12, 2021; ANDE, survey response, February 2, 2022; ANDE, survey response, February 8, 2022; ANDE, survey response, February 2, 2022; ANDE, survey response, October 18, 2021.

[273] NPS, PMIS, data from De Johnson, March 2022.

[274] Kutzler, et al., "In Plain Sight: African Americans at Andersonville National Historic Site, A Special History Study," 2020.

[275] ANDE, survey response, October 12, 2021.

are having trouble keeping the visitor center open, so doing any interpretive programs is very difficult. We recently had a study on the role of African Americans at Andersonville completed but need support to incorporate the results of that study into the interpretive and educational program. We would like to establish a panel of local African American leaders and other appropriate individuals/groups to collaborate with us in telling those stories, developing new programs, creating new brochures, and otherwise incorporating information gained through that study and may need support in that effort.[276]

[276] Chief, Interpretation and Resource Management, ANDE, February 8, 2022.

Andrew Johnson National Historic Site (ANJO)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1935 (as Andrew Johnson National Monument, redesignated Andrew Johnson National Historic Site in 1963)

State(s): Tennessee

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "The purpose of Andrew Johnson National Historic Site is to further the study and understanding of the life, career, and legacy of the 17th president of the United States, during a challenging time in the nation's history, by preserving his homes, workplace, and burial site in Greeneville, Tennessee, for the public's benefit, inspiration, education, and enlightenment. The Andrew Johnson National Cemetery provides an honorable resting place for veterans and their dependents."[277]

Materials Reviewed:

- 21 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/anjo/
- 3 reports
    - Binkley, Cameron. "Andrew Johnson National Historic Site: Administrative History." 2007.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Andrew Johnson National Historic Site." 2015.
    - NPS. "Andrew Johnson National Historic Site: Long-Range Interpretive Plan." 2019.
- 0 survey response from employees or partners of ANJO

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Voting Rights, Underground Railroad and Abolition

NPS Themes:

- Shaping the Political Landscape

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Indigenous history, presidents as enslavers, sites of slavery, women's history

[277] NPS, "Foundation Document: Andrew Johnson National Historic Site," 2015, 4.

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction

Partner Organizations:

- Andrew Johnson Heritage Association; Mainstreet: Greeneville, Inc.; Washington College Academy; Greene County Veterans Association; Greene County Partnership[278]

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

ANJO's interpretive focus centers on the life and experiences of Andrew Johnson. The site's Administrative History (2007) does not include significant discussion of African American history or experiences, but notes that the site's interpretation communicates that "Johnson himself was a slave-owner." The report describes an effort by ANJO staff in the 1990s to better include exhibits that provide perspectives from African Americans connected to the site. Also in the 1990s, during an African American Heritage month, ANJO hosted a special exhibit based on Works Progress Administration (WPA) narratives from enslaved individuals. In reflecting on ANJO's role in the broader NPS system, author Cameron Binkley reflected, "the issue of slavery was not as well represented in the national park system" at the time.[279]

Johnson's role in slavery in has historically been minimized in NPS publications, which have overlooked the fact that Johnson was not born into a family that enslaved people, but that he rather made the conscious decision to enter that system. The site's Foundation Document (2015) includes a significant statement entitled "Slavery, Emancipation, and Citizenship." The statement tasks ANJO with calling "attention to the significance of slavery and emancipation in American history and illustrates an example of the transition toward freedom for all enslaved people," but does not mention that Andrew Johnson was an enslaver.[280] It includes a portrait of Dolly Johnson, a woman enslaved by Andrew Johnson, holding Johnson's son, Andrew Johnson Stover, without noting that Dolly was enslaved.[281] It also notes: "The struggles of the Johnson presidency to incorporate manumitted African Americans and former Confederate soldiers into the fabric of American life both illustrated and laid the framework for future Civil Rights struggles that we still grapple with today."[282]

ANJO's LRIP (2019) describes Johnson as "the first president to hold office in a slavery-free United States, illustrating the difficulties in transforming a formerly divided nation."[283] Of the four

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[278] NPS, "Foundation Document: Andrew Johnson National Historic Site," 2015, 25.

[279] Cameron Binkley, "Andrew Johnson National Historic Site: Administrative History," 2007, 114, 125.

[280] NPS, "Foundation Document: Andrew Johnson National Historic Site," 2015, 5.

[281] NPS, "Foundation Document: Andrew Johnson National Historic Site," 2015, 9.

[282] NPS, "Foundation Document: Andrew Johnson National Historic Site," 2015, 9.

[283] NPS, "Andrew Johnson National Historic Site: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2019, 6–7.

identified principles to guide site interpretation, Black experiences appear in three. In "Ambition and Citizenship," planners noted that Johnson was ambitious, and that "the enslaved people of the Johnson home also had ambition waiting to be tapped." Under the interpretive theme of "Loyalty," the plan notes, "As the war suspended life it also allowed the formerly enslaved to establish and declare their own loyalties." And under "Citizenship," report authors focus on Black experiences during Reconstruction.[284]

In addition to describing historical experiences of African Americans, the LRIP authors described obstacles to modern visitors:

> Greeneville is 95% white, and can be intimidating for people of color; it is also harder to see their own stories reflected in the community because much of the community does not reflect them. Within the historic settlement period, relatively low numbers of enslaved people were brought to East Tennessee. Johnson's complex relationship with Reconstruction era civil rights policies and leaders should receive more focus in context to his upbringing and his relationship with his family slaves and freed people.[285]

The LRIP points out that "Greeneville contains few architectural elements with which to interpret African American themes, and little time has been spent in cataloguing these locations and working with partners to find innovative methods to interpret these minority stories." All LRIP recommendations stressed that "interpretation will include examples and perspectives from diverse points of view," and lists outreach to "Local African American community" as a goal.[286]

Ten of the 21 webpages reviewed somehow touched on the history of Black individuals. Many others presented an uncritical look at Johnson and failed to engage substantively with the experiences of African American individuals. For instance, although the website includes the text of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, the analysis could be deepened to include the shortcomings and unintended impacts of the amendments.[287]

Other website content reproduces historical documents without adding interpretive context. One page provides a transcription of the speech given by Andrew Johnson when he emancipated all those who were enslaved in Tennessee while he was serving as military governor of the state. The Emancipation Proclamation, issued by President Lincoln, only offered freedom to enslaved persons in states that had seceded from the Union. Johnson took it upon himself to apply that to Tennessee, which remained in the Union. The page includes commentary from crowds of enslaved people who reportedly shouted, "you are our Moses" and "we want no Moses but you!" Without placing these events in historical context, the result is an uncritical and narrow view of a moment; the absence of

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[284] NPS, "Andrew Johnson National Historic Site: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2019, 8.

[285] NPS, "Andrew Johnson National Historic Site: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2019, 12.

[286] NPS, "Andrew Johnson National Historic Site: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2019, 13, 29, 63.

[287] "The 13th Amendment," ANJO webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/anjo/learn/historyculture/the-13th-amendment.htm; "The 14th Amendment," ANJO webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/anjo/learn/historyculture/the-14th-amendment.htm; "The 15th Amendment," ANJO webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/anjo/learn/historyculture/the-15th-amendment.htm.

Black voices on other pages makes their voices here appear potentially overly sympathetic or appreciative of Johnson.[288]

Other web content does explore Johnson's role in vetoing, delaying, or damaging legislative efforts to secure rights for newly freed African Americans. A page on the Civil Rights Act of 1866 explains that Johnson vetoed the act, which was intended to protect the civil rights of persons of African descent born in or brought to the United States. Johnson opposed the law because of concern of federal overreach. The bill was passed over Johnson's veto in support of the Thirteenth Amendment.[289] Webpages also explain Johnson's two vetoes of the Freedmen's Bureau Bill and his opposition to the Civil Rights Act of 1866. The pages provide only limited interpretation and limited contextualization.[290] In exploring Johnson's role in Emancipation and Reconstruction, a webpage observes: "While President, Andrew Johnson struggled with Congress over the elements of Reconstruction. Many of his vetoes made in direct defiance of assistance for the freedmen, had their basis in his interpretation of Constitutional principles."[291]

The ANJO website includes biographies of individuals who were enslaved at the site. These biographies explore the lives of Liz Johnson, Florence Johnson, and William Johnson, children of Dolly Johnson. Andrew Johnson enslaved all four individuals. The children gained emancipation in 1863.[292] Another page of biographies includes the stories of Sam Johnson, Dolly Johnson, and Henry Johnson. When Andrew Johnson emancipated them in 1863, they continued to work for Johnson as paid labor. Sam Johnson went on to work for the Freedmen's Bureau.[293]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

Example Projects

- None

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[288] "October 24, 1864," ANJO webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/anjo/learn/historyculture/moses-speech.htm.

[289] "Andrew Johnson and the veto of the Civil Rights Bill," ANJO webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/anjo/learn/historyculture/andrew-johnson-and-the-veto-of-the-civil-rights-bill.htm.

[290] "Veto of Freedmen's Bureau Bill," ANJO webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/anjo/learn/historyculture/freedmens-bureau.htm; "Andrew Johnson and the veto of the Civil Rights Bill," ANJO webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/anjo/learn/historyculture/andrew-johnson-and-the-veto-of-the-civil-rights-bill.htm.

[291] "Andrew Johnson and Emancipation in Tennessee," ANJO webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/anjo/learn/historyculture/johnson-and-tn-emancipation.htm.

[292] "Dolly's Children," ANJO webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/anjo/learn/historyculture/dollys-children.htm.

[293] "Slaves of Andrew Johnson," ANJO webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/anjo/learn/historyculture/slaves.htm.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Partnerships with people of African descent in Greeneville to identify and prioritize research needs**.[294]
- Resource map or trail of African American heritage in Greeneville.[295]
- Additional research on the cemetery and individuals buried there.
- A project exploring the lives of Dolly Johnson's children.
- Additional research on Henry Johnson, a man enslaved by Johnson who "accompanied the Johnson family to the White House."[296]
- Interpretive project that utilizes existing scholarly research and primary source materials to discuss "Johnson's changing mindsets in regard to slavery and abolition as the country itself moved from slavery to emancipation, from Reconstruction to early attempts at Civil Rights."[297]
- Additional web interpretive content.
- Research on the Freedmen's Bureau and what it accomplished despite the lack of Johnson's support.[298]
- Research on activities of groups like the KKK undermining the Civil Rights Act of 1866, as well as the lack of federal penalties for failure to discriminate.[299]

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- n/a (no survey responses from park staff)

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[294] NPS, "Andrew Johnson National Historic Site: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2019, 63.

[295] NPS, "Andrew Johnson National Historic Site: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2019, 63.

[296] "Slaves of Andrew Johnson," ANJO webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/anjo/learn/historyculture/slaves.htm.

[297] NPS, "Foundation Document: Andrew Johnson National Historic Site," 2015, 22.

[298] "Veto of Freedmen's Bureau Bill," ANJO webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/anjo/learn/historyculture/freedmens-bureau.htm.

[299] "Andrew Johnson and the veto of the Civil Rights Bill," ANJO webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/anjo/learn/historyculture/andrew-johnson-and-the-veto-of-the-civil-rights-bill.htm.

Big Cypress National Preserve (BICY)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1974

State(s): Florida

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "The purpose of Big Cypress National Preserve is to assure the preservation, conservation, and protection of the natural, scenic, hydrologic, floral, and faunal, and recreational values of the Big Cypress watershed in the State of Florida and to provide for the enhancement and public enjoyment thereof."[300]

Note: Managed jointly with Biscayne National Park (BISC) Everglades National Park (EVER), and Dry Tortugas National Park (DRTO), collectively known as the South Florida National Parks and Preserve (SOFL).

Materials Reviewed:

- 12 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/bicy
- 5 reports:
    - Goss, James. "Usual and Customary Use and Occupancy by the Miccosukee and Seminole Indians in BICY." 1995.
    - Leynes, Jennifer Brown. "Monroe Station." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 2000.
    - Peterman, Frank, and Audrey Peterman. "African Americans and the Sawmills of Big Cypress – A Brief History." ca. 2002.
    - NPS. "Long Range Interpretive Plan: Big Cypress National Preserve." 2003.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Big Cypress National Preserve." 2016.
- 0 survey responses from employees or partners of BICY

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Early Inhabitants and Native Americans, 3500 BC–AD 1600; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

[300] NPS, "Foundation Document: Big Cypress National Preserve," 2016, 5.

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Underground Railroad and Abolition, Desegregation of Public Accommodations

NPS Themes:

- Expressing Cultural Values, Peopling Places, Transforming the Environment

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Aviation, environmental history, Indigenous history, rise of the tourism industry in Florida, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- The Alliance for Florida's National Parks, Florida National Parks Association, Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida, Seminole Tribe of Florida

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

The most significant NPS-commissioned research at BICY relating to African American stories is a 2003 report, "African Americans and the Sawmills of Big Cypress."[301] This report documents the logging industry that grew up after the completion of the Tamiami Trail in 1928. Most workers in that industry were people of color.[302] The Foundation Document (2016) noted that no historic sites or cultural resources associated with this history had yet been documented.[303]

Only one of the 12 park webpages (as of 2021) mentioned African American history. That one page is on the people of Big Cypress and includes a brief summary of the above report and a link to it.[304] The Foundation Document's only significant discussion of cultural resources is the section on "traditional uses," geared toward Indigenous cultural resources, with no mention that some people in these communities also had African ancestors.[305]

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[301] Frank Peterman and Audrey Peterman, "African Americans and the Sawmills of Big Cypress – A Brief History," ca. 2002. See also Jaci Wells, Cultural Resources Program Manager, SOFL, to Jackie Gonzales, email, October 19, 2022.

[302] "History and Culture: People," BICY webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/bicy/learn/historyculture/people.htm.

[303] NPS, "Foundation Document: Big Cypress National Preserve," 2016, 27.

[304] "History and Culture: People," BICY webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/bicy/learn/historyculture/people.htm.

[305] NPS, "Foundation Document: Big Cypress National Preserve," 2016, 27–29.

The LRIP mentions African American history in a reference to "escaped slaves" as one of many groups of people who have "left their trails through the swamp."[306] It discusses research goals related to the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida and the Seminole Tribe of Florida, traditional uses by members of each, and the nearby cultural centers operated by each nation, respectively.[307]

A 1995 report, "Usual and Customary Use and Occupancy by the Miccosukee and Seminole Indians in BICY," notes briefly that many people of African descent who escaped enslavement fled to Florida for sanctuary, and that treaties with Spanish and Seminole leaders addressed returning people to bondage.[308] It notes that one site associated with Miccosukee or Seminole people is Charlie Dixie's Camp, and that Charlie Dixie's mother was African American.[309]

The NRHP nomination for Monroe Station (completed in 2000) discusses the building and its connections to the Tamiami Trail, but it does not make any connection to the histories of African American individuals as related to the trail or station.[310]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Historic Resource Study for African Americans in 500 Years of South Florida History (conducted jointly between BICY, BISC, EVER, and DRTO) (PMIS #256453A).
    - The project's two main goals are to develop (1) an annotated bibliography, and (2) an historic context study of Africans, African Americans, and people of African descent in South Florida and connected areas in the past 500 years. This research will help the NPS interpret Black history at these four parks, as well as NRHP and NHL sites in the area.[311]

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Special History Study on the Tamiami Trail** and the presence or lack of presence of African Americans laboring and/or traveling on the trail.
- **Resource Stewardship Strategy** that has substantial inclusion of cultural resources related to African American history in the park.

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[306] NPS, "Long Range Interpretive Plan: Big Cypress National Preserve," 2003, 5.

[307] NPS, "Long Range Interpretive Plan: Big Cypress National Preserve," 2003, 2, 36, 38.

[308] James Goss, "Usual and Customary Use and Occupancy by the Miccosukee and Seminole Indians in BICY," 1995, 74, 169.

[309] Goss, "Usual and Customary Use and Occupancy by the Miccosukee and Seminole Indians in BICY," 107, 111.

[310] Jennifer Brown Leynes, "Monroe Station," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2000.

[311] Jaci Wells, Cultural Resources Program Manager, SOFL, to Jackie Gonzales, email, October 19, 2022.

    - The Foundation Document notes this need: "A resource stewardship strategy would provide comprehensive, long-range direction for natural and cultural resource management. The strategy would help bridge the qualitative statements of desired conditions established in previous park resource management plans with measurable goals and would outline comprehensive strategies to achieve and maintain desired conditions over time."[312]

- Research on discrimination in tourism industry in South Florida parks.
- Historical research aimed at documenting sites or resources potentially associated with African American individuals during the era of sawmills.[313]

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- n/a (no survey responses from park staff)

[312] NPS, "Foundation Document: Big Cypress National Preserve," 2016, 32.

[313] NPS, "Foundation Document: Big Cypress National Preserve," 2016, 27.

Big South Fork National River & Recreation Area (BISO)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1974

State(s): Kentucky, Tennessee

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "The Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area was established to preserve the free-flowing condition of the Big South Fork of the Cumberland River and its tributaries, to enhance water quality, to provide diverse recreational opportunities, and to protect the unique scenic, natural, and cultural resources of the area, including the predominantly undeveloped and natural character of the gorge."[314]

Materials Reviewed:

- 27 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/biso/
- 3 reports
    - NPS. "Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area: Long Range Interpretive Plan." 2009.
    - Sargent, Liz, Deborah Slaton, and Timothy Penich. "Big South Fork NRRA Historic Resource Study." Edited by Deborah Slaton. 2016.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area." 2017.
- 0 survey responses from employees or partners of BISO

Relevant Time Period(s):

- US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodations

NPS Themes:

- Peopling Places, Transforming the Environment

[314] NPS, "Foundation Document: Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area," 2017, 4.

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Cemeteries, environmental history, Indigenous history, religion, labor history, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- None identified.

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

The park Foundation Document (2017) discusses the many archeological sites related to Shawnee and Cherokee communities, but does not mention Black individuals who lived in, labored in, or passed through the area.[315] The park LRIP (2019) identifies "slavery" as a theme of agricultural settlement and notes that one regional landmark is called "Slave Falls." Despite these mentions of enslavement in the area, there is no discussion of the experiences of people of color in the themes/subthemes (one theme is "Preserving Diversity," but relates only to biological diversity of flora and fauna). It also mentions the Civil War in relation to the park but does not connect that to slavery.[316]

The park HRS (2016) includes substantive history of pre-European and early European settlement, Reconstruction era, and park development eras. It discusses "participation by slaves, free African Americans, immigrants, and others in farming workforces," and "African Americans in the Big South Fork Region Following the Civil War."[317] The HRS notes that many individuals of color worked in mining, railroad, coke production, and masonry industries, and lived in company towns.[318]

Only one park webpage, entitled "Invisible People," features information on Black or African American history or experiences. This page discusses individuals who worked in the area as part of the logging and mining workforce in the late 1800s and early 1900s.[319]

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[315] NPS, "Foundation Document: Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area," 2017, esp. 24–26.

[316] NPS, "Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area: Long Range Interpretive Plan," 2009, 11–12, 24–25.

[317] Liz Sargent, Deborah Slaton, and Timothy Penich, "Big South Fork NRRA Historic Resource Study," ed. Deborah Slaton, 2016, 51, 76, 98.

[318] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, "Big South Fork NRRA Historic Resource Study," 76–77, 120.

[319] "Invisible People," BISO webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/biso/learn/historyculture/invisible-people.htm.

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- "Identify and Protect Archeological and Cultural Resources on Unsurveyed Park Lands"[320] (PMIS #226966).

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Archeological Overview and Assessment** (need noted in Foundation Document).[321]
- NRHP nominations for various sites (general need noted in Foundation Document, but sites not specified).[322]
- Historical research on laborers of color in industries in the area.
- Oral histories of descendants of people who worked in the area (need noted in Foundation Document).[323]

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- n/a (no survey responses from park staff)

[320] Niki Stephanie Nicholas, Superintendent, BISO/OBED, to Jackie Gonzales, email, October 16, 2022; NPS PMIS data from De Johnson, March 2022.

[321] NPS, "Foundation Document: Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area," 2017, esp. 25, 34.

[322] NPS, "Foundation Document: Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area," 2017, esp. 25, 35.

[323] NPS, "Foundation Document: Big South Fork National River and Recreation Area," 2017, esp. 25, 34.

Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument (BICR)

Introduction

Founding Year: 2017

State(s): Alabama

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Through collaboration and partners, Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument preserves and interprets the events, stories, and places associated with the nonviolent struggle against racial segregation in Birmingham, Alabama, during the mid-20th century; events in 1963 propelled human and civil rights to the forefront of the American conscience."[324]

Note: Managed jointly with Freedom Riders National Monument (FRRI)

Materials Reviewed:

- 10 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/bicr/
- 1 report
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument." 2018.
- 2 survey responses from employees or partners of BICR

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodations, Desegregation in Public Education, Racial Discrimination in Housing, Equal Employment, Voting Rights, Underground Railroad and Abolition

NPS Themes:

- Creating Social Institutions and Movements

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Black-owned businesses, Civil Rights sites, Indigenous history, LGBTQ+ history, religious sites, women's history

[324] NPS, "Foundation Document: Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument," 2018, 4.

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- 16th Street Baptist Church, Alabama Historical Commission, City of Birmingham, Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, Historic Bethel Baptist Church, National Trust for Historic Preservation, Masonic Lodge, St. Paul United Methodist Church, Urban Impact[325]

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

"We are currently in a time where Civil Rights sites have an opportunity and obligation to discuss current topics in the context of their historic legacy and origin. However, we need the tools, training, and cover from leadership to have conversations that are controversial to some."[326]

The main interpretive narrative at Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument centers on African American stories, specifically the fight to end racial segregation and oppression through the non-violent confrontation campaign that became known as "Project C." The NPS manages just one site, the A. G. Gaston Hotel, but partners with leaders of other local sites, including the 16th Street Baptist Church, Historic Bethel Baptist Church, St. Paul United Methodist Church, Kelly Ingram Park, and the Colored Masonic Temple.[327]

All of the park webpages discuss African American stories. These include:

- General history of civil rights protests in Birmingham.[328]
- History of the SCLC.[329]
- Biography of the four young girls killed in the 16th Street Baptist Church bombing.[330]
- Recounting of the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Alabama.[331]

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[325] NPS, "Foundation Document: Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument," 2018, 20, 24.

[326] BICR/FRRI, survey response, September 20, 2021.

[327] NPS, "Foundation Document: Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument," 2018, 3; BICR/FRRI, survey response, September 20, 2021; BICR/FRRI, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[328] "History and Culture," BICR webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/bicr/learn/historyculture.htm.

[329] NPS, "Southern Christian Leadership Conference," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/sclc.htm.

[330] NPS, "Four Little Girls," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/fourlittlegirls.htm.

[331] NPS, "16th Street Baptist Church," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/16thstreetbaptist.htm.

- Biography of Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, who helped found the SCLC.[332]
- Biography of Black hotelier Arthur Gaston, whose motel served as the headquarters of the campaign to desegregate public accommodations in Birmingham, Alabama.[333]
- Biography of Ralph David Abernathy, who helped to establish the SCLC.[334]
- Biography of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.[335]
- Biography of Bayard Rustin, a civil rights activist and mentor to King.[336]
- Biography of Bull Connor, a white supremacist and Alabama politician who worked to impede the work of the civil rights movement in Birmingham.[337]

Survey respondents noted several opportunities for expanded discussion of Black experiences related to the site. These include:

- "How an unintended consequence of de-segregation was the loss of black neighborhoods and businesses."[338]
- Connecting these events to ongoing struggles (redlining, interstate routing, voting rights, police brutality, social justice, and racial equity issues).[339]

Recently Completed Projects

- "Collect Oral Histories associated with the Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument" (PMIS #265332).
    - Oral history project to interview individuals who were active in the civil rights movement, with a focus on individuals with connections to the Gaston Motel site.[340] This need had been identified in the park Foundation Document.[341]

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[332] NPS, "Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/people/rev-fred-shuttlesworth.htm.

[333] NPS, "Gaston Motel," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/ag-gaston-motel-birmingham-civil-rights-monument.htm.

[334] NPS, "Ralph David Abernathy," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/people/ralph-david-abernathy.htm.

[335] NPS, "Martin Luther King, Jr.," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/people/martinlutherkingjr.htm.

[336] NPS, "Bayard Rustin," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/people/bayard-rustin.htm.

[337] NPS, "Bull Connor," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/people/bull-connor.htm.

[338] BICR/FRRI, survey response, September 20, 2021.

[339] BICR/FRRI, survey response, September 20, 2021.

[340] Rachel Cristine Consulting, "Progress Report: BICR-Collect Oral Histories Interviews, PMIS 265332," September 16, 2022.

[341] NPS, "Foundation Document: Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument," 2018, 14, 21, 23.

- "Collect Oral Histories Related to Establishment of Freedom Riders National Monument, Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument, Reconstruction Era National Historic Park," through a cooperative agreement with Clemson University.
    - Oral history project, interviewing individuals associated with the creation of these three parks (all established by Presidential proclamation by President Obama in 2017). Deliverables are audio files and transcripts.

Example Projects

- "Collect Oral Histories associated with the Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument" (PMIS #265332).

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Special History Study on role of women and LGBTQ+ individuals in the civil rights movement**.
    - To include research on the history of SNCC, in particular, that incorporates the narratives of women like Diane Nash, Fay Bellamy Powell, or Prathia Hall.[342]
- Historic Sites Inventory.
    - Need noted in Foundation Document: "Inventory of historic sites of Birmingham (and elsewhere) directly associated with the significance of the national monument, including lists of African American churches involved in the campaign, resources on Center Street (Dynamite Hill), resources of the 4th Avenue Historic District, and resources of the Birmingham Civil Rights National Historic District."[343]
- Additional oral history interviews, while people who experienced these events are still living.[344]
- Scope of Collections and "Comprehensive inventory of disparate museum collections".
    - Background from Foundation Document: "Data needs to be collected on the contents and condition of archives, museum collections, and oral histories maintained in repositories outside of the National Park Service, including those at the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute and Birmingham community churches. This may result in agreements with existing repositories and the National Park Service."[345]

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[342] NPS, "Foundation Document: Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument," 2018, 23; BICR/FRRI, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[343] NPS, "Foundation Document: Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument," 2018, 23.

[344] BICR/FRRI, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[345] NPS, "Foundation Document: Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument," 2018, 18, 20, 21.

- Partnership Strategy development.
    - Background from Foundation Document: "For the park to effectively collaborate with friends groups and institutions, a formal partnership strategy that identifies opportunities, communication strategies, and operational procedures is needed. Partnerships may include technical assistance, historic preservation trainings, interpretive message coordination, loaning museum objects and archival materials, housing partners' collections, conducting and archiving oral histories, fundraising, growing memberships, and building larger community support while encouraging resource stewardship. Understanding these roles and responsibilities while managing expectations is essential for effective partnerships. This may also include development of individual partnership agreements between the National Park Service and managers of each related resource, as well as with the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute. This may also include establishment of a friends group."[346]

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, training for docents who give tours, training for staff and volunteers to conduct oral history interviews, additional publications/pamphlets, enhanced website content, and additional partnerships (both internal and external to the NPS).

[346] NPS, "Foundation Document: Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument," 2018, 17, 21.

Biscayne National Park (BISC)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1968 (by Congress as Biscayne National Monument, amended and expanded by Congress in 1980)

State(s): Florida

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Biscayne National Park protects a rare combination of coral reefs and undeveloped islands, bay waters, mangrove coasts, and associated fisheries and wildlife of the northernmost Florida Keys and southern Biscayne Bay for the education, inspiration, recreation, and enjoyment of present and future generations."[347]

Note: Managed jointly with Big Cypress National Preserve (BICY), Dry Tortugas National Park (DRTO), and Everglades National Park (EVER), collectively known as the South Florida National Parks and Preserve (SOFL).

Materials Reviewed:

- 17 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/bisc/
- 11 reports
    - Cullison, Dave, and Jennifer Brown Leynes. "Boca Chita Key Historic District." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1997.
    - Niemiec, Barbara E. Mattick. "Sweeting Homestead." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1997.
    - Leynes, Jennifer Brown, and Dave Cullison. *Biscayne National Park Historic Resource Study*. Atlanta: NPS, 1998.
    - EDAW, Inc. "Final Report: Biscayne National Park Ethnographic Overview and Assessment." Atlanta: NPS, 2006.
    - Scott-Ireton, Della. "Populo Shipwreck." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 2006.
    - Koski-Karrell, Daniel. "Fowey Rocks Lighthouse." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 2011.
    - Koski-Karrell, Daniel. "Fowey Rocks Lighthouse DOE." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 2012.

[347] NPS, "Foundation Document: Biscayne National Park," 2018, 5.

    - Lowman, Iyshia. "Jim Crow at the Beach: An Oral and Archival History of the Segregated Past at Homestead Bayfront Park." 2012.
    - Jaeger, Dale, and Keyes Williamson. "Jones Family Historic District." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 2013.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Biscayne National Park." 2018.
    - Poole, Leslie Kemp. Biscayne National Park: The History of a Unique Park on the "Edge," An Administrative History. Homestead, FL: NPS, 2019.
- 1 survey response from employees or partners of BISC

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Early Inhabitants and Native Americans, 3500 BC–AD 1600; European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodations, Equal Employment, Racial Discrimination in Housing

NPS Themes:

- Developing the American Economy, Transforming the Environment, Changing Role of the United States in the Word Community

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Agricultural sites, Black-owned businesses, Black communities, Florida tourism boom of the 1900s, Indigenous history, shipwrecks, Spanish colonialism, transatlantic maritime trade sites, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- The Alliance for Florida's National Parks, Citizens for a Better South Florida, Diving With a Purpose (DWP; an organization of scuba divers affiliated with the National Association of Black Scuba Divers), Everglades Association, Fairchild Tropical Botanical Gardens, Florida Department of Environmental Protection, Florida Fish and Wildlife Conservation Commission (FWC), Florida National Parks Association, Friends of the Everglades, Izaak Walton League, Miami Dade County Environmental Education Providers, Miami Dade College, Miami Dade County Parks and Recreation, National Geographic Society, National

Parks Conservation Association, National Parks Foundation, South East Florida Coral Reef initiative, South Florida Community Partners, South Florida National Parks Trust, Stiltsville Trust, Tropical Audubon Society, US Coast Guard[348]

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

"The park was home to [African American] landowners (largest private landowners in today's park were black). The underground railroad came through the park for people escaping slavery to places like the Bahamas. The park's visitor center sits on the site of a segregated beach. Ships carrying enslaved people traversed the park, and may have sunk here."[349]

As noted in the above quote, Biscayne National Park includes significant history related to Black individuals. However, the park Foundation Document (2018) only mentions African American history in noting the cultural resource management needs to open the Jones Family Historic District to the public.[350]

The NRHP nomination for the Sweeting Homesite/Plantation (completed in 1997, period of significance 1882–1930) discusses the 100-acre pineapple farm that the Sweeting family (White immigrants from the Bahamas) owned. There is no discussion of who worked on the farm.[351] The park HRS (1998) states, "pineapple farmers brought gangs of laborers, primarily African-Americans, from the mainland to harvest and pack the fruit for shipping." It mentions that "many Bahamians moved to the Florida Keys" to participate in the shipwreck salvage industry and many people lived in "temporary salvage camps." The HRS includes no discussion of the experiences of Black individuals who worked in these industries.[352]

The NRHP nomination for the Boca Chita Key Historic District (completed in 1997) discusses structures built on Boca Chita Key by the wealthy industrialist Mark Honeywell (founder of Honeywell Industries) between 1937 and 1940. Also in the district is the Fowey Rocks Lighthouse, commissioned by Honeywell but now managed by the US Coast Guard. The significance of the district is related to the development of Miami as a vacation resort and the accompanying Florida land boom of the 1920s. The nominations do not discuss who built the structures, who was displaced when wealthy families like the Honeywells came in, or who managed the buildings and grounds of these estates of the ultra-wealthy, all questions that could shed light on experiences of African American residents of the region.[353]

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[348] Leslie Kemp Poole, *Biscayne National Park: The History of a Unique Park on the "Edge," An Administrative History* (Homestead, FL: NPS, 2019), 173.

[349] BISC, survey response, February 2, 2022.

[350] NPS, "Foundation Document: Biscayne National Park," 2018, esp. 27–28.

[351] Barbara E. Mattick Niemiec, "Sweeting Homestead," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1997.

[352] Jennifer Brown Leynes and Dave Cullison, "Biscayne National Park Historic Resource Study," 1998, 19, 21.

[353] Dave Cullison and Jennifer Brown Leynes, "Boca Chita Key Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1997.

The park Ethnographic Overview and Assessment (2006) discusses how people of African descent were enslaved by the Spanish and forced to come to Florida. A section specifically on African Americans discusses population, social history, foodway traditions, and challenges facing the Black community. The analysis continues to the present, noting that the "Black/African American populations [in Miami-Dade County]" increased significantly in the late 1900s. The report also spends time exploring Haitian communities in the area and is a good example of scholarship that does not conflate disparate communities of color.[354]

NRHP nominations for the Populo Shipwreck and Fowey Rocks Light Station discuss maritime history from the 1700s and 1800s without mention of African American people being forcibly transported by ships or working on ships.[355]

The other NRHP nomination reviewed, for the Jones Property/Homestead/Farm, centers on the history of the Joneses, "an African American family who transformed the harsh environment on Porgy Key and Totten Key in order to establish a home and a successful business at a time when many African Americans faced considerable obstacles because of racial segregation in the South." The nomination discusses how the Jones family's successful farm and contributions to recreational development played a major role in development of the area, and it includes many photographs of the family and their home.[356]

Two webpages also interpret the Jones family's story. They tell the story of Israel Jones, a farm laborer from North Carolina who moved to Florida in search of work in the late 1800s. The pages discuss Black Bahamian immigrants who came to the area to work as farm laborers or at the inn. They then tell the story of how hurricanes, international competition, and fuel shortages led Arthur and Lancelot Jones to transition to guiding and bone fishing, and how Lancelot Jones sold his land to the NPS in 1970.[357]

A 2012 report entitled "Jim Crow at the Beach" focuses primarily on the experience of African American visitors to Florida parks in the 1900s through examination of segregated beach families at Homestead Bayfront Park, drawing from oral histories and including the transcripts of those oral histories. The former facilities of the Black-only beach (abandoned after the Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawed segregated facilities) became the first visitor contact station, offices, and headquarters of Biscayne National Park. The report's author explains that as the heart of the impetus behind the project's completion:

> Until the effort resulting in this document, Biscayne National Park had little information on this part of the park's history, despite the fact that the majority of the park's visitor interactions occur directly upon property that was once the heart of the

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[354] EDAW, Inc., "Final Report: Biscayne National Park Ethnographic Overview and Assessment," 2006, 30, 68–73.

[355] Della Scott-Ireton, "Populo Shipwreck," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2006; Daniel Koski-Karrell, "Fowey Rocks Lighthouse," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2011.

[356] Dale Jaeger and Keyes Williamson, "Jones Family Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2013, esp. 14, 35.

[357] "The Joneses of Porgy Key: The Early Years," BISC webpage, last updated June 17, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/bisc/learn/historyculture/the-joneses-of-porgy-key.htm; "The Joneses of Porgy Key: Life on Caesar Creek," BISC webpage, last updated February 8, 2017, https://www.nps.gov/bisc/learn/historyculture/the-joneses-of-porgy-key-page-2.htm.; "The Joneses of Porgy Key: Arthur and Lancelot," BISC webpage, last updated June 18, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/bisc/learn/historyculture/the-joneses-of-porgy-key-page-3.htm.

> segregated beach. The opportunity to interpret this history to park visitors, if it could be captured before being lost to time, was the main reason for the initiation of this project.[358]

The Administrative History of Biscayne National Park (2019) features many stories of Black individuals and families that are chronicled in more depth in other reports. For instance, it notes the park role in the Underground Railroad and in pineapple cultivation and distribution. It mentions the segregated beaches of the area, as well as the local legend of a man named "Black Caesar," who reportedly lived on Elliott Key as a buccaneer. It also profiles the Jones family's history on the Key and sale of the land to the NPS.[359]

The Administrative History profiles a recent park partner, DWP, "an organization of scuba divers affiliated with the National Association of Black Scuba Divers (NABS)." Divers with DWP train with underwater archeologists and dive in the park to document shipwrecks. The program has expanded to other marine sanctuaries, managed by NPS and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), and offers certification courses. It won a "Take Pride in America" award from the Department of the Interior (DOI) in 2009, a Preserve American Stewardship Designation from the White House in 2014, and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's Chairman's Award for Achievement in Historic Preservation in 2015.[360]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Historic Resource Study for African Americans in 500 Years of South Florida History (conducted jointly between BICY, BISC, EVER, and DRTO) (PMIS #256453A).
    - The project's two main goals are to develop (1) an annotated bibliography, and (2) an historic context study of Africans, African Americans, and people of African descent in South Florida and connected areas in the past 500 years. This research will help the NPS interpret Black history at these four parks, as well as NRHP and NHL sites in the area.[361]

Example Projects

- Iyshia Lowman, "Jim Crow at the Beach: An Oral and Archival History of the Segregated Past at Homestead Bayfront Park," 2012.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Oral histories with descendants of the Jones Family**.

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[358] Iyshia Lowman, "Jim Crow at the Beach: An Oral and Archival History of the Segregated Past at Homestead Bayfront Park," 2012, 6–8, 23–68.

[359] Poole, *Biscayne National Park*, 9–14, 57, 63–64, 123–24.

[360] Poole, *Biscayne National Park*, 179.

[361] SOFL employee to Jackie Gonzales, email, October 19, 2022.

- **Improvements to physical conditions at the Jones Family Historic District**, to open the site to the public and expand interpretation of it.
- Research on domestic laborers at wealthy White houses during Jim Crow South.
- Research on the people who built homes of wealthy industrialists, as well as other structures to support growing tourism in Florida (not necessarily African Americans for these structures, but well within realm of possibility).
- Historic research on the growth of "Sunbelt" states connected to NPS sites in the region, to include discussion of who (1) moved to the area as part of that, (2) benefitted from the growth, and (3) was displaced by that growth.
- Study on Black participation in Coast Guard and other navigational/lifesaving efforts (pilot associations, crisis response), as relates to the Fowey Rocks Light/Light Station.[362]
- Research on and oral histories with former agricultural workers at pineapple plantations, at the Sweeting Homestead and other sites.
- "The Underground Railroad story needs to be more fully researched."[363]
- Domestic labor, land speculation in Florida, and the South more broadly, and how it affected previous residents of the area, especially African Americans.
- Research on the slave trade in maritime shipping (in relation to discussion of shipwrecks and maritime industries).
- Research on Black experiences in maritime industries (fishing, salvage, piracy).
- Interpretive content on the DWP program.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional studies or research projects and additional partnerships (external to the NPS).
- "Future studies should include more interviews from people of varying racial and ethnic backgrounds to develop a better picture of the beach in the past, for example Asians and Latinos who experienced the area. Homestead Bayfront Beach is part of a history of segregation in the United States and illustrates how American people of all races interacted."[364]

[362] Koski-Karrell, "Fowey Rocks Lighthouse."

[363] BISC, survey response, February 2, 2022.

[364] Lowman, "Jim Crow at the Beach," 17.

Blue Ridge Parkway (BLRI)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1933

State(s): North Carolina, Virginia

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "The purpose of the Blue Ridge Parkway is to connect Shenandoah and Great Smoky Mountains National Parks via a scenic parkway, with areas for recreation, through the Appalachian Mountains of Virginia and North Carolina, and to preserve natural and cultural resources while providing opportunities for public enjoyment."[365]

Materials Reviewed:

- 22 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/blri/
- 11 reports
    - Buxton, Barry M. "Davey Farm Historic Resource Study." 1990.
    - Speer, Jean Haskell, and Frances H. Russell. "The Johnson Farm at Peaks of Otter HRS and HSR." 1990.
    - Firth, Ian J. W. "Historic Resources Study, Blue Ridge Parkway." 1992.
    - Quinn, Richard. "Concession Services Plan: Historic Background Material HAER Report, 1997–1998." 1997.
    - Mitchell, Ann Virginia. "Parkway Politics: Class, Culture, and Tourism in the Blue Ridge." PhD diss., University of North Carolina, 1997.
    - NPS. "Long Range Interpretive Plan: Blue Ridge Parkway." 2002.
    - Jones, Rebecca. "Historic Resource Study: African Americans and the Blue Ridge Parkway." 2009.
    - Slaton, Deborah, Liz Sargent, Mike Ford, Kenneth Itle, and Tim Penich. "Flat Top Manor (Moses H. Cone Memorial Park)." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 2013.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Blue Ridge Parkway." 2016.
    - NPS. "Moses H. Cone Memorial Park: Long-Range Interpretive Plan." 2017.
    - NPS. "Blue Ridge Parkway Division of Resource Interpretation and Education: Strategic Plan." 2019.

[365] NPS, "Foundation Document: Blue Ridge Parkway," 2016, 4.

- 1 survey response from employees or partners of BLRI

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Early Inhabitants and Native Americans, 3500 BC–AD 1600; European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodations, Racial Discrimination in Housing

NPS Themes:

- Developing the American Economy, Transforming the Environment, Peopling Places

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Agriculture, CCC sites, discrimination in tourism, Indigenous history, labor history, musical history, Women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Appalachian Trail Conservancy; Appalachian National Scenic Trail; Blue Ridge National Heritage Area; Blue Ridge Parkway Association; Blue Ridge Parkway Foundation; Eastern National; Friends of the Blue Ridge Parkway; US Forest Service; US Fish and Wildlife Service; local counties and municipalities; local, state, and federal transportation agencies[366]

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

BLRI protects, preserves, and interprets a twentieth-century parkway initially designed to connect the Shenandoah and Great Smoky Mountains National Parks. According to staff, "the park is dedicated to enhancing the outstanding scenic and recreational qualities of the corridor that it traverses, conserving unimpaired its significant natural and cultural resources, and promoting the public enjoyment and appreciation of the Central and Southern Appalachian Mountains."[367] Although the site protects cultural resources, BLRI has not always included stories of African

[366] NPS, "Foundation Document: Blue Ridge Parkway," 2016, 32–35.

[367] BLRI, survey response, September 27, 2021.

Americans; the 1992 HRS does not mention Black or African American people at all.[368] The park Foundation Document (2016) also does not mention African American individuals.[369]

The parkway LRIP (2002) describes BLRI as the "first national rural parkway" and an example of American automotive culture.[370] The plan includes discrete recommendations for telling stories of people of color. At Humpback Rocks, the LRIP recommends "demonstrations and discussions should be as diverse as possible to include the social roles and activities of women and African American who lived in the community."[371] At James River, it recommends an exhibit on "the heroic life saving efforts of Frank Padget, an African American."[372] And at Cumberland Knob and Linn Cove, the LRIP discusses the need to interpret BLRI construction, including "highway engineers, and immigrant laborers, Civilian Conservation Corps enrollees both white and African American."[373] It also includes a recommendation to include African influences on music at the Blue Ridge Music Center.[374] The LRIP includes a brief discussion of developing culturally sensitive visitor facilities. It notes that at another park, Mount Rainier National Park, NPS staff realized "in talking with African American groups, they found out that the current layout of picnic areas was not conducive to family reunions and other large gatherings that are an integral part of the African American community," and that those picnic areas were redesigned to suit visitor needs.[375]

In 2019, the NPS acknowledged that the 2002 LRIP needed to be updated. The NPS conducted a two-day workshop to document existing conditions and establish goals. In identifying the fundamental values, when discussing "examples of Appalachian history and culture," the workshop plan describes the area as containing "diverse and important examples of European and early American settlement, including enduring traditional folkways and contemporary cultural practices." Discussion of Black communities or experiences does not appear in the plan despite a goal encourag[ing] all voices to be heard and served" and a desire to "share and connect park stories to a global audience."[376]

Documents devoted to protecting historic resources only briefly mention Black individuals or do not mention them at all. A 1990 HRS for Davey Farm, for instance, does not mention Black individuals or the role of enslaved people in agriculture in the area.[377] In a report from the same year focused on the Johnson Farm in Virginia, the report mentions that the Johnson family may have owned slaves, but that it is not historically corroborated.[378] The report does note that the Peak of

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368 Ian J. W. Firth, "Historic Resources Study, Blue Ridge Parkway," 1992.

369 NPS, "Foundation Document: Blue Ridge Parkway," 2016.

370 NPS, "Long Range Interpretive Plan: Blue Ridge Parkway," 2002, 11.

371 NPS, "Long Range Interpretive Plan: Blue Ridge Parkway," 2002, 64.

372 NPS, "Long Range Interpretive Plan: Blue Ridge Parkway," 2002, 68.

373 NPS, "Long Range Interpretive Plan: Blue Ridge Parkway," 2002, 96.

374 NPS, "Long Range Interpretive Plan: Blue Ridge Parkway," 2002, 92; BLRI, survey response, September 27, 2021.

375 NPS, "Long Range Interpretive Plan: Blue Ridge Parkway," 2002, 175.

376 NPS, "Blue Ridge Parkway Division of Resource Interpretation and Education: Strategic Plan," 2019, 5–10.

377 Barry M. Buxton, "Davey Farm Historic Resource Study," 1990.

378 Jean Haskell Speer and Frances H. Russell, "The Johnson Farm at Peaks of Otter HRS and HSR," 1990, 49.

Otters area in Virginia showcases "the interdependence of white and black families in a small, mountain community" but does not discuss the experiences of those Black communities.[379] In recommending exhibits for the Johnson Farm, report authors recommended including stories of "[B]lack mountain families in the area," but does not discuss their experiences or indicate what research the exhibits would be based upon.[380]

The 1997 Historic American Engineering Record (HAER) report for BLRI properties does briefly discuss Black and African American experiences. The report notes that a CCC camp at Piper's Gap, Virginia, "utilized African American workers, who occasionally faced hostility from surrounding residents and from their own white management personnel."[381] The report also noted that use of the parkway was very segregated, and that "the number of African Americans using parkway facilities was very low during the period segregation laws were in effect. In 1942, Abbott reported that African Americans constituted 'one half of one percent' of total parkway visitation."[382]

At least one recreational site (Saunders Farm) was associated with a Black family in the 1800s. At Pine Spur, recreational facilities included a "small picnic area and park . . . constructed for use by African Americans under the segregation of facilities policy in 1940 and 1941."[383] Although the BLRI superintendent hoped to have "an African American concessionaire" operating a shop and camping area at the site, the plan "later scaled back because the regional office felt that they could not substantiate a need for trailer camps for African Americans."[384] Not all facilities were completely segregated; at Rocky Knob, "the park watchman would indicate where African Americans would be allowed to picnic. The gas station and food services were to be available to all users."[385]

Other reviewed materials also indicate a scholarly and interpretive erasure of Black stories. In a 1997 PhD dissertation written independently of the NPS, author Anne Virginia Mitchell observed,

> The Park Service's interpretation of Appalachian history, which has situated the Parkway in a one-dimensional picture of "pioneer" life while obliterating signs of other historical processes at work in the southern highlands, has hindered understanding of the Blue Ridge Parkway itself as a product of and an active agent affecting the course of western North Carolina and southern Appalachian history.[386]

The same dissertation only briefly discusses Reconstruction and the rise of segregated facilities and discriminatory laws. In describing land acquisition for the BLRI, the report focuses only on the removal of Indigenous nations like the Eastern Cherokee.[387]

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[379] Speer and Russell, "The Johnson Farm at Peaks of Otter HRS and HSR," 93.

[380] Speer and Russell, "The Johnson Farm at Peaks of Otter HRS and HSR," 101.

[381] Richard Quinn, "Concession Services Plan: Historic Background Material HAER Report, 1997–1998," 1997, 72.

[382] Quinn, "Concession Services Plan: Historic Background Material HAER Report, 1997–1998," 170.

[383] Quinn, "Concession Services Plan: Historic Background Material HAER Report, 1997–1998," 203.

[384] Quinn, "Concession Services Plan: Historic Background Material HAER Report, 1997–1998," 208.

[385] Quinn, "Concession Services Plan: Historic Background Material HAER Report, 1997–1998," 215.

[386] Anne Virginia Mitchell, "Parkway Politics: Class, Culture, and Tourism in the Blue Ridge" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina, 1997), 6.

[387] Mitchell, "Parkway Politics," 235–38.

The NRHP nomination for Moses H. Cone Memorial Park (2013) describes Flat Top Manor as "the summer home and seasonal retreat of textile magnate Moses Cone and his wife, Bertha."[388] It notes that the Cone family established milling enterprises in Greensboro and separate villages to house White and Black mill workers.[389]

An HRS from 2009, entitled "African Americans and the Blue Ridge Parkway," filled many knowledge gaps left from the 1992 report. The report substantively deals with African American history, recreational use patterns, and interpretation and access to those stories. It includes content on segregation of recreational areas, African American communities along the parkway, the area's Black CCC camp, and cemeteries where enslaved individuals were buried. It also engages directly with NPS policy related to segregation, and notes that African American individuals found "work with the parkway as park rangers" in the 1970s. The report includes contacts, oral history project planning, and identification of historic structures and communities related to churches.[390]

BLRI web content includes some limited content related to the experiences of people of color. Three of 22 webpages reviewed in 2021 included relevant content. One webpage discusses the various cemeteries located along the Parkway. The page includes a link to a GIS map of the cemeteries in the area, including the Burnett Tract Slave Cemetery, an unmarked cemetery located near Dan Baptist Church that was used for enslaved people who belonged to the church.[391] Another webpage describes the Saunders family, Black subsistence farmers living near the Peaks of Otter in Virginia, who sold their farm to the US government for the construction of the Blue Ridge Parkway in the 1940s. The family remained in Virginia.[392] Other webpages do not discuss Black history or mention it only briefly; for instance, the page devoted to German industrialist Moses Cone mentions Black servants who worked for the family and lived on the property but does not discuss their experiences in any significant detail.[393]

Survey respondents indicated that although there is some interpretation of Black stories at BLRI sites, like "The Roots of American Music" exhibit at the Blue Ridge Music Center, there are many missed opportunities to include Black stories and experiences. One respondent noted, "Peaks of Otter Virginia was a large community at one time," but that "the NPS has never interpreted the African American community in this area. We only interpret the white community – Johnson Farm owned by a white family is a living history site. Saunders Farm which was built by a former slave was abandoned." A respondent also noted a need to study how policies and practices at recreational areas have impacted Black visitors both historic and modern.[394]

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[388] Deborah Slaton, Liz Sargent, Mike Ford, Kenneth Itle, and Tim Penich, "Flat Top Manor (Moses H. Cone Memorial Park)," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2013, 4.

[389] Slaton et al., "Flat Top Manor (Moses H. Cone Memorial Park)," 47.

[390] Rebecca Jones, "Historic Resource Study: African Americans and the Blue Ridge Parkway," 2009, 4–5.

[391] "Cemeteries," BLRI webpage, last updated June 28, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/blri/learn/historyculture/cemeteries.htm.

[392] Ethan Crump, NPS, "Saunders Family," webpage, last updated February 6, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/articles/saunders-family.htm.

[393] NPS, "Moses Cone," webpage, last updated April 20, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/people/moses-cone.htm.

[394] BLRI, survey response, September 27, 2021.

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- "Develop an Ethnohistory of Pine Spur and Peaks of Otter areas at Blue Ridge Parkway" (to begin in FY23) (PMIS #315694).
    - Excerpt from PMIS Description: "The goal of this study is to expand the scope of knowledge about the lifeways and patterns of African Americans from these two local communities along the Parkway corridor. Emphasis would be placed on analysis of the communities transition through time, from the parkway's concept, development, and construction from 1934 to the present. Data will include researching available published materials, archival sources, and conducting oral histories with members of the nearby communities. Information resulting from the study will include cultural heritage, family and lifeways, and economic and social contributions of the African American communities and the Parkway."
    - Excerpts from PMIS Justifications: "The Blue Ridge Parkway, a Great Depression era park, was designed as a scenic motor road with recreational areas along the corridor. Interpretive areas designed to show local history tend to present "pioneer life" and portray the Appalachian region as ethnically and economically homogenous. It is a portrayal that makes understanding the Parkways ethnographic resources problematic. . . . African American people have deep histories in the Blue Ridge Mountains, but these histories are almost entirely ignored or even erased by the landscape design of the Blue Ridge Parkway. An 2006 Ethnographic Assessment of the Blue Ridge Parkway provided a series of interviews with African Americans in the Virginia communities of Roanoke, Peaksville and Bedford. Pine Spur and Peaks of Otter areas as well as other African American communities along the Parkway corridor remain ethnographically important to many local people."[395]
- "Exploring Black History on the Blue Ridge Parkway": two related projects, funded by Duke University, to be conducted by Dr. Anne Mitchell Whisnant.
    - "One will look specifically at NC land acquisition and try to cross-reference with census data to get a sense of race & pre-Parkway land acquisition. The broader one will look at several places where we can talk about Black history on the Parkway: with planning for (and land acquisition for) the Pine Spur area, general placement of the Parkway within a frame of 'white' Appalachia, and identification of places where it would be possible to unpack Black history on the Parkway."[396]

Example Projects

- Rebecca Jones, "Historic Resource Study: African Americans and the Blue Ridge Parkway," 2009.

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[395] Entry, PMIS 315694, "Develop an Ethnohistory of Pine Spur and Peaks of Otter areas at Blue Ridge Parkway," last updated February 28, 2021, by Simone Monteleone.

[396] Correspondence from Anne Mitchell Whisnant to Jackie Gonzales, November 7, 2022.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- Special History Study of Segregation of NPS facilities (to be part of larger multi-park study).
    - "There were two African American picnic areas at park recreational areas before WWII Cumberland Knob and Bluffs. Both picnic areas were open for a few years before desegregation of NPS sites. Both have since been abandoned."
    - "Pine Spur was to be a separate recreational area for African Americans living in the Roanoke VA community. The NPS had constructed a picnic area with plans for a campground, cabins, playground and sandwich shop. WWII halted the construction and it was never built."[397]
- Multi-park Special History Study of African Americans and automobile culture.
- Research on the Underground Railroad as relates to the park.
- **Additional research on Black communities in the area, through oral histories and documentary research**. Can be broken up in smaller projects, which might include:
    - Oral histories on displacement of Black families (like the Saunders) to create the parkway and the stories of that removal.
    - Additional oral histories of Black communities along the parkway.
    - Research on segregated working facilities in businesses, towns, construction jobs on and along parkway.
    - More research onto segregation into the park, including into associate landscape architect Robert G. Hall, the "Negro Master Plan," and known segregated facilities like Rocky Knob, Doughton (Bluff) Park, Smart View, and Cumberland Knob, and Pine Spur. Oral histories of visitors and park rangers from this era while they are still living.[398]
    - Black agricultural workers (farm workers, sharecroppers, farm owners) in the early 1900s (regionally or broadly).
    - Research on Johnson family farm, "Isha" people in Irish Creek Virginia, Black community around Possum Hollow Road.[399]
- **Research project into African American influences on musical history in the southern Appalachian Mountains**.

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[397] BLRI, survey response, September 27, 2021.

[398] Jones, "Historic Resource Study: African Americans and the Blue Ridge Parkway," 25.

[399] Jones, "Historic Resource Study: African Americans and the Blue Ridge Parkway," 26–27.

    - To include preservation of tapes at Blue Ridge Parkway Folklife Project (some contain interviews of Black individuals from the area).[400]

- Research on African American CCC Camp within the park. See detailed recommendations on sources in Jones's report.[401]
    - Survey respondent wrote, "The men worked on landscaping. No research has been done on this camp that I am aware of."[402]
- Research on separate housing village for Black mill workers at Cone Memorial site.
- Additional interpretive web content based on existing, ongoing, and future studies.[403]

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Park staff indicated a need for additional staff, training, and enhanced website content.[404]

[400] Jones, "Historic Resource Study: African Americans and the Blue Ridge Parkway," 27.

[401] Jones, "Historic Resource Study: African Americans and the Blue Ridge Parkway," 25–26.

[402] BLRI, survey response, September 27, 2021.

[403] "Cemeteries," BLRI webpage, last updated June 28, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/blri/learn/historyculture/cemeteries.htm.

[404] BLRI, survey response, September 27, 2021.

Brices Crossroads National Battlefield (BRCR)

Founding Year: 1929

State(s): Mississippi

Note: Managed by staff of Natchez Trace Parkway (NATR), along with Tupelo National Battlefield (TUPE).

Materials Reviewed: See Natchez Trace Parkway entry.

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework: Does not relate to one of these themes.

NPS Themes:

- Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Civil War, Great Depression, Indigenous history, tenant farming, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow

Partner Organizations:

- Mississippi's Final Stands Interpretive Center, Natchez Trace Parkway Association

For analysis and recommendations for BRCR, see Natchez Trace Parkway (NATR).

Buck Island Reef National Monument (BUIS)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1961

State(s): US Virgin Islands

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Buck Island Reef National Monument in St. Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands, preserves, protects studies, and interprets diverse marine and terrestrial tropical ecosystems, fish, wildlife, and significant submerged and terrestrial cultural and historical resources in one of the first marine protected areas in the Caribbean Sea."[405]

Note: Managed jointly with Christiansted National Historic Site (CHRI) and Salt River Bay National Historical Park and Ecological Preserve (SARI).

Materials Reviewed:

- 3 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/buis/
- 1 report
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Buck Island Reef National Monument." 2017.
- 0 survey responses from employees or partners of BUIS

Relevant Time Period(s):

- European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework: Does not relate to one of these themes.

NPS Themes:

- Peopling Places

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Danish colonialism, Indigenous history, Transatlantic slave trade, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery

[405] NPS, "Foundation Document: Buck Island Reef National Monument," 2017, 4.

Partner Organizations:

- Friends of the St. Croix, USVI National Parks[406]

Analysis

For more information, see entries of co-managed parks.

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

Most of Buck Island Reef National Monument is underwater. It includes over 19,000 acres of mostly submerged land and prohibits all extractive uses, including fishing. Cultural resources include precontact use of the island, Danish colonial objects, and a military signal station, as well as numerous shipwrecks, including the wrecks of two eighteenth-century ships that carried enslaved people from Africa to the Western Hemisphere, the *Mary* and the *General Abercrombie*. The park has been involved in an ongoing project with the Transatlantic Slave Trade/Slave Wrecks Project (a cooperative project between the NPS, the Smithsonian Institution, George Washington University, University of the Virgin Islands, and other partners). The park Foundation Document discusses this involvement.[407]

Three of three webpages reviewed contained information on Black or African American experiences. These pages all discuss people of African descent living on the small island in the 1700s, who were enslaved by the town clerk of Christiansted.[408]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Christiansted National Historic Site, Buck Island Reef National Monument, and Salt River Bay National Historical Park and Ecological Preserve (PMIS #315687).

Example Projects

- None

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[406] "History and Culture," BUIS webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/buis/learn/historyculture/index.htm.

[407] NPS, "Foundation Document: Buck Island Reef National Monument," 2017, 3, 5, 8, 24–25.

[408] "History and Culture," BUIS webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/buis/learn/historyculture/index.htm; "People," BUIS webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/buis/learn/historyculture/people.htm.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Underwater and aboveground archeological surveys**, especially regarding enslaved people working on or being transported on ships that are now within the submerged resources of the park.[409]
- Ethnographic study of historic uses at Buck Island.
- "A traditional cultural place study would document and allow the monument to better understand traditional subsistence and fishing patterns related to Buck Island Reef. This history could provide new insights into the historic connections of different people to Buck Island Reef, as well as information on historic fish populations on the reef."[410]
- Oral histories on maritime heritage and practices from local communities.[411]
- "Survey of existing archival and graphic materials associated with the maritime heritage of St. Croix."[412]
- Scope of Collections Statement.
- Administrative History.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- n/a (no survey responses from park staff)

[409] NPS, "Foundation Document: Buck Island Reef National Monument," 2017, 25.

[410] NPS, "Foundation Document: Buck Island Reef National Monument," 2017, 25, 43.

[411] NPS, "Foundation Document: Buck Island Reef National Monument," 2017, 25.

[412] NPS, "Foundation Document: Buck Island Reef National Monument," 2017, 25.

Camp Nelson National Monument (CANE)

Introduction

Founding Year: 2018

State(s): Kentucky

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Camp Nelson National Monument in Jessamine County, Kentucky, preserves and interprets the historic and archeological resources of a Union Army supply depot that became one of the largest Civil War-era recruitment and training centers for United States Colored Troops and an African American refugee camp. The monument is a testament to the courage, resiliency, and perseverance of those seeking freedom from slavery and pursuing self-determination during and after the Civil War."[413]

Materials Reviewed:

- 13 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/cane/
- 1 report
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Camp Nelson National Monument." 2020.
- 1 survey response from employees or partners of CANE

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Underground Railroad and Abolition

NPS Themes:

- Shaping the Political Landscape

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- African American settlement, Black military service in Civil War, children's history, Freedmen's Bureau, Civil War, Indigenous history, slavery

[413] NPS, "Foundation Document: Camp Nelson National Monument," 2020, 6.

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Camp Nelson Restoration and Preservation Foundation

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

The primary national significance of CANE is the African American experience.[414] Park staff noted that the main interpretive narrative of the site is "Enslavement, Self-Emancipation, United States Colored Troops."[415]

The Foundation Document (2020) describes the camp, notes that enslaved people built it, and explains that "Camp Nelson…gained national importance as an African American troop recruitment center" in the aftermath of the Emancipation Proclamation. It also notes that women, children, and grandparents accompanied the African American men who came to Camp Nelson to enlist in the Union Army, all arriving in search of freedom. The Foundation Document provides context around the hardships that women and children endured:

> Unlike the freedom-seeking men who were emancipated upon joining the Union Army, the situation for their wives and children was far more uncertain because they were still legally enslaved. This was not resolved until the tragic November 1864 expulsion of women and children against their will, which led to the death of 102 people.[416]

A webpage also tells this story and explains how it made headlines and inspired legislation that emancipated the family members of Black soldiers.[417]

Other webpages also discuss the African American individuals. The general History & Culture landing page overviews the basic history of Camp Nelson as one of the largest recruitment and training centers for Black soldiers during the Civil War, which also served as a refugee camp for their wives and children.[418] Another page explains that the US Army turned away some Black men seeking refuge.[419] One page gives general information on military units mustered at Camp Nelson, while a page on the Saltville Battle and Massacre tells the story of the 5th US Colored Cavalry, one of the

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[414] CANE, survey response, September 21, 2021.

[415] CANE, survey response, September 21, 2021.

[416] NPS, "Foundation Document: Camp Nelson National Monument," 2020, 3–4, 12.

[417] "The Expulsion," CANE webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/cane/the-expulsion.htm.

[418] "History and Culture," CANE webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/cane/learn/historyculture/index.htm.

[419] "Refugees and Emancipation," CANE webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/cane/african-american-refugees-and-emancipation.htm.

first Black regiments formed at Camp Nelson and one of only six units of US Black cavalry raised during the war.[420] Other pages discuss the continuance of slavery in Kentucky, and how enslaved African Americans were impressed from local counties in central Kentucky to expand the road system and construct a railroad from Camp Nelson to Knoxville.[421] Another page discusses how these impressed people constructed a large system of earthen fortifications that protected the northern and eastern sides of the camp and constructed military roads stretching across Kentucky. Once those labor contracts expired, many returned and self-emancipated at Camp Nelson by enlisting with the US Army.[422]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Special History of Kentucky Slave Stampedes at Camp Nelson NM (PMIS #308556).

Recently Completed Projects

- Camp Nelson National Monument Oral History Project. (Included 25 oral history interviews with people involved in preserving and managing the site, as well as with descendants of USCT soldiers and refugees. An accompanying report was completed).[423]

Example Projects

- Morgen Young and Emily Greenwald, "Camp Nelson National Monument Oral History Project," 2022.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Administrative History**, to include documentary research, additional oral histories, outreach, and drafting of report.[424]
- Ethnographic Overview and Assessment.
- Historic Structure Report for the Fee Memorial Church.

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[420] "Saltville Battle and Massacre," CANE webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/cane/battle-of-saltville-and-massacre.htm; "Units Raised," CANE webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/cane/learn/historyculture/units-raised-at-camp-nelson.htm.

[421] "Impressed Labor," CANE webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/cane/military-necessity-impressed-labor.htm; "Knoxville Campaign," CANE webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/cane/knoxville-campaign.htm.

[422] "Impressed Enslaved Laborers," CANE webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/cane/impressed-enslaved-laborers.htm.

[423] Morgen Young and Emily Greenwald, "Camp Nelson National Monument Oral History Project: Final Report," December 2022.

[424] Recommended in Young and Greenwald, "Camp Nelson National Monument Oral History Project," 60.

- Additional research on the expulsion of women and children.[425]
- Oral histories with Hall Cemetery descendent community.
- Ongoing partnerships with descendent community members.
    - "We recommend that the NPS seek ways to incorporate descendant engagement on an ongoing basis. Initially, this could involve a table at public events where descendants could have records/images scanned, objects photographed, or personal accounts recorded (in the style of Story Corps). Ultimately, it would be ideal to have descendant representatives involved in planning for management and interpretation."[426]
- Development of interpretive content and programming based on the recommendations in the "Opportunities for Interpretation" section of 2022 draft oral history report.[427]
- Communications plan for stakeholders.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, additional publications or pamphlets, additional partnerships (both internal and external to the NPS), enhanced website content, and additional training for staff.[428]

[425] NPS, "Foundation Document: Camp Nelson National Monument," 2020, 26.

[426] Young and Greenwald, "Camp Nelson National Monument Oral History Project," 59.

[427] Young and Greenwald, "Camp Nelson National Monument Oral History Project," 64–66.

[428] CANE, survey response, September 21, 2021.

Canaveral National Seashore (CANA)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1975

State(s): Florida

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Canaveral National Seashore preserves natural, ecological, cultural, and scientific resources; provides rare uncrowded visitor experiences; and protects exceptional habitats along 24 miles of undeveloped barrier island, mainland, and Mosquito Lagoon, on Florida's Atlantic coastline."[429]

Materials Reviewed:

- 21 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/cana/
- 4 reports
    - Brown, Lenard E. "Seminole Rest." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1996.
    - Newkirk, Robert. "Moulton-Wells House." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 2001.
    - Parker, Susan. "Canaveral National Seashore Historical Resource Study." 2008.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Canaveral National Seashore." 2015.
- 1 survey response from employees or partners of CANA

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Early Inhabitants and Native Americans, 3500 BC–AD 1600; European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Equal Employment, Desegregation of Public Accommodations, Desegregation in Public Education

[429] NPS, "Foundation Document: Canaveral National Seashore," 2015, 5.

NPS Themes:

- Peopling Places, Transforming the Environment, Shaping the Political Landscape, Changing Role of the United States in the World Community

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Aviation, coastal sites and maritime transportation industries, Indigenous history, Spanish colonial history, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Friends of Canaveral, National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), US Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS), University of Central Florida, State of Florida

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

The park Foundation Document (2015) discusses the park natural and cultural resources without mentioning African American individuals, experiences, or culture at any point. There is discussion of Timucuan people, Seminole people, citrus groves (but no discussion of who worked them), residences of wealthy White individuals (but no discussion of who built or worked them), and NASA's role in the area.[430]

The Seminole Rest NRHP nomination (1996) discuses thousand-year-old shell middens and a canal, in addition to two houses built in about 1890 that "served as the 'estate' of two wealthy individuals." There is no discussion of any Black individuals who may have built, lived at, or worked at these houses.[431] In the NRHP nomination for the Moulton-Wells House (2001), the historic context discusses the development of Florida without any mention of who lived in Florida before its development, who was displaced as a result of the development, who built houses, and whether any local, state, or federal laws barred Black families from living in or buying vacation homes in Florida.[432]

The park HRS (2008) discusses the full known human history of the park, from 12,000 years ago to the present. This includes archeological sites (several burial mounds), Indigenous history from the last 1,000 years, Seminole and Lower Creek history, French and Spanish colonial settlements, and US history. US history includes the Civil War, transportation networks built in Florida (and associated properties), natural resource harvesting (live oak, citrus fruits, saw palmetto berries), the

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[430] NPS, "Foundation Document: Canaveral National Seashore," 2015.

[431] Lenard E. Brown, "Seminole Rest," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1996.

[432] Robert Newkirk, "Moulton-Wells House," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2001.

US Space program, Eldora, Seminole Rest, and migration of people to and from the area. It mentions people of African descent who sought refuge among Surruque people in the 1600s, and the shift toward plantation agriculture and enslaving people of African descent after the Revolutionary War. Despite this, free Black people operated agricultural enterprises in the area in culturally diverse communities with people of African, Indigenous, and European heritage. In the late 1800s, Black farmers from South Carolina moved to the area and operated some of the most successful citrus groves in Clifton. There was a segregated school for Black children built around 1890, which a webpage also discusses.[433] A survey respondent from the park noted that the NPS interprets African American stories in regard to the "The Clifton Schoolhouse, slave canals and plantations."[434]

The park interprets the story of the 82 enslaved individuals who were forced by the Elliott family to work on a sugar plantation in the late 1700s. The 2008 HRS also mentions this, although there could be more detail about the people who were enslaved at the site. Some canals and remnants from the sugar mill are still extant within the seashore.[435] Interpreters also share the history of Bethune Beach, a segregated beach for people of color. The beach was named for civil rights activist and founder of nearby Bethune-Cookman University, Mary McLeod Bethune.[436]

Overall, four of 21 reviewed webpages discuss experiences of Black individuals. On one page, a member of the Washington family reflects on her family's history in the region.[437] On another, Rhonda Haynes reflects on her family's history in the New Smyrna Beach community. Rhonda's family is one of firsts: her grandfather was the first Black man to own and operate a gas station in the community; Rhonda's father was the first Black person to run for City Commissioner; and Rhonda is the first Black person to serve as Deputy City Clerk for the city.[438] And still another webpage discusses the 1942-established Women's Reserve for the Navy, also known as WAVES (Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Services). The site includes a group photo of Black women who were recruited as WAVES and notes that of 90,000 WAVES, only 72 were Black women, and they were only recruited when all other women recruits were exhausted. It does not specify whether any of these Black women served at Canaveral or had a connection to the site.[439]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

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[433] Susan Parker, "Canaveral National Seashore Historical Resource Study," 2008, 23, 28–31; 68–70; NPS, "Clifton School House," webpage, last updated August 16, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/clifton-school-house.htm.

[434] CANA, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[435] Parker, "Canaveral National Seashore Historical Resource Study," 2008, esp. 32–34.

[436] NPS comments on draft report, August 2023; Ashley D. Robertson, *Mary McLeod Bethune in Florida: Bringing Social Justice to the Sunshine State* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2015).

[437] NPS, "Washington Family," webpage last updated February 21, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/washington-family.htm.

[438] NPS, "Haynes Family," webpage, accessed 2021, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/haynes-family.htm.

[439] NPS, "Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Services," webpage, July 14, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/waves.htm.

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Administrative History** that discusses removal of people from the seashore area to create "undeveloped character" and "uncrowded setting" and whether people of African descent were among those that lived in the area.
- Oral histories of Black women who were recruited as WAVES or their descendants.
- Special History Study related to the experiences of people of African descent enslaved by the Spanish in the first century of Spanish colonial Florida.
    - Recommended in park HRS: "The first century of African slaves in Florida remains to be studied."[440]
- Multi-park historical research on who the twentieth-century Florida tourism boom displaced, how, and when, as wealthy, primarily White Americans moved to coastal areas on the peninsula.
- Multi-park historical research on the lives of people who staffed the estates of wealthy White individuals who came to Florida during this time.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, training for staff, additional publications/pamphlets, enhanced website content, and additional partnerships (internal to the NPS).

[440] Susan Parker, "Canaveral National Seashore Historical Resource Study," 2008, 23.

Cane River Creole National Historical Park (CARI)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1994

State(s): Louisiana

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Cane River Creole National Historical Park preserves and protects Oakland and Magnolia Plantations and, in partnership with Cane River National Heritage Area and its living communities, preserves the resources of the Cane River region and enhances the understanding of its peoples and traditions through research, interpretation, education, and technical assistance."[441]

Materials Reviewed:

- 8 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/cari/
- 9 reports
    - Gregory, H. F., and Joseph Moran. "We Know Who We Are; an Ethnographic Overview of the Creole Traditions & Community of Isle Brevelle & Cane River, Louisiana." 1996.
    - Malone, Ann Patton. "The Magnolia Plantation Overview Vol. I." 1996.
    - Malone, Ann Patton, "Oakland Plantation, Its People's Testimony." 1998.
    - Crespi, Muriel (Miki). "A Brief Ethnography of Magnolia Plantation." 2004.
    - NPS. "Cane River Creole National Historical Park: Long-Range Interpretive Plan." 2006.
    - Lee, Dayna Bowker, and Rolanda Teal. "Oral History and Ethnographic Interviews with Traditionally Associated People of Cane River Creole National Historical Park." 2015.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Cane River Creole National Historical Park." 2015.
    - Commonwealth Heritage Group, Inc., and Suzanne Turner Associates. "Cane River Creole National Historical Park, Natchitoches, Louisiana: Historic Resource Study." 2019.
- 2 survey responses from employees or partners of CARI

[441] NPS, "Foundation Document: Cane River Creole National Historical Park," 2015.

Relevant Time Period(s):

- European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodations, Desegregation in Public Education, Racial Discrimination in Housing, Equal Employment, Voting Rights, Underground Railroad and Abolition

NPS Themes:

- Creating Social Institutions and Movements, Developing the American Economy, Expressing Cultural Values, Peopling Places, Transforming the Environment

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Civil Rights, Indigenous history, sites of enslavement, sharecropping/tenant farming, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Cane River National Heritage Area (the park Congressionally legislated partner), Association for the Preservation of Historic Natchitoches, Black Heritage Committee of Natchitoches Inc., the City of Natchitoches, descendants of people who were enslaved on the plantations, The Historic New Orleans Collection, Northwestern State University of Louisiana, NPS National Center for Preservation Technology and Training, State of Louisiana, St. Augustine Historical Society (of the St. Augustine Catholic Church of Isle Brevelle)

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

CARI protects, preserves, and interprets two separate sites of enslavement in Louisiana, Oakland Plantation and Magnolia Plantation. In the post-Civil War period, many formerly enslaved people remained in the area and became tenant farmers, day laborers, and sharecroppers on these properties. Descendants of the original families of the enslavers who owned Oakland and Magnolia still live in the area today. Approximately half of Magnolia Plantation remains privately owned by those descendants; however, the authorized park boundary was expanded in December 2022, and the park is actively working to acquire lands currently in private ownership. African American descendants of the plantation also still live in the area and in the nearby communities of Cloutierville, Natchez, and Natchitoches. The region is rich with descendants who are Black or

Creoles of color, many with ancestors who lived and worked on the two plantations in the mid-1900s (like the Helaire, Metoyer, Vercher, and Shields families).

CARI also interprets the history of the historic Texas and Pacific Railway Depot, which (as of 2023) is undergoing renovation to house the park's visitor center and administrative offices. The building, which had been abandoned since the early 1980s, was one of the last segregated train depots in Louisiana before it ended passenger service in the 1960s. The building still holds separate waiting rooms. CARI staff reported in 2023, "There is broad community support for this project, particularly among the African American community of Natchitoches. The park has been consulting with the African American community on the Depot project since 2021. A group of African American leaders has been critically involved in the review of interpretive materials, and in early 2023, the park hosted a Depot Street renaming contest."[442]

CARI reports from the 1990s addressed the histories of Black individuals and Creoles of color to varying degrees. In 1996, the NPS funded ethnographical study of Isle Brevelle and adjacent areas of Cane River that focused on Creoles of color. Creoles of color in the region do not identify as White or Black, but rather honor their mixed African and French ancestry. Some have historically passed as White, others did not. The authors of the ethnographic study conducted oral interviews and prioritized "community involvement at all levels."[443] The resulting report includes a detailed discussion of Creole identity, a "distinct ethnicity" although the interviewees were "not denying African roots, the Creoles maintained their distinct ethnicity as well." Some interviewees suggested that "Creoles understand Anglo-American racism, especially their conception of 'Negro blood,' as a powerful tool for disenfranchisement, leaving them unprotected and at distinct legal and social disadvantages."[444]

A 1996 HRS for Magnolia Plantation detailed the history of the site from 1715–1960. The various sections of the report include significant coverage of the experiences of the LeComte family, the centuries-long owners of the plantation. In describing the area geography, the report describes the Cane River area as one where "non-free pe–les--Africans and those of African descent, were critical in establishing the economic foundation" of communities. The relationship with enslavers is almost described as collegial: "Under the direction of their owners and sometimes working with them side by side, slave field workers cleared the fields for planting and produced the colonial crops and foodstuffs. Slave artisans assisted in the construction of homes and outbuildings."[445] In several instances, the report lists LeComte property with livestock first, then land, then slaves.[446] Throughout the text, although slavery is mentioned many times, there is little effort to understand, explain, or centralize Black experiences in the overwhelmingly planter-class focused work.

A 1998 study attempted to "summarize changes and continuities in plantation life associated with the Prudhomme family's Bermuda/Oakland Plantation as recounted in documents but, when possible, as related by individuals associated with the plantation's long history, both as owners and

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[442] NPS comments on draft report, August 2023.

[443] H. F. Gregory, and Joseph Moran, "We Know Who We Are; an Ethnographic Overview of the Creole Traditions & Community of Isle Brevelle & Cane River, Louisiana," 1996, 8.

[444] Gregory and Moran, "We Know Who We Are," 29.

[445] Ann Patton Malone, "The Magnolia Plantation Overview Vol. I," 1996, 19.

[446] Malone, "The Magnolia Plantation Overview Vol. I," 48, 58.

workers."[447] Although the report included documentation spanning from the 1850s to the 1960s, the report author suggested Magnolia best emphasizes "the community forged by enslaved workers, including both their work and home lives, and drawing strongly on the quarters and hospital buildings" and "the primacy of King Cotton." The report states Oakland had similar themes of "planter society, family life and kinship."[448] The report acknowledges:

> The saga of Bermuda/Oakland, Magnolia and other Cane River plantations is not only the story of its owners. The lives of several generations of workers are inextricably interwoven with those of the Prudhommes and other planter families. Therefore planners are urged to look closely at the Franco-African and African-American communities associated with Bermuda/Oakland and other plantations along Cane River. Among the themes they display over two centuries are (1) an ability to adjust to massive economic, political, and social changes; (2) efforts to build their own institutions; and (3) the importance of family, kinship, and the church in these efforts.[449]

In 2004, another ethnographic effort centralized the voices and experiences of people of color. "A Brief Ethnography of Magnolia Plantation: Planning for Cane River Creole National Historical Park" included interviews with individuals "who were born or lived and worked at and near Magnolia." The report authors "identified the ethnographic resources, or places and landscapes they considered culturally meaningful, and the ways they perceived their past and wished it conveyed to the visiting public. To help contextualize people's responses, we also lightly sketched the political, economic, social and geographic aspects of plantation life in the m[id]-20th century."[450] The report also included concerns expressed by locals, including observations critical of the NPS, like the name "Cane River Creole National Historical Park," which "disturbs some local residents by seeming to disenfranchise them, insult their ethnicity, and eliminate their past as worth of note in the new National Park Service unit. Black people particularly see the park's name as symbolic of longstanding disregard and disrespect for them."[451] This concern remains ongoing today, with local African American residents expressing concern that the name of the park does not honor the intent of African American exhibits that will be on display in the Depot.[452] The report includes suggestions for interpretive events or activities generated by local feedback.[453] CARI conducted another major oral history effort in 2015, focusing on "Traditionally Associated People of Cane River Creole National Historical Park." The report includes individual quotes from the ethnographies in an analysis of the buildings located at CARI, including eight remaining "slave cabins" at Magnolia.[454]

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[447] Ann Patton Malone, "Oakland Plantation, Its People's Testimony," 1998, 1.

[448] Malone, "Oakland Plantation, Its People's Testimony," 4.

[449] Malone, "Oakland Plantation, Its People's Testimony," 5.

[450] Muriel (Miki) Crespi, "A Brief Ethnography of Magnolia Plantation," 2004, 1.

[451] Crespi, "A Brief Ethnography of Magnolia Plantation," 73.

[452] An NPS reviewer noted, "There is a lot of confusion surrounding the 'Creole' name and word in the general public as well. Even the park staff struggle with it." NPS comments on draft report, August 2023.

[453] Crespi, "A Brief Ethnography of Magnolia Plantation," 65–67.

[454] Dayna Bowker Lee, and Rolanda Teal, "Oral History and Ethnographic Interviews with Traditionally Associated People of Cane River Creole National Historical Park," 2015, 39.

The 2006 LRIP centers stories of enslavers, focusing on interpreting plantation agriculture and economy, as well as the Creole families who owned Magnolia and Oakland Plantations. None of the significance statements mention slavery or the use and exploitation of the labor of enslaved people. Of the suggested interpretive themes, slavery and sharecropping are mentioned: "The institution of slavery and the act of emancipation have left indelible imprints on many aspects of Cane River life," as well as the regional role and importance of religion. One of the fourteen visitor experience goals aspires to "Engage in open dialogue about sensitive issues and topics associated with the history and culture of the region (particularly topics dealing with race and cultural diversity).[455] Despite an overall focus on plantation owners and agricultural stories, Black history is recommended for additional research and interpretation at the site. Specific interpretive topics recommended include "the social structure of workers, overseers, and owners" over a period of "slavery, tenancy, and mechanization."[456] Other recommended topics include interpreting the lives of the enslaved population of the area, the use of enslaved labor in building Civil War infrastructure for the Confederacy, the Confederacy returning Black individuals to enslavers, the Confederacy executing or re-enslaving Black people who left enslavers, and the role of Black soldiers in the Civil War.[457]

The park's Foundation Document (2015) discusses Black historical experiences and individuals, including photographs and acknowledgment of descendant communities in the area.[458] It notes, "Slavery's legacy can be seen throughout the park from handmade tools used for heavy labor held in the museum collection to the surviving brick slave/tenant quarters standing as a testament of the adversities facing the enslaved living at Oakland Plantation."[459] However, while slavery is included in the overall description of CARI, experiences of enslaved individuals come across in the document as secondary to narratives of plantation owners. The site significance statements center French Creole experiences; the first significance statement notes that CARI "preserves the most intact French Creole cotton plantations in the United States, which include an outstanding collection of original vernacular architecture and landscape features." The second significance statement celebrates the continuous ownership of properties under French Creole families. In the third statement of significance, CARI is tasked with telling "the story of the oppressive labor systems of plantations initially founded on human slavery during the colonial era and eventually replaced by other legal mechanisms of oppression, including tenant farming, sharecropping, and later, day labor, from Reconstruction through the 1970s."[460]

A 2019 HRS aspired to strengthen and expand NRHP documentation for the site, focusing on almost three centuries of site use.[461] Black history is centralized, including history related to free Black communities, Creoles of color, enslaved African communities, and tenant farming. In describing the significance of the site, report authors described Magnolia Plantation at CARI as "one of the few remaining large plantation complexes in the American South, because it possesses a rare

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[455] NPS, "Cane River Creole National Historical Park: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2006, 9.

[456] NPS, "Cane River Creole National Historical Park: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2006, 21.

[457] NPS, "Cane River Creole National Historical Park: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2006, 28–29, 61–62.

[458] NPS, "Foundation Document: Cane River Creole National Historical Park," 2015, 10, 21.

[459] NPS, "Foundation Document: Cane River Creole National Historical Park," 2015, 3.

[460] NPS, "Foundation Document: Cane River Creole National Historical Park," 2015, 3--6.

[461] Commonwealth Heritage Group, Inc., and Suzanne Turner Associates, "Cane River Creole National Historical Park, Natchitoches, Louisiana: Historic Resource Study," 2019, I-5.

collection of eight surviving cabins built for enslaved workers in the 1840s, and because of the survival of its rare, late-nineteenth-century system gin and antebellum screw press, which are used to interpret the production of cotton in the South."[462] The park authorizing act, reprinted in part, does not mention slavery, although it notes "because of the complexity and magnitude of preservation needs in the Cane River area, and the vital need for a culturally sensitive approach, a partnership approach is desirable for addressing the many preservation and educational needs."[463] The report explores the longevity of Black communities in the area, observing that "only around 10 percent of the African Americans in Natchitoches Parish left the plantations after emancipation in 1863, with the others remaining."[464] It describes social life for Black community members, including religion and education. Individuals who remained at Oakland and Magnolia Plantations included:

- Solomon Williams, a blacksmith.
- The Helaire family, members of whom had been associated with the plantation from near its beginning into the 1960s.
- The Nagot (sometimes spelled Nargot) family, including Derzilin and his wife Marie, also remained at Oakland and raised their children there. In fact, even as young men, the Nagot sons, Gabe, Janvier, Severin, and Dersilin, Jr., all remained in close proximity to Oakland, even as they moved out of their parents' home and began families of their own.
- The Vercher family, whose ancestors were enslaved at Magnolia Plantation.[465]

In many cases, White property owners and their Black neighbors or tenants are in separate section headings, rarely placing them in shared context. The report discusses broader segregation and Jim Crow laws in Natchitoches Parish, noting that "an unofficial African American business area, called by some the 'Ape Yard,' was established in the city [of Natchitoches]. According to the Louisiana Regional Folklife Program, this area comprised the block of Horn Street just west of Front Street. Within this black business district was a barbershop, blacksmith shop, shoeshine stand, and several small marketplaces."[466] For decades, Black community members would have to walk past a statue called "The Good Darkey . . . considered to be the first ever erected in the South to the 'memory of the devoted negro of ante-bellum days.'" Although the report does not extensively discuss who led the effort to remove the statue, it was removed and now resides at the Louisiana State University Rural Life Museum in Baton Rouge.[467]

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[462] Commonwealth Heritage Group, Inc., and Suzanne Turner Associates, "Cane River Creole National Historical Park," I-2.

[463] Commonwealth Heritage Group, Inc., and Suzanne Turner Associates, "Cane River Creole National Historical Park," 18.

[464] Commonwealth Heritage Group, Inc., and Suzanne Turner Associates, "Cane River Creole National Historical Park," 180.

[465] Commonwealth Heritage Group, Inc., and Suzanne Turner Associates, "Cane River Creole National Historical Park," 180, and NPS comments on draft report, August 2023.

[466] Commonwealth Heritage Group, Inc., and Suzanne Turner Associates, "Cane River Creole National Historical Park," 177.

[467] Commonwealth Heritage Group, Inc., and Suzanne Turner Associates, "Cane River Creole National Historical Park," 250.

Five of the eight webpages reviewed on the CARI website included relevant content. Experiences of residents who were Black or Creoles of color are discussed in a page on the construction and operation of both Oakland and Magnolia Plantations, continuing their stories to the post-Civil war period, when many remained at CARI properties as tenant farmers.[468] A webpage summarizes of the history of enslaved people at Oakland and Magnolia Plantations, noting that census records indicate that Oakland and Magnolia Plantations were home to a combined total of more than 400 enslaved people.[469] A page of "Stories" includes summaries of biographies that are available for sale or free in the gift shop. One of the included profiles, "A Blacksmith's Son Goes to War," tells the story of William Smith, who escaped Oakland Plantation during the Civil War and enlisted in the Union Army.[470] A page devoted to Creole identity stresses the syncretic nature of communities and people in the area: "Today, as in the past, Creole transcends racial boundaries. It connects people to their colonial roots, be they descendants of Europeans, enslaved Africans, or those of mixed heritage, which may include African, French, Spanish, and American Indian influences."[471]

Site staff reported that Black and African American stories play a crucial role in interpretation at CARI. Interpretive narratives include slavery, sharecropping, tenant farming, and the Great Migration.[472] Although Black stories are central to the themes, sometimes interpretation fails to embrace unique, site-specific opportunities. For instance, although the plantation store and house tour include Black stories, one respondent reported, "The majority of the tours do not include visiting the enslaved, sharecropping areas unless requested by a visitor . . . There are specific times and days for the Quarter's Tour but any meaningful discussion of Black life is almost an afterthought or in conjunction with a bigger story."[473] The same respondent pointed out additional opportunities for interpretation related to the Fugitive Slave Act, resistance to enslavement, and the relationship between Black and Indigenous people of the area.[474]

Survey respondents identified the need for training, especially "around Implicit Bias and grass-roots organizing."[475] One respondent noted that external experts with subject matter expertise in the histories of Black and Creole of color communities would be helpful, observing that "contractors can complete research/studies faster than NPS staff can."[476]

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[468] "Oakland Plantation," CARI webpage, last updated December 15, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/cari/learn/historyculture/oakland-plantation-history.htm; "Magnolia Plantation," CARI webpage, last updated November 6, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/cari/learn/historyculture/magnolia-plantation-history.htm.

[469] "African American History," CARI webpage, last updated December 26, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/cari/learn/historyculture/african-american-history.htm.

[470] "Stories," CARI webpage, last updated May 13, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/cari/learn/historyculture/stories.htm.

[471] "Creole History and Culture," CARI webpage, last updated January 9, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/cari/learn/historyculture/creole-history-and-culture.htm.

[472] CARI, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[473] CARI, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[474] CARI, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[475] CARI, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[476] CARI, survey response, August 25, 2021; CARI, survey response, October 12, 2021.

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Special History Study: African American History at Texas & Pacific Railway Depot (PMIS # 311685).
    - "The project is to compile all the known history about the Texas & Pacific Railway Depot, the last segregated train depot in Louisiana . . . and is being rehabilitated into the new Visitor Center and Administrative building for Cane River Creole NHP."[477]

Example Projects

- "Purchased Lives": In 2016, Magnolia Plantation partnered with The Historic New Orleans Collection for a traveling exhibit on slavery called "Purchased Lives." Some content from this exhibit is still digitally available here.
- Network to Freedom applications for Oakland and Magnolia and Underground Railroad Research (PMIS 231636A and B).
- Memorial Illumination for Enslaved People: "Each February the park hosts a memorial illumination for the enslaved people at Magnolia (one weekend) and the enslaved people at Oakland (separate weekend) to honor those who lived and worked at the park. This is funded out of park base funds each year."[478]

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- Research on families that sharecropped, tenant farmed, and day labored at Magnolia Plantation, to include maps of building locations (need noted in HRS).
- **Transcription of previously conducted oral histories** (need noted in HRS).
- **Oral histories with descendant communities**.
- Research on Reconstruction era and the long civil rights movement at CARI, to include race riots and violence.[479]

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[477] CARI, to Jackie Gonzales, email, October 10, 2022.

[478] NPS comments on draft report, August 2023.

[479] NPS comments on draft report, August 2023. One commenter noted, "Natchitoches is situated between Colfax and Coushatta, the site of two massive African American massacres, and was home to the People's Vindicator (the most incendiary newspaper of the time inciting violence during Reconstruction). Hertzog and Prudhomme family members were known members of the white camelias, white leagues, and Sons of Confederate Veterans; their names appear in Congressional hearings related to racial violence in Natchitoches during the 1870s."

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents identified a need for additional funding, additional staff, additional training, and enhanced web content.[480]

[480] CARI, survey response, August 25, 2021.

Cape Hatteras National Seashore (CAHA)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1937

State(s): North Carolina, Virginia

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "The purpose of Cape Hatteras National Seashore is to permanently preserve the wild and primitive character of the everchanging barrier islands, protect the diverse plant and animal communities sustained by the coastal island processes, and provide for recreational use and enjoyment that is compatible with preserving the distinctive natural and cultural resources of the nation's first national seashore."[481]

Materials Reviewed:

- 35 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/caha/
- 11 reports
    - Keller, Genevieve, Tim Keller, and M. Ruth Little. "Ocracoke Historic District." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1990.
    - Clifford, Candace, and Ralph E. Eshelman. "Cape Hatteras Light Station." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 2000.
    - Clifford, Candace. "Bodie Island Light Station." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 2003.
    - Impact Assessment Inc. "Final Technical Report Volume Two: Ethnohistorical Description of the Eight Villages adjoining Cape Hatteras National Seashore and Interpretive Themes of History and Heritage." Volume 1. 2005.
    - Impact Assessment Inc. "Final Technical Report Volume Two: Ethnohistorical Description of the Eight Villages adjoining Cape Hatteras National Seashore and Interpretive Themes of History and Heritage." Volume 2. 2005.
    - Binkley, Cameron. "The Creation and Establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore: the Great Depression through Mission 66." 2007.
    - NPS. "Cape Hatteras National Seashore: Long-Range Interpretive Plan." 2007.
    - Stover, Doug. "U.S. Weather Bureau Station: Hatteras, North Carolina — Special Resource Study." 2007.
    - Stover, Doug. "Pea Island Life-Saving Station Historic Resource Study." 2008.

[481] NPS, "Foundation Document: Cape Hatteras National Seashore," 2011, 9.

    - Blake, Barbara J. Garrity. "Ethnographic Study Analysis of Cape Hatteras National Seashore." 2010.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Cape Hatteras National Seashore, North Carolina." 2011.
- 0 survey responses from employees or partners of CAHA

Relevant Time Period(s):

- European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodations, Racial Discrimination in Housing

NPS Themes:

- Peopling Places, Transforming the Environment

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- National seashores, discrimination in coastal/resort communities, lifesaving stations, maritime industry

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Outer Banks Forever, Tuscarora Tribe, North Carolina State Historic Preservation Office, Outer Banks Lighthouse Society, Dare and Hyde Counties, Outer Banks History Center, Ocracoke Preservation Society, Rodanthe-Waves-Salvo Civic Association, Life-Saving Station, Graveyard of the Atlantic, Museum of the Abermarle, US Coast Guard, US Navy, NOAA, North Carolina Department of Transportation[482]

[482] NPS, "Foundation Document: Cape Hatteras National Seashore," 2011; NPS, "Civil War on the Outer Banks," CAHA website, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/caha/learn/historyculture/civilwar.htm.

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

Cape Hatteras was the first national seashore established. In its Foundation Document (2011), five of six significance statements concern natural resources. The one significance statement regarding cultural resources reads,

> Its artifacts, historic sites, and geographic setting provide tangible links to understanding humankind's ability to adapt in a harsh and changing coastal environment in isolation from the mainland. These links, which are of deep symbolic significance to local villagers, include lighthouses, shipwrecks, Native American sites, and more.

Events of national significance listed include "four centuries of shipwrecks, the United States government's response to protect maritime commerce during the Civil War and World War II, and the experimental development and use of new technology."[483] The Foundation Document mentions that people who have lived on the island included "slaves" but does not discuss their experiences or mention any other African American presence or cultural heritage on the island.[484]

Two NRHP nominations concern Cape Hatteras' built-environment resources. The NRHP nomination for the Ocracoke Historic District, Ocracoke Island, includes single dwellings, hotels, coast guard facilities, and water-related transportation with a period of significance ranging from 1823–1959. The district includes 391 resources, 232 contributing buildings, 15 contributing cemeteries, and 4 contributing structures (lighthouse, etc.). Home #148, "of the Bryant family, the only black family on the island after the slaves were freed during the Civil War," was adapted from a US Lifesaving Station. The nomination has no other discussion of slavery, nor discussion of why there is only one Black family on the island.[485] The other NRHP nomination, for Cape Hatteras Light Station, fails to address Black or African American history at all.[486]

A two-volume report from 2005, "Ethnohistorical Description of the Eight Villages adjoining Cape Hatteras National Seashore and Interpretive Themes of History and Heritage," discusses African American history in relative depth. However, it lacks Black voices and adopts an uncritical tone when discussing how White residents treated Black neighbors (for example, discussing White residents dressing in blackface, but inviting Black neighbors over to dinner, or an explanation that, "Since villagers were white, there was more of a curiosity about other races than hostility"). Despite this, the report includes several stories of Black residents of the area that are not covered in other materials reviewed. It dispels some commonly held notions in local history lore. This includes the notion that Tom Angell, a well-known resident who was Black and adopted by White parents as a child, was the only Black resident of Hatteras: "Villagers speak of Tom Angell as if he was the only black resident of Hatteras until another family brought in a few black maids, yet the 1870 census

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[483] NPS, "Foundation Document: Cape Hatteras National Seashore," 2011, esp. 7, 11.

[484] NPS, "Foundation Document: Cape Hatteras National Seashore," 2011, 7.

[485] Genevieve Keller, Tim Keller, and M. Ruth Little, "Ocracoke Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1990, 8, 68.

[486] Candace Clifford and Ralph E. Eshelman, "Cape Hatteras Light Station," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2000.

counted 12 black males and 14 black females out of a population of 673." There is discussion of formerly enslaved people leaving Ocracoke Island after the Civil War, and the subsequent immigration to the island of other Black individuals. There is also a passing mention of people of African descent piloting vessels through Ocracoke Inlet and living at Shell Castle Island.[487] A later ethnographic study of Cape Hatteras National Seashore (2010) mentions only descendants of English families when describing historical inhabitants of the area and describes "culturally homogenous" villages in the 1700s, 1800s, and early 1900s.[488]

Interpretive themes in the seashore's LRIP (2007) do not link clearly to Black history, even in spaces where there is room to do so (i.e., Pea Island National Wildlife Refuge is linked to "cooperation" but makes no mention of its status as an African American lifesaving station). The LRIP also notes "historic habitation sites of American Indians, Europeans, African American watermen are located in the maritime woods and along the sound-side of the islands," but it does not mention Black individuals in other categories like military service. Material related to the Civil War does not mention slavery. The section on visitor goals or demographics does not recognize equity or access as potential issues, and all persons pictured in photographs in the report present as White.[489]

The park Administrative History (2007) discusses Depression-era work-relief camps on the Outer Banks that employed African American men to perform work related to erosion control. However, local protest of some White residents led the NPS to entertain local demands to remove "the Negro camp." It mentions that the NPS sped up erosion-control efforts to finish the project and remove the Black workers as quickly as possible.[490]

An HRS of the Pea Island Life-Saving Station (2008) details this location, which was established in 1871 as an integrated station, became an all-White station for a time, and after negligence of the White keeper in 1879, "the all-white crew was replaced by an all-Black crew with Richard Etheridge as keeper. It was to remain the only all African-American life-saving station in the United States."[491] Etheridge was born into slavery, served in the Union Army, and was a "leader of the black community."[492]

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[487] Impact Assessment Inc, "Final Technical Report Volume Two: Ethnohistorical Description of the Eight Villages adjoining Cape Hatteras National Seashore and Interpretive Themes of History and Heritage," Volume 1, 2005, esp. 342, 367–74, 405, 409, 465, 440, 500; Impact Assessment Inc, "Final Technical Report Volume Two: Ethnohistorical Description of the Eight Villages adjoining Cape Hatteras National Seashore and Interpretive Themes of History and Heritage," Volume 2, 2005, esp. 93, 175, 178, 247, 279.

[488] Barbara J. Garrity Blake, "Ethnographic Study Analysis of Cape Hatteras National Seashore," 2010, esp. 8.

[489] NPS, "Cape Hatteras National Seashore: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2007, 11, 14, 23–24.

[490] Cameron Binkley, "The Creation and Establishment of Cape Hatteras National Seashore: the Great Depression through Mission 66," 2007, esp. 29–31.

[491] Doug Stover, "Pea Island Life-Saving Station Historic Resource Study," 2008, 20–23.

[492] Stover, "Pea Island Life-Saving Station Historic Resource Study," 20–23.

Of the 35 webpages reviewed, only one addresses African American history. That site tells the story of Black sailors who fought at Hatteras Inlet for the Union in 1861. It also mentions Black refugees who fled to a site that became known as "Hotel d'Afrique," which is now within FORA.[493]

Upcoming and Ongoing Projects

- Develop Core Baseline Historic Resource Study for Cape Hatteras National Seashore (PMIS #246846).
- Updated Historic Resource Study (being finalized as of summer 2023 and includes a section entitled, "African Americans in and Around the Seashore").

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Historic research on people of African descent in maritime industries** (see also regional recommendations). To include development of interpretive materials.
- Additional research to develop a more in-depth profile of Richard Etheridge and the all-Black lifesaving crew he led at Pea Island Life-Saving Station.[494]
- Oral histories with descendants of those who worked at the Pea Island Life-Saving Station.
- Additional research and interpretation segregated CCC camps.
- Special History Study of Black refugees in the region during the Civil War (jointly with FORA).
- Update to Ethnographic Overview and Assessment.
- National seashore-wide (or CAHA-specific) study about shift from being a place of work and subsistence to tourism (and Black exclusion that occurred in tourism spaces), and what that meant for changing racial makeup of who lived and worked in these coastal spaces, and how maritime history has been interpreted by the NPS.
- Study of discrimination within coastal resort communities.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- n/a (no survey responses from park staff)

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[493] "Civil War on the Outer Banks," CAHA webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/caha/learn/historyculture/civilwar.htm.

[494] See Stover, "Pea Island Life-Saving Station Historic Resource Study," 20.

Cape Lookout National Seashore (CALO)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1966

State(s): North Carolina, Virginia

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "The purpose of Cape Lookout National Seashore is to preserve the outstanding natural, cultural, and recreational resources and values of a dynamic, intact, natural barrier island system, where ecological processes dominate."[495]

Materials Reviewed:

- 19 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/calo/
- 7 reports
    - Cecelski, David S. "The Hidden World of Mullet Camps: African-American Architecture on the North Carolina Coast." *North Carolina Historical Review* 70, no. 1 (January 1993): 1–13.
    - Little, Ruth. "Cape Lookout Village Historic District." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 2000.
    - Keane, Beth. "Salter–Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 2005.
    - Garrity-Blake, Barbara J., and James Sabella. "Ethnohistorical Description of Four Communities Associated with Cape Lookout National Seashore." 2009.
    - NPS. "Cape Lookout National Seashore: Long-Range Interpretive Plan." 2011.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Cape Lookout National Seashore." 2012.
    - Whisnant, Anne Mitchell, and David Whisnant, "Gateway to the Atlantic World: Cape Lookout National Seashore Historic Resource Study." 2015.
- 5 survey responses from employees or partners of CALO

Relevant Time Period(s):

- US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950

[495] NPS, "Foundation Document: Cape Lookout National Seashore," 2012, 8.

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodations, Racial Discrimination in Housing, Equal Employment

NPS Themes:

- Developing the American Economy, Changing Role of the United States in the Word Community, Expanding Science and Technology, Transforming the Environment

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Black maritime experiences, Gullah-Geechee culture, Indigenous history, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Segregation and Jim Crow

Partner Organizations:

- Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Cape Lookout Environmental Education Center, Inc., Carteret County, Clean Beaches Council (CBC), Core Sound Waterfowl Museum and Heritage Center, Foundation for Shackleford Horses, Friends of Portsmouth Island, National Estuarine Research Reserve, NOAA, North Carolina Maritime Museum, North Carolina Natural Heritage Program, State of North Carolina, US Army Corps of Engineers, US Coast Guard, USFWS

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

"There has been very little research done, or published, on the African American community at large within the county. Small 'snippets' have come to light over time through serendipitous finds while looking for other historical information. But things like the entire population of African Americans in Portsmouth Village boarding a boat and sailing away towards the north in 1830 is only known through a single sentence in a historic newspaper. No further information on the event has been found so far.

The African American ship captain that was 'given' to another family member in a will with the statement that the new owner would have to wait for the captain to return with his vessel from a trading voyage to the Bahamas before they could claim their inheritance. Apparently, the captain, although enslaved, was trusted enough to undertake such a voyage on behalf of his owner. Have not found any further information on the captain, his voyage or what happened upon his return. The Windsor Wade family of Shackleford Banks — head of the family was freed in 1820 and the family lived as free negroes on the Shackleford Banks raising livestock, fishing and otherwise following the lifeways of the local community. Windsor went by the surname 'Wade', which connected him to a local family, but his grand-children began to use 'Windsor' as their surname, quite likely to connect themselves with their grandfather who had been well respected.

These are just some of the 'snippets' that have come to light — any help in researching to find out more — and it will take boots on the ground at archives and county records to find more, very little has been digitized — would be greatly appreciated."[496]

Survey respondents noted that the primary interpretive narrative of CALO covers the "natural history of the park," the lighthouse, the fishing industry, and discussion of other natural resources.[497] A partner of the park elaborated,

> Carteret County promotes a "neat and tidy" narrative centered around the menhaden fishing industry and the idea of this area being a "fashionable summer resort" dating back to the late 1700's. . . . African Americans are very rarely mentioned in this narrative. If mentioned at all, they are portrayed as simple-minded fisherman that contributed very little to the local economy.[498]

When asked if the park interprets African American stories, respondents answered,

- "Barely . . . We do not seem to talk about slavery, or the jim crow era aspects of people of color over the same span of history included here. So much research to be done as much of the information was tucked away for decades, if not centuries (it would seem)."[499]
- "None"[500]
- "African American stories are not well known or identified. For the most part they are small, stand alone stories from the later 19th and early 20th century."[501]
- "Rarely if ever. There was a black population on Portsmouth Island, NC but they are rarely spoken of."[502]

Supporting the above claims is the fact that zero of 19 cultural webpages reviewed discuss Black history.

The NRHP nomination for Cape Lookout Village Historic District (2000), which includes 27 contributing structures and 31 noncontributing structures with 10 individual properties listed in the NRHP, does not mention Black residents or visitors to the area at all.[503] The other NRHP nomination reviewed, of Salter-Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge on Sheep Island, discusses the presence of enslaved people on Portsmouth Island, but goes no further. It does not discuss whether any Black individuals remain on the island after emancipation, or how the development of

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[496] CALO, survey response, August 25, 2011.

[497] CALO, survey response, August 25, 2021; CALO, survey response, September 11, 2021; CALO, survey response, August 25, 2011; CALO, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[498] CALO, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[499] CALO, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[500] CALO, survey response, September 11, 2021.

[501] CALO, survey response, August 25, 2011.

[502] CALO, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[503] Ruth Little, "Cape Lookout Village Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2000.

recreational hunting impacted subsistence hunting.[504] An article reviewed for this project, "The Hidden World of Mullet Camps: African-American Architecture on the North Carolina Coast" (published in 1993 in a scholarly journal, not an NPS product), discusses the mullet fishery and notes the absence of written records describing the camps.[505]

The park LRIP (2011) addresses Black history under the interpretive goal of "Cultural Geography," where the following subtheme is identified: "African-Americans who lived along the coast developed maritime skills alongside their Euro-American counterparts and found a measure of acceptance and freedom that was not as common for their counterparts living in the interior of North Carolina." One of the identified cultural resources is the Portsmouth Henry Pigott House. "Henry Pigott was African-American and the last male resident to live at Portsmouth. There are currently no exhibits associated with the house." The LRIP also notes under "future needs" that "Under development are partnerships with traditional African-American churches, social clubs, and civic groups."[506] The park Foundation Document contains the same interpretive subtheme under "Cultural Geography," but lacks any other mention of African American presence or heritage in the area.[507]

Two recent studies extensively address Black history. The first, an "Ethnohistorical Description of Four Communities Associated with Cape Lookout National Seashore" (2009), is based on archival data, oral histories, and maps. The content is separated by community, but includes other chapters focused on people associated with maritime history. It discusses Black residents of the island, from people enslaved to Black workers in local fishing and whaling industries. It also discusses the Pigotts, a Black family who lived in Portsmouth. There are several accounts from oral histories about anti-Black racism of White residents on the island. This report overall is a good example of including content on Black individuals without relating it to the experiences of the people who lived it.[508]

The HRS for CALO (2015) deals substantively with Black experiences. A large section—Chapter 5, "At the Sea's Edge: Slavery, Race and Class in a Maritime World"—grapples with slavery. In summarizing the chapter, the authors write,

> Our examination of slavery, race, and class makes five related arguments: that however special or "isolated" the Outer Banks has been argued to be in some respects, the area cannot be understood apart from the race and class dynamics, discourses, laws, and customs of the rest of the states; that the structure and character of maritime endeavors have nevertheless at times produced some special configurations of slaver, race, and racial categories and discourse; that sometimes race and class relations have been better than those in the state more generally (e.g., among mullet fishermen, as Garrity-Blake has argued, or among slave watermen, as

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[504] Beth Keane, "Salter–Battle Hunting and Fishing Lodge," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2005.

[505] David S. Cecelski, "The Hidden World of Mullet Camps: African-American Architecture on the North Carolina Coast," *North Carolina Historical Review* 70, no. 1 (January 1993): 1–13.

[506] NPS, "Cape Lookout National Seashore: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2011, esp. 16, 43, 54–55.

[507] NPS, "Foundation Document: Cape Lookout National Seashore," 2012, esp. 13.

[508] Barbara J Garrity-Blake and James Sabella, "Ethnohistorical Description of Four Communities Associated with Cape Lookout National Seashore," 2009, esp. 9, 21, 37, 81, 100, 114, 136, 162, 205.

> Cecelski has explained) and sometimes they have been worse (e.g. among slaves forced to dig canals or work in the turpentine industry); that since there were no stable economic or industrial structures or power blocks (as in the plantation system or the textile industry) to hold the racial system steady, it has flexed and adjusted with the shifting economic base (e.g. from shipping to fishing to tourism) and that widespread romanticization of Outer Banks culture has blurred essential features and details of its racial and class system.

Black experiences are not relegated to that section, however; the content is included as a discussion point in numerous chapters, including conversations surrounding racism in industries and in war service.[509] Some of the material from this report could be adapted for other regional sites.[510] Whisnant and Whisnant conclude that interpretation of the stories of people of African descent at CALO appears to be "far from adequate."[511]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

Example Projects

- Update to Portsmouth Village NRHP Nomination.[512]

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- "**Further studies on the suppressed black history of Carteret County/Down East** would be a tremendous resource. Research could be performed in partnership with local black groups."[513]
- Historic Structure Reports for historic buildings in Portsmouth Village.[514]
- Oral history interviews of people of African descent who have lived or worked in the area (identify narrators, conduct oral histories, interpret content, and transcribe existing oral histories).[515]

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[509] Anne Mitchell Whisnant and David Whisnant, "Gateway to the Atlantic World: Cape Lookout National Seashore Historic Resource Study," 2015, esp. 5 (including material in block quote), 25, 31, 59, 106–29, 168, 219–39.

[510] Whisnant and Whisnant, "Gateway to the Atlantic World."

[511] Whisnant and Whisnant, "Gateway to the Atlantic World," esp. 223. For more gaps and recommendations, see pp. 219–29.

[512] This document is not in documents we reviewed for this project but came up in post-survey correspondence.

[513] CALO, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[514] Whisnant and Whisnant, "Gateway to the Atlantic World," esp. 229.

[515] Whisnant and Whisnant, "Gateway to the Atlantic World," esp. 229.

- Systematic archeological investigations, in partnership with descendent communities (to include, among other things, Shell Castle, people of African descent living in Tuscarora communities, Black cemeteries on the island).[516]
- Research on abandonment or forced relocation of coastal communities.
- Research into Henry Pigott House and the Pigott family, in partnership with Friends of Portsmouth Island and others.[517]
- Revision of interpretive material, especially at Portsmouth, to reflect updated NRHP nomination.[518]
- History of ships that carried enslaved people through the area.
    - "This area is a documented Middle Passage arrival site," and "work is being done on getting a Middle Passage marker placed in the area and if this takes place, it would present an opportunity for an Interpretive Program."[519]
- Stories of enslaved people who constructed channels between creeks, and the use of these channels to self-emancipate: "The channels that connect Harlowe Creek, Clubfoot Creek, and Adams Creek were hand dug by enslaved people many years before it was dredged to become the intracoastal waterway. These connected creeks served as the 'Waterway to Freedom'. One could steal a sailing canoe and head North through the creeks to find a ship waiting for them on the Neuse River."[520]
- Research on African American pilots, sailors, and others who worked in maritime industries.
- Research and oral histories about Nuusiokk people who lived here.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, training for staff, additional studies or research projects, additional publications/pamphlets, enhanced website content, and additional partnerships (internal to the NPS).
- Potential partners that were identified in survey responses include the local historical society and the Eastern Carolina Foundation for Equity and Equality.[521]

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[516] Whisnant and Whisnant, "Gateway to the Atlantic World," esp. 229.

[517] NPS, "Cape Lookout National Seashore: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2011, esp. 73.

[518] Whisnant and Whisnant, "Gateway to the Atlantic World," 2015.

[519] CALO, survey response, October 12, 2021; CALO, survey response, September 11, 2021.

[520] CALO, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[521] CALO, survey response, October 12, 2021; CALO, survey response, August 25, 2021.

- "It would be really helpful to have more staff involved with the Interpretation Team. Perhaps a full-time historian . . . Or, even partnerships with universities where graduate students might work on thesis involving some of these African American stories."[522]

[522] CALO, survey response, August 25, 2021.

Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site (CARL)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1968

State(s): North Carolina

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site communicates the legacy of Carl Sandburg and the stories of his works, life, and importance as an American poet, writer, and social activist by preserving Connemara, the farm in Flat Rock, North Carolina where Sandburg and his family lived for the last 22 years of his life (1945–1967)."[523]

Materials Reviewed:

- 33 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/carl
- 2 reports
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site." 2014.
    - Whisnant, David E., and Anne Mitchell Whisnant. "Black Lives, Whitened Stories: From the Low Country to the Mountains: A Historic Resource Study of Black History at Rock Hill-Connemara." 2021.
- 2 survey responses from employees or partners of CARL

Relevant Time Period(s):

- US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodations, Equal Employment, Voting Rights

NPS Themes:

- Expressing Cultural Values, Peopling Places

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Black artists, Black poets, Indigenous history, NPS hiring demographics, women's history

[523] NPS, "Foundation Document: Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site," 2014, 5.

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- Slavery, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Appalachian Trail Conservancy, Blue Ridge National Heritage Area, Buncombe County Greenways and Trails Commission, Carl Sandburg State Historic Site, Carolina Mountain Land Conservancy, Flat Rock's Exceptional Sandburg Helpers (FRESH), Flat Rock Playhouse Vagabond School of Drama, Friends of Carl Sandberg at Connemara, Inc., National Parks Conservation Association, North Carolina Wildlife Resources Commission, North Carolina Wildlife Federation, USFWS

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

The main interpretive narrative of this site is the "life and works of Carl Sandburg" and his legacy.[524] When asked in 2022 how African American stories are included in this narrative, park staff responded,

- "We are working to tell the story of African Americans who lived on the site. The first owner was a slave holder, and a later owner employed Black laborers. We are currently developing waysides and other interpretive media to tell this story"[525]
- "Because the buildings were built and inhabited by enslaved persons, this is a part of our narrative. We are in the process of designing new waysides for these buildings. We currently have a black history article on our website featuring this history, photographs of black domestic workers at the site, and an oral history audio snippet."[526]

The site's Foundation Document (2014) mentions a need to conduct an Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Flat Rock and surrounding landscapes that recognizes contributions of Indigenous, African American, and Scots Irish residents.[527]

The site's HRS (2016) discusses how, in the 1990s, a superintendent started "a recruitment program at Voorhees College, a historically black Episcopalian School nearby in Denmark, SC." It notes the creation of a "Cooperative Education program" and the hiring of "a black female student" (unnamed) at CARL for a summer position in 1989, but it includes no discussion of whether the program continued. Other than that, there no discussion of Black experiences, history, individuals, or equity efforts.[528]

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[524] CARL, survey response, February 3, 2022; CARL, survey response, February 2, 2022.

[525] CARL, survey response, February 3, 2022.

[526] CARL, survey response, February 2, 2022.

[527] NPS, "Foundation Document Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site," 2014, 15.

[528] Ann E. McCleary and Donna Quinn Butler, "'The First National Historic Site Dedicated to a Poet:' A History of the Carl Sandburg Home, NHS, 1968–2008," 2016, 186.

A 2021 study is an HRS dedicated specifically to Black history at Rock Hill/Connemara. Its aim is to "reframe the history of the site to encompass its entire post-1830s history, focusing both on specific aspects of Black life at the site and on the larger involvements and commitments of the white property owners that, in turn, shaped Black lives there." The original SOW from the NPS further explains its aims:

> The architecture and cultural landscape of Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site represent stories of slavery and the subordination of black workers, but this history has gone untold. At least one building (known as the Chicken House or Wash House) was built by enslaved people; it is also possible that enslaved people used it as a dwelling, although the building's subsequent functions (housing chickens and/or the laundry) have subsumed its identity. Also, the two-story Gothic Revival building situated to the west of "the big house" was built specifically as a dwelling for enslaved people. According to oral tradition, the Sandburg family called this building the "Swedish House" because it reminded Sandburg of architecture in his ancestral country of Sweden. Although Sandburg's renaming may have been innocuous, the deferral to Sandburg-era "authenticity" silences the fact that the Swedish House has an important story to tell about enslaved people at the site. The African Americans who were employed by the Smyth family continued to live and work in these buildings and spaces, but we know nothing about their lives.

The report's authors note that calling it the Carl Sandburg site complicates addressing history of Black experiences, since Sandburg only moved there in 1946. It states that the focus on Sandburg serves to silence Black stories from the site, both perpetuating and obscuring the "white supremacist" actions of other owners of the site.[529]

Two of 33 webpages reviewed have content that addresses African American history. One relates to Sandburg's involvement in the civil rights movement in the early 1900s, including his publication of a pamphlet on the Chicago Race Riots of 1919. For this and other work, Sandburg received a lifetime achievement award from the NAACP in 1965.[530] The other website discussing Black history is about how Rock Hill and Connemara were built partially through the labor of enslaved people. After emancipation, Black people continued living and working in Rock Hill/Connemara. The page contains a brief biography of James Melvin Fisher, a Black man who worked for the Smyth family at Connemara. It also contains an interview conducted with Fisher in 1975.[531]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

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[529] David E. Whisnant and Anne Mitchell Whisnant, "Black Lives, Whitened Stories: From the Low Country to the Mountains: A Historic Resource Study of Black History at Rock Hill-Connemara," 2021.

[530] See NPS, "Sandburg: Civil War and Civil Rights," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/sandburg-civil-war-and-civil-rights.htm; and NPS, "Black History at Rock Hill/Connemara," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/carl-black-history.htm.

[531] NPS, "Black History at Rock Hill/Connemara," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/carl-black-history.htm.

Example Projects

- David E. Whisnant and Anne Mitchell Whisnant, "Black Lives, Whitened Stories: From the Low Country to the Mountains: A Historic Resource Study of Black History at Rock Hill-Connemara," 2021.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- Ethnographic study to better understand local and regional cultural groups and landscapes (recommended in Foundation Document).[532]
- **Oral history project related to the Voorhees Cooperative Education Program**.[533]
- Updates to NRHP documentation using information from the 2021 Whisnant and Whisnant report.[534]
- **Research on Sandburg's involvement in the civil rights movement and historical context around White supporters of the civil rights movement**. A survey respondent wrote, "We have requested funding to explore and contextualize the Sandburg's views on race & civil rights."[535]
- Interpretative content based on the stories brought to light in the 2021 HRS.
- Research project on the history of poets and poetry in the South that discusses African American poets.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, additional training (especially "on discussing these topics and community engagement"), additional studies or research projects, enhanced website content, and additional partnerships (both internal and external to the NPS).[536]

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[532] NPS, "Foundation Document Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site," 2014, 15.

[533] McCleary and Butler, "'The First National Historic Site Dedicated to a Poet,'" 185–86.

[534] Whisnant and Whisnant, "Black Lives, Whitened Stories," see introduction for note on how this report is intended to help support updates to NRHP nominations.

[535] CARL, survey response, February 3, 2022.

[536] CARL, survey response, February 3, 2022; CARL, survey response, February 2, 2022.

Castillo de San Marcos National Monument (CASA)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1924

State(s): Florida

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Built by the Spanish in St. Augustine to defend Florida and the Atlantic trade route, Castillo de San Marco National Monument preserves the oldest masonry fortifications in the continental United States and interprets more than 450 years of cultural intersections."[537]

Note: Co-managed with Fort Matanzas National Monument (FOMA)

Materials Reviewed:

- 30 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/casa/
- 4 reports
    - NPS. "Castillo de San Marcos Handbook 149." 1993.
    - Arana, Luis. "Castillo De San Marcos National Monument." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1996.
    - Brown, Jennifer. "Castillo De San Marcos National Monument, Historic Resource Study." 1997.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Castillo de San Marcos." 2016.
- 1 survey response from employees or partners of CASA

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Early Inhabitants and Native Americans, 3500 BC–AD 1600; European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Underground Railroad and Abolition

NPS Themes:

- Changing Role of the United States in the World Community, Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape, Transforming the Environment

[537] NPS, "Foundation Document: Castillo de San Marcos," 2016, 5.

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Architecture, British colonialism, Civil War, Indigenous history, Spanish colonialism, use of enslaved labor to build and enrich colonial powers, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery

Partner Organizations: None identified.

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

The primarily interpretive narrative of the site is the "The construction of the Castillo and the resilience and determination of St. Augustine's inhabitants." An interpretive ranger at the site noted, "we often incorporate the story of Fort Mose and teach visitors about how enslaved people came to St. Augustine to gain their freedom."[538] No survey respondents made suggestions as to what additional African American stories should be told at the site.

An NPS handbook about the site (1993) discusses the presence of Black individuals at the site without any discussion of their experiences. It briefly mentions, "Eighteen black slaves belonging to the crown joined the labor gang in 1687. Convicts and slaves received rations but no wage," and that after a smallpox epidemic in 1672, "The governor asked the crown to have Havana send 30 slaves" for replacement labor. It notes that at the end of the 1600s, "there was more black labor for both fields and fortifications," and that some of these people had escaped from plantations in the Carolinas. It discusses the Spanish policy of sanctuary to self-emancipated slaves from British colonies and relates that to the history of Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, which later became known as Fort Mose, the nearby NHL that the report calls "the oldest free black settlement in the United States."[539]

The NRHP nomination for the Castillo de San Marcos notes that construction labor for the fortification included "local Indians, convicts, African-American slaves, and occasionally Spanish soldiers labored alongside the skilled workers imported from Cuba." It also notes that area tensions between British and Spanish colonies were exacerbated over issues of "runaway slaves."[540]

The HRS for the site (1997) identifies the site's significance as "the oldest remaining European fortification in the United States" and "a reminder of the century of conflict between the European powers for control of North America," additionally illustrating "the waning power of Spain in the Southeast." It focuses on colonial occupation and development of St. Augustine under European rule, and then on American military occupation. It notes that the construction of the fortifications was by "Local Indians, convicts, African-American slaves, and occasionally Spanish soldiers," and

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[538] CASA, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[539] NPS, "Castillo de San Marcos Handbook 149," 1993, esp. 15, 19, 32, 62.

[540] Luis Arana, "Castillo De San Marcos National Monument," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1996, 22, 25–26.

skilled workers from Cuba. It discusses the first and second Seminole Wars' relation to the site and notes the tensions of Civil War surrounding slavery without mentioning area specifics.[541]

The site's Foundation Document (2016) notes that Confederate forces occupied the site during the Civil War and that it was used as a prison for Tribes like the Seminole, Cheyenne, Kiowa, and other groups facing displacement. Interpretive Themes include "America's First Great Melting Pot" of people, from "American Indians to European soldiers and settlers to enslaved and free African Americans," and states that "these original walls provide tangible evidence of the colonial beginnings of cultural diversity as well as the challenges cultural differences can create." Other than that, no mention of the experiences of individuals who experienced slavery, and no discussion of communities or descendants who might partner with the park.[542]

Four of 30 webpages reviewed include content on Black or African American history or experiences. Three of the pages are thematic in content. A page entitled "Who Built the Castillo?" discusses how free and enslaved people of African descent made up portions of the labor force for the construction of the Castillo.[543] One page on "Colonial African Americans," focuses on Fort Mose, which became a safe haven for enslaved people of African descent escaping from the Carolinas. Fort Mose began when, in 1738, the Governor granted a plot of land 2 miles north of St. Augustine for the development of a settlement and fort. It became the first legally established free African settlement in north America.[544]

Another webpage describes "African Americans (1821 to Present Day)." In 1866, African Americans created the community of Lincolnville. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, three schools opened for African Americans in St. Augustine. After the desegregation of the federal workforce in 1945, many of the workers who did preservation work at Castillo de San Marcos were African American. The fort became a meeting point for civil rights activists because the grounds could not be legally segregated. In 1980, Martha B. Aikens became the park's first Black superintendent.[545]

One page has extensive focus on women of African descent connected to the fort. It discusses Isabel de Los Rios, a free Black woman who ran her own bakery business in the 1600s, and Ana Maria de Escovar, an enslaved African who fled to Florida from Carolina in 1715. It is believed that Ana Maria and her husband, Francisco Menendez, lived with the acting governor of St. Augustine. The two eventually obtained their freedom and resided at Fort Mose. A 1759 census showed there to be 23 women living at Fort Mose.[546]

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[541] Jennifer Brown, "Castillo De San Marcos National Monument, Historic Resource Study," 1997, 7, 11, 17, 29, 32.

[542] NPS, "Foundation Document: Castillo de San Marcos," 2016, esp. 3–6, 9.

[543] "Who Built the Castillo?" CASA webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/casa/learn/historyculture/who-built-the-castillo.htm.

[544] "Colonial African Americans," CASA webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/casa/learn/historyculture/african-americans-in-st-augustine-1565-1821.htm.

[545] "1821 to Present-day," CASA webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/casa/learn/historyculture/african-americans-1821-to-present-day.htm.

[546] "Women," CASA webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/casa/learn/historyculture/women.htm.

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- Research on the individuals who built these structures (whether free or enslaved) and what life was like for them.[547]
- Research on the people who labored to maintain the fort in the 1800s and 1900s.
- **Oral histories** with people who have maintained the fort over the past 50 years.
- Multi-park study on the experiences of people of African descent during the Seminole Wars.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional studies or research projects, additional training (especially "training on correct terminology when it comes to slavery"), and additional publications/pamphlets.[548]

[547] Luis Arana, "Castillo De San Marcos National Monument," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1996, 22.

[548] CASA, survey response, August 25, 2021.

Charles Pinckney Home National Historic Site (CHPI)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1988

State(s): South Carolina

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Charles Pinckney National Historic Site communicates the legacy of Charles Pinkney, a framer and signer of the United States Constitution and a leading public servant of the new nation, by preserving a 28-acre remnant of his coastal plantation Snee Farm and interpreting the lives of its inhabitants, enslaved as well as free."[549]

Note: Managed jointly with Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park (FOSU)

Materials Reviewed:

- 12 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/chpi/
- 5 reports
    - NPS. "Historical Overview: Charles Pinckney National Historic Site." 1994.
    - Blythe, Robert W., Emily Kleine, and Steven H. Moffson "Charles Pinckney National Historic Site: Historic Resource Study." 2000.
    - Matthews, Marty. "Charles Pinckney: a Forgotten Founder." PhD diss., North Carolina State University, 2001.
    - Gibbs, Tyson. "Charles Pinkney National Historic Site: African Americans at Snee Farm Plantation, Mount Pleasant, South Carolina." 2006.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Charles Pinckney National Historic Site." 2016.
- 1 survey response from employees or partners of CHPI

Relevant Time Period(s):

- European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Underground Railroad and Abolition, Desegregation of Public Accommodations

[549] NPS, "Foundation Document: Charles Pinckney National Historic Site," 2016, 4.

NPS Themes:

- Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- African American lifeways (funerary, foodstuff, artisanry and craftmanship), agriculture, archeology of Black communities, early colonial period slavery, Indigenous history, labor history, Reconstruction, slavery on indigo plantations, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation

Partner Organizations:

- Fort Sumter-Fort Moultrie Trust, Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

Site staff noted that the stories of African American individuals are included in the main interpretive narrative at Snee Farm:

> The site preserves the 28-acre core remnant of Snee Farm plantation, once owned by Charles Pinckney, a signer of the Constitution. Founders, both free and enslaved, worked and lived at Snee Farm plantation. Their innovation and labor transformed the South Carolina Lowcountry into an agricultural powerhouse and helped weave the fabric of a new nation. . . . African American stories are included in this narrative. The site interprets the lives of the enslaved residents of Snee Farm who cultivated rice and indigo. The site also interprets the Gullah Geechee, descendants of African Americans who were enslaved in the Lowcountry.[550]

The site's enabling legislation describes the purpose of the park "to preserve the site of Pinckney's former home at Snee farm . . . and to interpret his life, the lives of Snee Farm's free and enslaved inhabitants, and the early history of the United States." The Foundation Document elaborates on this and discusses the people that Pinckney enslaved.[551]

A historical overview for the site, published by the NPS in 1994, includes a section on the "African American Experience" during discussion of the early colonial period. A biography of Pinckney within the report mentions that he rejected any Constitution prohibiting slavery. A later section notes Pinckney owned 58 slaves in Christ Church Parish, and possibly more in Charleston,

[550] CHPI, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[551] NPS, "Foundation Document: Charles Pinckney National Historic Site," 2016, esp. 3, 5.

noting that "no family papers or Snee Farm plantation records are known" It describes archeological evidence of cabins of enslaved people and other related infrastructure in the region.[552]

The site's HRS (2000) notes that at least 40 people were enslaved at Snee Farm as of 1787. It includes a detailed discussion of the quarters of enslaved people, the role of enslaved laborers in rice cultivation, and the skills of these individuals. Accompanying the text are numerous illustrations and photos.[553] A 2001 PhD dissertation entitled "Charles Pinckney: A Forgotten Founder," by Marty Matthews, discusses slavery and the experiences of enslaved individuals throughout the text. Matthews writes, "There was only one place for blacks in South Carolina during Pinkney's life: bondage." The dissertation includes discussion of insurrections, the plantation class/aristocracy reliance on enslaved labor, and how discussions surrounding slavery played a crucial role in Constitutional debates and in early state legislature.[554]

A report entitled, "African Americans at Snee Farm Plantation, Mount Pleasant, South Carolina" (published by NPS in 2006, originally published 2001) covers African American experiences in more depth than any other material reviewed for this site. Chapters include "Ethnic Origins of Ancestral Population and Relationships with Other Racial Groups," "Domestic Life and Children's Activities," "Daily Work Life and Relationships with Farm Owners," "Foodstuffs," "Churches and Other Religious Institutions," "Health and Medicinal Practices," "Local Crafts and Craftsmen," "Funerary and Burial Customs," and "Waterborne and Commercial Activities." The author, Tyson Gibbs, explains how engaging the descendent community was central to research efforts:

> What makes the Snee Farm project unique is the availability of descendants of persons associated with the Snee Farm Plantation at various points over the past 100 years. Many of the descendants of the original slaves also at one time worked for owners of the Snee Farm properties.[555]

Gibbs's report centralizes experiences of Black individuals.

Three of 12 webpages include content on African American or Black history or experiences. Two of these are in passing: a biography of Charles Pinckney discusses his opposition to the Missouri Compromise, and a biography of Henry Laurens, prominent South Carolina trader turned politician, discussing Laurens's participation in the Transatlantic slave trade and his private opposition to slavery.[556] The only website to discuss the experiences of Black individuals is a page about enslaved people who lived at Snee Farm. It notes that regionally, enslaved people made up 90 percent of the population, and that two in every three people born into slavery on Lowcountry rice

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[552] NPS, "Historical Overview: Charles Pinckney National Historic Site," 1994, esp. 7, 35–39.

[553] Blythe, Kleine, and Moffson, "Charles Pinckney National Historic Site: Historic Resource Study," esp. 10, 28–39.

[554] Marty Matthews, "Charles Pinckney: a Forgotten Founder" (PhD diss., North Carolina State University, 2001), quote from page 10.

[555] Tyson Gibbs, "Charles Pinkney National Historic Site: African Americans at Snee Farm Plantation, Mount Pleasant, South Carolina," 2006 (originally prepared September 2001), quote from page 8.

[556] "Charles Pinckney," CHPI webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/chpi/learn/historyculture/charles-pinckney.htm; "Henry Laurens," CHPI webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/chpi/learn/historyculture/henry-laurens.htm.

plantations died before their sixteenth birthdays. It also noted that those enslaved at Snee Farm cultivated rice and indigo and were part of the Gullah community.[557]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Ethnographic Overview and Assessment for CHPO and FOSU (PMIS #314566).

Example Projects

- Tyson Gibbs, "Charles Pinkney National Historic Site: African Americans at Snee Farm Plantation, Mount Pleasant, South Carolina," 2006.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Archeological investigations** of Snee Farm area.
    - "The importance of the Snee Farm site lies in its archeological potential and the high integrity of its known archeological sites. As interest in the slave community at Snee Farm and the Gullah Geechee culture of the South Carolina Lowcountry continues to grow, a radar scan of the park can identify additional archeological sites and resources."[558]
- Research on agricultural uses of Snee Farm after emancipation, and Black communities during that period.
    - "The site needs to do research on the agricultural use of Snee Farm after emancipation. The site remained a working farm into the 1930s. Formerly enslaved people formed freedmen's communities during the Reconstruction Era in Mount Pleasant and continued to labor on plantations like Snee Farm and Boone Hall."[559]
- Web content based on existing research on African American experiences at Snee Farm.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, and additional partnerships (external to the NPS).[560]

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[557] "African Americans," CHPI webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/chpi/learn/historyculture/africanamericans.htm.

[558] NPS, "Foundation Document: Charles Pinckney National Historic Site," 2016, 27.

[559] CHPI, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[560] CHPI, survey response, August 25, 2021.

Chattahoochee River National Recreation Area (CHAT)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1978

State(s): Georgia

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Chattahoochee River National Recreation Area preserves and protects the natural and cultural resources of the 48-mile Chattahoochee River corridor, from Buford Dam to Peachtree Creek, for the benefit and enjoyment of present and future generations."[561]

Materials Reviewed:

- 0 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/chat/
    - The park lacks a History and Culture page.[562]
- 5 reports
    - Brown, Lenard E. "Historic Resource Study Chattahoochee River National Recreation Area and the Chattahoochee River Corridor." 1980.
    - NPS. "Chattahoochee River National Recreation Area Historic Resource Study." 2007.
    - NPS. "Chattahoochee River National Recreation Area: Long-Range Interpretive Plan." 2011.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Chattahoochee River National Recreation Area." 2017.
    - Brock, Julia, Ann McCleary, Keri Adams, and William Schulz. "Chattahoochee River Administrative History." 2021.
- 2 survey responses from employees or partners of CHAT

Relevant Time Period(s):

- US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodations, Equal Employment

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[561] NPS, "Foundation Document: Chattahoochee River National Recreation Area," 2017, 5.

[562] Park staff noted that improving web content is a goal for the park once additional interpretive and cultural resource staff are onboarded. NPS comments on draft report, August 2023.

NPS Themes:

- Transforming the Environment

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Civil Rights, environmental history, Indigenous history, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Chattahoochee National Park Conservancy

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

When asked what the primary interpretive narrative of the park is and whether it includes stories of African Americans, one park employee wrote,

> The Chattahoochee River and its watershed provide the primary undeveloped greenspace and water source for metro-Atlanta. The park contains cultural resources dating thousands of years and 19th and 20th century examples of mills, earthworks, and a farm. The unique geology of the Brevard Fault supports a variety of native plants and animals. . . . We have limited information about African American history at the park, including the name of the builder of Hewlett Lodge and some information about the convict labor used to build a stretch of railroad near Roswell.[563]

Another employee noted, "It is very limited at CHAT."[564]

The park HRS from 1980 only discusses the presence of African Americans in passing, like race-based enslavement of Black individuals by White and Cherokee people in the 1800s. There is no meaningful discussion of the stories of these people.[565]

An updated HRS for the park (2007) includes more discussion of Black history than the 1980 report, but still falls short of telling the experiences of Black individuals in the area. It addresses Cherokee stories in much more depth than the 1980 HRS. The report discusses systems of slavery throughout the report, industrialization of the region and the role of Black workers in that, and that

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[563] CHAT, survey response, August 26, 2021.

[564] CHAT, survey response, August 26, 2021.

[565] Lenard E. Brown, "Historic Resource Study Chattahoochee River National Recreation Area and the Chattahoochee River Corridor," 1980, 11, 25–26.

sharecroppers and tenant farmers in the region included Black and White families.[566] Its authors note,

> because the park's land acquisition program favored recreational opportunities and natural resource protection, many areas selected for park units were favored for their outstanding natural qualities; acquisition of cultural resources was often only incidental. However, as stated in CRNRA's enabling legislation, preservation of cultural resources is a primary purpose of the park.[567]

This is true for many parks across the region. This long-term neglect of cultural resource preservation, protection, and interpretation is evidenced by the fact that the current CHAT website has no "History & Culture" landing page at all, one of the only parks in the region with this omission.[568]

The park LRIP (2007) attempts to address this. Interpretive themes stress recreational access and proximity to Atlanta, acknowledges use of the river as a primary water source, and recognizes that the corridor "contains a rich record of human history dating back thousands of years," while also stressing the biological and geological diversity of region. Cultural sites in the park identified in the LRIP include "19th-century mill ruins, the historic Hyde Farm, historic houses like Hewlett Lodge and Allenbrook, pre-Civil War structures built by Georgians held as slaves."[569]

And yet, the park Foundation Document (2017) does little to build on the need for additional research and interpretation of cultural resources in the park. The only mention of African American history is, in the section on ethnographic and archeological resources, the opportunity to try "Partnering with academia, historical societies, nonprofit organizations, professional and social cultural societies, especially national ones such as the Association for the Study of African American Life and History . . ." The report contains no other mention of African American individuals and does not address slavery.[570]

The Administrative History for CHAT (2021) includes more coverage of historical African American experiences than any other materials reviewed for this park. It mentions the Native American slave trade but does not touch on the enslavement of people of African descent within the park. It mentions that prominent civil rights activists from Atlanta, including Hosea Williams and Andrew Young, advocated for a national park to protect the Chattahoochee River. It also discusses segregation and White flight in the metropolitan Atlanta area and how that played out in recreational parks. It notes that, in the 1980s,

> African Americans made up two-thirds of Atlanta city residents. Though not all suburbanites fled from the city to escape the dismantling of Jim Crow, the effect of the rapid suburban growth was to entrench racial separatism. At least some

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[566] NPS, "Chattahoochee River National Recreation Area Historic Resource Study," 2007, esp. 8, 12, 16, 34, 37, 41, 58, 69

[567] NPS, "Chattahoochee River National Recreation Area Historic Resource Study," 2007, 5.

[568] See "Chattahoochee River National Recreation Area," CHAT webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/chat/.

[569] NPS, "Chattahoochee River National Recreation Area: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2011, 9–10.

[570] NPS, "Foundation Document: Chattahoochee River National Recreation Area," 2017, 19.

> suburbanites wanted it that way and saw the Chattahoochee River as a welcome, exclusive barrier.

That same year, the park held an "Inner-City Youth Program," attendees of which appear to have been mostly children of color, and the report includes a photograph of Coretta Scott King with children from the Youth Conservation Corps. The report discusses segregation at recreational parks in Georgia.[571]

Visitation to the park has reflected the lack of focus on Black experiences in historical research and interpretation. The park superintendent from 2000–2007, Kevin Cheri, was African American. The authors of the administrative history write,

> Cheri promoted diversity as a goal during his tenure and created a more inclusive staff at the park. He took leadership at the regional level, producing the first draft of the Southeast Regional Recruitment Plan for "effective diversity recruitment" in 2003 . . . In 2004, the park had a "highly-diverse" staff with 53% of all staff (permanent, term, temporary, SCA and South Conservation Corps) being diverse, including 14 women, 3 Hispanics, 3 with disabilities, 9 African Americans, and 2 Native Americans. The following year, in 2005, Cheri filled 16 out of 23 positions with diversity candidates. . . . Cheri advocated promoting the park through Spanish-speaking newspapers and television stations, which increased Hispanic visitation.

Cheri also expanded diversity in public programming, including content for Black History Month, Asian American History Month, Native American Month, etc.[572] Despite these efforts, the LRIP notes that in the summer of 2010, only 2 percent of visitors were African American, elaborating, "Visitation by African Americans seems to be quite low, especially considering that U.S. Census data for 2010 shows that 43.1% of Fulton County residents and 23.8% of Cobb County residents are African American."[573]

A park employee touched on this same point in a survey response, and elaborated with potential research and interpretive projects that could change this:

> I would like to see African Americans and other people of the global majority represented in environmental education as students, leaders, interns, and interpreters. Our single interpreter does a fantastic job with this, but he is only one person. This park includes many civil war stories and entrenchments. The story of the African Americans is central to this war and should be researched and investigated to appeal to and attract the large population of African Americans in this area. Atlanta is also home to the Civil Rights Movement: then and now. I remember stories of Hosea Williams marching in Forsyth County to awaken the community and others to its racism. I'm sure there are many other stories that could be told along the river. I also think that fishing and other outdoor activities could provide interpretive cultural

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[571] Julia Brock, Ann McCleary, Keri Adams, and William Schulz, "Chattahoochee River Administrative History," 2021, quote from page 7, see also 13, 26, 261.

[572] Brock et al., "Chattahoochee River Administrative History," 2021, 92–102.

[573] NPS, "Chattahoochee River National Recreation Area: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2011, 12

stories, as well as farming in the floodplains and the use of the forest and its products for life-giving sustenance.[574]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Historical or ethnographic research of Cherokee and Muscogee Creek uses of Chattahoochee River**, in partnership with Cherokee Nation and Muscogee (Creek) Nation.
- **Oral histories about fishing on the Chattahoochee River**.
- Initiatives that help CHAT connect to other Atlanta-area parks focused on telling the story of civil rights (MALU), and other civil rights-focused parks (BICR, FRRI), including involvement of Hosea Williams and Andrew Young in advocating for the park.
- Research on suburbanization of metropolitan Atlanta in relation to Black families and recreation on the river, including segregation of recreation.
- Research on the history of enslaved individuals who lived near or traveled on the river.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Park staff indicated a need for additional studies or research projects, additional publications/pamphlets, additional staff, training for staff, additional partnerships (both internal and external to the NPS), and enhanced website content.

[574] CHAT, survey response, August 26, 2021.

Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park (CHCH)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1890

State(s): Georgia

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "The purpose of Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park is to preserve, protect, and interpret the nationally significant resources associated with the Civil War Campaign for Chattanooga and the 12,000 years of American Indian preserve on Moccasin Bend."[575]

Materials Reviewed:

- 41 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/articles/chch
- 10 reports
    - Tinney, Edward E., and Lenard E. Brown. "Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1985.
    - Civil War Sites Advisory Commission. "Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields." 1993.
    - NPS, et al. "Chattanooga Area Civil War Sites Assessment." 1997.
    - Civil War Sites Advisory Commission. "Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields: Technical Volume I: Appendices." 1993 (revised and reprinted 1998).
    - Civil War Sites Advisory Commission. "Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields: Technical Volume II: Battle Summaries." 1993 (revised and reprinted 1998).
    - Hanson, Jill K., and Robert W. Blythe. "Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park Historic Resource Study." 1999.
    - Christman, Abby, Blythe Semmer, and Carroll Van West. –Chickamauga - Chattanooga Civil War-Related Sites in Georgia and Tennessee MPS." National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Nomination Form. 2001.
    - The Trust for Public Land for Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park. "Preserving a Community's Civil War Heritage: A Guidebook for Georgia and Tennessee Landowners and Policy Makers." 2002.

[575] NPS, "Foundation Document: Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park," 2016, 5.

- NPS. "Moccasin Bend National Archeological District: Long Range Interpretive Plan." 2011.
- NPS. "Foundation Document: Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park." 2016.

- 1 survey response from employees or partners of CHCH

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Early Inhabitants and Native Americans, 3500 BC–AD 1600; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Underground Railroad and Abolition, Equal Employment

NPS Themes:

- Shaping the Political Landscape, Peopling Places

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Civil War, CCC, Indigenous history, Reconstruction, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow

Partner Organizations:

- Eastern National, Friends of Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, Friends of Moccasin Bend National Park, Outdoor Chattanooga, University of Tennessee at Chattanooga

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

The main interpretive narrative of CHCH is "The Chattanooga Campaign in the American Civil War." When asked if African American stories are part of that narrative, a survey respondent wrote, "Yes, we have done various programs regarding the role African Americans played during the battle. We also include their story in the brochure and the OnCell tour. We conduct special programs that also focus on this aspect."[576]

The NRHP nomination for the park (1985) notes that the CCC camps at Chickamauga were segregated, and that two of the four were African American camps. It explains, "The camps worked

[576] CHCH, survey response, February 4, 2022.

separately and so remained segregated over their nine-year tenure at the park. Some assignments, including the use of CCC enrollees as park guides, were not offered to the black workers." It does not discuss slavery, whether in the context of the Civil War or at these sites specifically, nor does it make any other mention of Black history or individuals.[577] The park HRS (1999) also mentions the segregated CCC camps and recommends further research on "the historic role of African-Americans in the area during the battle and park development periods."[578] The site assessment of the battlefields and how to protect them notes that the owner of an extant house (the Alexander house) "was one of the largest slave and landowners in Catoosa County" and that the blacksmith shop, operated by enslaved individuals, still stands. It also discusses another "large Southern slaveholder," John D. Gray, but not the people he enslaved. Several other buildings that were used to house enslaved people still stand in or near the park. The report mentions that Anderson Cemetery, first used during the war as a Confederate burial ground, was later used locally by Black families as a cemetery. While it discusses these topics, there is no connection made to the experiences of the Black individuals who lived this history.[579]

A 2001 NRHP nomination for Chickamauga-Chattanooga Civil War-Related Sites (1863–1947) briefly notes the presence of "contraband" camps where formerly enslaved people escaped to, that transportation routes for the war were "built by slave labor," and that cemeteries included in the area might include "slaves." There is no discussion of the experiences of the people whose lives made up this history.[580] A 2002 report discusses slavery as a central impetus for the Civil War but does not discuss the history or experiences of African American individuals involved in these campaigns or this region.[581]

A three-volume study undertaken by the Civil War Sites Advisory Commission (originally published in 1993, reprinted in 1998) notes slavery as a cause of the Civil War and discusses the labor of enslaved people building roads, refugee camps where Black families escaped to in order to self-emancipate, Black regiments, and the presence (and absence) of Black individuals in commemoration of the Civil War. These reports look at all Civil War sites and do not focus exclusively on sites related to the Chattanooga Campaign.[582]

CHCH's Foundation Document (2016) includes an interpretive theme that states, "The park is a place where identity and citizenship have been denied, defined, and won through conflict and compromise, from the American Indians to the Civil War, to modern civil rights." There is no

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[577] Edward E. Tinney and Lenard E. Brown, "Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1985, 88.

[578] Jill K. Hanson and Robert W. Blythe, "Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park Historic Resource Study," 1999, 59, 69.

[579] NPS, et al., "Chattanooga Area Civil War Sites Assessment," 1997.

[580] Abby Christman, Blythe Semmer, and Carroll Van West, "Chickamauga - Chattanooga Civil War-Related Sites in Georgia and Tennessee MPS," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Nomination Form, 2001.

[581] The Trust for Public Land for Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, "Preserving a Community's Civil War Heritage: A Guidebook for Georgia and Tennessee Landowners and Policy Makers," 2002, 1, 4.

[582] Civil War Sites Advisory Commission, "Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields," 1993; Civil War Sites Advisory Commission, "Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields: Technical Volume I: Appendices," 1993 (revised and reprinted 1998); Civil War Sites Advisory Commission, "Civil War Sites Advisory Commission Report on the Nation's Civil War Battlefields: Technical Volume II: Battle Summaries," 1993 (revised and reprinted 1998).

mention of slavery, the experience of Black soldiers, Black area residents, or how Black individuals fit into the history of Civil War commemorative efforts.[583]

The Long-Range Interpretive Plan for the site (2011) relates specifically to Moccasin Bend National Archeological District, part of the CHCH that was created in 2003. This segment preserves land encased in a bend in the Tennessee River at the base of Lookout Mountain, which the NPS manages the northern tip of. Moccasin Bend represents "the best preserved, most important, and most concentrated archeological assemblage of Southeastern American Indian cultures known to exist in the Tennessee Valley." Interpretive goals emphasize precontact use but also mention the Trail of Tears, as well as tying the site into the Civil War's Chattanooga Campaign. There is no mention of African American families who may have passed through the site over the years. There is a focus on collaborative efforts and outreach to African American, Hispanic, and Indigenous American audiences.[584]

Interpretive web content for the park discusses the experiences of Black individuals associated with the area's history in far more depth than any reports reviewed. Seven of 41 webpages reviewed address Black history. A biography of Hubbard Pryor explains that Pryor ser[ve]d in the 44th USCT, but after being taken prisoner by Confederates, he was forced to return to slavery. Hubbard is most known for two photos that were taken of him and then were widely reprinted to recruit Black men to enlist.[585]

Another page discusses the history of African American soldiers who participated in these battles, whether for the Union Army or as personal servants to the Confederate soldiers who enslaved them. It tells the story of a few Black men who had left the places they were enslaved and then fought at the Battle of Chickamauga: John McCline, Thomas Coles, Jack Hines, and Silas Chandler ("the most famous of the Confederate body servants at Chickamauga").[586] A brief biography of a White Confederate soldier named Sam Watkins elaborates on the practice of Confederate soldiers bringing African American "servants" (enslaved by the White soldiers) into the field, but it does not discuss the experience of the enslaved man.[587]

Some pages also mention slavery generally, like a biography of Confederate Major General Patrick Cleburne. Cleburne calls slavery the Confederacy's "most vulnerable point, a continued embarrassment, and in some respects an insidious weakness."[588] One page discusses enslaved people who lived on or passed through Moccasin Bend. It notes that the first enslaved people of African descent in the area were likely owned by Cherokee people. Once the territory was ceded to the United States in 1819, more enslaved people accompanied their enslavers. This page tells stories of specific individuals, like Jacob Cummings, who escaped from slavery in Moccasin Bend in 1839 and

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583 NPS, "Foundation Document: Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park," 2016, 9.

584 NPS, "Moccasin Bend National Archeological District: Long Range Interpretive Plan," 2011, esp. 3, 7, 9, 14, 30–32.

585 "Hubbard Pryor," CHCH webpage, last updated February 15, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/people/hubbard-pryor.htm.

586 "African American Participation in the Civil War Campaign For Chattanooga," CHCH webpage, last updated March 8, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/articles/chickamaugaafricanamericans.htm.

587 NPS, "Sam Watkins," webpage, March 12, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/people/sam-watkins.htm.

588 "Patrick Cleburne," CHCH webpage, last updated June 17, 2015, https://www.nps.gov/people/patrick-cleburne.htm.

traveled to Canada, where he became an active agent on the Underground Railroad. It also discusses that the Brown's Ferry Federal Road Trace was one of the major thoroughfares for the movement of people and goods, which included many groups of enslaved people who were being forced to travel to labor in another location. It notes that the forced movement of enslaved people through Moccasin Bend subsided after 1850 when the rail lines replaced roads as the primary means to transport people against their will to the cotton plantations of states like Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi.[589]

Two webpages discuss the experiences of Black individuals from later periods. One is a biography of Mark Thrash, a Black man and longtime employee of CHCH, which explains that Thrash was well known for his storytelling, lived in a cabin on the battlefield, and the White community called him "Uncle Mark."[590] Another is a history of the Women's Army Corps (WAC) at Chickamauga. One of the groups to train in a building on NPS property at Chickamauga was an all-Black segregated battalion, "the only all black WAC unit to deploy overseas."[591]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- Research on Civil War commemoration (especially given the role of Chickamauga as the first national military park, est. 1890), the historic context around it, and how this movement excluded Black individuals and stories (per recommendation in HRS for additional research on "the historic role of African-Americans in the area during the battle and park development periods"[592]).
- Additional studies on segregated Black CCC camps at Chickamauga and individuals who worked at them.

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[589] NPS, "Moccasin Bend: At the Crossroads of Slavery and Freedom," webpage, last updated March 8, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/articles/mobeslavery.htm.

[590] "Mark Thrash," CHCH webpage, last updated March 8, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/people/mark-thrash.htm.

[591] NPS (Brian Autry, Chris Barr, and Christopher Young), "The Women's Army Corps at Chickamauga," webpage, last updated January 11, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/articles/chickamaugawac.htm.

[592] Jill K. Hanson, and Robert W. Blythe, "Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park Historic Resource Study," 1999, 59, 69.

- **Research on experiences of Black individuals in these campaigns** (in more depth, stories of individuals) (per recommendation in HRS for additional research on "the historic role of African-Americans in the area during the battle and park development periods"[593]).
- Research on discrimination in recreational access/opportunities at Chickamauga and at Lookout Mountain.
- Research on experiences of people enslaved in the area before the war (reports mentioned that people were enslaved here, but do not tell their stories).
- Study on African American history related to Moccasin Bend (perhaps undertaken collaboratively with relevant tribes and African American descendent communities, as is recommended in the LRIP for Moccasin Bend).[594]
- Research into Black agricultural workers in the area post-Civil War era.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Park staff indicated the need for additional staff.

[593] Hanson and Blythe, "Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park Historic Resource Study," 59, 69.

[594] NPS, "Moccasin Bend National Archeological District: Long Range Interpretive Plan," 2011, esp. 30–32.

Christiansted National Historic Site (CHRI)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1952

State(s): US Virgin Islands

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Christiansted National Historic site in St. Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands, preserves, protects, studies, and interprets the 18th and 19th century Danish historic structures and surrounding landscape that represent the multiple economic, social, and cultural exchanges of the Caribbean's colonial history, including the Transatlantic Slave Trade and the international sugar exchange."[595]

Note: Managed jointly with Buck Island Reef National Monument (BUIS) and Salt River Bay National Historical Park and Ecological Preserve (SARI)

Materials Reviewed:

- 4 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/chri
- 3 reports
    - NPS. "Christiansted National Historic Site." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1976.
    - NPS. "Christiansted National Historic Site." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1999.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Christiansted National Historic Site." 2015.
- 0 survey responses from employees or partners of CHRI

Relevant Time Period(s):

- European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodations, Equal Employment,

NPS Themes:

- Changing Role of the United States in the Word Community, Peopling Places

[595] NPS, "Foundation Document: Christiansted National Historic Site," 2015, 4.

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Agriculture, archeology, Danish colonialism, Indigenous history, international slave trade, use of enslaved labor in developing colonial infrastructure (forts) and commerce (agriculture), women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Friends of the St. Croix, USVI National Parks

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

The NRHP nomination for Fort Christiansvaern, the Scale House, the Steeple Building, and the Old Customs House (1976) discusses Christiansted as the capital of the Danish West Indies from 1755 to 1871. It mentions in passing that the fort and warehouse were built by people enslaved by the Danish West India Guinea Company and notes that the company had a royal charter giving them a monopoly on trading enslaved people in Denmark. It notes that by 1751, "the island contained 120 sugar estates and 122 cotton estates worked by 1,900 slaves." But elsewhere in the report, the authors uncritically write that the Danish West Indies "became a major part of the 'Fabulous Sugar Islands' as the Lower Antilles were known. It was this prosperity that built St. Croix's substantial, attractive buildings and supported the planter's and merchant's gracious and luxurious way of life," without discussing the lives of the people enslaved on the island. The nomination notes that under US occupation, the Navy trained "native" nurses and formed the US Virgin Islands Navy Band: "Ironically, the only division of the Navy that Black Virgin Islanders could join was the band, for the service was still segregated at that time." Overall, the nomination includes substantial discussion of presence of Black individuals on the island without touching on the experiences of those individuals.[596]

The NHL nomination for Christiansted (1999) focuses primarily on the Danish colonial era. The authors write, "In the 1670s, colonists built their stone fort on the neck of this peninsula." There is no discussion of the enslaved individuals who built, moved through, or labored in Christiansted.[597]

In contrast, the site's Foundation Document (2015) centers African American experiences when discussing the site's history. The park's purpose mentions the "Transatlantic Slave Trade and the international sugar exchange." A significance statement notes that Christiansted is a site "where tens of thousands of enslaved Africans were transported to the Caribbean, disembarked, and sold at auction, serving as a tangible link and witness to the history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade" and

[596] NPS, "Christiansted National Historic Site," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1976, 6, 12, 38–39, 45–47.

[597] NPS, "Christiansted National Historic Site," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1999, 4.

that the regional economy depended on "a labor system of enslaved Africans and their descendants." It notes that many structures (warehouses, stables, forts) were built by enslaved people, and the interpretive themes emphasize the point that, "Despite these hardships, enslaved people maintained their cultural identity, and through their survival and human spirit they forever changed the island of St. Croix."[598]

Three of four webpages touch on African American experiences. One profiles David Hamilton Jackson (born in 1884), who grew up in Christiansted and was an important figure in the struggle for workers' rights and civil rights. He helped to organize the first labor union on St. Croix.[599] Another briefly mentions the 1733 revolt by enslaved people living on St. John, an important historical event that could use additional coverage here or elsewhere in park materials.[600]

Another webpage explains that Christiansted National Historic Site is a partner in the Slave Wrecks Project (SWP). Excavations focused on the grounds of the Danish West India and Guinea Company Warehouse, at the locations of the residences and activity areas associated with enslaved Africans (Royal Slaves) who lived and worked in the Danish governmental complex at Fort Christiansvaern.[601]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Christiansted National Historic Site, Buck Island Reef National Monument, and Salt River Bay National Historical Park and Ecological Preserve (PMIS #315687).
- Landscapes of Memory, Enslavement, and Place: Oral History and Ethnographic Interviews of St. Croix (PMIS #239239).

Example Projects

- Slave Wrecks Project.[602]

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Research on St. John insurrection of 1733 and its regional and global implications**, especially as relates to areas now within NPS sites on the Virgin Islands (possibly a multi-park study), and additional interpretive materials based on this research.
- Interpretation at Bandstand area (NRHP listed site) related to segregated US military and military occupation.

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[598] NPS, "Foundation Document: Christiansted National Historic Site," 2015, esp. 4–6, 10.

[599] "People," CHRI webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/chri/learn/historyculture/people.htm.

[600] "Stories," CHRI webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/chri/learn/historyculture/stories.htm.

[601] "Research," CHRI webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/chri/learn/historyculture/research.htm.

[602] "Research," CHRI webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/chri/learn/historyculture/research.htm.

- Research on impact of social service improvements offered by US military, and the role/impact of enslaved laborers in constructing colonial buildings.
- Archeological survey of "the paved courtyard of the warehouse, where the slave auctions took place," results of which would be used to guide interpretive efforts.[603]
- Additional interpretation of information uncovered in the SWP.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- n/a (no responses to the survey by park staff)

[603] NPS, "Foundation Document: Christiansted National Historic Site," 2015, 45.

Congaree National Park (CONG)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1976

State(s): South Carolina

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Congaree National Park protects, studies, and interprets the resources, history, stories, and wilderness character of the nation's largest remaining tract of southern old-growth bottomland forest and its associated ecosystems."[604]

Materials Reviewed:

- 4 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/cong/
- 11 reports
    - Hanson, Jill. "Historic Resources of Congaree Swamp National Monument." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1991.
    - Hanson, Jill. "Big Lake Cattle Mound." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1996.
    - Hanson, Jill. "Brady's Cattle Mound." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1996.
    - Hanson, Jill. "Cattle Mound #6." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1996.
    - Hanson, Jill. "Cooner's Cattle Mound." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1996.
    - Hanson, Jill. "Dead River Cattle Mound." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1996.
    - Hanson, Jill. "Dead River Dike." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1996.
    - Hanson, Jill. "Northwest Boundary Dike." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1996.
    - Hanson, Jill. "Bridge Abutments." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1996.
    - Hanson, Jill. "Cook's Lake Cattle Mound." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1996.

[604] NPS, "Foundation Document: Congaree National Park," 2014, 6.

    - NPS, "Foundation Document: Congaree National Park," 2014.

- 4 survey responses from employees or partners of CONG

Relevant Time Period(s):

- European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Underground Railroad and Abolition

NPS Themes:

- Developing the American Economy, Peopling Places

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Agriculture, Indigenous history, maroon communities, slavery, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Friends of Congaree Swamp (they sponsor "grants for research related to Congaree National Park's natural and cultural heritage"[605]), Southeast Rural Community Outreach (SRCO),[606] University of South Carolina.

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

When asked what the main interpretive narrative of the site is and how African American stories are included, park staff and partners responded:

- "How water has shaped the geomorphology and ecology of the bottomland hardwood forest . . . African American stories are included briefly in the park's main introductory film and in just one panel in the Visitor's Center."[607]

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[605] Friends of Congaree Swamp, "Research Grants," webpage, accessed February 25, 2022, https://friendsofcongaree.org/research-grants/.

[606] Southeast Rural Community Outreach, "Mission," webpage, accessed February 25, 2022, http://www.sercosc.org/.

[607] CONG, survey response, October 27, 2021.

- "Significance of the bottomland, old growth forest. . . . I haven't visited the park in about five years so I'm not sure if or how the stories have changed or how African Americans are now included in the narrative. African Americans were largely missing from the narrative during my research at the park. But this might have changed over time."[608]
- "The story of why and how this particular tract of old-growth floodplain wilderness (1) reflects the vast arc of human experience in SE North America, (2) continues to endure/persist when most other similar tracts were lost (to development, agricultural conversion, logging, and impoundment), and (3) can inform and inspire civic engagement about our collective (environmental and social) future. . . . Various Interpretive programs and media incorporate the role of slavery in construction of earthworks (dikes, cattle mounds, and the Norfolk-Southern RR causeway), agriculture, and boating; Maroon communities; Reconstruction-Era narratives (using Cedar Creek for Baptisms, etc.); the Jim Crow south (Tales of the Congaree and Julia Peterkin); and fishing traditions".[609]
- "The relationship between human beings and the landscape . . . primarily looking at the enslaved who once lived in and around the area of Congaree."[610]

Many cattle mounds in Congaree are listed in the NRHP, with periods of significance from approximately 1740–1900. These nominations note, "Farmers constructed many of the earthen structures in the swamp using slave labor." None substantively discusses the lives of the enslaved people who built these mounds. Potential future research could include a study on the people who enslavers forced to build these cattle mounds (both during the building of the mounds and the later ranching period).[611]

Two of four webpages reviewed discuss African American history. Both mention that the swamp served as a refuge for Black individuals who had escaped slavery (but neither defines or discusses maroon communities) to gather food, hunt, and fish.[612]

The park Foundation Document focuses primarily on natural resources. In its discussion of cultural resource sites, it notes that the park "protects a variety of archaeological and historical resources, but the cattle mounds and dikes are particularly important. The majority of these appear to have been built by slaves before the Civil War . . . African Americans, in particular, made

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[608] CONG, survey response, August 27, 2021.

[609] CONG, survey response, August 31, 2021.

[610] CONG, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[611] Jill Hanson, "Historic Resources of Congaree Swamp National Monument," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1991; Jill Hanson, "Cattle Mound #6," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1996; Jill Hanson, "Cooner's Cattle Mound," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1996; Jill Hanson, "Dead River Cattle Mound," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1996; Jill Hanson, "Brady's Cattle Mound," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1996; Jill Hanson, "Big Lake Cattle Mound," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1996; Jill Hanson, "Cook's Lake Cattle Mound," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1996.

[612] "Stories," CONG webpage, last updated May 25, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/cong/learn/historyculture/stories.htm; "People in the Floodplain," CONG webpage, last updated August 29, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/cong/learn/historyculture/history-culture.htm.

extensive use of the floodplain, both before the Civil War, when the swamp was a place of work, subsistence, and refuge, and after, when some individuals acquired land or worked as tenants."[613]

Two external studies completed in the past fifteen years provide quality research on Black communities at Congaree. One, by a group of public history students at the University of South Carolina, tells Reconstruction-era stories and how the local community has helped local families hold on to land originally purchased from the South Carolina Land Commission even to this day.[614] Another, a Master's thesis by Janae Davis, discusses how the park designation and management has disrupted traditional fishing.[615]

One survey respondent summarized the gaps in research and interpretation of African American stories at CONG:

> Indigenous presence on the land, their way of life, interactions with colonizers and how the Congaree became no more; Plantation life; MAROONS; history of the community and their landownership around the park, their deep historical connection to the park through hunting, fishing and foraging, and how that connection was attenuated due to park policies (see CONG staff), life of African Americans in the community and their connection to the park TODAY, steps to re-connect the community to the park.[616]

To address these shortcomings, CONG has initiated many cultural resource projects in the last several years (see "Upcoming Ongoing Projects" section below).

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Ethnographic Overview and Assessment (proposal structured but not funded as of November 2022; possibly to be combined with Cultural Landscape Inventory) (PMIS # 313173).
- Cultural Landscape Inventory (proposal structured but not funded as of November 2022; possibly to be combined with Ethnographic Overview and Assessment).
- Various ongoing partnership projects with the NPS Old-Growth Bottomland Forest Research and Education Center, the Congaree Biosphere Region, SRCO, and staff with American Rivers. David Shelly, Integrated Resources Program Manager for the park, noted that the following are some of the ongoing projects and discussions that the park is working on:
    - Oral histories (many more still needed).

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[613] NPS, "Foundation Document: Congaree National Park," 2014, esp. 73.

[614] Elizabeth Almlie, et al., "Prized Pieces of Land: The Impact of Reconstruction on African-American Land Ownership in Lower Richland County, South Carolina," University of South Carolina Public History Program, September 2009.

[615] Janae Davis, "A Tale of Two Landscapes: Examining Alienation and Non-Visitation Among Local African American Fishers at Congaree National Park" (Master's thesis, University of South Carolina, 2015).

[616] CONG, survey response, August 27, 2021.

- Ongoing discussions with community members who have offered to share local histories of a twentieth-century African American community associated with Bannister Bridge canoe launch site.
- Ongoing discussions (in very early stages) with American Rivers, Clemson University, and the Aldo Leopold Wilderness Research Institute focused on the intersection of contemporary African American experience and economics related to wilderness areas (including direct engagement in wilderness recreation and economic benefits of wilderness recreation to the local community) and heirs' property management.
- Literary connections including Edward Adam's *Tales of the Congaree* and Julia Peterkin (who is also associated with a Rosenwald School just across the river from the park in Calhoun County)
- Emergent conversations with a local African American congregation exploring options for creating a sculpture garden almost directly adjacent to the park[617]

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Historical research and oral histories regarding "local African American folklore, music, literature, art, and traditional uses (gathering herbs, foraging, etc.)."**[618]
  - "Historical plant foraging traditions for food, medicine, fiber arts, and more, as well as policy/programmatic options for nurturing the return of those traditional uses."[619]
  - "Like Beidler Forest, Congaree functioned as a 'resource commons' in both the ante- and post-bellum periods. We have almost no information that I know of about African American hunters, plant specialists, and herbalists who used the bottomlands. Janae Davis's work on the fisherfolk and their explicit identification as 'outdoors people' should offer a story of hope about diversity and inclusiveness on NPS sites that have long been seen as the preserve of white, mostly middle-class hikers and birders."[620]
- **Research and oral histories related to the role of African American people in the region as relates to farming**, across eras.
  - Especially the role of Black individuals in building the cattle mounds.[621]

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[617] CONG to Jackie Gonzales, email, October 20, 2022.

[618] CONG, survey response, August 31, 2021.

[619] CONG to Jackie Gonzales, email, October 20, 2022.

[620] CONG, survey response, October 27, 2021

[621] Jill Hanson, "Northwest Boundary Dike," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1996.

    - Research could also investigate the communities of enslaved people who built roads and bridges in the region.[622]
    - A discreet component of this initiative could include updates to the NRHP nominations for the cattle mounds.
- Research into maroon settlements in Congaree's swamps.
- Archeological investigations at some of the more degraded resources, like bridges.[623]
- Oral histories of African American communities in and around the park (up to the present), and interpretive content developed from these oral histories:
    - "There is so much more room for oral history that can extend into the towns and neighborhoods adjacent to the park and which document African American landscape stewardship over generations. . . . There is ample opportunity at Congaree to develop a more fulsome interpretive framework that puts both the pre-park history of African American landscape connections at the forefront, but also offers a hopeful story of how the Black families living adjacent to the park can benefit from the park's recreation and economic development opportunities. Oral histories should not just be collected, but integrated into interactive displays and as part of the apps that guide visitors through the park."[624]
- Integration of oral histories into interpretive content.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Park staff indicated the need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, additional training (especially "Interpretive training on the history and PRESENT of African Americans in the area"[625]), additional publications/pamphlets, enhanced website content, additional partnerships (internal to the NPS), and additional partnerships (external to the NPS, especially "community engagement" and partnerships with South Carolina State University and Claflin University, two HBCUs in the area).[626]

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[622] Jill Hanson, "Bridge Abutments," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1996.

[623] Hanson, "Bridge Abutments".

[624] CONG, survey response, October 27, 2021.

[625] CONG, survey response, August 27, 2021.

[626] CONG, survey response, August 27, 2021.

Cowpens National Battlefield (COWP)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1929

State(s): South Carolina

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Cowpens National Battlefield protects and commemorates for inspiration and education the history and landscape where on January 17, 1781, the American victory at Battle of Cowpens during the Southern Campaign was crucial to the successful outcome of the American Revolutionary War."[627]

Note: Managed jointly with Kings Mountain National Military Park (KIMO), Ninety Six National Historic Site (NISI), and Overmountain Victory National Historic Trail (OVVI).

Materials Reviewed:

- 19 webpages hosted by (or linked to from): https://www.nps.gov/cowp/
- 3 reports
    - Binkley, Cameron. "Cowpens National Battlefield Administrative History." 2002.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Cowpens National Battlefield." 2014.
    - Poplin, Eric C., and Charles F. Philips, Jr. "Biographies of African Americans, Native Americans and Women's Role in the Battle of Cowpens." 2020.
- 1 survey response from employees or partners of COWP

Relevant Time Period(s):

- European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework: Does not relate to one of these themes.

NPS Themes:

- Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Indigenous history, maritime history, Revolutionary War, women's history

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[627] NPS, "Foundation Document: Cowpens National Battlefield," 2014, 5.

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- Slavery, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations: None identified.

Analysis

COWP commemorates, preserves, and interprets the site of a crucial battle in the Southern Campaign of the American Revolutionary War. Current interpretation at the site does not substantively engage with Black or African American history or experiences. COWP's Foundation Document focuses on protecting historic resources like road segments and monuments and on interpreting military tactics used during the American Revolutionary War. It does not include substantive mention of Black or African American history.[628]

The site's Administrative History (2020) discusses the battle and describes early commemoration and preservation efforts at the site. The report includes a story wherein William Washington was saved "by an African-American body servant" (likely someone he enslaved). Otherwise, the report does not include descriptions of African American participation in the battle of Cowpens or American Revolutionary War battles more broadly.[629] The report does note that COWP actively recruited African American employees during an equal employment effort in the 1980s, but the effort and its limited successes were short-lived.[630] In the 1990s, park staff attempted to incorporate African American history into site programming, including "an appropriate exhibit in the visitor center and sen[ding] information packets to local schools during Black History Month." However, "these efforts generally focused on NPS sites that commemorate African-American heritage as opposed to specific information on blacks at Cowpens." Research by park staff revealed Black participation in the battle and COWP adjusted its exhibits accordingly.[631]

In 2020, the Association for the Study of African American Life and History (ASALH) used a grant from the NPS American Battlefield Protection Service "to prepare biographies of African Americans, Native Americans, and women who participated in or are associated with the Battle of Cowpens." The goal of the report was to provide staff and docents at COWP with biographies that could "expand their interpretive programs with the perspectives of people who are seldom represented in our historical narratives." The report authors identified 152 potentially relevant individuals to profile and narrowed their final list to 12.[632] Their pursuit of information was exhaustive and an exemplary model for other research projects:

> We sought information from a wide variety of primary and secondary sources, including military pension petitions, military service records, personal papers, censes, deeds, wills, inventories, court records, and newspaper accounts. We reviewed

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[628] NPS, "Foundation Document: Cowpens National Battlefield," 2014, 3–8.

[629] Cameron Binkley, "Cowpens National Battlefield Administrative History," 2020, 7.

[630] Binkley, "Cowpens National Battlefield Administrative History," 47–50.

[631] Binkley, "Cowpens National Battlefield Administrative History," 61.

[632] Eric C. Poplin and Charles F. Philips, Jr., "Biographies of African Americans, Native Americans and Women's Role in the Battle of Cowpens," 2020, 1–2.

> accounts published by known participants of the Battle of Cowpens concerning their experiences during the Revolutionary War. Much of this information is available online through genealogical databases and digital archives. We reached out to local libraries and historical societies for assistance in gathering information about specific individuals, employing a local researcher to delve into these archives in order to complete the research in the most efficient manner possible.[633]

The final list of 12 individuals included "African American Loyalists" captured as part of a British baggage train. Contextualizing the lives of the individuals, the report noted that additional "negroes" in British service were "not combatants but were serving as teamsters, pioneers (military engineers in today's parlance), smiths, cooks, and other support staff."[634] Other profiles include African Americans serving the "Patriot Cause," including Lemerick Farr, Andrew Ferguson, Francis Freeman, Dick Pickens, and Primus. The individuals represent varied experiences; some, like Farr and Pickens, were enslaved. Primus was a "free man of color."[635]

COWP's web content does not contain significant mention or discussion of Black or African American history or experiences. One of 20 webpages reviewed includes relevant content. A page titled "Patriot Minorities at the Battle of Cowpens" discusses 15 Black soldiers present at the battle.[636] The other 19 webpages do not include explicit mention of Black stories in discussions of notable military figures at the battle, military tactics, and the broader Southern campaign of the American Revolution.

Survey respondents indicated that although current site interpretation focuses on battle participants, the "entire narrative needs to be expanded upon, including research on the people who were at the sites."[637]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

Example Projects

- Cameron Binkley, "Cowpens National Battlefield Administrative History," 2002.
- Eric C. Poplin, and Charles F. Philips, Jr., "Biographies of African Americans, Native Americans and Women's Role in the Battle of Cowpens," 2020.

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[633] Poplin and Philips, "Biographies of African Americans, Native Americans and Women's Role in the Battle of Cowpens," 1–2.

[634] Poplin and Philips, "Biographies of African Americans, Native Americans and Women's Role in the Battle of Cowpens," 3.

[635] Poplin and Philips, "Biographies of African Americans, Native Americans and Women's Role in the Battle of Cowpens," 27, 33, 39, 66.

[636] "Patriot Minorities at the Battle of Cowpens," COWP webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/cowp/learn/historyculture/patriot-minorities-at-the-battle-of-cowpens.htm.

[637] COWP/KIMO/NISI/OVVI, survey response, September 17, 2021.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Interpretive project** to translate the biography content from the 2020 report into interpretive web content.
- Study of NPS equal opportunity/diversity hiring efforts in the 1970s, to span multiple parks and include oral history component.
- Biography project recommends research in the family papers of "higher profile men" and notes a lack of research into "what became of Loyalist African American prisoners."[638]
- Cooperative African American history interpretive project with other Southeastern American Revolution NPS units.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, additional publications/pamphlets, enhanced website content, and additional partnerships (external to the NPS, like the South Carolina African American Heritage Commission).[639]

[638] Poplin and Philips, "Biographies of African Americans, Native Americans and Women's Role in the Battle of Cowpens," 10.

[639] COWP/KIMO/NISI/OVVI, survey response, September 17, 2021.

Cumberland Gap National Historical Park (CUGA)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1940

State(s): Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "The purpose of Cumberland Gap National Historical Park is to preserve, protect, and interpret the geologic "doorway to the west"—the Cumberland Gap—through the southern Appalachian Mountains, together with the natural, historic, and cultural features that have made the area integral to and symbolic of centuries of American history."[640]

Materials Reviewed:

- 12 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/cuga/
- 4 reports
    - Unrau, Harlan D., and Michael F. Hart. "Restoration of Historic Features Wilderness Road 1780–1810: Cumberland Gap and Wilderness Road Special Resource Study." 2002.
    - Woods, Mark. "Chadwell Gap Coal Historic District: Determination of Eligibility." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 2011.
    - Sirna, Angela. "Recreating Appalachia: Cumberland Gap National Historical Park, 1922–1972." 2015.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Cumberland Gap National Historic Site." 2016.
- 1 survey response from employees or partners of CUGA

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Early Inhabitants and Native Americans, 3500 BC–AD 1600; European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Equal Employment

[640] NPS, "Foundation Document: Cumberland Gap National Historic Site," 2016, 5.

NPS Themes:

- Changing Role of the United States in the Word Community, Developing the American Economy, Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape, Transforming the Environment

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Appalachia, Civil War, frontier, Indigenous history, industrial extractive industries, memory, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- American Conservation Experience; American Hiking Society; Cave Research Foundation; Cumberland Gap Tunnel Authority; NPS Rivers, Trails, and Conservation Assistance Program[641]

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

When asked about the main interpretive narrative of the site and whether (if) African American stories are included, park staff responded,

> Cumberland Gap was the doorway to the west for American expansion and played a key role in the founding and development of the nation. . . . The park focuse[s] first on 18th century America but also on Civil War, Appalachian culture, and transportation and industry. . . . African American stories are not included in this narrative at this time.[642]

This lack of interpretive focus on Black stories is reflected on the webpage: zero of 12 webpages reviewed contain information on African American history or experiences, which includes at least one page related to the Civil War that does not mention slavery.[643]

Historic research done about the park also fails to mention African American individuals or experiences. A Special Resource Study on the Wilderness Road (2002) analyzes various stretches, but makes no mention of Black individuals who may have traveled on it or been forced to labor on it.[644] A Determination of Eligibility document for Chadwell Gap Coal Company Historic District (2011)

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[641] NPS, "Foundation Document: Cumberland Gap National Historic Site," 2016, 18, 22, 26.

[642] CUGA, survey response, February 8, 2022.

[643] "Civil War Comes to Cumberland," CUGO webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/cuga/learn/historyculture/civil-war-comes-to-cumberland-gap.htm.

[644] Harland D. Unrau and Michael F. Hart, "Restoration of Historic Features Wilderness Road 1780–1810: Cumberland Gap and Wilderness Road Special Resource Study," 2002.

notes that the site includes "a defunct coal mine, tipple, and coke processing and distribution complex" but does not discuss who worked at the site or who owned the site.[645]

The site's Foundation Document mentions that the Wilderness Road was first created and used by Indigenous peoples, and notes that, "The men, women, and children who crossed the Cumberland Gap came from all walks of life, from merchants and doctors to servants and enslaved people." Otherwise, there is no explicit discussion of Black experiences, and no discussion of related needs in the cultural resource recommendations at the end of the document.[646]

A PhD dissertation (2015) considers African American experiences in more depth than other reports, but still leaves room for additional research. It describes the area of Cumberland Gap as "the narrow pass in the mountains used by eighteenth-century pioneers," and notes that "Outsiders defined Appalachia as being socio-economically and culturally different from the rest of the country, which prompted reformers to focus their efforts on the area throughout the twentieth century. They sought to correct the socio-economic problems of Appalachia by restoring degraded physical environments and romanticizing the local culture, which made the NPS an important federal agent for land and social reform." None of the chapters or subheadings identify race or Black history/culture/peoples, although several chapters focus on "Human Conservation" and "Perceptions of Folk Around Cumberland Gap." In describing the late nineteenth-century Lincoln Memorial University, it notes "Ironically, the living memorial to the Great Emancipator excluded African Americans . . . [the founders] repeatedly assured donors that this school was for the descendants of loyal mountain whites, not a black school." It also notes, "The African-American population was small in this area, but they were at a further disadvantage during the Great Depression when they could not access the same kinds of services as whites despite federal stipulations that New Deal programs be nondiscriminatory." The dissertation also mentions discrimination in Job Corps efforts in the area in the 1960s.[647]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Black History in the Cumberland Gap Region, 1540–1930 (PMIS #231596).
- Historic Resource Study (PMIS #229842).

Example Projects

- None

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[645] Deborah Slaton and Liz Sargent, "Chadwell Gap Coal Historic District: Determination of Eligibility," 2011.

[646] NPS, "Foundation Document: Cumberland Gap National Historic Site," 2016, 3–4, 10, 34–36.

[647] Angela Sirna, "Recreating Appalachia: Cumberland Gap National Historical Park, 1922–1972" (PhD diss., Middle Tennessee State University, 2015), esp. 4, 71, 158, 246–55.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Special History Study of people of color on the Wilderness Road**, within the historical context of the westward expansion of American colonies in the late 1700s.
- Study on workers in the coal mine within what is now the park. Did the company have Black employees? Did mine development displace or impact Black communities?
- Oral histories with Black individuals from the region regarding relationships between local communities and the NPS.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Park staff indicated a need for additional studies or research projects, trainings for staff, and additional partnerships (both internal and external to the NPS).

Cumberland Island National Seashore (CUIS)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1972

State(s): Georgia

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Cumberland Island National Seashore maintains the primitive, undeveloped character of one of the largest and most ecologically diverse barrier islands on the Atlantic coast, while preserving scenic, scientific, and historical values and providing outstanding opportunities for outdoor recreation and solitude."[648]

Materials Reviewed:

- 0 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/cuis
    - The site lacks a History and Culture page.
- 3 reports
    - Seward, Joyce. "'1880 to the Present' an Oral History of Cumberland Island, Georgia." 1996.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Cumberland Island National Seashore." 2014.
    - NPS. "Long-Range Interpretive Plan: Cumberland Island National Seashore." 2017.
- 1 survey response from employees or partners of CUIS

Relevant Time Period(s):

- US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Racial Discrimination in Housing, Desegregation of Public Accommodations

NPS Themes:

- Transforming the Environment

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Agriculture, Civil War, Indigenous history, maritime, slavery, women's history

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[648] NPS, "Foundation Document: Cumberland Island National Seashore," 2014, 6.

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Gullah-Geechee Heritage Corridor, St. Marys Earth Keepers, Wild Cumberland[649]

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

When asked about the main interpretive narrative and how (if) African American stories are included, a park employee responded,

> The people of Cumberland Island: From Time Immemorial Cumberland's landscapes and resources have attracted varied human groups and individuals, each of whom brought unique lifeways, societal perspectives, struggles, and values to this distinctive place. . . . Yes. African Americans were taken from West Africa and forced to work for planters in a system of slavery. Overtime, descendants of the island's enslaved continued to live and work on the island for themselves or for wealthy families who resided here. Others came from the mainland to work for these families.[650]

When asked what stories should be included in interpretation at the site (but are not currently), staff responded,

> CUIS had a planter era as part of the Sea Islands- or islands off the Georgia coast where Sea Island cotton was grown. There was over 400 enslaved individuals at one time and an unknown number over the era; some of the enslaved stayed as free people after the Civil War, some descendants stayed until lat[e] into the 20th century, before the NPS established the park; FOFR is located on another Sea Island, also having a planter history with enslaved people. There are known gravesites of enslaved and free Africans at both sites.[651]

The park has no webpages linked to from the cultural resources landing page (park staff noted this as a need—see the Recommendations section, below).

The Foundation Document (2014) for the seashore notes that, "By the late 1700s, the plantation system based on enslaved Africans and the production of staple crops for export took root on Cumberland Island." Stafford Plantation, within the seashore and listed in the NRHP, is mentioned in the Foundation Document, but there is no discussion of people enslaved at the site. NPS staff identified as the "important stories" to be told at the park, "from American Indians, to the Spanish

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649 NPS, "Foundation Document: Cumberland Island National Seashore," 2014, 52.

650 CUIS, survey response, February 16, 2022.

651 CUIS, survey response, September 21, 2021.

and English occupation of the Island, enslaved Africans and their emancipation and colony, and the Carnegie family." There is little discussion of African American residents post-slavery.[652]

An oral history project (1996) resulted in the publishing of a summary of the oral histories conducted, but not the transcripts. The summary document mentions that Black individuals worked at the Carnegie house and lived in housing provided by the Carnegies. It also discusses a predominantly African American community at Half Moon Bluff. There is no indication in the summary document which of the individuals interviewed are of African descent.[653]

The LRIP (2017) more thoroughly discusses the long and varied history of people of African descent in the area. The interpretive matrix includes Black communities in its people-focused themes rather than relegating them to one category. For instance, Black communities are included in the post-Civil War farming theme. It notes the presence of the First African Baptist Church as a key historic structure and the impact of Gullah-Geechee heritage in the area. The LRIP recommends expanding interpretive capacity by consulting expert researchers, including those studying the African diaspora, and encourages projects that "prompt visitors to explore the multifaceted legacies of different African and Caribbean cultures on the island—an amalgam of lifeways retained and passed down through generations by people originally brought to the island as slaves" as a major interpretive emphasis. Recommendations also include more direct partnerships with the Gullah Geechee Heritage Corridor.[654]

CUIS was recently listed in the Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program. An NPS release explaining the linkage reads, "Dungeness Plantation on Cumberland Island is where British troops established headquarters during the War of 1812 and promised freedom to the enslaved, after which the plantation and headquarters became a destination for freedom seekers."[655]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Investigation of Brickhill Bluff Cemetery and settlement (PMIS #314905).
- Researching Black History of Cumberland Island National Seashore (PMIS #239715).
    - Ongoing project, conducted by a team from the University of South Carolina. Project includes oral histories and outreach to local descendent community in Camden County. Project has been ongoing for several years and experienced delays due to the pandemic. There were also delays due to the descendent families mistrusting the NPS because of past oral histories that went unused and tensions in the area related to federal land acquisition when the park was created, and a perceived unevenness in who was able to keep their land. For a period, the project had a partner historian who was a

[652] NPS, "Foundation Document: Cumberland Island National Seashore," 2014, 4, 8, 53.

[653] Joyce Seward, "'1880 to the Present' an Oral History of Cumberland Island, Georgia," 1996.

[654] NPS, "Long-Range Interpretive Plan: Cumberland Island National Seashore," 2017, 15–17, 26–27, 50, 61.

[655] NPS, "Second Gentleman Douglas Emhoff, Secretary Deb Haaland Announce New Listings in Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program," press release, April 23, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/orgs/1207/04-23-2021-ugrr-ntf.htm.

descendant of residents of the island. This helped the project immensely, but the historian has since moved on.[656]

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- Interpretive web content about the area's long and deep history of African American residents and the stories of their lives in the area.
    - The park LRIP identifies "African Americans on the island" as one of "three underdeveloped thematic areas" for interpretation and recommends development of new resources.[657]
- **Continued identification of and outreach to descendent communities** (recommended in survey responses). This should include long-term relationship building by park staff and partners.[658]
- **Plan to transfer relationships and knowledge gained during ongoing project, "Researching Black History of Cumberland Island National Seashore**," to include development of interpretive content.
- Additional research on recently identified cemetery within park boundaries, which may be tied to a Freedmen's Camp from the Reconstruction era.
- Partnerships with Gullah Geechee Heritage Corridor and other regional organizations.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Seashore staff indicated the need for additional staff ("staff to work with external partners in the development of programming/exhibits and to ensure the stories being told are accurate"[659]), additional partnerships (external to the NPS), training for staff ("Training about the African Diaspora; Interpreting Slavery at Historic Sites"[660]), enhanced website content, and additional studies or research projects.

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656 Cultural Resource Consultant to Jackie Gonzales, phone conversation, October 12, 2022; "Researching African American Cultural Heritage and Conservation on Cumberland Island," video, YouTube, uploaded March 5, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ReI3exQb358.

657 NPS, "Long-Range Interpretive Plan: Cumberland Island National Seashore," 2017, 84.

658 Chief of Interpretation, Education, and Visitor Services, CUIS, September 21, 2021; Cultural Resource Consultant to Jackie Gonzales, phone conversation, October 12, 2022.

659 CUIS, survey response, February 16, 2022.

660 CUIS, survey response, February 16, 2022.

De Soto National Memorial (DESO)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1948

State(s): Florida

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "The purpose of De Soto National Memorial is to commemorate Hernando de Soto's 1539 expedition throughout what is now the southeastern portion of the United States and its overwhelming impact on the course of North American history."[661]

Materials Reviewed:

- 3 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/deso
- 4 reports
    - Avellaneda, Ignacio. "Los Sobrevivientes de la Florida: The Survivors of the De Soto Expedition." 1990.
    - NPS. "Special History Study: DESO National Historic Trail." 1990.
    - Whisnant, David E., and Anne Mitchell Whisnant. "Small Park, Large Issues: De Soto National Memorial and the Commemoration of a Difficult History." 2007.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: De Soto National Memorial." 2015.
- 0 survey responses from employees or partners of DESO

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Early Inhabitants and Native Americans, 3500 BC–AD 1600; European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework: Does not relate to one of these themes.

NPS Themes:

- Changing Role of the United States in the Word Community, Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Black maritime experiences, Caribbean sites, Indigenous history, Spanish exploration, use of enslaved labor to enable colonial expansion, women's history

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[661] NPS, "Foundation Document: De Soto National Memorial," 2015, 4.

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery

Partner Organizations:

- Friends of De Soto National Memorial

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

An article about the De Soto expedition ("Los Sobrevivientes de la Florida: The Survivors of the De Soto Expedition," 1990) discusses the members of the expedition, some of whom were from Spain and others recruited in Cuba. After the expedition, many dispersed to different Spanish colonies in the Americas or back to Spain. The report explains that the 650 people who originally left Seville for Florida included three women and five "color loro" or "dark-skinned persons."[662] A Special History Study of De Soto National Memorial (also completed in 1990) discusses De Soto's travels in what is now the southeastern United States between 1539 and 1542, but it makes no mention of slavery or people of African descent.[663]

The three webpages linked to from the site's History & Culture page contain no material on Black or African American history or experiences.

The Administrative History for DESO, subtitled "Commemoration of a Difficult History," includes extensive discussion of enslavement of Indigenous peoples. The authors note, "Several explorers preceded De Soto in making forays into what the Spanish called 'La Florida,' initially in search of slave labor to supply mines, sugar plantations, and cattle ranches in their Caribbean colonies." The authors discuss Spanish Florida as a "a refuge for runaway slaves" in the 1700s, and how, at the end of the American Revolution, the Georgia-Florida border was unstable in part because of conflicts over the long-standing Spanish sanctuary policy for enslaved people of African descent who fled British colonies to the north. These mentions are brief and include no substantive discussion of the experiences of the people associated with the site. In recommendations for the visitor center, there is no mention of African American visitors or historical actors.[664]

The Foundation Document for DESO (2015) notes the significance of the site as "the first large-scale organized European exploration, which traversed 4,000 miles during its four-year quest," and that contact between the expedition and "American Indians caused social and cultural instability among indigenous peoples." Resources identified include memorials, midden heaps, and natural resources. Interpretive themes focus on warfare, conservation, and drastic cultural change. There is

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[662] Ignacio Avellaneda, "Los Sobrevivientes de la Florida: The Survivors of the De Soto Expedition," 1990.

[663] NPS, "Special History Study: DESO National Historic Trail," 1990.

[664] David E. Whisnant, Anne Mitchell Whisnant, "Small Park, Large Issues: De Soto National Memorial and the Commemoration of a Difficult History," 2007, esp. 40, 113–115.

no mention of mention of slavery or African American experiences from the expedition or its aftermath.[665]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Special History Study with Archeological Component on African Americans at De Soto National Memorial (PMIS #258407).
- Ethnographic Overview and Assessment (O&A) on Indigenous Peoples Affected by de Soto (PMIS #314670).

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- Multi-park Special History Study on enslaved people of African descent on Spanish expeditions in the region during the 1400s and 1500s.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- n/a (no responses to survey from park staff)

[665] NPS, "Foundation Document: De Soto National Memorial," 2015.

Dry Tortugas National Park (DRTO)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1992

State(s): Florida

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Dry Tortugas National Park preserves and protects the unique subtropical marine ecosystem and natural, cultural, and scenic resources of the Dry Tortugas for the education, inspiration, scientific understanding, and enjoyment of present and future generations."[666]

Note: Managed jointly with Big Cypress National Preserve (BICY), Biscayne National Park (BISC), and Everglades National Park (EVER), collectively known as the South Florida National Parks and Preserve (SOFL).

Materials Reviewed:

- 9 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/drto/
- 2 reports
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Dry Tortugas National Park." 2017.
    - Pirtle, Jennifer, Greg C. Smith, and Mary Beth Reed. "The African American Experience at Fort Jefferson, 1847–1876." 2019.
- 3 survey responses from employees or partners of DRTO

Relevant Time Period(s):

- European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Underground Railroad and Abolition

NPS Themes:

- Changing Role of the United States in the Word Community, Shaping the Political Landscape

[666] NPS, "Foundation Document: Dry Tortugas National Park," 2017, 5.

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Black maritime experiences, Caribbean sites, Indigenous history, Spanish colonialism, Transatlantic slave trade, use of enslaved labor to enable colonial expansion, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery

Partner Organizations:

- The Alliance for Florida's National Parks, Department of Special Collections at the Smathers Library at the University of Florida, Florida National Parks Association, Key West Art and Historical Society, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Monroe County Public Library, St. Augustine Historical Society Research Library, South Florida Collections Management Center

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

When asked if African American stories are included in the main interpretative narrative of the site, one survey respondent replied, "Not to very much extent. Needs improvement."[667] Stories that are told include enslaved laborers' role in the construction of the fort and the Underground Railroad site in the park.[668] Staff also referenced other research done outside of the NPS that has been helpful for interpreting the experiences of Black individuals at Dry Tortugas, like Mark A. Smith, "Engineering Slavery: The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and Slavery at Key West," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 86, no. 4 (Spring 2008).[669]

The park Foundation Document (2017) does not discuss African American history.[670] No webpages mentioned Black or African American history or experience (at the time of park webpage review in 2021).

In contrast, a 2019 report entitled "The African American Experience at Fort Jefferson, 1847–1876" focuses primarily on the experiences of African American individuals at the site. This project is one segment of the HRS for DRTO. It discusses the roles that Black individuals played "in the fort's history as slaves, freedmen, soldiers, and prisoners, and this study addresses their contribution directly through primary and secondary research."[671] The researchers concluded that "no African Americans came [to Fort Jefferson] of their own volition; either military orders or servitude brought

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[667] DRTO, survey response, September 27, 2021.

[668] DRTO, survey response, August 25, 2021; DRTO, survey response, August 26, 2021.

[669] DRTO, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[670] NPS, "Foundation Document: Dry Tortugas National Park," 2017.

[671] Jennifer Pirtle, Greg C. Smith, and Mary Beth Reed, "The African American Experience at Fort Jefferson, 1847–1876," 2019, 1.

them to Garden Key," and that "Enslaved African Americans formed the core of the fort's labor force during the construction period from 1847 to 1863." The report chronicles their experiences as best as possible, splitting up chapters into the experiences of enslaved individuals, people in the military, military prisoners, and recommendations.[672]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Historic Resource Study for African Americans in 500 Years of South Florida History (conducted jointly between BICY, BISC, EVER, and DRTO) (PMIS #256453A).
    - The project's two main goals are to develop (1) an annotated bibliography, and (2) an historic context study of Africans, African Americans, and people of African descent in South Florida and connected areas in the past 500 years. This research will help the NPS interpret Black history at these four parks, as well as NRHP and NHL sites in the area.[673]

Example Projects

- Jennifer Pirtle, Greg C. Smith, and Mary Beth Reed, "The African American Experience at Fort Jefferson, 1847–1876," 2019.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Develop interpretive content (both web-based and in-person) based on the 2019 study, "The African American Experience at Fort Jefferson, 1847–1876."**[674]
- **Historical research to create biographical profiles of people who were enslaved at Fort Jefferson or Fort Taylor**.
    - The HRS on African American history at Fort Jefferson notes, "We were not able to fully research individual enslaved persons. While the identification of individual slaves is mostly difficult, some full names have been identified. These could be further researched to create biographical profiles showing where they were prior to their time at Fort Jefferson and where they went afterwards."
- Joint study of Fort Taylor and Fort Jefferson.
    - "Fort Taylor's history needs to be further researched in tandem with Fort Jefferson's, given their common history to look for patterns or differences that could give us a better understanding of this era and the role of the US engineers."[675]

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[672] Pirtle, Smith, and Reed, "The African American Experience at Fort Jefferson, 1847–1876," esp. 1–4.

[673] Jaci Wells, Cultural Resources Program Manager, SOFL, to Jackie Gonzales, email, October 19, 2022.

[674] DRTO, survey response, September 27, 2021.

[675] Pirtle, Smith, and Reed, "The African American Experience at Fort Jefferson, 1847–1876," esp. 47–48.

    - To include how emancipation was carried out at Fort Jefferson and Fort Taylor.

- Other research needs noted in "The African American Experience at Fort Jefferson, 1847–1876," to better understand and interpret African American stories include:
    - "The research was suggestive that the lack of space on the key or just its geography discouraged segregation and made for more communal living. . . . More research is needed to look at this physical aspect of living at Fort Jefferson and to see if work and recreation practices were also more egalitarian due to the engineers' apparent lack of interest in mastery and the more diverse thinking about race and slavery among the soldiers and other workers."
    - Research into histories and firsthand accounts of white soldiers in regiments.
    - Additional resea[rc]h on the 82nd Infantry.
    - Additional research into Court Martial Records at NARA DC.
    - Additional research on politicians who have influenced the fort.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

"We know that slaves were used in construction and that the site is part of the Underground Railroad, but we do not do a good job at including this information in our programs due to a lack of factual information and training of our contracted tour guides."[676]

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional studies or research projects, additional staff ("We have no full time interpretive staff at the park and no formal interpretive programs being given by NPS staff."[677]), training, additional publications/pamphlets, enhanced website content, and additional partnerships (external to the NPS).

[676] DRTO, survey response, September 27, 2021.

[677] DRTO, survey response, August 25, 2021.

Everglades National Park (EVER)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1934

State(s): Florida

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Everglades National Park preserves the largest subtropical wilderness in the nation, a vast natural area in the southern Everglades and Florida Bay known throughout the world for its unparalleled ecological values, natural hydrologic conditions, vibrant cultural heritage, and unique recreational and educational opportunities."[678]

Note: Managed jointly with Big Cypress National Preserve (BICY), Biscayne National Park (BISC), and Dry Tortugas National Park (DRTO), collectively known as the South Florida National Parks and Preserve (SOFL).

Materials Reviewed:

- 14 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/ever/
- 10 reports
    - Schwadron, Margo. "Anahinga Trail." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1996.
    - Schwadron, Margo. "Bear Lake Mounds Archeological District." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1996.
    - Schwadron, Margo. "Cane Patch." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1996.
    - Schwadron, Margo. "Ten Thousand Islands Archeological District." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1996.
    - Welling, Diana E. "Nike Missile Site HM-69." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 2004.
    - Schwadron, Margo. "Rookery Mound." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 2006.
    - Wheeler, Ryan J. "Mud Lake Canal." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 2006.
    - NPS. "Long Range Interpretive Plan: Everglades National Park Reserve." 2009.

[678] NPS, "Foundation Document: Everglades National Park," 2017, 6.

- Blythe, Robert. Wilderness on the Edge: a History of Everglades National Park. Atlanta: NPS, 2015.
- NPS. "Foundation Document: Everglades National Park." 2017.

- 1 survey response from employees or partners of EVER

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Early Inhabitants and Native Americans, 3500 BC–AD 1600; European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodations. Racial Discrimination in Housing

NPS Themes:

- Peopling Places, Changing Role of the United States in the Word Community, Transforming the Environment

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Cold War, displacement related to NPS site creation, Indigenous history, labor, marshlands, segregation of NPS amenities, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- The Alliance for Florida's National Parks, Everglades Association, Fairchild Tropical Botanical Gardens, FWC, Florida Department of Environmental Protection, Florida National Parks Association, Friends of the Everglades, Miami Dade County Environmental Education Providers, Miami Dade College, Miami Dade County Parks and Recreation Youth Conservation Corps, South Florida National Parks Trust, Tropical Audubon Society[679]

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

"Most of our park interpretive narratives focus on the biological and natural resources. But the park has identified human stories and American Indian tribal archeological resources as narratives as well.

[679] Robert Blythe, *Wilderness on the Edge: a history of Everglades National Park* (Atlanta: NPS, 2015), 629.

Very minimal African American stories are told in the park and next to none in the western districts of the park. One African American employee underwent extensive effort to uncover African American and black stories for this western region of Everglades and experienced immense trouble in finding primary sources that told their stories; he was unable to develop a program or publication with what little he found. He identified the Black Seminoles as a possible story to tell, as well as possible early black pioneers to the area of the Ten Thousand Islands"[680]

Several sites within EVER that are listed in the NRHP are archeological sites or districts that predate the forced migration of people of African descent to Florida. This includes several midden, mound, canal, and trail sites spanning from thousands of years ago to around AD 1500.[681] Some of the NRHP nomination forms for archeological sites include later history, like the Ten Thousand Islands Archeological District, comprising 70 sites that include European American house sites and a Seminole occupation site.[682] All of these archeological sites have restricted locations.

The Nike missile Site HM-69 NRHP nomination's period of significance is during the Cold War, like other Nike sites. The nomination mentions military training exercises in the area and describes the missile facilities, but it does not describe who worked on the site and makes no explicit mention of African American individuals.[683]

The park LRIP (2009) notes that 98 percent of park visitors were White, despite the population of surrounding areas include significant Latinx and Black community members (above 20 percent in all communities, higher than 50 percent in others). This discussion of modern demographics is the only mention of Black individuals in the report, and the plan overwhelmingly focuses on natural resource interpretation.[684]

An Administrative History of the park, *Wilderness on the Edge: a History of Everglades National Park* (2015) mentions Black history in passing in discussions of Europeans, Seminole communities, the War of 1812, and removal of Seminole people. It mentions early farmers, including some of whom were of African descent, and Black cooks who worked on railroad surveys. Agricultural labor comes up repeatedly, with Black laborers mentioned in passing (like when discussing a 1928 hurricane that claimed "2,500 lives, most of them African-American agricultural laborers") and, at the dedication of EVER, "50 African-American women who were working to prepare the site for the dedication" It also discusses objection of local farmers to being displaced when the park was created. Many of the owners of this marshy land were Black. It does not explore the personal histories of these individuals. There is a section on "white residents" displaced by Park development, which included the stories of some individuals of Cuban descent. There is no discussion of segregation of park facilities. A later chapter discusses outreach to local communities, especially people of African,

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[680] EVER, survey response, August 26, 2021.

[681] Margo Schwadron, "Bear Lake Mounds Archeological District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1996; Margo Schwadron, "Rookery Mound," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2006; Margo Schwadron, "Cane Patch," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1996; Margo Schwadron, "Ten Thousand Islands Archeological District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1996; Margo Schwadron, "Anahinga Trail," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1996.

[682] Schwadron, "Ten Thousand Islands Archeological District".

[683] Diana E. Welling, "Nike Missile Site HM-69," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2004.

[684] NPS, "Long Range Interpretive Plan: Everglades National Park Reserve," 2009, 14.

Latinx, and Asian descent in Miami. Most mentions of Black history in this report lack detailed analysis or consideration of Black experiences.[685]

EVER's Foundation Document (2017) emphasizes the area's "diverse biological community" and links between natural resources and human use of the area. It discusses partnerships with the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida and Seminole Tribe of Florida and lists as cultural resources the park Mission 66 Buildings, Nike Missile Bases, archeological sites, and a substantial museum collection. The Foundation Document includes no mention of Black experiences, history, or current usage of the area.[686]

Several webpages for EVER discuss Black history. One page mentions that census records show that the Black farmers in the Flamingo area around 1910 were mostly from the Bahamas and Jamaica.[687] Information on "gladesmen" of the Everglades notes that these men, who hunted, camped, and fished in the Everglades, were primarily White. There is no discussion about the interaction of these men with the Black residents of the Everglades.[688] Information about CCC camps notes that they were segregated based on race, and that EVER had one camp for Black workers. The site concludes its "African American History" page with this note:

> We are still learning about African American experiences in what is now Everglades National Park as their stories are not well documented. Through the Civil Rights Commemorative Initiative, Everglades National Park has received funding from Congress to pursue research projects that have relevance to African American civil rights and experiences, including slavery, resistance, Reconstruction, and the American Civil Rights Movem[en]t of the 20th century and beyond.' / If you have a personal story or materials that would help us understand more about the people who lived and worked in Everglades National Park, please email us by using this **form**.[689]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Historic Resource Study for African Americans in 500 Years of South Florida History (conducted jointly between BICY, BISC, EVER, and DRTO) (PMIS #256453A).
- African American Experience in Long Pine Key (PMIS #233475).
    - Managed by the park archeologist. "The project will first investigate and record any historic documents associated with the African American experience in Long Pine Key and the Hole-in-the-Donut region of the Park. Using this report as a baseline

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685 Blythe, *Wilderness on the Edge*, 2, 24–26, 35–36, 43, 144, 176–77, 212, 513–19, 547, 551, 557, 585, 629.

686 NPS, "Foundation Document: Everglades National Park," 2017, esp. 3, 5, 7, 8, 11.

687 "Developing the Everglades," EVER webpage, last updated June 20, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/ever/learn/historyculture/development.htm.

688 "People," EVER webpage, last updated January 10, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/ever/learn/historyculture/people.htm.

689 "African Americans in the Everglades," EVER webpage, last updated June 19, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/ever/learn/historyculture/african-americans-in-the-everglades.htm.

document, pedestrian survey and shovel testing will then be conducted in this same region. The goals for the project include:

- Identifying what sites, features, structures, etc. are still extant in the Hole-in-the-Donut (HID) region
- Establishing baseline data and assessments of known archeological sites in HID
- Performing pedestrian survey and limited shovel testing to identify any new sites within the HID area.
- Assessing recovered materials from surveys and testing to determine age and association."[690]

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Historic Resource Study on Black experiences in the Everglades**.
    - This rises to the level of an HRS because of comments from staff and in documents that the history of individuals of African descent is difficult to track down in the area—interpreters have tried but not been able to find much. A team of professional historians who can conduct oral history interviews and extensive documentary research would yield results that would assist EVER in documenting and eventually interpreting these stories. The "African American Experience in Lone Pine Key" has been a successful project, but in addition to being only applicable to one part of the park, it is an archeological study and will lack the in-depth documentary research and oral histories that are needed to draw out the many stories of people of African descent in the area. The two projects would complement each other well.
    - This study could include discussion of maroon communities in the Everglades, segregation of recreational facilities, Black exclusion from and discomfort at NPS sites, stories of soldiers or civilians of color who worked at the Nike site, stories of people of African descent living in or near Seminole communities in the region, displacement of Black agriculturalists and landowners, stories from CCC workers who lived and worked in the segregated camp at Flamingo, and history of Black families who have lived in the Everglades.
- Historic research on Cold War-era military sites, Nike sites in particular, this site in particular: Did any people of color work at these sites? Did they participate in training activities there?

[690] Jaci Wells, Cultural Resources Program Manager, SOFL, to Jackie Gonzales, email, October 19, 2022.

- Implementation of recommendation from 1996 effort to identify community and stakeholder populations, and visitor demographic information. Report notes, "Little of the research suggested in the plan has been carried out to date."[691]

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, training (like "how to identify untold stories in primary resources"[692] and "how to tell stories respectfully of groups you don't belong to (race, gender, tribal affiliation, etc)"[693]), additional publications/pamphlets, enhanced webpage content, and additional partnerships (both internal and external to the NPS).

[691] Blythe, *Wilderness on the Edge*, 519, 629.

[692] EVER, survey response, August 26, 2021.

[693] EVER, survey response, August 26, 2021.

Fort Caroline National Memorial (FOCA)

Founding Year: 1950

State(s): Florida

Note: Managed by staff of Timucuan Ecological & Historic Preserve (TIMU)

Materials Reviewed: See TIMU entry.

Relevant Time Period(s):

- European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework: Does not relate to one of these themes.

NPS Themes:

- Peopling Places

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- French colonialism, military history, Florida

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization

Partner Organizations:

- Timucuan Parks Foundation

For analysis and recommendations for FOCA, see Timucuan Ecological & Historic Preserve (TIMU).

Fort Donelson National Battlefield (FODO)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1933

State(s): Kentucky, Tennessee

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Fort Donelson National Battlefield protects and preserves the resources associated with the 1862 Civil War Campaign for Forts Henry, Heiman, and Donelson and control of the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers. The park unit and associated National Cemetery provide a setting for education, commemoration, and contemplation."[694]

Materials Reviewed:

- 3 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/fodo/
- 4 reports
    - NPS. "Fort Donelson National Battlefield Long-Range Interpretive Plan, 2009–2018." 2009.
    - Lee, Dayna Bowker, Donna Greer, and Aubra L. Lee. "Fort Donelson National Battlefield: Ethnographic Overview and Assessment." 2013.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Fort Donelson National Battlefield." 2019.
    - Brent, Joseph E., W. Trent Spurlock, Elizabeth G. Heavrin, and Lauren A. Poole. "Historic Resource Study for Fort Donelson National Battlefield." 2020.
- 5 survey responses from employees or partners of FODO

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Civil Rights Movement

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Underground Railroad and Abolition

NPS Themes:

- Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape

[694] NPS, "Foundation Document: Fort Donelson National Battlefield," 2019.

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Civil War, displaced communities to facilitate NPS development, free Black communities, Indigenous history, slavery, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- American Battlefield Trust, Middle Tennessee Tourism Council

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

When asked about the main interpretive narrative of site and whether African American stories are included in this narrative, staff and partners responded:

- "Civil War, first major strategic victory in the war, rise of Ulysses S. Grant to prominence during the war, technology advancement, rivers and geography, freedom-seekers to the Union camps, and African American troops . . . refugees and freedom-seekers to the Union camps, their lives and struggles, how newly-freed enslaved pushed for change in America, and postwar their lives in the community and Tennessee"[695]
- "Soldiers in the civil war . . . A few, but many exists, but only a very few are interpreted"[696]
- "Civil War in Middle Tennessee . . . Some"[697]
- "Creating and sharing the story of the U.S. Colored Troops (USCT) during the Civil War. . . . Yes. The narrative is based on African American involvement at Ft Donelson."[698]
- "Civil War related . . . I have attend 1 event. The event was in regard to 'Colored' Soldiers and featured a small reenactment."[699]

When asked what African American stories should be told at the park, survey respondents replied:

[695] FODO, survey response, February 4, 2022.

[696] FODO, survey response, February 4, 2022.

[697] FODO, survey response, February 22, 2022.

[698] FODO, survey response, February 4, 2022.

[699] FODO, survey response, February 7, 2022.

- "there needs to be more interpretation, much more, exhibits in the main visitor center and on the park; we offer online programs and ranger programs now"[700]
- "All the stories of the African American regiments, the cooks and maids and freedman living near the park."[701]
- "Andrew Jackson Smith, Contraband camps and the lives of those individuals, African American regiments and their interactions with the Fort."[702]

Survey respondents noted that race-based tensions between the NPS (predominantly White) and the surrounding community (large population of people of color) impedes efforts at telling the histories of African American people, partnering with community groups, and hiring more staff of color: "Something needs to be done about the racial tension that exists around the park because it deters current and future African American park attendees."[703] Any efforts for additional research, interpretation, and outreach are affected by this dynamic, and it needs to be taken into account when making future plans.

The LRIP (2009) does not mention slavery or African Americans in goals, recommendations, or the historic description of the area. The first mention is a note about the refugee camps here: "the presence of the United States Army at Forts Henry, Heiman, and Donelson encouraged African Americans to seek freedom through United States Army protection. This led to establishment of some of the earliest contraband communities." It discusses how the victory of Union troops "brought change to the lives of slaves in the region," but on the next page includes a long paragraph on Nathan Bedford Forrest without mention of his ties to paramilitary white supremacist organizations. Despite the lack of focus in the narrative history of the report, it notes that demographics of visitors are changing, and that "Staff must work to engage traditionally underserved audiences such as African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Asian Americans, American Indians, new immigrants, and low-income urban and rural audience." In service to this goal, "several interpretive panels on African American themes were added in the past ten years to provide a more comprehensive and diverse interpretive story." Specific exhibit recommendations do not seem to include Black stories, but community engagement recommendations include the aim to "establish a living history event focusing on the refugee/contraband camp story."[704]

The Ethnographic Overview and Assessment for FODO (2013) discusses slavery in the region in depth, but without necessarily shedding light on the lives of the people who were enslaved in the region. It mentions USCT and a Freedmen's Camp at Fort Donelson. It briefly discusses sharecropping, local AME churches, school segregation, and the African American population in the

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[700] FODO, survey response, February 4, 2022. A reviewer of the draft report noted that there is an interpretive story in the main visitor center, but that it is currently closed to the public. Another reviewer noted that the website offers materials for teachers. NPS comments on draft report, August 2023.

[701] FODO, survey response, February 4, 2022.

[702] FODO, survey response, February 22, 2022.

[703] FODO, survey response, February 22, 2022.

[704] NPS, "Fort Donelson National Battlefield Long-Range Interpretive Plan, 2009-2018," 2009, esp. 17–19, 24, 34, 48, 50.

region in the early 2000s. Outreach to the local community was a part of this project, and the report's authors reported on tensions between people in the local Black community and the NPS:

> Some African American elders contacted during the course of this research were reluctant to participate in the project. Generations of social separateness, the unwillingness to speak for one's community, a general distrust of outsiders, and a lack of understanding of the intent of the project are likely factors. However, contact has now been established with two members of the 50- to 70-year-old generation who may help to bridge the understanding between their parents and researchers.[705]

The Foundation Document for FODO (2019) focuses on the Civil War but also discusses CCC and Mission 66 infrastructure in the park. It notes that the presence of Fort Donelson "encouraged enslaved African Americans to seek freedom through Union Army protection, leading to the establishment of Free State, one of the first freedmen's communities in Tennessee and perhaps the nation," and lists the Free State community as one of the park Fundamental Resources and Values.[706]

The park HRS (2020) has a section on "Enslaved Labor During Antebellum Period." It devotes significant space to the Free State Community and USCT. The report notes that some historic resources, like the Dover Colored School, still exist and are directly related to the Black community and experiences in the area. Regarding interpretive recommendations related to African American experiences, the report reads,

> At present, the interpretive sign for Freedmen's Camp at the entrance to the National Cemetery is the only easily accessible interpretation for the general public focused on the aftermath of the battle and its effects on the nearby African American population. Additional interpretation is recommended for the African American experience at Fort Donelson and Free State. NPS Rangers have conducted interpretation since 2003 of freedom seekers, United States Colored Troops, Underground Railroad, and Free State for students ranging from third to eighth grades. The park also provides a curriculum-based traveling trunk to loan to local schools to assist in teaching students about United States Colored Troops and the Underground Railroad. While these subjects are emphasized to elementary and middle school-aged students, less information is available to the general public when visiting the park. The Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area is another resource that may be able to assist with interpretive efforts, especially in regards to Free State and the local African American community.[707]

No "History and Culture" webpage existed during review of websites in 2021.[708] By 2022, a webpage had been added linking to a page about the Underground Railroad at Fort Donelson. This

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[705] Dayna Bowker Lee, Donna Greer, and Aubra L. Lee, "Fort Donelson National Battlefield: Ethnographic Overview and Assessment," 2013, esp. 41, 54–59, 69, 103.

[706] NPS, "Foundation Document: Fort Donelson National Battlefield," 2019, 6, 11–12.

[707] Joseph E. Brent, W. Trent Spurlock, Elizabeth G. Heavrin, and Lauren A. Poole, "Historic Resource Study for Fort Donelson National Battlefield," 2020, 30–36, 178–179, 186–187, 351, 365.

[708] Note that this had changed by 2023. NPS comments on draft report, August 2023.

page noted that "a thriving African American community developed," which included "Schools, churches, and homes."[709]

Upcoming, Ongoing, and Recently Completed Projects

- Three new interpretive exhibits and one rack card are in production as of 2023.
- Annual environmental education and Junior Ranger projects with youth groups, like Girl Scouts, with Network to Freedom Partner.
- Youth engagement for interpreting Civil War history and USCT (FY20–21).
- Oral history projects for new exhibits (FY22).
- In FY16, FODO was included in the Lower Mississippi River Delta project, "Songs of the Lower Mississippi Delta."[710]

Example Projects

- Susan Hawkins, "Forts Henry, Heiman, and Donelson: The African-American Experience" (Master's thesis, Murray State University, 2004).[711]

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- Research on Free State and either new NRHP nomination or update to existing NRHP nomination.
    - "Additional research would be needed to determine if privately-owned resources associated with Free State and the African American community in Dover, such as the Dover Colored School and St. Paul United Methodist Church, should be listed as part of the Fort Donelson National Battlefield nomination or individually listed under the recommended [Multiple Property Documentation Form]." The families have been approached about the St. Paul United Methodist Church.[712]
    - "A study to research the development of Free State is recommended to further the interpretation of the African American experience immediately after and the years following the Union victory at Fort Donelson." This could be in collaboration with Network to Freedom partners.[713]

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[709] NPS, "Underground Railroad 'Free State Community': Fort Donelson National Battlefield," webpage, accessed November 10, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/places/underground-railroad-free-state-community.htm.

[710] NPS comments on draft report, August 2023.

[711] Not an NPS project but noted by park staff for its importance to interpretation at the park.

[712] Brent et al., "Historic Resource Study for Fort Donelson National Battlefield," 361; NPS comments on draft report, August 2023.

[713] Brent et al., "Historic Resource Study for Fort Donelson National Battlefield," 364.

- Additional interpretation, oral histories, and museum collections accessioning related to the freedpeoples' community. Some inquiries have been made starting in 2003.[714]

- **Outreach to local community**. Survey respondents emphasized this:
  - "Include people from the surrounding area who may not realize their ancestral history as it relates to the NPS."[715]
  - "Program consistency, with top-down leadership support is key to establishing and maintaining such a wonderful opportunity. Including podcasts, marketing events, and engagement with surrounding communities would bolster interest. As a volunteer, I would look forward to participating."[716]
  - "Susan Hawkins is doing a great job at outreach. However, I think media inclusion / promotion of engagement(s) can assist in her efforts."
  - "Better promotion of what FODO has been doing since 2003."[717]
  - "site visits with community members to locate settlement areas and activity areas on the ground."[718]

- Prioritizing hiring people of color into staff positions, especially people from local community (see "Additional Needs" section, below, for more).

- The Ethnographic Overview and Assessment lists recommendations for future research that are relevant to African American stories (this research could be conducted in small, phased projects):
  - "research in consultation with the United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee, who have an expressed interest in the Fort Donelson National Battlefield lands."
  - "more fieldwork with African American community members including children of individuals associated with park properties who have relocated to places like Cumberland City, Clarksville, and Nashville; this fieldwork should include interviews, scanning of family photographs and documents where appropriate, and consultation regarding interpretation and programming at the park."
  - "additional research to connect surnames of Anglo-American antebellum farmers and furnace owners to former bondspeople in the Dover area, i.e., the Mockabee and Ervin surnames found in the African American community may relate to the Mockbee/Mockabee and Erwin/Ervin families who owned iron furnaces in the region."

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[714] NPS, "Foundation Document: Fort Donelson National Battlefield," 2019, 29; NPS comments on draft report, August 2023.

[715] FODO, survey response, February 7, 2022.

[716] FODO, survey response, February 7, 2022.

[717] NPS comments on draft report, August 2023.

[718] FODO, survey response, February 4, 2022.

- "more extensive research into land records to identify locations of African American landowners listed as farmers on the 1870 and 1880 Agricultural Schedules for District 7."
- "investigation of potential records from the East Oak Grove Baptist Church and St. Paul United Methodist Church."
- "additional research into state agricultural archives, Agricultural Censuses, and tax records in an attempt to determine agricultural production and land ownership in both communities."[719]

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

"We need African American rangers, guides and more volunteers in order to connect to our constituency. Our audiences are diverse, from surrounding cities and schools to the small rural park. Our diversity is reflected in only two or three women (NPS) and volunteers who are African American."[720]

- Park staff identified the need for trainings for staff, additional studies or research projects, enhanced website content, and additional partnerships (both internal and external to the NPS), and additional staff (see above survey response excerpt).

[719] Lee, Greer, and Lee, "Fort Donelson National Battlefield: Ethnographic Overview and Assessment," 2013, 103–4.

[720] FODO, survey response, February 4, 2022.

Fort Frederica National Monument (FOFR)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1936

State(s): Georgia

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Fort Frederica National Monument preserves and protects the historical, archeological, and scenic resources of colonial Fort Frederica to commemorate and interpret its role in American history for the education and inspiration of this and future generations."[721]

Materials Reviewed:

- 5 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/fofr
- 3 reports
    - NPS. "Fort Frederica National Monument: Long Range Interpretive Plan." 2007.
    - Plaag, Eric. "Fort Frederica Administrative History." 2011.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Fort Frederica National Monument." 2016.
- 3 survey responses from employees or partners of FOFR

Relevant Time Period(s):

- European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Underground Railroad and Abolition

NPS Themes:

- Changing Role of the United States in the Word Community, Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Archeology, British colonialism, connections to other communities (Chicago), early colonial period slavery, Indigenous history, journalism, military, women's history

[721] NPS, "Foundation Document: Fort Frederica National Monument," 2016, 5.

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Segregation and Jim Crow

Partner Organizations:

- Friends of Fort Frederica, Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

When asked about the main interpretive narrative of the site and whether African American stories are included in that narrative, site staff responded:

- "FOFR is a British Colonial Fort keeping the Spanish from encroaching further north."[722]
- "The battle for control of territory between Britain and Spain in colonial times and the life in the colonial town of Frederica and its dependence on the military for sustenance."[723]
- "British Colonial History . . . Currently it is not but the park will be expanding its narrative to include later occupations such as the plantation period."[724]
- "Ft Frederica is a colonial fort so that is the main narrative . . . Ft Frederica has done a great job of including the, unrelated to colonial history, stories of Robert Abbott and the Gullah Geechee. I know that they are currently working on a new video for the visitors center that include even more about Gullah Geechee."[725]

The LRIP (2007) reflects the information in the above survey responses. There is no discussion of African American history, slavery, or the presence of any Black communities on the island.[726]

The site's Administrative History (2011) includes a brief mention of African American history in its discussion of Robert Abbott, the founder of the *Chicago Defender* (one of the nation's most prominent Black newspapers), who was born on St. Simons Island and who funded a monument on the island in 1929 in memory of his aunts and father. The history notes that the Abbott family placed the granite obelisk "in the 'old colored burial ground near the Anson Dodge home.'" In the 1950s, staff proposed moving the Abbott Monument or adding interpretive signage to indicate a "Slave Burial Ground" nearby, but a local advocate for the park (who was White) noted that moving

[722] CUIS, survey response, September 21, 2021.

[723] FOFR, survey response, February 17, 2022.

[724] FOFR, survey response, February 2, 2022.

[725] FOFR, survey response, February 22, 2022.

[726] NPS, "Fort Frederica National Monument: Long Range Interpretive Plan," 2007.

the monument "would bring on bad feelings from the colored people." The report notes that in the 1990s, a remote sensing survey indicated no African American cemetery was near the monument.[727]

The Foundation Document (2016) only mentions African American history in relation to the Abbott Memorial.[728]

Two of five webpages reviewed include content on African American or Black history or experiences. One is a biography of Robert Abbott.[729] The other is a list of interpretive themes at the park. It mentions that recent archeological research confirmed the location of the African American cemetery on the grounds of Fort Frederica.[730] Survey responses also noted this.[731]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- "Special History Study on the newly discovered African American Burial Ground and Residents"[732] (PMIS #309128).

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Historic research on African American history at the site** (as a larger HRS or as a series of smaller research projects).
    - "More needs to be known about the planter era at FOFR; identifying the path of descendants is needed at both sites."[733]
    - "A study of the people and use of the land after the town of Frederica dissolved and before it became a park to extrapolate an African American story is needed."[734]
    - Research on the freedpeoples' community at the site.
    - Further exploration of Abbott family connection.

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[727] Eric Plaag, "Fort Frederica Administrative History," 2011, esp. 64–65, 146.

[728] NPS, "Foundation Document: Fort Frederica National Monument," 2016, 8.

[729] NPS, "Abbott Monument," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/places/abbott-monument.htm.

[730] "Stories and Interpretive Themes," FOFR webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/fofr/learn/interpretive-themes.htm.

[731] FOFR, survey response, February 17, 2022.

[732] Jill Hamilton-Anderson to Jackie Gonzales, email, October 11, 2022.

[733] CUIS, survey response, September 21, 2021.

[734] FOFR, survey response, February 17, 2022.

- Gullah Geechee Heritage Corridor-wide projects (training, research, outreach, etc.), and research about Gullah Geechee Heritage at the site specifically.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, training (especially "Interpreting Gullah Geechee, Interpreting Slavery on the Sea Islands of Georgia"[735]), enhanced website content, and additional partnerships (external to the NPS).

[735] FOFR, survey response, February 17, 2022.

Fort Matanzas National Monument (FOMA)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1924

State(s): Florida

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Fort Mantanzas National Monument preserves the fortified watchtower, completed in 1742, which defended the southern approach to the Spanish military settlement of St. Augustine, and protects approximately 300 acres of Florida coastal environment."[736]

Note: Co-managed with Castillo de San Marcos National Monument (CASA)

Materials Reviewed:

- 20 webpages hosted by (or linked to from): https://www.nps.gov/foma/
- 1 report:
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Fort Matanzas National Monument." 2016.
- 0 survey responses from employees or partners of FOMA

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Early Inhabitants and Native Americans, 3500 BC–AD 1600; European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework: Does not relate to one of these themes.

NPS Themes:

- Changing Role of the United States in the Word Community, Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Archeology, British colonialism, French colonialism, Indigenous history, Spanish colonialism, women's history, use of enslaved labor in engineering/construction

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery

[736] NPS, "Foundation Document: Fort Matanzas National Monument," 2016.

Partner Organizations:

- Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve, Florida Park Service (at Fort Mose), St. Augustine Historical Society, St. Johns County, City of St. Augustine, Guana Tolomato Matanzas National Estuarine Research Reserve (GTMNERR)[737]

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

The Foundation Document for FOMA (2016) does not mention Black history or experiences. Since enslaved people were part of the workforce who built the nearby Castillo de San Marcos, the same seems likely to be true here, but there is no mention of it.[738]

Of 20 webpages reviewed, only one includes African American stories. This is a page covering women's history from St. Augustine, content also linked to from the Castillo de San Marcos page.[739]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Cultural Landscape Inventory** with a focus on who built the structures.[740]
- **Archeological overview and assessment**.[741]
- Ethnographic overview and assessment.[742]

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- n/a (no responses to the survey by park staff)

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[737] NPS, "Foundation Document: Fort Matanzas National Monument," 2016, 30.

[738] NPS, "Foundation Document: Fort Matanzas National Monument," 2016.

[739] "Women's History in St. Augustine," FOMA webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/foma/learn/historyculture/women.htm.

[740] NPS, "Foundation Document: Fort Pulaski National Monument," 2016, 25.

[741] NPS, "Foundation Document: Fort Pulaski National Monument," 2016, 25.

[742] NPS, "Foundation Document: Fort Pulaski National Monument," 2016, 25.

Fort Pulaski National Monument (FOPU)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1924

State(s): South Carolina

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Fort Pulaski National Monument preserves and interprets the 19th century masonry fort and associated landscape that illustrate the evolution of civil engineering and military technology, a continuum of historic resources from colonial times to the present day, and approximately 5,000 acres of nearly pristine salt marsh on McQueens and Cockspur Islands in Savannah, Georgia."[743]

Materials Reviewed:

- 32 webpages hosted by (or linked to from): https://www.nps.gov/fopu/
- 2 reports:
  - Meader, J. Faith. "Fort Pulaski Administrative History." 2003.
  - NPS. "Foundation Document: Fort Pulaski National Monument." 2016.
- 3 survey responses from employees or partners of FOPU

Relevant Time Period(s):

- European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Underground Railroad and Abolition

NPS Themes:

- Shaping the Political Landscape, Peopling Places

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Civil War, engineering, Indigenous history, maritime history, sports, women's history

[743] NPS, "Foundation Document: Fort Pulaski National Monument," 2016.

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction

Partner Organizations:

- Augusta Canal Heritage Area, Friends of Cockspur Island Lighthouse, Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

When asked about the main interpretive narrative and whether African American stories that are part of that narrative, park staff responded,

- "Confederates lost to Union rifled artillery. Rifled artillery revolutionized warfare forever. . . . Not so much. White people fought white people. Black people were exploited and not in leadership roles." [744]
- "The American Civil War, specifically the 1862 Battle of Fort Pulaski. . . . In a very limited scope. The majority of African American stories are often limited to one or two lines, typically with a focus on the fingerprints in the bricks left behind by enslaved laborers or on a brief description of March Haynes. There is a small exhibit in one of the rooms in the fort which discusses various African Americans who had an impact at Fort Pulaski and in the surrounding area, but it is a short six-poster-board presentation."[745]
- "The Battle of Fort Pulaski and aftermath including Underground Railroad and USCT. . . . Yes. Slaves built the fort. Underground Railroad, recruitment of black soldiers."[746]

Documents reviewed reflect the limited focus on Black stories. The park Administrative History (2003) explains that during the Civil War, "Major General David Hunter, known as 'Lincoln's Abolitionist General,' ordered that local African-American slaves in the coastal low country be freed," and many people who had been enslaved fled to Fort Pulaski and were recruited to the Union Army.[747]

The site's Foundation Document (2016) discusses the fort as a "safe haven for freedom seekers" and notes that "The fort's construction relied on a small village and bustling wharf that employed a variety of workers—skilled and unskilled, white and black, free and enslaved, northern and southern—and created a microcosm of early 19th century America."[748]

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[744] FOPU, survey response, August 30, 2021.

[745] FOPU, survey response, September 1, 2021.

[746] FOPU, survey response, September 6, 2021

[747] J. Faith Meader, "Fort Pulaski Administrative History," 2003, 23.

[748] NPS, "Foundation Document: Fort Pulaski National Monument," 2016, esp. 6, 10.

Four of 32 webpages reviewed contain content on African American history. One is a general page about African Americans and Fort Pulaski. It discusses the enslaved laborers who were forced to construct the fort, and the stories of March Haynes, Susie King Taylor, and Robert Smalls. Smalls, an enslaved man who worked aboard the steamer *Planter*, developed a successful plan to commandeer the *Planter* and pilot it out of Charleston harbor to the Union ships. He later enlisted and became a pilot and later captain in the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron. After the war, he served as a politician at the state and federal level.[749] This article and another connect Fort Pulaski to the Underground Railroad and discusses the fort's role as a place of refuge during the war and a first stop on the way to freedom.[750]

Two other pages profile Susie King Taylor and March Haynes in depth. Formerly enslaved, Susie King Taylor was a refugee with the First South Carolina Volunteers, the first Black regiment in the US Army. She worked as the regimental laundress, as well as the reading instructor. Postwar, she continued her teaching career and opened a private school for Black children. Taylor published a memoir detailing her time in the Civil War.[751] Haynes worked as an enslaved boat pilot and gained valuable knowledge of the marshes and waterways of the Savannah River. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Haynes accompanied his enslaver, John C. Rowland, and was conscripted as a carpenter. However, following the siege of Fort Pulaski, Rowland surrendered, and Haynes became a free man. He stayed at Fort Pulaski and became an operative for Union forces, utilizing his knowledge of the waterways. He also became a conductor of the Underground Railroad in the low country.[752]

Like many other wartime sites, especially from the Civil War, Fort Pulaski has historically supported living history programs. The administrative history notes that, in the 1970s, volunteers included "women who served period food while dressed in period attire" and men, whose "favorite activity . . . was to perform firing demonstrations using historical weapons."[753] The NPS might engage more critically with how living history has affected research, interpretation, and outreach at Civil war era sites (see also regional recommendations).

A report entitled "African American at Fort Pulaski" was recently completed through a cooperative agreement with the Organization of American Historians (OAH). This report is a model project that could be used as an example for other parks.[754]

Other ongoing efforts at the park include wayside signage "placed in front of key aspects of the fort to discuss African American contributions to the fort (ex: fingerprints from the enslaved who

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[749] NPS, "Words Have Power," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/words-have-power.htm.

[750] "Fort Pulaski and the Underground Railroad," Fort Pulaski webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/fopu/learn/historyculture/underground-railroad.htm.

[751] NPS, "Susie King Taylor," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/people/susie-king-taylor.htm.

[752] "March Haynes," Fort Pulaski webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/fopu/learn/historyculture/march-haynes.htm.

[753] Meader, "Fort Pulaski Administrative History," 79.

[754] Julie de Chantal, Heidi Moye, and Anastasia Sims, "African Americans at Fort Pulaski, 1733–1900: A Special History Study," 2022.

made the bricks, a mention of the construction village turned freedom camp)," and recent additional web content.[755]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Fort Pulaski National Monument (PMIS #209115) (not funded as of August 2023).

Example Projects

- Julie de Chantal, Heidi Moye, and Anastasia Sims, "African Americans at Fort Pulaski, 1733–1900: A Special History Study," 2022.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Interpretive content on the lives of Black individuals who have shaped Fort Pulaski**.
    - "I would love to see a more detailed and professional exhibit on the African American presence at Fort Pulaski. More stories and details and photos if we can find them. Just something that makes it more real, so visitors realize that it wasn't just soldiers on this island. Expanding past the American Civil War as well to discuss African American caretakers, prisoners, and the early segregation of the park would be very beneficial as well. There are just so many stories that are not discussed in many cases because no one has searched for them and staff don't know full stories and are hesitant to share them."[756]
    - Should include the history of fort construction, the Underground Railroad, and maintenance, upkeep, and commemoration of the fort.[757]
- Interpretive content and staffing related to Construction Village (Foundation Document notes, "Increased interpretation could highlight the importance of Construction Village as a 19th century community of skilled workers, both freed and enslaved, and its association with the Fort"[758]).
- Outreach and oral histories to build long-term partnerships with Black communities in the region.
- Historic research on the long history of Indigenous and African American boat pilots on the Savannah River and Savannah Bar over the past several hundred years.

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[755] Elizabeth A. Smith, Interpretive Ranger, to Jackie Gonzales, email, October 11, 2022.

[756] FOPU, survey response, September 1, 2021.

[757] FOPU, survey response, August 30, 2021.

[758] NPS, "Foundation Document: Fort Pulaski National Monument," 2016, 18.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, additional publications/pamphlets, training (especially "sensitivity and diversity training that deals with how to discuss difficult history, particularly slavery, segregation, and Civil Rights, is a must"[759]), enhanced website content, and additional partnerships (both internal and external to the NPS).
    - "Having designated staff or people to research these topics and share that information or to create those programs/exhibits would be fantastic."[760]

[759] FOPU, survey response, September 1, 2021.

[760] FOPU, survey response, September 1, 2021.

Fort Raleigh National Historic Site (FORA)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1941

State(s): North Carolina

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Fort Raleigh National Historic Site preserves and interprets the site of the first English Colony in the New World, is the site of the theatrical production, The Lost Colony, and interprets the historical events of the Native Americans, European Americans, and African Americans who lived on Roanoke Island, North Carolina."[761]

Materials Reviewed:

- 46 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/fora/
- 4 reports
    - Treballas, Christine, and William Chapman. "Fort Raleigh NHS Historic Resource Study." 1999.
    - Binkley, Cameron. "Preserving the Mystery: Fort Raleigh NHS Administrative History." 2003.
    - Crumley, Brian T. "Special History Study: Roanoke Island, 1865 to 1940." 2005.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Fort Raleigh National Historic Site." 2017.
- 1 survey response from employees or partners of FORA

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Early Inhabitants and Native Americans, 3500 BC–AD 1600; European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodations, Underground Railroad and Abolition

NPS Themes:

- Developing the American Economy, Expanding Science and Technology, Expressing Cultural Values, Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape

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[761] NPS, "Foundation Document: Fort Raleigh National Historic Site," 2017, 4.

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Coastal and maritime industries, lifesaving stations, CCC, Civil War, Freedmen's Bureau, Reconstruction, slavery, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Roanoke Island Historical Association

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

The site's HRS (1999) discusses the site's history as "the first English colony in the New World." It mentions that enslaved people of African descent lived on the site in the early 1800s and discusses the story of the "The Freedmen's Colony on Roanoke Island, 1862–1866," a refugee encampment and settlement that involved agriculture and the building of coastal armaments. By 1865, around 3,500 individuals lived in the community, most of whom were Black. The US government returned the area to White ownership in 1867, displacing the Black families who had sought refuge and begun a life here.[762]

The park Administrative History (2003) mentions the Freedmen's Bureau site. Its only other allusion to Black experiences is a sentence that notes, "Since federal parks in the late 1940s and 1950s had no segregationist policies, as did many state parks, black visitors, including school groups, were able to tour Fort Raleigh. Apparently, this policy did not extend to the Roanoke Island Historical Association," which segregated its services, like play performances.[763]

A Special History Study on Roanoke Island (2005) also mentions the presence of enslaved people. It explains how White landowners did not adopt widescale agricultural slavery on the Outer Banks, and that people enslaved in the Tidewater Region developed skills like fishing and other maritime-related competencies. It mentions the Freedmen's Bureau site, as well, and discusses the body of a Black child who washed ashore in 1891. In a discussion of CCC work on the island, the history implies but does not specify that the crews were White. It does not mention segregation of the CCC.[764]

FORA's Foundation Document focuses primarily on Roanoke as the first English colony, while mentioning interactions between Algonquin people and English colonists. The discussion of the

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[762] Christine Treballas and William Chapman, "Fort Raleigh NHS Historic Resource Study," 1999, 14, 41, 49–56.

[763] Cameron Binkley, "Preserving the Mystery: Fort Raleigh NHS Administrative History," 2003, 35, 66–67, 80, 92.

[764] Brian T. Crumley, "Special History Study: Roanoke Island, 1865 to 1940," 2005, 21–23, 29–30, 46, 64–71.

Freedmen's Colony is the only substantive coverage of African American experiences related to the site.[765]

Three of 46 webpages reviewed have Black or African American history or experiences. Two of these pages discuss the Civil War and the Freedmen's Colony on Roanoke Island. It explains how, after the war, Black residents were not allowed to keep these lands, as the US government restored it to the White southerners they had confiscated them from.[766] The only other webpage to mention Black history is one about Paul Green, a White playwright who wrote a play about the area (*The Lost Colony*), who worked "to expose the deplorable conditions of the African American in the South."[767]

A survey respondent wrote that African American stories were not included in the interpretive narrative at the site, as this was before the English brought Africans to the United States.[768]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Development of interpretive materials related to the Roanoke Island Freedmen's Colony**.
    - Can be based in part on detailed study of the colony, Patricia C. Click, *Time Full of Trial: The Roanoke Island Freedmen's Colony, 1862–1867* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).[769]
    - Sufficient interpretive staff to tell this story to the public[770]
- Additional research on segregation at the park (administrative history notes that Roanoke Island Historical Society instituted segregationist policies even when the NPS did have a policy of segregation at the site).[771]

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765 NPS, "Foundation Document: Fort Raleigh National Historic Site," 2017, esp. 8

766 NPS "The Freedmen's Colony on Roanoke Island," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/the-freedmen-s-colony-on-roanoke-island.htm.; "The Civil War and Freedmen's Colony," FORA webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/fora/learn/historyculture/civil-war-and-freedmen-s-colony.htm.

767 NPS, "Paul Green," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/people/paulgreen.htm.

768 FORA, survey response, August 25, 2021.

769 Recommended by NPS staff during review of draft report, August 2023.

770 FORA, survey response, August 25, 2021.

771 Binkley, "Preserving the Mystery: Fort Raleigh NHS Administrative History," 80.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, additional training, additional studies or research projects, and additional publications or pamphlets.

Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park (FOSU)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1948 (renamed Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park in 2019)

State(s): South Carolina

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Fort Sumter National Monument commemorates historical events in and around Charleston Harbor by preserving, protecting, and interpreting 171 years of coastal defense and the site where the first shots of the American Civil War were fired."[772]

Materials Reviewed:

- 71 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/fosu/
- 2 reports
    - Nelson, Benjamin G. "Fort Sumter National Monument." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 2016.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Fort Sumter National Monument." 2016.
- 2 survey responses from employees or partners of FOSU

Note: Managed jointly with Charles Pinckney National Historic Site (CHPI)

Relevant Time Period(s):

- European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Equal Employment, Underground Railroad and Abolition

NPS Themes:

- Changing Role of the United States in the World Community, Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Civil War, Indigenous history, maritime history, Revolutionary War, slavery, women's history

[772] NPS, "Foundation Document: Fort Sumter National Monument," 2016.

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction

Partner Organizations:

- City of Charleston, Fort Sumter-Fort Moultrie Trust, South Carolina Aquarium, University of Georgia, University of North Carolina, US Coast Guard, US Geological Survey

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

FOSU protects, preserves, and interprets aspects of Charleston Harbor and the associated maritime industries, including the harbor's role in naval defense. FOSU also protects Fort Sumter, a site widely regarded as the first battle of the Civil War. Despite the NPS's commitment to interpreting slavery as a central cause of the Civil War and despite Charleston's centuries long maritime history, Black and African American histories have not always been interpreted as central to FOSU's story. The Foundation Document (2016) describes the four main park properties, including Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, Fort Moultrie on Sullivan's Island, Liberty Square in Charleston proper, and the FOSU visitor resource and interpretive center. Although the major focus is on the site's military history, the Foundation Document does note that Gadsden's Wharf, a site on Sullivan's Island, was a quarantine station for those newly arrived in chains from Africa, "where approximately 40% of all enslaved Africans transported to America disembarked, providing important connections between the history of the slave trade and the experiences of enslaved people in America."[773] The Foundation Document notes Charleston's central role in the Transatlantic slave trade, but despite significant discussion of the Civil War, slavery is not always described as central or causal to the conflict.[774]

The NRHP nomination form for Fort Sumter (2016) does not engage with Black history. Although it offers a detailed analysis of site features at FOSU and emphasizes the site's role in coastal fortifications both before and after the Civil War, African American stories or experiences are not mentioned; Charleston's role in the Transatlantic slave trade and slavery as a causal force of the Civil War are not mentioned. [775]

FOSU's webpage includes some Black and African American history content. Of 71 webpages reviewed, 10 include relevant content. Some are thematic, like a webpage devoted to the Charleston Navy Yard in World War I. The naval yard employed as many as 5,000 civilian employees, including African Americans.[776] Other pages are biographical, like pages devoted to Civil War veteran and

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[773] NPS, "Foundation Document: Fort Sumter National Monument," 2016, 6.

[774] NPS, "Foundation Document: Fort Sumter National Monument," 2016, 11.

[775] Benjamin G. Nelson, "Fort Sumter National Monument," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2016.

[776] NPS, "Sabotage and Naval Preparedness in Charleston," webpage, last updated November 27, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/articles/charleston-wwi.htm.

Congressman Robert Smalls, a formerly enslaved man.[777] Other biographies explore the lives of Jacob Stroyer, an enslaved laborer at Fort Sumter, and Susie King Taylor, a formerly enslaved woman who worked as a regimental laundress during the Civil War and played a prominent role in education efforts postwar.[778] A page devoted to Thomas Jeremiah describes him as a free Black harbor pilot in Charleston, South Carolina, who was accused by the British of leading an alleged plot to use enslaved people against White colonists. He was tried and sentenced to death in 1775.[779] Another webpage describes the Echo Affair, where the American ship *Echo*, which had transported many enslaved people from Africa to the Americas, was captured off the coast of Cuba, and a large number of captives died from the terrible conditions onboard.[780] Other pages focus on Black military service, like[a] page describing the 54th Massachusetts Regiment and their assault on Battery Wagner during the Civil War.[781]

Other biographies focus on White individuals and how they used legal means to enforce segregation and legalize discrimination. James L. Petigru used federal law to jail free Black sailors in Charleston Harbor.[782] Other White individuals used the law differently; Judge Andrew G. Magreth ruled against pirates who illegally smuggled African captives after the end of the Transatlantic slave trade.[783] John Laurens advocated for Black soldiers to serve as Continental Army troops.[784] Although the pages include content relevant to African American history, they do not always engage with or include African American experiences or voices.

Site staff describe the major interpretive narrative of FOSU as a story of coastal defense and military service, [l]ike the story of the 54th Massachusetts featured at Fort Sumter. Stories of individuals like Jacob Stroyer, Susie King Taylor, and Harriet Tubman appeared in staff-led interpretation like tours and programs. At Fort Moultrie, an exhibit "interpreted Sullivan's Island as an Ellis Island through which people were forced to pass in bondage." In Liberty Square, interpretation explored Charleston's role as a center of enslavement. Some efforts to bring interpretation into the twentieth century were also underway; wayside markers exploring the lives of civil rights activist Septima Clark also appear in Liberty Square.[785] FOSU staff expressed a desire for:

> [More] hyper-local sort of history that gives visitors an accurate picture when envisioning the past. Who built Forts Sumter and Moultrie? Who made the building

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[777] NPS, "Robert Smalls," webpage, last updated March 18, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/people/robert-smalls.htm.

[778] NPS, "Jacob Stroyer," webpage, last updated January 10, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/people/jacob-stroyer.htm; NPS, "Susie King Taylor," webpage, last updated April 9, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/people/susie-king-taylor.htm.

[779] NPS, "Thomas Jeremiah," webpage, last updated March 17, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/people/thomas-jeremiah.htm.

[780] NPS, "The Echo," webpage, last updated April 9, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/articles/the-echo.htm.

[781] NPS, "54th Massachusetts Regiment," webpage, last updated May 25, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/54th-massachusetts-regiment.htm.

[782] NPS, "James L. Petigru," webpage, last updated December 27, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/people/james-l-petigru.htm.

[783] NPS, "Andrew Magrath," webpage, last updated March 17, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/people/andrew-g-magrath.htm.

[784] NPS, "John Laurens," webpage, last updated December 20, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/people/john-laurens.htm.

[785] FOSU, survey response, October 13, 2021.

> materials? … What was the presence of enslaved people at both these places while they were active military units? How about post-slavery? Were Black people employed on the Fort Moultrie Military Reservation in the first half of the twentieth century? (I always wondered if the theater on the reservation had segregated seating.) One of the stories at Fort Moultrie that I found fascinating was how people who were trying to escape slavery during the revolution went to Sullivan's Island to try making contact with British ships.[786]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Ethnographic Overview and Assessment for CHPO and FOSU (PMIS #314566).

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Historical research about individuals who landed on Gadsen's Wharf**, the site where many enslaved individuals first arrived in Charleston.[787]
- Update NRHP nomination for Fort Sumter to include African American experiences and better inform future interpretation and preservation efforts.
- **Historic research on Sullivan's Island** and other stories of how Black individuals self-emancipated during the Revolutionary War.
- Interpretive exhibit on Black history in Charleston as relates to these sites.
- Research on Septima Clark's connection to Liberty Square.
- Research in coordination with the Gullah Geechee Heritage Corridor.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, additional partnerships (both external and internal to the NPS).[788]

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[786] FOSU, survey response, October 13, 2021.

[787] NPS, "Foundation Document: Fort Sumter National Monument," 2016, 25, 27, 28.

[788] FOSU, survey response, October 13, 2021.

Freedom Riders National Monument (FRRI)

Introduction

Founding Year: 2017

State(s): Alabama

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Freedom Riders National Monument fosters reconciliation and racial healing by commemorating the stories, places, and people involved in the 1961 Freedom Rides, a nonviolent campaign that brought national attention to the brutal reality of segregation in the South and forced the federal government to take action toward ending segregation in interstate travel."[789]

Note: Managed jointly with Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument (BICR).

Materials Reviewed:

- 1 webpage hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/frri/
- 1 report
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Freedom Riders National Monument." 2018.
- 2 survey responses from employees or partners of FRRI

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodations, Desegregation of Public Education, Equal Employment, Racial Discrimination in Housing, Voting Rights

NPS Themes:

- Creating Social Institutions and Movements

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Civil Rights sites, Indigenous history, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

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[789] NPS, "Foundation Document: Freedom Riders National Monument," 2018,

Partner Organizations:

- Alabama Historical Commission, Calhoun County, City of Anniston, Community Foundation of Northeast Alabama, Freedom Riders Park Committee, Montgomery Freedom Rides Museum[790]

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

FRRI preserves the site of a Greyhound bus station in Anniston, Alabama, as well as the site where a bus of Freedom Riders burned, 6 miles away. The main interpretive narrative at FRRI centers on African American stories, specifically the fight to end racial segregation in transportation.[791] The civil rights focus includes connections to the NAACP, the *Boynton v. Virginia* case, media coverage of the Freedom Rides, and deliberate consciousness raising and organizing against segregation. In addition to the two physical units, the park includes "oral histories, archives, and museum collections," as well as a robust system of partnerships, in recognition that "The Freedom Riders story is larger than any one location and cannot be fully articulated without partnering with a variety of entities."[792] The park webpage provides a summary of the Freedom Riders.[793]

Recently Completed Projects

- "Collect Oral Histories Related to Establishment of Freedom Riders National Monument, Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument, Reconstruction Era National Historic Park," through cooperative agreement with Clemson University.
    - Oral history project, interviewing individuals associated with the creation of these three parks (all established by Presidential proclamation by President Obama in 2017). Deliverables are audio files and transcripts.

Example Projects

- None

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[790] NPS, "Foundation Document: Freedom Riders National Monument," 2018, 17–18, 12.

[791] BICR/FRRI, survey response, September 20, 2021; BICR/FRRI, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[792] NPS, "Foundation Document: Freedom Riders National Monument," 2018, 5–7.

[793] "History & Culture," FRRI webpage, last updated October 15, 2019, https://home.nps.gov/frri/learn/historyculture.htm.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- Additional oral histories of people involved in Freedom Riders protests while they are still living.[794]
- Historic Sites Inventory.[795]
- **Continued development of partnerships with entities identified as potential partners in Foundation Document: Talladega College, Jacksonville State University, Alabama Department of Transportation**.[796]
- **Comprehensive Inventory of Disparate Collections and Scope of Collections Statement** (recommended in Foundation Document).[797]

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, training for docents who give tours, training for staff and volunteers to conduct oral history interviews, additional publications/pamphlets, enhanced website content, and additional partnerships (both internal and external to the NPS).

[794] NPS, "Foundation Document: Freedom Riders National Monument," 2018, 15–16, 19.

[795] NPS, "Foundation Document: Freedom Riders National Monument," 2018, 17.

[796] NPS, "Foundation Document: Freedom Riders National Monument," 2018, 17.

[797] NPS, "Foundation Document: Freedom Riders National Monument," 2018, 19.

Great Smoky Mountains National Park (GRSM)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1926

State(s): North Carolina, Tennessee

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Great Smoky Mountains National Park preserves a vast expanse of the southern Appalachian Mountains ecosystem, including its scenic beauty, extraordinary diversity of natural resources, and rich human history, and provides opportunities for the enjoyment and inspiration of present and future generations."[798]

Materials Reviewed:

- 19 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/grsm/
- 6 reports
    - Brown, Margaret Lynn. "Power, Privilege, and Tourism: a Revision of the Great Smokey Mountains National Park Story." 1990.
    - Harnsbreger, Douglas J. "Avent Mayna Treanor Studio." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1993.
    - "Elkmont Historic District." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1994.
    - Catton, Theodore. "A Gift for All Time: Great Smoky Mountains National Park Administrative History." 2008.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Great Smoky Mountains National Park." 2016.
    - Walton, Cynthia. "Great Smoky Mountains National Park Historic Resource Study." Volumes 1 and 2. 2016.
- 4 survey responses from employees or partners of GRSM

Relevant Time Period(s):

- US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

[798] NPS, "Foundation Document: Great Smoky Mountains National Park," 2016, 4.

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodations, Underground Railroad and Abolition, Voting Rights

NPS Themes:

- Expressing Cultural Values, Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape, Transforming the Environment

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Appalachian regional history, community displacement for park development, CCC, discrimination in tourism, Indigenous history, use of enslaved labor in industry, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Friends of Great Smoky Mountains National Park

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

GRSM preserves, protects, and interprets natural history and cultural history in the Appalachian region. The site's Foundation Document identifies a need to conduct "research on African American history in the park and other groups that have a historic connection to the park" with an intent to "evaluate the effectiveness of the park's efforts to connect with new/diverse audiences." Otherwise, the Foundation Document does not mention African American or Black history or experiences, an absence echoed in other interpretive materials reviewed for this report.[799]

Discussion of Black history is sparse in the park's Administrative History (2008). In the New Deal era, "African Americans were considerably underrepresented in the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and in most cases they formed separate companies. It appears that no black companies were deployed in Great Smoky Mountains National Park."[800] The first park superintendent, J. Ross Eakin, proposed developing a segregated campground, as the report explains, "Using the coded language that pervaded the segregated South of Jim Crow, Eakin did not need to explain his real purpose in establishing a separate campground for blacks, which was to make the Chimneys and Smokemont campgrounds exclusively for whites." Regional, private tourism businesses were highly

[799] NPS, "Foundation Document: Great Smoky Mountains National Park," 2016, 45.

[800] Theodore Catton, "A Gift for All Time: Great Smoky Mountains National Park Administrative History," 2008, 71.

segregated. This de facto segregation was effective: in the late 1930s and 1940s, roughly one African American visited the park for every 500 White visitors.[801]

The park HRS (2013) includes more deliberate assessment of Black and African American history in the area of GRSM. The report described the use of enslaved labor in the area in industries like mining, iron manufacturing, and logging.[802] In a discussion of early tourism, the HRS notes that some low country planters spent summers in the mountains, arriving "with their retinues of slaves in May and return[ing] to their coastal properties in October or November."[803] In the 1900s, the report describes how CCC camps "across the nation were segregated by race, and only white camps operated in Great Smoky Mountains NP. Eakin persuaded Fourth Corps CCC officials not to send any African American companies to the park, arguing that 'local peace officers could not be expected to protect the colored companies.'"[804] The WPA collected "folktales and oral histories from former slaves, farmers, and workers" in the area during the 1930s.[805] The HRS mentions explicitly segregated visitor facilities within GRSM. For instance, at Newfound Gap, recreational facilities "originally had two small lavatories for African-American men and women," and Forney Ridge was likewise segregated.[806]

The NRHP nomination for artist Avent Mayna Treanor's studio (1993) includes one of Treanor's paintings, "The Brown Madonna," which depicts "Mrs. Avent's cook, whose name" is unknown. There is no speculation as to who the cook might be or what her experiences in the community might be.[807]

Three of the 19 GRSM webpages reviewed include relevant content on Black history. One page explores the "African American Experience Project," a collaboration between the park and the community to document and share the untold stories of African Americans in and outside the Smokies.[808] A supplementary page describes the Town Hall Events conducted as part of the African American Experience Project. The events were open to the public and invited participants the opportunity to learn about the Black history of the park.[809] A third webpage explores "African American Southern Appalachian Music."[810]

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[801] Catton, "A Gift for All Time," 180–181.

[802] Cynthia Walton, "Great Smoky Mountains National Park Historic Resource Study," Volume 1, 2016, 51, 74.

[803] Walton, "Great Smoky Mountains National Park Historic Resource Study," Volume 1, 79.

[804] Walton, "Great Smoky Mountains National Park Historic Resource Study," Volume 1, 102.

[805] Walton, "Great Smoky Mountains National Park Historic Resource Study," Volume 1, 132.

[806] Walton, "Great Smoky Mountains National Park Historic Resource Study," Volume 1, 109, 115.

[807] Douglas J. Harnsbreger, "Avent Mayna Treanor Studio," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1993, 26.

[808] "African American Experience Project," GRSM webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/grsm/learn/historyculture/african-american-experience-project.htm.

[809] "African American Experience Project - Town Hall Events," GRSM webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/grsm/learn/historyculture/town-hall-events.htm.

[810] "African American Southern Appalachian Music," GRSM webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/grsm/learn/historyculture/african-american-southern-appalachian-music.htm

Site staff reported that biodiversity and natural resources played a major role in park narratives, although recent efforts to expand cultural resource interpretation has resulted in projects like the African American Experience and Affrilachian oral history projects.[811] "There are especially more social media and newsletter posts about discoveries," one staff member noted, "and at some point our website will be updated to include more content. It can be a challenge to complete research with limited records, but there has been more effort in recent years."[812] Other staff members noted that a focus on the White residents who moved into the area during the 1800s has resulted in the exclusion or under representation of Black stories.[813] When asked if any African American stories were included in park narratives, a staff member responded, "Not enough."[814]

Major gaps in interpretation of African American stories

- The "Elkmont Historic District" NRHP nomination does not have content on African American or Black history or experiences.[815]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

Example Projects

- African American Experience and Affrilachian Oral History Projects: Collaborative projects between the park and the community to document and share the untold stories of African Americans in and outside the Smokies.[816]

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Additional Affrilachian oral histories**.
- **Interpretive content based on Affrilachian oral histories**.
- Historical research of predominantly African American cemeteries in partnership with descendants of those buried there.[817]

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[811] GRSM, survey response, August 25, 2021; GRSM, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[812] GRSM, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[813] GRSM, survey response, August 25, 2021; GRSM, survey response, September 21, 2021.

[814] GRSM, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[815] "Elkmont Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1994.

[816] GRSM, survey response, August 25, 2021; "African American Experience Project," GRSM webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/grsm/learn/historyculture/african-american-experience-project.htm.

[817] GRSM, survey response, August 25, 2021.

- Research on experiences of Black men and women in the CCC and Job Corps.[818]
- Incorporation of latest research and projects into webpage content.
- Research on African American experiences in park visitation and the local tourism industry.
- Additional research into enslaved laborers who working in the area's mining and manufacturing industries.
- Research on Underground Railroad history as relates to the park.[819]

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, enhanced website content, additional partnerships (both external and internal to the NPS.[820]

[818] GRSM, survey response, September 21, 2021.

[819] GRSM, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[820] GRSM, survey response, August 25, 2021; GRSM, survey response, August 25, 2021; GRSM, survey response, August 25, 2021; GRSM, survey response, September 21, 2021.

Guilford Courthouse National Military Park (GUCO)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1917

State(s): North Carolina

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "The purpose of Guilford Courthouse National Military Park is to preserve for historical and professional military study as well as the benefit, education, and inspiration of the public, the battlefield and the accounts of the Battle of Guilford Courthouse during the Southern campaign of the American Revolution."[821]

Materials Reviewed:

- 14 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/guco
- 5 reports
    - Baker, Thomas E. "Redeemed From Oblivion: An Administrative History of Guilford Courthouse National Military Park." 1995.
    - Baker, Thomas E. "Guilford Courthouse National Military Park." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2000.
    - Griffith, David. "An Ethnographic Overview of the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park." 2015.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Guilford Courthouse National Military Park." 2016.
    - Lowe, Turkiya. "Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Historic Resource Study." 2017.
- 0 survey responses from employees or partners of GUCO

Relevant Time Period(s):

- European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework: Does not relate to one of these themes.

NPS Themes:

- Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape

[821] NPS, "Foundation Document: Guilford Courthouse National Military Park," 2016, 4.

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Discrimination in commemoration, Indigenous history, religion, Revolutionary War, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Guilford Battleground Company
- Ethnographic Report includes the following footnote: "We were not able to locate any non-white members of commemorative groups; Park personnel and others interviewed mentioned that there were African American Civil War reenactors in the region but not African American Revolutionary War reenactors."[822]

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

GUCO preserves, protects, and interprets the history of an American Revolutionary War battle, the commemorative efforts related to the site, and individual and community stories related to the area.

The Administrative History of GUCO (1995) does not mention Black individuals.[823] The Foundation Document (2016) similarly does not mention Black individuals, systems of enslavement in the Carolinas, whether CCC units in the 1930s were segregated at the site, or later twentieth-century Black visitor experiences at GUCO.[824] The NRHP nomination form for the site (2000) includes no mention of Black contributions to the Revolutionary War battle, commemorations of Black individuals, or discussion of Black visitors' experiences.[825] GUCO's HRS (2017) also fails to identify any stories or site features related to African American history. [826]

In contrast, the Ethnographic Overview for the site (2015) substantively addresses African American history and experiences. Authors argued that "in North Carolina, the institutions of both slavery and servitude differed from those of their neighbors to the north and south," stressing "that slaveholding was uneven across the colony, with the larger plantation's more restricted to the coastal plain and along some of the major rivers and the inland regions more apt to be dominated by small

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[822] David Griffith, "An Ethnographic Overview of the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park," 2015, 113.

[823] Thomas E. Baker, "Redeemed From Oblivion: An Administrative History of Guilford Courthouse National Military Park," 1995.

[824] NPS, "Foundation Document: Guilford Courthouse National Military Park," 2016.

[825] Thomas E. Baker, "Guilford Courthouse National Military Park," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2000.

[826] Turkiya Lowe, "Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Historic Resource Study," 2017.

farms and smaller numbers of the enslaved."[827] In Guilford County at the time of the battle, 180 households "kept fellow members of the human race in bondage."[828] The report describes a film shown at GUCO that "accurately depicts the fact that African Americans, for different reasons, participated on both sides of the Battle of Guilford Courthouse."[829]

The report directly engages with how past and present exclusion of African American stories from the historical narratives has translated to African American residents of the area feeling unconnected to the park:

> The problem with developing a history of African American participation in the American Revolution and the Battle of Guilford Courthouse is that references to African Americans tend to be incidental in the written record. Crow, for example, mentions an African American who fought in the Battle, John Toney of Halifax, North Carolina, who is not included in the materials the Park has developed. The record is abysmally scanty when it comes to African American women . . .
>
> This is not to say that more work could be done in terms of highlighting African American participation in the American Revolution at the Park, perhaps beginning with including more African Americans in annual reenactment weekends. Without exception, African Americans we interviewed mentioned that the difficulty that they had connecting with the history depicted at the Park was that they perceived it as white history, of little relevance to the African American historical experience.[830]

African American visitors expressed an interest in expanding GUCO's narrative beyond the Revolutionary War. One interviewee pointed out the importance of the Underground Railroad and the Woolworth's sit-ins to Guilford County history, stories interpreted at sites like the Greensboro Historical Museum. In discussing antebellum African American history, the interviewee observed, "funneling the enslaved toward freedom was an independence movement not unlike the American Revolution, emphasizing releasing people from the talons of tyranny."[831] Another interviewee expressed distrust towards GUCO staff, asserting that "prior to the 1970s, there had been an active attempt by Park personnel to exclude both African Americans and women from Battlefield demonstrations." The report authors point out, "Whether or not this was indeed the case matters less than the fact that African Americans believe this to be true; further, they point to the relative lack of reference to African American contributions to the Revolution in the Park as supporting evidence such an omission."[832]

One of 14 webpages reviewed in 2021–2022 included content on Black history or experiences. That page is devoted to "African Americans" and explores the roles and experiences of Black individuals who served militarily during the Revolutionary War era. It mentions the names of several

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[827] Griffith, "An Ethnographic Overview of the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park," 18.

[828] Griffith, "An Ethnographic Overview of the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park," 19.

[829] Griffith, "An Ethnographic Overview of the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park," 51.

[830] Griffith, "An Ethnographic Overview of the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park," 51–52.

[831] Griffith, "An Ethnographic Overview of the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park," 53.

[832] Griffith, "An Ethnographic Overview of the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park," 53.

Black individuals who fought in the Battle of Guilford Courthouse who have come to light through a thorough examination of British records.[833]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

Example Projects

- David Griffith, "An Ethnographic Overview of the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park," 2015.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Oral history of long civil rights movement in Guilford County** (Ethnographic Overview suggests Guilford County has unique civil rights era stories, including partnerships with Quaker community[834]).
- Partnerships and community building with groups in the region.
- Historical research on the Underground Railroad as it relates to the park.[835]
- Revisions of NRHP nomination forms to include Black stories.
- Historical research on enslavement in the area.
- Study on role of military service during the Revolutionary War as an imperfect avenue to emancipation, regardless of which side was offering (broad applicability beyond this site).

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- n/a (no responses to the survey by park staff)

[833] "People – African Americans," GUCO webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/guco/learn/historyculture/african-americans-guilford-courthouse.htm.

[834] Griffith, "An Ethnographic Overview of the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park," 48–49.

[835] Griffith, "An Ethnographic Overview of the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park".

Gulf Islands National Seashore (GUIS)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1971

State(s): Florida, Mississippi

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Gulf Islands National Seashore preserves and interprets an interconnected system of coastal defense fortifications, barrier islands, wilderness, and coastal and marine ecosystems in Mississippi and northwest Florida, while providing for public use and enjoyment."[836]

Materials Reviewed:

- 60 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/guis
- 8 reports[837]
    - Hammersten, Susan. "French Warehouse." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1991.
    - Harris, Norma. "Big Heart West." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1998.
    - Harris, Norma. "Butcherpen Mound." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1998.
    - Harris, Norma. "First American Road in Florida." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1998.
    - Harris, Norma. "Naval Live Oaks Reservation." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1998.
    - Harris, Norma. "Prehistoric and Historic Archeological Properties of the Naval Live Oaks Reservation, Gulf Breeze, Florida." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Multiple Property Submission. 1998.
    - Harris, Norma. "Third Gulf Breeze." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1998.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Gulf Islands National Seashore." 2016.
- 4 survey responses from employees or partners of GUIS

[836] NPS, "Foundation Document: Gulf Islands National Seashore," 2016, 4.

[837] Note that GUIS has six applications or reports that led to sites or places within the national seashore as Underground Railroad sites. These were not included in the SOW for this report and therefore were not reviewed.

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Early Inhabitants and Native Americans, 3500 BC–AD 1600; European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Underground Railroad and Abolition, Desegregation of Public Accommodations, Equal Employment

NPS Themes:

- Changing Role of the United States in the World Community, Developing the American Economy, Expanding Science and Technology, Expressing Cultural Values, Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape, Transforming the Environment

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Civil Rights movement, Civil War, Indigenous history, infrastructure, maritime history, slavery, USCT, women's history, World War II

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Eastern National / America's National Parks

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

Several park employees submitted thoughtful responses to the survey. When asked about the main interpretive narrative at site and whether African American stories are included in that narrative, staff responded:

- "Gulf Islands has six, co-equal main interpretive themes. These themes related to the seashore's recreational, natural, historical, and cultural resources. Though not specifically mentioned, African American stories are components of two theme statements: Forts and Firepower and Location and Legacy. . . . African American stories are included in both theme statements. Army engineers forced enslaved laborers to build the brick forts on Florida's Pensacola Bay. Later, enslaved people journeyed on the Underground Railroad to several of those brick forts. During the Civil War, Black men serving in the United States Colored Troops occupied the Pensacola Bay forts and Ship Island in Mississippi. One of the seashore's areas, the Perdido Key Area, is the site of Rosamond Johnson Beach. This beach

is named in honor of a Black soldier killed in the Korean War and once functioned as Black beach."[838]

- "Our programming focuses heavily on the natural resources such as the various types of ecosystems and wildlife that inhabit the Mississippi District of GUIS as well as the Civil War history on ship Island. . . . The 2nd Louisianan Native Guard, a unit made up primarily of free men of mixed race, including African Americans, who were stationed on Ship Island during the Civil War is a heavily featured part of our Ship Island and Fort Massachusetts programs. We are also in the process of designing new translucent way-side exabits [*sic*] to further tell the story of the Native Guards time on Ship Island. We have been working on two Underground Railroad Network to Freedom site applications, for barrier island Horn and Ship respectively. The research for these applications has led us to discover stories of enslaved people finding liberation at the hands of union forces on both Ship and Horn Islands. We hope to bring these stories to our visitors through newly created public programming and non-personal service items."[839]

In 2021, GUIS was listed in the Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program, since the military reservation around Fort Barrancas "is where freedom seekers and others joined the U.S. Army during the Civil War." It was outside of the scope of this project to review the Network to Freedom documentation for the park, but reviewers of the report noted that both Horn and Ship Islands (barrier islands in Mississippi that are managed by Gulf Islands National Seashore) have received Network to Freedom designation. Freedom seekers fled to these islands, some of their own will and others under duress, to join the US Navy. A refugee camp existed on Ship Island as early as 1862. There are still many unknowns about these camps, including on the history of the women at the camp. USCT soldiers later passed through Ship Island.[840]

Several NRHP nomination forms reviewed mention Black individuals, but there is little meaningful or in-depth discussion of the experiences of African American people in relation to these sites. Three shell midden sites do not mention African Americans, in part because most of their period of significance precedes the arrival of Europeans and Africans to the area.[841]

The NRHP nomination for French Warehouse describes it as "the remains of the warehouse complex established on Ship Island in 1717 or 1718 which served as the principle [*sic*] port for the capital of New Biloxi." It does not discuss whether Black individuals worked here or if ships of enslaved people passed through here.[842]

The NRHP and Multiple Property Submission (MPS) nominations of the Naval Live Oaks Reservation notes the presence of enslaved Indigenous and African individuals at the timber

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[838] GUIS, survey response, August 31, 2021.

[839] GUIS, survey response, September 1, 2021.

[840] NPS, "Second Gentleman Douglas Emhoff, Secretary Deb Haaland Announce New Listings in Underground Railroad Network to Freedom Program," press release, April 23, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/orgs/1207/04-23-2021-ugrr-ntf.htm.

[841] Norma Harris, "Big Heart West," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1998; Norma Harris, "Butcherpen Mound," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1998; Norma Harris, "Third Gulf Breeze," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1998.

[842] Susan Hammersten, "French Warehouse," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1991.

plantation. There is a description of structures constructed on the plantation site, and a discussion about how the site likely includes archeological evidence of quarters for enslaved people, but no significant research had been done at report time.[843] The MPS includes a list of potential future research (see "Recommendations" section below).[844]

The NRHP nomination for the "First American Road in Florida" notes that the US military and contractor John Bellamy oversaw construction of the eastern section of the road (from Apalachicola to St. Augustine), and US soldiers oversaw construction of the western half of the road (from the Apalachicola River to Pensacola, the section within GUIS). It notes that "Bellamy's slaves were the major component of his labor force," but does not identify who the federal government had as laborers.[845]

Eleven of 50 webpages reviewed have content related to African American or Black history or experiences. Several discuss the construction of military fortifications, like Fort Pickens and Fort Barrancas, and how enslaved people were the ones who built the structures.[846] A related article, on the engineer directing the US Army's efforts to build these forts, explains how he obtained laborers with relevant skills, who were "owned" by Underhill & Strong of New Orleans and leased out to the Army. William H. Chase advertised for rented enslaved laborers from the local area. A sudden swelling of enslaved people under Chase's directive changed the system of slavery in Pensacola and created additional wealth for Pensacolans who enslaved other people.[847] Another page profiles Peter Dyson, a man who was enslaved and might have been a part of the enslaved labor who built the forts in Pensacola. Peter and his wife, Henrietta, eventually escaped from slavery and lived the rest of their lives in New York City.[848]

Two webpages on secession (of Mississippi and Florida, respectively) center slavery as the cause for the states' leaders voting in favor of leaving the Union.[849]

Other webpages that touch on African American experiences discuss individuals or units during different wars. The Second Louisiana Native Guard was an all-Black unit during the Civil War. Its members guarded railroads and key points in the New Orleans and La Fourche areas, performed patrols and confiscated supplies intended for Confederate forces, defended Ship Island, and learned

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[843] Norma Harris, "Naval Live Oaks Reservation," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1998, esp. 7, 11.

[844] Norma Harris, "Prehistoric and Historic Archeological Properties of the Naval Live Oaks Reservation, Gulf Breeze, Florida," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Multiple Property Submission, 1998, 30.

[845] Norma Harris, "First American Road in Florida," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1998, 8.

[846] "Fort Pickens," GUIS webpage, last updated March 1, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/guis/learn/historyculture/fort-pickens.htm; "Advanced Redoubt," GUIS webpage, last updated June 14, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/guis/learn/historyculture/advanced-redoubt.htm.

[847] NPS, "William H. Chase," webpage, last updated December 23, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/people/william-chase.htm.

[848] NPS, "Peter, Property, and Posterity," webpage, last updated November 14, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/articles/peter-dyson.htm.

[849] NPS, "Florida Secession," webpage, last updated December 20, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/articles/florida-secession.htm; NPS, "Mississippi Secession," webpage, last updated December 11, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/articles/ms-secession.htm.

to man heavy artillery.[850] Two webpages on the 25th USCT discuss the men who signed up and the tasks of the unit, which included guarding Fort Pickens, Fort Barrancas, and the Advanced Redoubt.[851]

Another page tells the twentieth-century story of Rosamond Johnson, a native of Pensacola who was the first soldier from Escambia County to die in the Korean War. The page discusses the restrictive Jim Crow laws that Johnson and his family faced at home.[852] It mentions that "While places like Pensacola Beach were designated 'whites only', the eastern end of Perdido Key became a refuge where black citizens could enjoy the beauty and recreational opportunities of the beach and the Gulf."[853] The history of beach segregation continues on another page. It explains that segregation of public beaches led to Black children swimming in unsafe and unsupervised bodies of water. Dr. Gilbert Mason Sr. led a series of protests against segregated beaches called wade-ins. The protestors would wade into the water of Biloxi, Mississippi, beaches, and they were met with violence. The beaches were eventually integrated after the Justice Department won a lengthy legal battle.[854]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Eight new outdoor wayside exhibits to share the park Underground Railroad history.
- Video about the stories of enslaved people/freedom seekers in the park Florida and Mississippi districts.
- Mobile exhibit panel.
- Revision of existing interpretive exhibits.[855]

Example Projects

- None

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[850] NPS, "Second Louisiana Native Guard," webpage, last updated October 29, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/articles/2la-guard.htm.

[851] NPS, "25th United States Colored Troops: The Sable Sons of Uncle Abe," webpage, last updated December 9, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/articles/25-usct.htm; NPS, "25th United States Colored Troops: 1864 Muster Roll," webpage, last updated April 16, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/articles/25-usct-muster-roll.htm.

[852] "Rosamond Johnson," GUIS webpage, last updated December 4, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/guis/learn/historyculture/rosamond-johnson.htm.

[853] "Rosamond Johnson," GUIS webpage, last updated December 4, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/guis/learn/historyculture/rosamond-johnson.htm.

[854] NPS, "Beach Segregation," webpage, last updated April 16, 2020, https://www.nps.gov/articles/beach-segregation.htm.

[855] NPS comments on draft report, August 2023.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Research on the lives of enslaved individuals in the park area**. Could include phased components, to include:
    - Research on laborers who built the "First American Road" through the park.
    - "Potential research questions that can lead to a better understanding of the lifeways of Antebellum Floridians include: status studies from material cultures on a socially stratified site (superintendent-overseer-slave); study of slavery under a system unique to non-traditional agriculture and the lives of slaves under this system which were not documented by the dominate segment of society; economic relationships; African survival practices under this particular system; belief systems, and other aspects of African-American history . . . the potential for research related to slave activities and living quarters is great."[856]
    - Connection of sites within the seashore to the trade of enslaved people and the associated experiences of African American individuals.
    - Research on the stories and experiences of the enslaved people who lived and worked at the tree plantation on Deer Point Peninsula and investigations to determine the location of their living quarters.[857]
    - "GUIS would benefit from a comprehensive research report that explores the systemic use of enslaved laborers to construct and maintain the U.S. Navy Yard and Third System fortifications on Pensacola Bay in Florida. Such a report should include a thorough study of the labor forced used to build Advanced Redoubt (1845–1870). Currently, little is known about the people who labored on the fort during and after the Civil War and during a time when the United States experienced its Second Founding. . . . A more extensive region-wide report could explore industrialized slavery in industries like brickyards and the use of a system of slave rentals to construct Third System forts managed by the NPS in the southeastern United States."[858]
- Historic research on Presidio Isla de Santa Rosa (1722–1752), an archeological site from the Spanish colonial era within the Fort Pickens area of GUIS.
- Research on beach segregation in the present-day Mississippi and Florida districts of GUIS. To include Rosamond Johnson Jr. Beach (within the park Perdido Key Area), a site several hundred yards east of the Fort Pickens Campground Office on Santa Rosa Island, and the

[856] Harris, "Prehistoric and Historic Archeological Properties of the Naval Live Oaks Reservation, Gulf Breeze, Florida," 32.

[857] GUIS, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[858] NPS comments on draft report, August 2023.

Mississippi barrier islands (including Ship Island). Would also include an investigation of "wade-ins" that may have occurred in the park.[859]

- Research on segregated scouting camps in the Naval Live Oaks Area: Camp Big Heart (a White Boy Scouts camp), Camp Isabella Ingraham (a White Girl Scouts camp), and Camp Stinton (a Black Boy Scouts camp).
- Additional research and interpretive content related to USCT in the area (with specialemphasis on the 25th, 74th, 82nd, 86th, and 97th USCT infantries).[860]
- Additional studies on the (long) civil rights movement in the area.[861]

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents noted a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, training, additional publications/pamphlets, enhanced website content, and additional partnerships (external to the NPS).

[859] GUIS, survey response, August 25, 2021; NPS comments on draft report, August 2023.

[860] GUIS, survey response, August 31, 2021.

[861] GUIS, survey response, August 31, 2021.

Horseshoe Bend National Military Park (HOBE)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1956

State(s): Alabama

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Horseshoe Bend National Military Park preserves and protects the site of the last major engagement of the Creek War (1813–1814). The park interprets the events of the battle in the larger context of the War of 1812, as well as their impacts on the Creek people and the development of the United States."[862]

Materials Reviewed:

- 15 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/hobe/
- 3 reports
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Horseshoe Bend National Military Park." 2014.
    - Braund, Kathryn H. "The African American Experience and the Creek War, 1813–1814: An Annotated Bibliography." 2017.
    - Hebert, Keith S., and Kathryn H. Braund. "Horseshoe Bend National Military Park Administrative History." 2019.
- 1 survey response from employees or partners of HOBE

Relevant Time Period(s):

- US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework: Does not relate to one of these themes.

NPS Themes:

- Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape, Transforming the Environment

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Archeology, discrimination in commemoration, displacement to develop NPS site, Indigenous history, War of 1812, women's history

[862] NPS, "Foundation Document: Horseshoe Bend National Military Park," 2014, 5.

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation

Partner Organizations:

- Friends of Horseshoe Bend National Military Park

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

Site staff surveyed noted that there is evidence that some participants in battles were Black, and that some Muscogee Creek families enslaved people of African descent. In addition, after forced removal of Muscogee Creek people, "the land was farmed with cotton . . . There are bound to be stories of slavery and sharecropping."[863]

No webpages reviewed in 2021 contained information on African American history, experiences, or individuals.

The Foundation Document for HOBE (2014) discusses Muscogee Creek villages in the area, the role of the Creek War in forcing displacement of Indigenous communities from Alabama, and notes that it is "the only unit of the national park system east of the Mississippi River protecting the site of a battle between U.S. forces and an American Indian tribe." There is no discussion of Black history or individuals or experiences.[864]

The site's Administrative History (2014) includes some discussion of African American soldiers in the US Army during the Creek War. In its discussion of the creation and administration of the site, this document does a good job addressing the demographics of the area, who lived on or used the land before the park was created, and how segregation affected the park. It notes that, as of 1870, 76 percent of Tallapoosa County was White, and that "most African American residents lived in the western portion of the county where antebellum plantations and large farms had been broken up into smaller tenant and sharecropper farms worked by black families." It places commemoration efforts within the historic context of the 1890s, showing how segregationist policies and white supremacy guided commemorative efforts. For many early site developers, the report explains, "victories over American Indian warriors at places such as Horseshoe Bend explicitly bolstered shared notions of white supremacy." Many of the families displaced to solidify this monument to White supremacy were Black, and it was not until the spring of 1960 that the final remaining farmers, "an African American tenant farm family," left the area. These ideals were also reflected in staff: Horseshoe Bend did "not have a female or African American ranger until the 1980s."[865]

Kathleen H. Braund, one of the authors of the administrative history and a scholar of eighteenth-century Muscogee Creek history, also authored a 115-page annotated bibliography on

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[863] HOBE, survey responses, September 22, 2021.

[864] NPS, "Foundation Document: Horseshoe Bend National Military Park," 2014.

[865] Keith S. Hebert and Kathryn H. Braund, "Horseshoe Bend National Military Park Administrative History," 2019, 36–37, 50, 65, 108.

African American experiences before, during, and after Creek War and War of 1812 (published in 2017).[866] This project,

> sought to identify primary, secondary, and tertiary sources related to the experience of African-Americans prior to, during, and after the Creek War (1813-1814) and the War of 1812. For the period immediately following the Creek War, the project also sought information on Creek activities in the First Seminole War as well as the period between the Creek War and Removal. Following Removal, information was sought on the rise of a slave society in Tallapoosa County, Alabama, on former Creek land. . . .
>
> In the same way that understanding Creek identity and evolving notions of race are essential to an understanding of their relations with African-Americans, so too is an understanding of Creek captivity practices. As historians have documented, the capture and temporary enslavement of enemies evolved to the commodification of enslaved people and the development of chattel slavery among the Creeks by the end of the eighteenth century. The result of these factors was a variety of experiences for African-Americans who lived among Creek Indians. Thus, this project examines African-Americans in light of Creek notions of identity, racial attitudes, captivity and enslavement. It will also consider works that examine the practice of enslaving Creek Indians, especially in the context of the Creek War.[867]

The entire report is focused on African American experiences as relate to the site's period of significance. This report, by a historian who is an expert on the history of the region and well-versed in locating difficult-to-find documents, is a significant contribution to the understanding of the site's history and regional history, especially since, as Braund notes, "Not a single contemporary document recounting the Battle of Horseshoe Bend mentions the presence of African Americans at the battle. And very few others illuminate the matter."[868]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

Example Projects

- Kathryn H. Braund, "The African American Experience and the Creek War, 1813–1814: An Annotated Bibliography," 2017.

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[866] Kathryn H. Braund, "The African American Experience and the Creek War, 1813–1814: An Annotated Bibliography," 2017. Braund is also the author of *Deerskins and Duffels*, *The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685–1815* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), which is considered a seminal work in the field of southeastern Indigenous history of the colonial era.

[867] Braund, "The African American Experience and the Creek War, 1813–1814," block quote from page 3 and 8–9.

[868] Braund, "The African American Experience and the Creek War, 1813–1814," 3.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Continued research in historical documents to further shed light on lives of people of African descent in Muscogee communities**. In Braund's report, she makes the following recommendations for further research:
    - "While efforts were made to locate material from Alabama and Georgia newspapers from the late 1830s to the 1860s regarding slavery, a more comprehensive effort might yield greater results."[869]
    - "Analysis of the agricultural census data along with land records and biographical information on those who moved into the region would increase our understanding of the rise of slavery in Tallapoosa County following American takeover of the area. Virtually nothing exists in the secondary literature on this topic for Tallapoosa County."[870]
    - Survey of "wills and other bound volumes" at the Tallapoosa County Courthouse to better understand lives of African American people in Creek communities in early 1800s.[871]
    - "More thorough examination of British records" to better understand "the Creek effort in Florida to capture and return runaways."[872]

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff.

[869] Braund, "The African American Experience and the Creek War, 1813–1814," 29.

[870] Braund, "The African American Experience and the Creek War, 1813–1814," 29–30.

[871] Braund, "The African American Experience and the Creek War, 1813–1814," 30.

[872] Braund, "The African American Experience and the Creek War, 1813–1814," 31.

Jean Lafitte National Historical Park (JELA)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1907

State(s): Louisiana

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve protects and interprets significant examples of the Louisiana Mississippi River Delta's rich cultural and natural resources that demonstrate the interaction of this region's distinctive environment, complex history, and diverse communities, lifeways, and traditions."[873]

Note: Managed jointly with New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park (JAZZ)

Materials Reviewed:

- 17 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/jela/
- 6 reports
    - Jackson, Joyce Marie. "Life in the Village: A Cultural Memory of the Fazendeville Community." 2003.
    - Blythe, Robert W. "Jean Lafitte NHP and Preserve Administrative History." 2012.
    - Lee, Dayna Bowker, Rolonda Teal, and Donna Greer, "The African American Experience, Colonial Era Through the Civil War: Chalmette Battlefield and National Cemetery, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve." 2015.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve." 2015.
    - NPS. "Jean Lafitte NHP and Preserve, New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park Long Range Interpretive Plan." 2019.
    - NPS. "Media Plan: Jean Lafitte NHP and Preserve, New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park." 2019.
- 1 survey response from employees or partners of JELA

Relevant Time Period(s):

- European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

[873] NPS, "Foundation Document: Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve," 2015, 5.

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodations, Underground Railroad and Abolition

NPS Themes:

- Creating Social Institutions and Movements, Expressing Cultural Values, Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Acadian traditions, agricultural history, Black military service, Civil Rights, Creole traditions, education, environmental history, folkways (food and music), maritime, resistance, War of 1812, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Lower Ninth Ward Living Museum

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

JELA protects and preserves several park units in the "Mississippi Delta region … an area of national significance, in terms of its natural, cultural, and historical resources." The park is named for Jean Lafitte, a buccaneer who "navigated the swamps of the Barataria Preserve…smuggling contraband and slaves." JELA includes the Chalmette National Historical Park (which preserves part of the 1815 Battle of New Orleans and an associated cemetery), Acadian Cultural Center in Lafayette, Wetlands Acadian Center in Thibodaux, Prairie Acadian in Eunice, and Barataria Preserve in Marrero.[874] JELA is managed jointly alongside JAZZ.

JELA plays a central role in telling "the story of New Orleans, a cultural crossroads for more than 300 years. A colonial French African population and culture helped shape the city by preserving the city's Creole culture, which produced distinctive architecture, food, music, legal framework, and customs."[875] The site's interpretive framework acknowledges: "From the colonial Code Noir and Governor Alejandro O'Reilly's ban of the American Indian slave trade, to the 1896 Supreme Court ruling codifying 'separate but equal' practices, to the 1960 integration of its public schools, to the devastation of Hurricane Katrina, New Orleans has played a critical role in in the social and legal civil rights struggle of Americans."[876]

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[874] NPS, "Foundation Document: Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve," 2015, 3–5.

[875] NPS, "Foundation Document: Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve," 2015, 6.

[876] NPS, "Foundation Document: Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve," 2015, 10.

In 2019, JELA and JAZZ completed an interim LRIP designed to identify interpretive themes, recommend interpretive services and partnerships, and "communicate the parks' purpose, significance, and primary stories." The interim plan was designed to have a five-year lifespan. JELA's significance focused on "the living legacy of south Louisiana's blend of diaspora cultures from Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Caribbean" but none of the LRIP statements include a discussion of slavery or enslavement, despite a context statement that identifies the park's namesake, Jean Lafitte, as a smuggler of enslaved people.[877] The LRIP notes that the park name "elevate(s) Lafitte, a man with a dark and shady reputation, to a larger than life status" and suggests reviewing the name.[878]

For both JELA and JAZZ, "Slavery and its Legacies" is identified as an interpretive framework.[879] The LRIP mentions historically Black neighborhoods and communities, sometimes explicitly identifying the cultural residents and sometimes not; at JAZZ, Tremé and the 9th Ward are mentioned without connecting them to Black communities. At JELA, the LRIP recommends renaming a room at the Visitor Center "Fazendeville," to acknowledge the community that once occupied the battlefield, identified elsewhere in the report as a community established by formerly enslaved people.[880] The media plan do not make explicit connections to African American history and experiences; although present in parts of the text, Black history is not centralized or identified as a primary interpretive narrative or framework.[881]

JELA's 2012 Administrative History discusses the plantation system and its impact on the economy. The report also recognizes the continuity of communities (even communities displaced by NPS development) and provides resources for "Interacting with Living Cultures," "Whose Culture First?" and "Thematic Diversity."[882] JELA has also commissioned topical reports related directly to African American history, like Dayna Bowker Lee, Rolonda Teal, and Donna Greer's 2015 report, "The African American Experience, Colonial Era Through the Civil War: Chalmette Battlefield and National Cemetery, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve."[883] The report includes a broad topical discussion of "colonial settlement and slavery" and examines several area plantations, including the Rodriguez and Chalmette Plantations. The authors also include a discussion of resistance among enslaved persons, participation of "people of color at the Battle of New Orleans" and discussions of the freedpeoples' communities that replaced the plantation system in the post-Civil War period. The authors focused on the African American experience and were able to include individual stories by finding names in burial records and records like "inventor[ies] of slaves from Chaouchas Plantation."[884]

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[877] NPS, "Jean Lafitte NHP and Preserve, New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park Long Range Interpretive Plan," 2019, 8.

[878] NPS, "Jean Lafitte NHP and Preserve, New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park LRIP," 2019, 13.

[879] NPS, "Jean Lafitte NHP and Preserve, New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park LRIP," 2019, 11.

[880] NPS, "Jean Lafitte NHP and Preserve, New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park LRIP," 2019, 11, 47.

[881] NPS, "Media Plan: Jean Lafitte NHP and Preserve, New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park," 2019.

[882] Robert W. Blythe, "Jean Lafitte NHP and Preserve Administrative History," 2012.

[883] Dayna Bowker Lee, Rolonda Teal, and Donna Greer, "The African American Experience, Colonial Era Through the Civil War: Chalmette Battlefield and National Cemetery, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve," 2015.

[884] Lee, Teal, and Greer, "The African American Experience, Colonial Era Through the Civil War," 1–15.

At Chalmette Battlefield, creation of the park involved displacing the African American community of Fazendeville.[885] Fazendeville was occupied from approximately 1867 to the 1960s, when the NPS displaced residents, many of whom moved to New Orleans. A 2003 study of Fazendeville detailed the community's cultural landscape and anchored the research with oral history excerpts from displaced individuals. In describing the role of the NPS in displacing Fazendeville residents, report author Joyce Marie Jackson also underscored the cultural continuity of the community, asserting that "the community in fact lives on and continues a lively existence in an appropriated space."[886] Focusing on themes of "cooperative effort, associational networks, human interaction, and self-government," Jackson centered the voices of the displaced and allowed them to reflect on what Fazendeville meant to them. Many residents believed in "a conspiracy between the federal government (the Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve), the local white politicians, and some of their powerful constituents in Washington D.C. to prevent blacks in the Village from gaining voting rights, going to school with their children, and maintaining their land holdings on the battlefield."[887] Very few of the participants mentioned the battle that the NPS unit commemorates, leading Jackson to observe "they could care less about the battle of 1815, but some do identify with and value the Chalmette Monument that memorializes the battle. Thus, the Fazendeville residents have transformed the Monument into an icon that they can use to symbolize and depict a familiar space that they can still call home." Jackson notes that many prior residents have continued to visit the site as a memorial to Fazendeville.[888]

JELA offers some web content related to African American history and experiences. Five of the 17 webpages associated with the site include relevant content. Three pages focus on biographies of individuals. One explores the life and legacy of Ruby Bridges, the first Black child to desegregate William Frantz Elementary School in New Orleans in 1960, despite the outlawing of segregation in the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling in 1954.[889] Another biography is devoted to Jordan B. Noble, an enslaved man who accompanied the forces at the Chalmette Battlefield with his enslaver, Lt. John Noble, as a drummer. Nearly 900 enslaved people and free men of color were part of Maj. Gen. Andrew Jackson's forces against the British invasion. After obtaining his freedom, Noble continued his connection to the military. He participated in the 1836 Seminole War, the Mexican War, and the Civil War. As Noble grew older, he became a fixture in New Orleans during commemorations of the Battle of New Orleans.[890] A third biographical page focuses on Homer Plessy. Homer Plessy was a member of the Afro-Creole community in New Orleans who worked with the Citizens Committee, a civil rights group. In 1892, Plessy challenged Louisiana's Separate Car Law that required segregated passenger cars on trains. The subsequent Supreme Court case, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, enshrined the "separate but equal" doctrine.[891]

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[885] NPS, "Foundation Document: Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve," 2015, 9.

[886] Joyce Marie Jackson, "Life in the Village: A Cultural Memory of the Fazendeville Community," 2003, 6.

[887] Jackson, "Life in the Village," 96.

[888] Jackson, "Life in the Village," 110.

[889] NPS, "Ruby Bridges," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/people/rubybridges.htm.

[890] NPS, "Jordan Noble," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/people/jordan-noble.htm.

[891] NPS, "Homer Plessy," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/people/homer-plessy.htm.

JELA's web content includes place-based and broader community history in addition to biographies. One page explores the history of Fazendeville.[892] Another page on "Genealogy" explores a 2018 project where JELA partnered with the Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor Commission and the International African American Museum's Center for Family History to present workshops on the Atlantic Southeast/Louisiana connection.[893]

Survey respondents indicated in 2021 that although JELA's interpretation focused on "the multi-cultural history of New Orleans and south Louisiana," African American narratives were included "only a little bit, mostly in reference to the development of jazz."[894] Staff stressed "No discussion of the history and culture of New Orleans should happen without the inclusion of African American stories." Staff identified "the prevalence of slavery," the role of enslaved people and free Black people in constructing New Orleans, foodways and cultural traditions, resistance to slavery, instances of racial violence, extensive civil rights organizing and crucial court cases like *Plessy v. Ferguson*, local efforts to desegregate schools, the unjust impact of urban renewal on Black communities, and the stories and legacies of Katrina as stories central to African American history and American history more broadly.[895]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Historic Resource Study: Reconstruction Resources and Contexts at Chalmette Battlefield Unit (PMIS #248335).

Example Projects

- Joyce Marie Jackson, "Life in the Village: A Cultural Memory of the Fazendeville Community," NPS, 2003.
- Dayna Bowker Lee, Rolonda Teal, and Donna Greer, "The African American Experience, Colonial Era Through the Civil War: Chalmette Battlefield and National Cemetery, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve," 2015.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- Research on displacement that occurred in the Fazendeville community. Potential projects could include:
    - Study focused on the role of church (Battle Ground Baptist Church) and religious experiences in the community.

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[892] NPS, "Fazendeville," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/places/fazendeville.htm.

[893] "Genealogy," JELA webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/jela/genealogy.htm.

[894] JELA, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[895] JELA, survey response, August 25, 2021.

    - **Additional ethnographic interviews with Fazendeville community members and descendants.**
    - Archival and library research on major social movements like military service, school desegregation, voting rights activism, and other issues impacting Fazendeville and St. Bernard Parish.
    - Kinship charts and genealogical research into families of Fazendeville, including dedicated effort to capture and preserve material culture related to area families.
    - Commemorative signage and interpretation focused on Fazendeville community.
    - Fazendeville as an example of development of recreational facilities disproportionately displacing/devaluing Black communities.[896]
- Oral histories related to Black Acadian (Cajun) culture associated with areas within the park.
- Research on the history of African Americans in Barataria Preserve.
- Oral histories about segregation within the park.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, additional publications and pamphlets, enhanced web content, and development of exhibits related specifically to Black and African American history and experiences.[897]

[896] Jackson, "Life in the Village," 107–9.

[897] JELA, survey response, August 25, 2021.

Jimmy Carter National Historic Site (JICA)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1987

State(s): Georgia

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "The purpose of the Jimmy Carter National Historic Site is to benefit, inspire, and educate present and future generations of people by interpreting the broad stories of Jimmy Carter's life, preserving the resources associated with those stories, presenting the history and evolution of Plains as a small rural Georgia town and its influence on Jimmy Carter, and interpreting Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter's impact on the global community."[898]

Materials Reviewed:

- 2 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/jica/
- 5 reports
    - O'Brien, William Patrick. "Special History Study, Jimmy Carter National Historic Site and Preservation District, Georgia." 1991.
    - Jackson, Antoinette T., Whitney Goodwin, Justin Hosbey, and Aaron Frost. "An Ethnohistorical Profile of the African American Community of Archery, Georgia." 2013.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Jimmy Carter National Historic Site Foundation." 2013.
    - Hanson, Jill K. "JICA NHS National Register Additional Documentation." 2015.
    - Berggren, Jason, and Adrienne M. Petty. "'Instilling Wisdom, Building Character:' A Study of Segregation, Politics, and Public Education in Sumter County, Georgia, 1930s–1970s." 2021.
- 4 survey responses from employees or partners of JICA

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

[898] NPS, "Foundation Document: Jimmy Carter National Historic Site Foundation," 2013.

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodation, Desegregation of Public Education, Equal Employment, Racial Discrimination in Housing, Voting Rights

NPS Themes:

- Expressing Cultural Values, Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Indigenous history, Civil Rights, Jim Crow, segregation, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Friends of the Jimmy Carter National Historic Site, St. Mark AME Church

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

JICA protects, preserves, and interprets sites related to President Jimmy Carter and his boyhood community of Plains, Georgia. The Foundation Document (2013) identifies numerous protected resources, including the Plains Depot, Jimmy Carter's Boyhood Home, Plains High School, the Carter compound, and scenic easements on area roads. Although the Foundation Document does not include any substantive discussion of Black or African American history, JICA has recently conducted several studies and interpretive efforts to expand the site narrative.[899]

JICA includes many historic structures with clear links to African American history and experiences. A Special History Study (1991) focused on the JICA Preservation District included discussions of enslaved labor in the area, the growth of sharecropping in the postwar period, and the presence of segregated facilities like the Plains pool and hospital.[900] NRHP nomination forms (2015) focus on interpreting buildings associated with the former President, only briefly mentioning Black or African American experiences. It does note that the area was primarily agricultural, and that "the South lost the war because it relied too heavily on cotton and slavery." In the post-war period, as many as two-thirds of the area sharecroppers were African American, but the report does not explore specific experiences or larger trends relating to the sharecropping system. The historic context briefly discusses Reconstruction and the Jim Crow era, Black disenfranchisement, and "the threat of violence was a constant background to the racial caste system," especially the threat of lynching.[901] The community where President Carter grew up, Archery, is identified as

[899] NPS, "Foundation Document: Jimmy Carter National Historic Site Foundation," 2013.

[900] William Patrick O'Brien, "Special History Study, Jimmy Carter National Historic Site and Preservation District, Georgia," 1991, 28–29, 42, 47, 116.

[901] Jill K. Hanson, "JICA NHS National Register Additional Documentation," 2015, 27–28.

"predominately an African American community" and that despite segregation in the early 1900s, Plains had a significant African American population by the 1990s. The NRHP documentation does identify specific buildings related to the African American community, including a house belonging to the Clark family, sharecroppers who worked on President Carter's family farm.[902]

In the last decade, two important reports have centralized and underscored the importance of African American history at JICA. A 2013 Ethnohistorical profile of Archery not only underscored the Black community's role in shaping President Carter's childhood experiences but also explored the distinct spaces and ways in which the community defined itself around institutions like the St. Mark AME Church. The report authors advocated strongly for "continued attentiveness to underrepresented stories and communities as part of the process of interpreting the Jimmy Carter National Historic Site. This focus allows for illumination of tensions and complexities of diverse experiences such as those complicated by race and not their erasure."[903] The project included extensive ethnographic interviews with community members and a survey of the Archery Cemetery. Report appendices include selections of interviews conducted with Plains, Archery, and Americus, Georgia, residents in 2010. The report attempts to directly grapple with "Race and Public History Making," centralizing and providing a model for incorporating descendant knowledge at JICA.[904]

In 2021, a Special History Study entitled "'Instilling Wisdom, Building Character:' A Study of Segregation, Politics, and Public Education in Sumter County, Georgia, 1930s–1970s" contributed to JICA's dedicated efforts to expand African American history at the park. The report extensively covers African American experiences in Archery and Plains. In addition to extensive coverage of school segregation, it adds valuable context by exploring Black churches and the civil rights movement more broadly. The report acknowledges that Jimmy Carter long credited his education for preparing him for the Presidency, citing his high school principal in his inaugural address. Plains High School is the "centerpiece of the National Park Service's Jimmy Carter National Historic Site." This survey asks: "What was school like for the black children who attended segregated schools in Plains and throughout Sumter County? What impact did their educations have on their lives?" The report is a good example of taking a long-standing, central interpretive tenet of a park unit and exploring how it impacts communities traditionally underrepresented or erased from NPS narratives.[905]

JICA has limited web content. One of the two pages reviewed includes information on Black or African American history or experiences. The "People" page includes brief biographies of the Clark family. Rachel Idlette Holt Clark and her husband worked as sharecroppers for the Carter family. Their small house was just past the Carter's vegetable garden, and young Jimmy Carter spent a lot of time working alongside them. In President Carter's memoir, he stated, "Of all the people who lived

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[902] Hanson, "JICA NHS National Register Additional Documentation," 31–35.

[903] Antoinette T. Jackson, Whitney Goodwin, Justin Hosbey, and Aaron Frost, "An Ethnohistorical Profile of the African American Community of Archery, Georgia," 2013, 2.

[904] Jackson et al., "An Ethnohistorical Profile of the African American Community of Archery, Georgia," 28–29, 89, 135.

[905] Jason Berggren, and Adrienne M. Petty, "'Instilling Wisdom, Building Character:' A Study of Segregation, Politics, and Public Education in Sumter County, Georgia, 1930s–1970s," 2021, xvi.

near us on the farm, Rachel Clark was the most remarkable and made the most significant and lasting impact on me."[906]

Site staff stress that the overall interpretive emphasis of JICA focuses on President Jimmy Carter and his wife, Rosalynn, as well as the community of Plains during the 1930s. Staff reports that African American narratives are included in the site. The story of the Clark and Barry families, tenant farmers on the Carter property, are included.[907] Civil rights also play a large role in interpretive narratives, including efforts to desegregate public schools.[908] Staff identified numerous opportunities for additional interpretation, including "exploring the interpretive opportunities of the predominately African American village Archery, GA, which is not in the park but had a profound influence on President Carter's childhood. There also needs to be more discussion about the connections of the systems of black labor used by Carter's ancestors, connecting ante-bellum Georgia to Great Depression Era Georgia and the systems of slavery, sharecropping, and tenant farming."[909] Pursuing the opportunities, however, "boils down to funding." Staff reported that larger park units receive more funding and more visitors. According to JICA staff, "Changing the priority for funding to treat smaller cultural sites as equally deserving of resources would create a more vibrant story within the NPS system."[910]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

Example Projects

- Antoinette T. Jackson, Whitney Goodwin, Justin Hosbey, and Aaron Frost, "An Ethnohistorical Profile of the African American Community of Archery, Georgia," 2013.
- Jason Berggren. and Adrienne M. Petty, "'Instilling Wisdom, Building Character:' A Study of Segregation, Politics, and Public Education in Sumter County, Georgia, 1930s–1970s," 2021.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Development of interpretive materials** from the report, "An Ethnohistorical Profile of the African American Community of Archery, Georgia" (2013).
- **Oral histories** with Clark and Barry family members.
- Additional ethnographic mapping projects.

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[906] "People," JICA webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/jica/learn/historyculture/people.htm.

[907] JICA, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[908] JICA, survey responses (2), August 25, 2021; JICA, survey response, August 28, 2021.

[909] JICA, survey response, August 25, 2021; JICA, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[910] JICA, survey response, August 25, 2021.

- Marking sites like the St. Mark AME Church cemetery site.
- Combined archeological, oral history, and ethnohistorical study at site of Johnson Home Industrial College.[911]

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, additional trainings, additional publications or pamphlets, additional in-person interpretive content/materials/exhibits, enhanced website content, additional partnerships (external to the NPS).[912]

[911] Jackson et al., "An Ethnohistorical Profile of the African American Community of Archery, Georgia," 96.

[912] JICA, survey response, August 25, 2021; JICA, survey response, August 28, 2021; JICA, survey response, August 25, 2021; JICA, survey response, August 25, 2021.

Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park (KEMO)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1917

State(s): Georgia

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "The purpose of Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park is to preserve, protect, and interpret, for the benefit and inspiration of the people, the historical and natural features of this major battle site in the American Civil War's 1864 Atlanta Campaign."[913]

Materials Reviewed:

- 38 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/kemo
- 8 reports
    - Blythe, Robert W., and Steven H. Moffson. "Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1976.
    - Secrist, Philip Lee, and Richard Cloues, "Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1980.
    - Kelly, Dennis. "Kennesaw Mountain and the Atlanta Campaign." 1990.
    - Capps, Michael. "Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park, Administrative History." 1994.
    - Blythe, Robert W., Maureen A. Carroll, and Steven H. Moffson. "Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park, Historic Resource Study." 1995.
    - NPS. "Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park: Long Range Interpretive Plan." 2010.
    - Glass-Avery, Hermina. "The War of Jubilee: Tell Our Story and We Will Come: Assessing African American Attitudes Toward the Civil War." 2011.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield." 2013.
- 2 survey responses from employees or partners of KEMO

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900

[913] NPS, "Foundation Document: Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield," 2013, 6.

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Underground Railroad and Abolition

NPS Themes:

- Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Civil War, discrimination in commemoration, Indigenous history, military history, slavery, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation

Partner Organizations:

- Friends of Kennesaw Mountain

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

KEMO protects a Civil War site near Atlanta, a battlefield that resulted in over 5,000 casualties and played a crucial role in the broader Atlanta Campaign. KEMO had nearly two million visitors in 2011, many of whom came to use the green spaces created by the three battlefield units. The Foundation Document (2013) does not mention slavery, emancipation, military service of Black soldiers, or the African American veteran experience in any of its summary narratives or core components; the only mention is that enslaved labor may have been used to build the battlements.[914] A 1976 NRHP nomination form discussed slavery in a national context and noted that the Kolb Farm—a landmark protected within KEMO's site boundary—used enslaved labor to cultivate its 600 acres. It also notes that, as of 1860, the population of Cobb County was 10,000 White residents and 4,000 Black residents.[915]

Despite the large presence of Black communities and individuals, the NPS has historically underrepresented their stories in official narratives at KEMO. The 1980 NRHP nomination form for KEMO presented the site as a "microcosm" of "the nineteenth-century experience of much of the Deep South," but it fails to mention slavery or identify any resources explicitly related to Black history in Cobb County.[916] A 1990 tour guide developed in partnership between the NPS and Kennesaw Mountain Historical Society, for instance, does not mention slavery, emancipation, or

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[914] NPS, "Foundation Document: Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield," 2013, 6, 16.

[915] Robert W. Blythe, and Steven H. Moffson, "Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1976, 39–40.

[916] Philip Lee Secrist, and Richard Cloues, "Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1980.

feature any Black or African American individual stories.[917] The 1994 Administrative History for KEMO does not include African American stories or interpretation either.[918] A 1995 HRS expanded on earlier analysis only slightly, noting the use of enslaved labor to build battlements and trenches at KEMO while underscoring the limited nature of the plantation system in the area—despite a site of enslavement existing on site—due to the rocky nature of the soil.[919]

In 2010, a LRIP noted the close proximity of the park to Atlanta and underscored the importance of green space usage and recreation as primary visitor motivations. The LRIP stressed the need to "increase public understanding and respect for the role of that [*sic*] slavery played as a cause of the Civil War, the war's consequences for the African American population, and this nation's continued struggles for Civil Rights." KEMO's mission statement in the LRIP aspired to "provide multi-voiced historical interpretation that illustrates this nation's journey from slavery and emancipation to Civil Rights" and to "be a model of inclusion, using a diversified team of staff and volunteers."[920] Although the report did not provide a total number of African American visitors, it noted that 24 percent of Cobb County residents were African American in 2009. The LRIP also observed "the contentious subjects of war and enslavement may evoke feelings which make African Americans shy away from visiting the park. Open reconciliation, presenting a more inclusive story, continuing to present programs on topics relevant to African Americans, or 'talking about the war differently' might be means to improve interpretation."[921]

In 2010, KEMO partnered with Kennesaw State University's Center for the Study of the Civil War to produce a report, "Assessing African American Attitudes Toward the Civil War." The resulting twenty-five-page report—also titled "The War of Jubilee: Tell Our Story and We Will Come"—included a history of African Americans in the Civil War, methodology, findings, and recommendations. The report acknowledged,

> Central to this quantitative research is the understanding that while African and African American slaves were two of the populations most affected by the Civil War, their stories are often absent from Civil War battlefield site interpretations. As a vital starting point, the Center hosted focus group sessions with important African American community organizations in the Metropolitan Atlanta area.

The goal of the focus group was to "increase understanding of the local African American community's perspective on the Civil War," "determine how African Americans would like the African American experience interpreted to the broader public," and to "gain insight on how to incorporate the African American narrative into park interpretations."[922]

In 2021, site staff reported that the report's recommendations included,

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[917] Dennis Kelly, "Kennesaw Mountain and the Atlanta Campaign," 1990.

[918] Michael Capps, "Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park, Administrative History," 1994.

[919] Robert W. Blythe, Maureen A. Carroll, and Steven H. Moffson, "Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park, Historic Resource Study," 1995.

[920] NPS, "Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park: Long Range Interpretive Plan," 2010, 18.

[921] NPS, "Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park: Long Range Interpretive Plan," 2010, 29.

[922] Hermina Glass-Avery, "The War of Jubilee: Tell Our Story and We Will Come: Assessing African American Attitudes Toward the Civil War," 2011, 8—9.

> enriching interpretive strategies, educational outreach, public engagement, and affinity-driven marketing across print, internet, and broadcast media. In addition, an intern assisted the park in gathering African American oral histories in the local community. These oral histories would have provided additional narrative regarding the African American community after the Civil War and assist the park in broadening the existing narrative.

Park staff noted "the project was not as successful as the park would have liked."[923] In the fall of 2017, NPS intern Lorenzo Bright conducted a series of interviews with local Cobb County residents in order to highlight experiences and connections between the end of the American Civil War and the civil rights movement.[924]

Of the 38 webpages reviewed, eight of the KEMO associated pages have content on African American or Black history. Some of the webpages are devoted to biographies of notable individuals. The biographies include White abolitionists like Harriet Beecher Stowe, John Brown, and William Lloyd Garrison.[925] The only Black individual featured in the biographies is Frederick Douglass.[926] Other pages are more thematic: a page devoted to the Cherokee Nation in the 1820s notes that some Cherokee farmers ran small plantations that utilized enslaved African labor.[927] One page focuses on "African Americans in the Civil War," exploring stories of military service and how the communities do—or do not—engage with Civil War battle sites.[928] Another page entitled "People in Line for Change" explains the geography of the region, noting there were not a lot of enslaved people as a result of the lack of large plantations. Monemia and James Johnson were two free Black people who lived in Marietta during the Civil War; James' dealings with a Union spy led him to flee to Nashville, Tennessee. After the capture of Atlanta, Union troops plundered Monemia's restaurant and home, taking nearly everything as provisions. She would later file a damages claim against the US government and receive a paltry sum almost a decade later.[929] Other web content links KEMO to the broader struggle for civil rights and features ongoing work at the site, including the 2017 oral history interviews.[930]

Site staff report that KEMO's interpretive narrative focuses on Civil War themes, including the Atlanta Campaign and the Battle of Kennesaw Mountain. Narratives include interpretation of

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[923] KEMO, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[924] "Civil War to Civil Rights," KEMO webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/kemo/learn/historyculture/civil-war-to-civil-rights.htm.

[925] NPS, "Harriet Beecher Stowe," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/people/harriet-beecher-stowe.htm; NPS, "John Brown," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/people/john-brown.htm; NPS, "William Lloyd Garrison," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/people/william-lloyd-garrison.htm.

[926] NPS, "Fredrick Douglass," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/people/frederick-douglass.htm.

[927] NPS, "Cherokee Nation in the 1820s," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/cherokeenation1820s.htm.

[928] "African Americans in the Civil War," KEMO webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/kemo/learn/historyculture/african-american-civil-war.htm.

[929] "People in Line for Change," KEMO webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/kemo/learn/historyculture/peopleinlineforchange.htm.

[930] "Civil War to Civil Rights," KEMO webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/kemo/learn/historyculture/civil-war-to-civil-rights.htm.

African American roles in both the Union and Confederate armies: "For the Union, there were soldiers, engineers, stretcher bearers, teamsters and undercooks. For the Confederacy, African-Americans roles were mostly limited to laborers and attendants (both enslaved positions). Also notably, as the Union marched south through Georgia, hundreds of enslaved peoples would join the army to chance freedom from now destroyed farmland. We include these stories in our narrative."[931] KEMO's on site film includes the stories of an African American stretcher bearer and a nurse. The museum and on-site interpretive programing also include African American stories; one program focuses on Monemia Johnson, "a freed lady who lived in Marietta, GA. and the struggles she and her family encountered." Other programs focus on the enslaved communities surrounding KEMO and the use of enslaved labor to build Confederate entrenchments.[932] Site staff noted a need to better interpret the post-Civil War era, including Reconstruction. Site staff also sees opportunities to connect KEMO's site themes with the civil rights movement.[933]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

Example Projects

- Hermina Glass-Avery, "The War of Jubilee: Tell Our Story and We Will Come: Assessing African American Attitudes Toward the Civil War," 2011.
- Website: African Americans Oral History Project, Civil War to Civil Rights. In the fall of 2017, NPS intern Lorenzo Bright conducted a series of interviews with Cobb County residents in order to highlight experiences and connections between the end of the American Civil War and the civil rights movement.[934]

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Ethnographic Overview and Assessment** "with a specific emphasis on learning more about women and African American associations with the park as the depth and breadth of these associations are currently underrepresented in public accounts."[935]
- Additional research on the role of African American men and women at Kennesaw Mountain during the Civil War.

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[931] KEMO, survey response, September 6, 2021.

[932] KEMO, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[933] KEMO, survey response, September 6, 2021.

[934] "Civil War to Civil Rights," KEMO webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/kemo/learn/historyculture/civil-war-to-civil-rights.htm.

[935] NPS, "Foundation Document: Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield," 2013, 16, 37.

- Additional studies to draw out stories of individuals who lived in the area or traveled through with the Army.
- Funding to translate research into interpretive content.
- Oral histories of community members and descendants.
- Study connecting African American participation in Civil War to Reconstruction era and civil rights movement.
- Resources to connect Civil War parks to one another to help with telling African American stories (training, staff, content, etc.).

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, additional interpretive materials like publications or pamphlets, and additional partnerships (both internal and external to the NPS).[936]

[936] KEMO, survey response, August 25, 2021.

Kings Mountain National Military Park (KIMO)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1933

State(s): South Carolina

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Kings Mountain National Military Park commemorates the relatively brief but decisive all militia Battle of Kings Mountain, the first major Patriot victory of the Southern Campaign of the American Revolution on October 7, 1780, in South Carolina."[937]

Note: Managed jointly with Cowpens National Battlefield (COWP), Ninety Six National Historic Site (NISI), Overmountain Victory National Historic Trail (OVVI)

Materials Reviewed:

- 0 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/kimo/
    - The site lacks a History and Culture page.
- 3 reports
    - Blythe, Robert, Maureen Carroll, and Steven Moffson. "Kings Mountain National Military Park, Historic Resource Study." 1995.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Kings Mountain National Military Park." 2017.
    - Schumann, William, and Rebecca Long. "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment Kings Mountain National Military Park." 2019.
- 0 survey responses from employees or partners of KIMO

Relevant Time Period(s):

- European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Underground Railroad and Abolition

NPS Themes:

- Changing Role of the United States in the Word Community, Shaping the Political Landscape

[937] NPS, "Foundation Document: Kings Mountain National Military Park," 2017, 6.

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Discrimination in NPS facilities, early colonial period slavery, Indigenous history, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation

Partner Organizations: None identified.

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

KIMO commemorates the Revolutionary War battle of Kings Mountain, fought on October 7, 1780. The battle represented a significant turning point in the conflict and is notable as the first Continental Army victory in the southern campaign, as well as a site of unique military innovation. The site contains the second oldest battlefield monument in the United States, the 1815 Colonel William Chronicle Marker. Jointly managed alongside COWP and NISI, KIMO is the southern terminus of OVVI. Black soldiers participated in the battle on both the revolutionary and royalist sides, although the Foundation Document (2017) does not include substantive discussion of their service or experiences.[938]

KIMO's buildings represent a unique and potentially underutilized opportunity to discuss Black history and experiences ranging from the 1700s to 1900s. A 1995 HRS notes that cotton was an important crop in the region. Henry Houser, whose house is one of the existing properties at KIMO, "was one of six slaveholders in the area" of the park.[939] The foundations of the housing for enslaved laborers still exist at the site.[940] In the aftermath of the Civil War, "as many as half of all adult white males in York participated in [Ku Klux Klan] activities," creating a hostile and segregated racial divide in the areas surrounding KIMO.[941] The segregation continued into the 1900s. Another historic site structure, the Administration Building, included a basement with "storage rooms, a workroom, a boiler room, and restrooms originally restricted to African-Americans."[942]

Between 2014 and 2017, KIMO conducted an ethnographic assessment of the park. Researchers conducted interviews, surveys, and site observations. Visitors perceived KIMO as "an important symbol of American patriotism and the park as a key link between the nation's past and present; a subset also viewed the battle as a critical southern contribution to the larger American Revolution.

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[938] NPS, "Foundation Document: Kings Mountain National Military Park," 2017, 5–6.

[939] Robert Blythe, Maureen Carroll, and Steven Moffson, "Kings Mountain National Military Park, Historic Resource Study," 1995, 85.

[940] William Schumann, and Rebecca Long, "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment Kings Mountain National Military Park," 2019, 43.

[941] Schumann and Long, "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment Kings Mountain National Military Park," 24–25.

[942] Blythe, Carroll, and Moffson, "Kings Mountain National Military Park, Historic Resource Study."

The park was also valued as a recreational resource for many participants.[943] In total, 92 percent of survey respondents identified as White, while 6 percent of study respondents identified "as black or African American…These numbers are relatively consistent with a 2007 visitor survey in which 98% of all respondents identified as white."[944]

In 2016, KIMO installed a "new marker to remember African American patriots who were at the Battle of Kings Mountain. In addition to a regularly held wreath-laying ceremony, a special ceremony was held to dedicate this marker earlier in the morning of October 7th. Descendants of two of the three officially recognized African American battle participants were in attendance, as well as two African American guest speakers."[945] Site staff reported to ethnographic researchers that KIMO interpretation would include the story of John Brody, "a slave from Abingdon, Virginia, who was present at the battle but did not fight." The Daughters of the American Revolution provided research indicating 12 African Americans were at the battle. Records of pensions show five African Americans requested a pension after the war, three of which were awarded. KIMO has developed "educational programs and youth camping events for African American groups."[946]

As of 2022, KIMO did not have any web content under its History & Culture landing page.

Survey respondents indicated that although current site interpretation focuses on battle participants, the "entire narrative needs to be expanded upon, including research on the people who were at the sites."[947]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Historical research on the history of segregation in the park and surrounding area**.[948] To include oral histories with community members as one phase of multi-phased project.
- Partnerships with descendent communities.[949]

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[943] Schumann and Long, "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment Kings Mountain National Military Park," 2.

[944] Schumann and Long, "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment Kings Mountain National Military Park," 8.

[945] Schumann and Long, "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment Kings Mountain National Military Park," 58.

[946] Schumann and Long, "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment Kings Mountain National Military Park," 62.

[947] COWP/KIMO/NISI/OVVI, survey response, September 17, 2021.

[948] Blythe, Carroll, and Moffson, "Kings Mountain National Military Park, Historic Resource Study," 125.

[949] Schumann and Long "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment Kings Mountain National Military Park," 71.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents (from the jointly managed units of COWP, KIMO, NISI, and OVVI) noted a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, additional interpretive materials like publications and pamphlets, enhanced web content, and additional partnerships (external to the NPS, with area resources like the South Carolina African American Heritage Commission).[950]

[950] COWP/KIMO/NISI/OVVI, survey response, September 17, 2021.

Little River Canyon National Preserve (LIRI)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1992

State(s): Alabama

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Little River Canyon National Preserve protects and provides for the enjoyment of the scenery, ecology, and history surrounding one of the Southeast's deepest canyons carved by the nation's longest mountain-top river."[951]

Note: Managed jointly with Russell Cave National Monument (RUCA)

Materials Reviewed:

- 15 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/liri
- 2 reports
    - Goolrick Interpretive Group. "Little River Canyon National Preserve: Long-Range Interpretive Plan." 2016.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Little River Canyon National Preserve." 2016.
- 0 survey responses from employees or partners of LIRI

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Early Inhabitants and Native Americans, 3500 BC–AD 1600; European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework: Does not relate to one of these themes.

NPS Themes:

- Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape, Transforming the Environment

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Black access to recreational spaces/hunting and fishing in park, Black businesses, Civil War, environmental history, Indigenous history, Spanish exploration, women's history

[951] NPS, "Foundation Document: Little River Canyon National Preserve," 2016, 4.

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Friends of Little River Canyon

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

LIRI materials fail to substantively engage with African American history. The Foundation Document (2016) does not include relevant information.[952]

The park LRIP (2016) describes the park purpose as primarily ecological conservation: LIRI "protects and provides for the enjoyment of the scenery, ecology, and history surrounding one of the Southeast's deepest canyons, carved by the nation's longest mountain-top river." The LRIP describes the impact of the Trail of Tears and forcible removal of Indigenous peoples from the park area. The LRIP also mentions the CCC did work in the park during the 1930s. The plan does not acknowledge or mention Black or African American history in the park, the experience of modern visitors, or indicate any significant community outreach is ongoing. The only mention of relevant content indicates a 35 mm slideshow titled "Blacks and Indians in Alabama and the Southeast" was once available, but it is no longer updated or rented (only available for purchase).[953]

LIRI's website does not include any material about African American stories or experiences.[954] Site staff did not respond to a survey requesting information about on-site interpretation and planning needs.

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- "Conduct an Ethnographic Overview and Assessment for Two Parks," a joint study for LIRI and RUCA. Initially funded in 2022 (PMIS 316396A), the project was cancelled and will be reattempted during future funding cycles.[955]

Example Projects

- None

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[952] NPS, "Foundation Document: Little River Canyon National Preserve," 2016.

[953] Goolrick Interpretive Group, "Little River Canyon National Preserve: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2016, 4–5, 49.

[954] Two webpages ("People" and "Hill Family Community" have "content coming soon.") Unclear if either would contain Black or African American history or experiences.

[955] Steve Black, Superintendent, LIRI/RUCA, to Jackie Gonzales, email, October 11, 2022.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Archeological investigations** to determine who used the "remnants of historic structures, such as bridge abatements and homestead locations."[956]
- Study of CCC camps and segregation (in partnership with other nearby parks with CCC camps).
- Study of equitability of recreation at LIRI and other sites of recreational boating and rafting.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- n/a (no survey responses from park staff)

[956] NPS, "Foundation Document: Little River Canyon National Preserve," 29.

Mammoth Cave National Park (MACA)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1926

State(s): Kentucky

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "The purpose of Mammoth Cave National Park is to preserve, protect, interpret, and study the internationally recognized biological and geologic features and processes associated with the longest known cave system in the world, the park's diverse forested, karst landscape, the Green and Nolin rivers, and extensive evidence of human history; and to provide and promote public enjoyment, recreation, and understanding."[957]

Materials Reviewed:

- 35 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/maca/
- 16 reports
    - Lally, Kelly A. "Bransford Spring Pumphouse." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1991.
    - Lally, Kelly A. "Colossal Cavern Entrance." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1991.
    - Lally, Kelly A. "Crystal Cave District." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1991.
    - Lally, Kelly A. "Good Spring Baptist Church and Cemetery." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1991.
    - Lally, Kelly A. "Great Onyx Cave Entrance." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1991.
    - Lally, Kelly A. "Joppa Baptist Church and Cemetery." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1991.
    - Lally, Kelly A. "Maintenance Area District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1991.
    - Lally, Kelly A. "Mammoth Cave Baptist Church and Cemetery." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1991.
    - Lally, Kelly A. "Mammoth Cave Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1991.

[957] NPS, "Foundation Document: Mammoth Cave National Park," 2014, 6.

    - Lally, Kelly A. "Maple Springs Ranger Station." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1991.
    - Lally, Kelly A. "Old Guide Cemetery." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1991.
    - Lally, Kelly A. "Residential Area District." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1991.
    - Lally, Kelly A. "Superintendent's House." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1991.
    - Lally, Kelly A. "Three Springs Pumphouse." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1991.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Mammoth Cave National Park." 2014.
    - Applegate, Darlene. "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Mammoth Cave National Park." 2021.
- 7 survey responses from employees or partners of MACA

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodation, Equal Employment

NPS Themes:

- Peopling Places, Transforming the Environment

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Black businesses, Black military service, Black religious traditions, CCC, discrimination in medicine, discrimination in recreation, discrimination in tourism, Indigenous history, USCT, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Friends of Mammoth Cave

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

MACA protects, preserves, and interprets a massive cave system with a centuries-long history of human habitation. The site's significance includes evidence of precontact site use, "the cave's rediscovery by European settlers at the turn of the 19th century," and a 1940s era "unprecedented, 15-year process to convert settled areas into parklands."[958] The MACA Foundation Document (2014) introduction notes that "some of the early cave guides were slaves, including Stephen Bishop, Mat Bransford, and Nick Bransford, who discovered many of its famous passages." MACA's historic resources include mining remnants, church remnants, and CCC buildings.[959] Other than the introductory note that enslaved Black individuals served as guides, no Black history or experiences are present in the Foundation Document.

In 1991, MACA underwent a significant effort to list structures, properties, and districts in the NRHP. Of the 14 nominations forms reviewed for this report, only two include mentions of Black or African American history or experiences. Twelve of the reports do not explicitly identify the race or ethnicity of the individuals discussed in the nominations. The nominations include 1930s era buildings constructed by the CCC, like the Bransford Spring Pumphouse, Three Springs Pumphouse, Maintenance Area District, Residential Area District, Superintendent's House, and Maple Springs Ranger Station.[960] There is no indication whether the CCC crews were Black or White (although the 2021 Ethnographic Assessment suggests there may have been a Black crew at MACA).[961]

Three NRHP nomination forms are for area churches. The congregations of Joppa Baptist Church, Good Spring Baptist, and Mammoth Cave Baptist are not described, but it seems likely they are White congregations, since in their period of significance (ranging from the late 1800s to the 1930s), social settings were often socially and legally segregated.[962] Three individual listings for historic cave entrances—at Crystal Cave, Great Onyx Cave, and Colossal Cave—do not mention racial identities and do not identify Black guides.[963]

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[958] NPS, "Foundation Document: Mammoth Cave National Park," 2014, 3.

[959] NPS, "Foundation Document: Mammoth Cave National Park," 2014, 5.

[960] Kelly A. Lally, "Bransford Spring Pumphouse," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1991; Kelly A. Lally, "Maintenance Area District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1991; Kelly A. Lally, "Maple Springs Ranger Station," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1991; Kelly A. Lally, "Residential Area District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1991; Kelly A. Lally, "Superintendent's House," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1991; Kelly A. Lally, "Three Springs Pumphouse," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1991.

[961] Darlene Applegate, "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Mammoth Cave National Park," 2021, 55.

[962] Kelly A. Lally, "Good Spring Baptist Church and Cemetery," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1991; Kelly A. Lally, "Joppa Baptist Church and Cemetery," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1991; Kelly A. Lally, "Mammoth Cave Baptist Church and Cemetery," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1991.

[963] Kelly A. Lally, "Colossal Cavern Entrance," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1991; Kelly A. Lally, "Crystal Cave District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1991; Kelly A. Lally, "Great Onyx Cave Entrance," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1991.

The Mammoth Cave Historic District NRHP nomination form includes several key entrances to the cave system and several contributing buildings from the early tourism enterprises at the site. The nomination notes that "the earliest visitors" were "led by slave guides."[964] Prior to MACA's operation as a tourist site, the cave system was "a major source for saltpetre, an essential ingredient in gunpowder. Mined and processed by slave labor."[965] Those are the only mentions of enslaved labor, and they are only discussed in passing and without describing the experiences of Black or African American individuals.

The only NRHP nomination form to substantively address Black or African American history at MACA is for the "Old Guide Cemetery." The cemetery includes the grave of Stephen Bishop, a skilled cave explorer and early guide. According to the nomination, Bishop "was described favorably in many of the early travel accounts and, despite his slave status, impressed cave visitors with his poise, skill, and knowledge." Bishop provided a map of Mammoth Caves on the cover of an 1844 travelogue. The nomination goes on to say that "when Bishop died, eight years after his master, he was buried in the small cemetery" and his gravestone, reading "Stephen Bishop, First Guide and Explorer of Mammoth Cave," was added years later. The form notes the presence of other graves, "probably guides and employees of the park" but indicates "the graves of Stephen Bishop" and tuberculosis patients "are the most noteworthy."[966]

In 2021, MACA completed an "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Mammoth Cave National Park." The report involved a multi-year, multi-researcher collaborative effort to assess archival materials, structures, and stakeholder groups at Mammoth Cave. In addition to archival research at libraries, assessed stakeholders include civic organizations, conservation and preservation groups, employees (current and former), gateway communities, school groups, tourists, descendants and descendant families, and others. The report also includes transcripts of interviews conducted as part of the project. Information about Black history and experiences is included throughout the report, though not always substantively. For instance, "in Mammoth Cave and the immediate area, African Americans settlement paralleled that of Euro-Americans temporally and spatially," with close links to area industry. African Americans were identified as a key stakeholder group and outreach efforts included Black history events. In identifying descendant communities as a key stakeholder and interpretive asset, the report also identified potential sites and historic structures of interest, like Icy Sink Missionary Baptist Church. The report explicitly engages with the use of enslaved labor, describing early Black guides as "leased/purchased by Franklin Gorin," and noting the continuity of Black labor in the antebellum and postbellum era. The report asserts that communities around MACA were "residentially integrated and there was little social or economic difference between African American and white neighbors." Despite the claim, it does seem as though discrimination and segregation played large roles at MACA. The report explicitly indicates that NPS did not employ Black guides in the 1940s: "The Park Service did not hire African

[964] Kelly A. Lally, "Mammoth Cave Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1991, 4.

[965] Lally, "Mammoth Cave Historic District," 15.

[966] Kelly A. Lally, "Maple Springs Ranger Station," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1991; Kelly A. Lally, "Old Guide Cemetery," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1991, 6–7.

American Guides when it assumed control of the park … likely due to racist policies at the agency at the time."[967]

MACA's webpage include some discussion Black and African American history and experiences. Of the 36 webpages reviewed for this report, 11 of them have relevant content. The content includes an overview of African American history at MACA and in the surrounding area, including content on the mining of saltpeter using enslaved labor. The page also centralizes Black stories in the early tourism industry, pointing out that enslaved men and women worked in the Mammoth Cave Hotel and as tour guides.[968] Several pages are biographies of early Black guides, including Stephen Bishop, Nick Bransford, Ed Hawkins, and several generations of the Bransford family, including Mat, Henry, and Matt.[969] One early guide, Will Garvin, was a veteran of the USCT during the Civil War.[970] Other pages point to the presence of segregated facilities and Black business ownership in the area of MACA. Matt Bransford operated a hotel called the Bransford Summer Resort and offered tours of the caves for Black visitors.[971]

The web content underscores the crucial role of Black individuals in shaping the built landscape of MACA. Enslaved labor in the saltpeter mines involved carving trails through the cave systems, many of which became visitor trails.[972] Enslaved guides mapped the cave system and identified many of the key caverns, and many of them were buried at MACA in the Old Guide Cemetery.[973] Finally, in addition to the hotel industry and other tourist services, entrepreneurs used enslaved labor to build an experimental tuberculosis treatment center at MACA during the 1840s.[974]

MACA survey respondents described site interpretation as "multi-faceted. Mammoth Cave has important stories related to geology/hydrology, geography of tourism, and the diversity of human uses of caves."[975] Another respondent was more blunt, suggesting interpretation is "more about rocks than the people."[976] Many respondents did note that site interpretation included the stories of Black guides in the early tourist industries of Mammoth Caves, many of whom were enslaved.[977]

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[967] Applegate, "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Mammoth Cave National Park," 25, 44, 343–45, 347.

[968] "African American History," MACA webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/maca/learn/historyculture/african-american-history.htm.

[969] Nick Bransford was unrelated to Mat Bransford. NPS, "Stephen Bishop," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/people/stephen-bishop.htm; NPS, "Nick Bransford," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/people/nick-bransford.htm; NPS, "Ed Hawkins," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/people/ed-hawkins.htm; NPS, "Mat Bransford," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/people/mat-bransford.htm; NPS, "Henry Bransford," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/people/henry-bransford.htm; NPS, "Matt Bransford," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/people/matt-bransford.htm.

[970] NPS, "Will Garvin," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/people/matt-bransford.htm.

[971] NPS, "Matt Bransford," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/people/matt-bransford.htm.

[972] NPS, "Saltpetre Mining," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/saltpetre-mining.htm.

[973] NPS, "Old Guide Cemetery," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/places/old-guide-s-cemetery.htm.

[974] NPS, "Tuberculosis," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/tuberculosis-mammoth-cave.htm.

[975] MACA, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[976] MACA, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[977] MACA, survey response, September 2, 2021; MACA, survey response, August 25, 2021; MACA, survey response, October 12, 2021; MACA, survey response, August 28, 2021.

Others stressed the multi-generational impact of Black families and communities on MACA, and expressed concern that those stories and contributions go unmarked. The continuity over generations—and in the face of intense segregation and other obstacles—exists today. One interpretive ranger described themselves and their responsibility: "As [a] fifth generation guide of slave ancestors I promote the slave guide accomplishments and hardship these Family members endured." The same interpretive ranger also trained new staff to interpret the stories of Black guides and research and share Black stories.[978]

Some respondents identified interpretive narratives that are currently understudied or under expressed at MACA: "Stories of African American tourists visiting the cave are less accessible but should be told. There are also complexities of enslavement of early African American workers at the cave and hotel that have not been fully researched."[979] MACA's Cultural Resource Program Manager described historic resources associated with Black communities at MACA:

> African schools, homes, and cemeteries once occupied the Flint Ridge area, near the Historic Entrance to Mammoth Cave. Assistance to clear the overgrown cemeteries and expanded histories of the communities in this area would create an expanded narrative that interprets the history of African Americans in this area and region. A supported history study will soon be underway, but further survey and analysis of the cultural resources of the park that may be connected to the African American community would enhance this study.[980]

Several respondents expressed concern over how the NPS has interpreted African American history at MACA. The Cultural Resource Program Manager said, "interpretation of the African American experience begins and ends at the Historic Entrance to Mammoth Cave. Like Native Americans, the African American community is interpreted in the past tense, as though their presence and impact ended at the time the park was established in 1941."[981]

A park guide echoed the need to hold the NPS accountable for its role in segregating staff at MACA and erasing Black narratives. The guide wrote,

> The African American history at Mammoth Cave is only shared up until it became a National Park in 1941. Black guides were then fired, which led to a loss of the stories, history, and legacy of those guides. We need to do a better job telling the story o– the 1940s, 50s, and 60s - park policy on segregation, how previous residents were treated, how decisions were made in regard to buildings, churches, and cemeteries that were allowed to remain versus those that were demolished. How do we tell the story of how we became a mostly white staff?[982]

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[978] MACA, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[979] MACA, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[980] MACA, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[981] MACA, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[982] MACA, survey response, August 28, 2021.

Another respondent observed, "The park is very comfortable talking about the early slave period but is unwilling to talk about how the NPS intentionally buried the history of blacks at Mammoth Cave for decades."[983]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- African American history study for park (not yet begun as of fall 2022)[984] (PMIS #310537).
- Administrative History of Mammoth Cave National Park (PMIS #194010).
- Update the Historic Resource Study for Mammoth Cave National Park (PMIS #308292).

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Oral histories** with descendants of guides, family members of community that was displaced, and other members of local communities who are of African descent.
    - In conjunction with related interpretive projects.
- "**Cultural Resource surveys** to identify land use areas, settlements, and other landmarks connected to African American communities around Mammoth Cave," as requested by a survey respondent.[985]
- Updates to NRHP documentation, especially with the intent to find, preserve, and interpret sites related to Black history.
- Efforts to recruit staff members of color and ensure a path to leadership.[986]

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, additional training (including training on implicit biases and training new staff to research and interpret Black stories), additional publications and pamphlets, enhanced website content, and additional partnerships (both external and internal to the NPS).[987]

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[983] MACA, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[984] MACA, survey response, September 21, 2021; Historian, IR2, to Jackie Gonzales, email, October 17, 2022.

[985] MACA, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[986] MACA, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[987] MACA, survey response, September 2, 2021; MACA, survey response, October 12, 2021; MACA, survey response, October 12, 2021; MACA, survey response, August 25, 2021.

Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historical Park (MALU)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1980

State(s): Georgia

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Martin Luther King Jr. National Historic Site and Preservation District, located in Atlanta, Georgia, preserves, protects, and interprets for the benefit, inspiration, and education of present and future generations, the places where Martin Luther King, Jr. was born, lived, worked, worshiped, and is buried; while interpreting the life experiences and significance of one of the most influential Americans in the 20th century."[988]

Materials Reviewed:

- 3 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/malu/
- 5 reports
    - Blythe, Robert. "Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site, Historic Resource Study." 1994.
    - Kissane, John A. "Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Landmark District, Boundary Increase." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 2000.
    - Blythe, Robert. "Martin Luther King, Jr., National Historic Site and Preservation District." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 2002.
    - NPS. "Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site: Long Range Interpretive Plan." 2011.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site." 2017.
- 1 survey response from employees or partners of MALU

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodation, Desegregation of Public Education, Equal Employment, Racial Discrimination in Housing, Voting Rights

[988] NPS, "Foundation Document: Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site," 2017, 5.

NPS Themes:

- Creating Social Movements, Shaping the Political Landscape

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Black business ownership, Black communities and neighborhoods, Black religious experiences, Black student movements, Black voting initiatives, Civil Rights movement, Indigenous history, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- The King Center. Foundation Document includes substantial list.[989]

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

MALU protects, preserves, and interprets the life of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and his role in the mid-twentieth-century civil rights movement. The site boundaries include "the places where Martin Luther King, Jr. was born, where he lived, worked, worshiped, and is buried." In addition to community spaces like the Historic Ebenezer Baptist Church, MALU includes the Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, the Martin Luther King Birth Home Block, and the Historic Fire Station No. 6 (where "white firefighters operated here within the predominantly African American Sweet Auburn community; it was one of the first racially integrated fire stations in Atlanta").[990] MALU underscores the significant contributions of Dr. King and Coretta Scott King to the civil rights movement and ongoing calls for social change.[991]

The site's LRIP suggests interpretive themes focused on "Segregation and Struggle, Childhood and Character, Church and Community, and Leadership and Legacy." In its analysis of existing conditions, completed in 2011, the report authors indicated that more than half of MALU's visitors had "a special interest in African American history."[992] The LRIP also indicated who was not visiting MALU: "local residents and suburban Atlantans: . . . the perception of unsafe area, being in an urban environment."[993] The site also has a strong system of neighborhood connections and a broad

[989] NPS, "Foundation Document: Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site," 2017, 29.

[990] NPS, "Foundation Document: Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site," 2017, 3–4.

[991] NPS, "Foundation Document: Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site," 2017, 6.

[992] NPS, "Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site: Long Range Interpretive Plan," 2011, 32.

[993] NPS, "Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site: Long Range Interpretive Plan," 2011, 29.

vision beyond the legal boundaries of the park, like a residential leasing program that provides housing and strong social connections with the modern parish of Ebenezer Baptist Church.[994]

The LRIP identified a number of existing structures related not only to Dr. King but also to the broader civil rights movement like Prince Hall Masonic Lodge, headquarters of the SCLC.[995] MALU also has robust NRHP documentation, including several significant amendments and site boundary expansions. A NRHP amendment form completed in 1994 enlarged the boundaries of the district, extended the date of significance to 1968, added new areas of significance, and reanalyzed and updated "accurate identification of the contributing and noncontributing resources in the district." The report also provided four different historic contexts, all related substantively to African American history in Atlanta and to broader social contexts in Black history. The thematic contexts include "The Development of the Auburn Avenue Community," a Black business and residential district, 1853–1968; "Martin Luther King, Jr. and Atlanta's Auburn Avenue Community, 1929–1968"; "The American Civil Rights Movement and Atlanta's Auburn Avenue Community, c. 1945–1968"; and "Architectural and Landscape Resources in Atlanta's Auburn Avenue Community, c. 1853–1968." Although the report focuses on historic structures, it includes significant discussion of individuals and their experiences, like profiles of notable Black businesses like Alexander D. Hamilton and Son, Black contractors. The report also identifies key types of structures and community gathering places like stores and churches.[996] A 2002 NRHP amendment explicitly explored the links between MALU properties and the larger civil rights movement, focusing its analysis on 35 contributing structures.[997]

An HRS completed in 2000 cataloged and contextualized the historic resources of the Auburn Avenue neighborhood to explore Black community building, the civil rights movement, and Martin Luther King Jr. as an individual. The report notes, "This Historic Resource Study is the first of many to treat the historic resources of the parks in a holistic manner," part of a Southeast Region effort to restructure its historical research program.[998] The report also includes building descriptions, photos, and a substantive bibliography. Its recommendations include restoration of the facades on the Birth-Home Block and "interiors rehabilitated for adaptive reuse," with at least some effort to retain residences "as residences through tenant lease agreements."[999]

As of 2022, MALU had limited web content. One of the three webpages reviewed offered significant content on Black or African American history. Two pages were so brief that, even though MALU is dedicated to Black history, the pages contain no relevant Black history content. The introductory page for MALU asks visitors: "What do you know about the Civil Rights Movement? Learn about the people from the past, famous and not so famous because they all played a part in

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[994] NPS, "Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site: Long Range Interpretive Plan," 2011, 1–5.

[995] NPS, "Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site: Long Range Interpretive Plan," 2011, 1–5.

[996] Robert Blythe, "Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site, Historic Resource Study," 1994.

[997] Robert Blythe, "Martin Luther King, Jr., National Historic Site and Preservation District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2002.

[998] John A. Kissane, "Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Landmark District, Boundary Increase," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2000, 7.

[999] Kissane, "Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Landmark District, Boundary Increase," 38.

the movement." That is all the content available on the page.[1000] A page devoted to "People" briefly explores the "International Civil Rights Walk of Fame," though it does not indicate individuals who are featured.[1001] The "Places" page focuses on the fire station, a protected property, and devotes a full paragraph to discussion of fire horses. The only note about African American history or experiences is that "The Atlanta Fire Department was integrated in 1963 when sixteen blacks were hired."[1002]

Site staff reported via survey that African American stories are central to the interpretive narrative at MALU: "The park focused on where he lived, worked, and worshiped. This includes the home and neighborhood where he grew up, the church where he pastored, the offices of the SCLC, and the home he purchased with his family." Although Dr. King's life was a focus of interpretation, staff indicated there may be room for additional stories like those of women in the civil rights movement like Dr. King's wife, Coretta Scott King.[1003]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Interpretive web content: as of 2023, MALU was in the process of hiring a media specialist to improve web content.[1004]

Example Projects

- The holistic system of NRHP documentation is impressive (the amendments, the HRS).

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- HRS related to women in the civil rights movement (like Coretta Scott King, Diane Nash, and many others).
- **Review of the NPS oral history collection at Morehouse College** to determine "what has been done, define what needs to be done, and develop a coordinated approach."[1005]
- Oral history interviews with past and present residents of the properties administered by MALU as part of their residential leasing program.
- Special History Study connecting the post-World War II civil rights movements with earlier and later civil rights movements, in conjunction with other related parks.

[1000] "History and Culture," MALU webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/malu/learn/historyculture/index.htm.

[1001] "People," MALU webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/malu/learn/historyculture/people.htm.

[1002] "Places," MALU webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/malu/learn/historyculture/fsn6-brief-history.htm.

[1003] MALU, survey response, February 3, 2022.

[1004] NPS comments on draft report, August 2023.

[1005] NPS, "Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site: Long Range Interpretive Plan," 2011, 7.

- Regional projects focused on Black churches and Black religious experiences.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, enhanced web content, and additional partnerships (both external and internal to the NPS).[1006]

[1006] MALU, survey response, February 3, 2022.

Medgar and Myrlie Evers Home National Monument (MEMY)

Introduction

Founding Year: 2020

State(s): Mississippi

Park Statement of Purpose:

- As of 2022, MEMY did not have a Foundation Document. During the planning process to create the document, the NPS described the site as follows: "Medgar and Myrlie Evers were partners in the struggle for civil rights. On June 12, 1963, the assassination of Medgar Evers in the carport of their home at 2332 Margaret W. Alexander Drive in Jackson, Mississippi, became the first murder of a nationally significant leader of the national civil rights movement, and it became a catalyst for passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Myrlie Evers has continued to promote issues of racial equality and social justice. The Medgar and Myrlie Evers Home National Monument has been created to preserve, protect, and interpret for the benefit of present and future generations resources associated with the pivotal roles of Medgar and Myrlie Evers in the American civil rights movement."[1007]

Materials Reviewed:

- 1 webpage hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/memy
- 0 reports
    - MEMY is in the process of developing its Foundation Document.
- 1 survey response from employees or partners of MEMY

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodation, Desegregation of Public Education, Equal Employment, Racial Discrimination in Housing, Voting Rights

NPS Themes:

- Creating Social Institutions and Movements

[1007] NPS, "Medgar and Myrlie Evers Home National Monument Foundation Document," Planning, Environmental, and Public Comment (PEPC) website, accessed 2022, https://parkplanning.nps.gov/projectHome.cfm?projectId=102899.

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Civil Rights, Indigenous history, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations: None identified.

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

MEMY, founded in 2020, is a relatively new park unit. MEMY protects and preserves the home of Medgar and Myrlie Evers, a site fundamentally related to African American history. Both Medgar and Myrlie Evers were deeply involved in the struggle for civil rights. Medgar was the first field secretary for the NAACP in Mississippi in 1955, making him the public face of the organization. Myrlie worked behind the scenes running the field office and providing personal and logistical support for civil rights workers. Their home became an extension of the NAACP office. Medgar Evers was assassinated in the carport of his home on June 12, 1963. His death was the first murder of a nationally significant leader in the modern-day civil rights movement.[1008]

As of 2021, the site did not yet have a Foundation Document or any long-range planning documents. Existing web content provided a brief history of Medgar and Myrlie Evers and the history of their house.

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Foundation Document.
- Cultural Landscape Report and Environmental Assessment.[1009]

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Historic Resource Study**.

[1008] "History and Culture," MEMY webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/memy/learn/historyculture/index.htm.

[1009] NPS, "Cultural Landscape Report and Environmental Assessment, Medgar and Myrlie Evers Home National Monument," Planning, Environmental, and Public Comment (PEPC) website, accessed 2023, https://parkplanning.nps.gov/projectHome.cfm?projectID=113767.

- Ethnographic Overview and Assessment.
- Web content development.
- Multi-park special studies related to civil rights era history (see regional recommendations).

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents noted, the "park is new. Therefore [it] need[s] everything." In particular, they called for additional scholarly research into Medgar Evers' life, training, publications, web content, and development of partnerships within and outside of the NPS. A respondent wrote, "Many Civil Rights site must collaborate with each other and definitely with the community in order to accomplish our work."[1010]

[1010] MEMY, survey response, October 12, 2021.

Mill Springs Battlefield National Monument (MISP)

Introduction

Founding Year: 2020

State(s): Kentucky

Park Statement of Purpose:

- As of 2022, MISP did not yet have a Foundation Document. During the planning process to create the document, the NPS described the site as follows: "The Battle of Mill Springs was one of Kentucky's largest Civil War battles and gave the Union Army its first major victory in the war following the disastrous defeat at the Battle of First Manassas the previous summer. From the early days of the American Civil War, it was evident that Kentucky held incredible strategic importance, with the Confederate States of America hoping to hold the Cumberland Gap and the Union seeing southern Kentucky as the gateway to Confederate strongholds in Tennessee."[1011]

Materials Reviewed:

- 9 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/misp/
- 0 reports
- 1 survey response from employees or partners of MISP

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework: Does not relate to one of these themes.

NPS Themes:

- Shaping the Political Landscape

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Civil War, Indigenous history, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation

[1011] NPS, "Mill Springs Battlefield National Monument Foundation Document Newsletter," 2020, http://npshistory.com/publications/misp/fd-newsletter-e.pdf.

Partner Organizations:

- Mill Springs Battlefield Association

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

MISP, founded in 2020, is a relatively new park unit. The site does not yet have a Foundation Document or any other long-range planning documents. The existing web content does not include any mention of African American or Black history or experiences.

Survey respondents indicated that interpretation of African American stories at the site is lacking. As MISP develops its main objectives, site staff intend to interpret the site as "the first major victory of the Civil War in the Western Theatre" and to explore the battle's importance to Kentucky. The MISP Superintendent indicated their intent to research African American stories as one of the "primary narratives of all involved before, during and after the battle," and that "the African American narrative should be added to all aspects of the visitor experience.[1012]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- Historic research on African American experiences at the site.[1013]
- **Oral histories with members of local community** about commemoration of the site and attitudes towards it.
- Study on experience of African American families living in Kentucky (a state where slavery was legal but that did not secede) during the Civil War, in partnership with CANE and ABLI.[1014]

[1012] MISP, survey response, October 18, 2021.

[1013] MISP, survey response, October 18, 2021.

[1014] MISP, survey response, October 18, 2021.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, training, additional publications and pamphlets, enhanced website content, additional partnerships (both external and internal to the NPS).[1015]

[1015] MISP, survey response, October 18, 2021.

Moores Creek National Battlefield (MOCR)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1926

State(s): North Carolina

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "The purpose of Moores Creek National Battlefield is to commemorate and preserve for education and military study, the sties and stories surrounding the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge, fought February 27, 1776."[1016]

Materials Reviewed:

- 12 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/mocr/
- 5 reports
    - Blythe, Robert. "Moores Creek National Battlefield." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1976.
    - NPS. "Moores Creek National Battlefield: Boundary Increase." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1987.
    - "Moores Creek National Battlefield An Administrative History." 1999.
    - NPS. "Moores Creek National Battlefield: Long Range Interpretive Plan." 2011.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Moores Creek National Battlefield." 2012.
- 0 survey responses from employees or partners of MOCR

Relevant Time Period(s):

- European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework: Does not relate to one of these themes.

NPS Themes:

- Expressing Cultural Values, Shaping the Political Landscape

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Indigenous history, labor, maritime, military service, Revolutionary War, women's history

[1016] NPS, "Foundation Document: Moores Creek National Battlefield," 2012.

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Brunswick Town State Historic Site, Gullah Geechee heritage group, Moores Creek Battleground Association, Moores Creek Conservation Alliance, Pender County, Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

MOCR preserves, protects, and interprets the site of an early American Revolutionary War battle in North Carolina. Commemorative efforts began in the 1850s, and interpretive efforts have often focused on the use of unique and changing military tactics at the site. The Foundation Document and LRIP focus not only on the battle but also on its impacts in surrounding communities and economies.[1017] Naval storehouses, tar kilns, and lumber defined the area. Many industries relied on "large numbers of enslaved people, bringing Gullah culture to the area." Historic resources in MOCR include "Negro Head Point" and historic signage, resources that "illustrate the many lives that were impacted by slavery." The road "extended from Wilmington to Fayetteville" and transported crucial economic goods, including enslaved people.[1018] MOCR's administrative history observes that in 1775, the year of the battle, North Carolina's population was "265,000 whites and 80,000 blacks, mostly slaves."[1019] Despite the prevalence of enslaved persons and their role in the economy, the stories of Black and African American history and experiences are not readily apparent in park interpretation.

The NRHP nomination forms reviewed for MOCR do not include Black or African American stories. The 1976 form notes that no extant structures are present at the site, although archeological work had identified earthenworks likely associated with the battle. The historic context traces MOCR's evolution from a state park to a War Department site and then a national park. Between 1900 and 1930, MOCR gained many numerous commemorative memorials, including those dedicated to individuals like John Grady, to heroic women, to loyalist forces, and to landmarks like the bridge and stage road.[1020] A 1987 NRHP nomination form expanded the boundary to include Caswell Camp, a military encampment.[1021]

[1017] NPS, "Foundation Document: Moores Creek National Battlefield," 2012; NPS, "Moores Creek National Battlefield: Long Range Interpretive Plan," 2011.

[1018] NPS, "Foundation Document: Moores Creek National Battlefield," 2012, 3–5, 10.

[1019] "Moores Creek National Battlefield An Administrative History," 1999, 9.

[1020] Robert Blythe, "Moores Creek National Battlefield," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1976.

[1021] NPS, "Moores Creek National Battlefield: Boundary Increase," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1987.

One of 12 webpages reviewed includes content on Black or African American history or experiences. A page devoted to the Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor describes generational Black experiences in the area surrounding MOCR. The Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor was created to call attention to the historic and cultural contributions of the Gullah Geechee people. The Gullah Geechee people are the descendants of West and Central Africans who were enslaved and brought to the lower Atlantic states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, and Georgia to work on the coastal rice, Sea Island cotton and indigo plantations.[1022]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Ethnographic Overview and Assessment**.
- Research on Gullah Geechee heritage in area, in partnership with other parks in the Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor, with a focus on outreach in descendant communities and community stakeholders.
- Preservation of "Negro Head Point Road" and additional interpretive and wayside signage related to it.[1023]

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- n/a (no survey responses from park staff)

[1022] NPS, "Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/places/gullah-geechee-cultural-heritage-corridor.htm.

[1023] NPS, "Moores Creek National Battlefield: Long Range Interpretive Plan," 2011, 33; NPS, "Foundation Document: Moores Creek National Battlefield," 2012, 17, 25.

Natchez National Historical Park (NATC)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1988

State(s): Mississippi

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "The purpose of Natchez National Historical Park is to preserve and interpret the complex history and material culture of all the peoples of Natchez, Mississippi, emphasizing European settlement, African enslavement, the American cotton economy, and the Civil Rights struggle on the lower Mississippi River."[1024]

Materials Reviewed:

- 8 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/natc/
- 3 reports
    - Davis, Ronald L. F. "The Black Experience in Natchez 1720–1880." 1993.
    - Ann Beha Associates. "Natchez National Historical Park, Natchez, Mississippi, Historic Resource Study." 1997.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Natchez National Historical Park." 2013.
- 3 survey responses from employees or partners of NATC

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Early Inhabitants and Native Americans, 3500 BC–AD 1600; European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Equal Employment, Underground Railroad and Abolition

NPS Themes:

- Developing the American Economy, Peopling Places

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Black businesses, Civil War, Freedmen's Bureau, French colonialism, Indigenous history, Reconstruction, sites of enslavement, Spanish colonialism, women's history

[1024] NPS, "Foundation Document: Natchez National Historical Park," 2013, 6.

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Historic Natchez Foundation, Mississippi Department of Archives and History at the Grand Village of the Natchez Indians, National Historic Landmark Program, Natchez Trace Parkway, Spring Pilgrimage Event, Town of Natchez, UNESCO (Forks of the Road Slave Market site)

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

NATC protects and preserves three NPS-owned properties: Melrose, the William Johnson House, and the French colonial-era Fort Rosalie. In its goal to interpret "the complex history of all the peoples of Natchez, Mississippi," NATC emphasizes "European settlement, African enslavement, the American cotton economy, and the Civil Rights struggle on the lower Mississippi River." The Foundation Document identifies African American stories and experiences in every period of site significance, from the colonial era through to the antebellum period, Civil War, Reconstruction, and early 1900s.[1025]

NATC conducted a Special History Study devoted to "The Black Experience in Natchez 1720–1880" in 1993. Completed at the request of the NPS "to assist in the site interpretation," the study includes discussions of the Natchez Indians, as well as the stories of Black individuals enslaved and free in the area of Natchez. Topical chapters included the "Origins of Slavery in Natchez," "Characteristics of Natchez Slavery," "The Free Blacks of Natchez," "The Natchez Slave Market," "Coping with Slavery," "Breaking for Freedom: The Civil War Years," and "Freedom's Promise/Freedom's Reality." The report does not always centralize Black experiences despite the chapter titles—"Coping with Slavery" is more about social control from above than stories of those who were enslaved, for instance—but the report is nevertheless a relatively early example of a Special History Study focused on Black history, especially compared to other park units in the region.[1026]

A 1997 HRS of NATC includes significant discussion of Black experiences in the built landscape of the park. The report is arranged both by key physical structures and thematic topic; Melrose is used to discuss American architecture and the development of Natchez, for instance, while the William Johnson home and businesses are used to explore "the Black Experience in Natchez" from 1790 to 1851. The report advises NRHP updates for both Melrose and the William Johnson properties.[1027] In describing Natchez's centrality to the American cotton economy, the report emphasizes that economic success relied on enslaved labor: "The sale of cotton, produced by

[1025] NPS, "Foundation Document: Natchez National Historical Park," 2013, 6.

[1026] Ronald L. F. Davis, "The Black Experience in Natchez 1720–1880," 1993.

[1027] Ann Beha Associates, "Natchez National Historical Park, Natchez, Mississippi, Historic Resource Study," 1997, 7.

thousands of plantation-based slaves, generated a concentration of power and wealth in Natchez that was unparalleled in other Southern towns of comparable size . . . Natchez had the second-largest slave market in the nation." The report also notes that "At the same time, almost half of Mississippi's entire free African-American population resided in Natchez during the antebellum period," and that the built landscape reflects both contradiction and the broad, varied scope of Black experiences in Natchez.[1028] The report discusses stories of the Black community through all periods of significance. In the Reconstruction era:

> After military rule, Natchez forged a biracial city government with three black and three white aldermen and Mississippi's only black mayor during Reconstruction. Hiram Revels, the first African American to sit in either house of the United States Congress, was a minister at Zion Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Natchez. Former Natchez slave John R. Lynch became a prominent post-Civil War Congressman, and the first African American to address a national political convention. For most African Americans, however, tenant farming and sharecropping replaced slavery, and the promises of Reconstruction were not realized.[1029]

NATC's web content does include content on Black and African American stories. Five of the eight surveyed webpages include relevant content. Several of the websites profile Black individuals and provide important context to understand their experiences. In the page devoted to William Johnson, for instance, the biographical information describes his business as a barber, explores his efforts to train other Black barbers, and describes the circumstances of Johnson's murder. His murderer was not convicted because he claimed to be White, and laws prevented people of color from testifying as witnesses in court.[1030] The "Places" page notes that visitors to NATC can see Johnson's home and businesses.[1031] Johnson's diaries, documents, and some artifacts of his family and descendants are included in the page on NATC's museum collection.[1032]

Other pages are briefer in their discussion of Black experiences. A page devoted to "People" notes that French colonialists brough the first enslaved Africans to the Natchez area.[1033] A history of the McMurran family describes their ownership of five plantations and over 300 enslaved individuals, but it does not discuss or center the experiences of those individuals.[1034] The obscuring of Black stories on NATC's web content is most obvious in its omissions; although it is a UNESCO heritage site and a crucial aspect of Black experiences and history in the area, the "Forks of the

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[1028] Ann Beha Associates, "Natchez National Historical Park, Natchez, Mississippi, Historic Resource Study," 1.

[1029] Ann Beha Associates, "Natchez National Historical Park, Natchez, Mississippi, Historic Resource Study," 2.

[1030] "William Johnson," NATC webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/natc/learn/historyculture/williamjohnson.htm.

[1031] "Places," NATC webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/natc/learn/historyculture/places.htm.

[1032] "Collections," NATC webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/natc/learn/historyculture/collections.htm.

[1033] "People," NATC webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/natc/learn/historyculture/people.htm.

[1034] "McMurran," NATC webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/natc/learn/historyculture/mcmurran.htm.

Road" slavery market is not mentioned anywhere in NATC's available web content. Black experiences during Reconstruction and in the 1900s also seem underrepresented in digital content.

Site staff report that the primary narratives of NATC center Black and African American stories. One respondent described the narrative as one of "Human Trafficking and Enslavement, the Domestic Slave Trade." All four park units "focus on telling the story of African enslavement, and then we also focus on Reconstruction and Civil Rights."[1035] Another respondent described the theme as "the unbroken thread of colonialism." Despite centralizing Black stories, staff indicated there is additional room to expand the site narrative further by including stories of "white supremacy & racism" as well as "violence, especially rape, against people of color." Omitting violence from the narrative means that although staff "are looking at hard stories that victimize African Americans," they recognize they "are not looking at the dominant culture of the white people with a critical eye."[1036]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- HRS on Slavery in the Natchez District.[1037]
- Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Natchez National Historical Park (PMIS #316416).
- Administrative History of Natchez National Historical Park (PMIS #114796).

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Historic research on people of African and Indigenous descent in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Natchez**.
- **Research on individuals who served in USCT and veterans in Natchez area**.
    - Survey respondent observed: "More Access to National Archives USCT Records, especially the higher numbered consolidated service records that were supposed to be available years ago through a deal with Fold3.com. Blanket access to Fold3.com as well as the material not published on the Civil War Soldiers and Sailors System Website."[1038]
- Archeological research and survey on cemetery where enslaved individuals are buried (need identified by the Foundation Document).

[1035] NATC, survey response, August 31, 2021.

[1036] NATC, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[1037] NATC, survey response, August 31, 2021.

[1038] NATC, survey response, September 20, 2021.

- Interpretive exhibits at cabins of enslaved people at Melrose and Fort Rosalie (need identified in the Foundation Document).
- Historic Structures Report and Historic Furnishing Reports for William Johnson House and for Melrose structures, potentially paired with a Cultural Landscape Report, as identified by the Foundation Document.
- Interpretation of Reconstruction era in Natchez.
    - The 1997 HRS identifies several key individuals whose stories could be featured, and a potential project on tenant farming and the realities of day-to-day life in Natchez could be interesting.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, additional partnerships (external to the NPS), enhanced website content, and increased access to relevant records.[1039]

[1039] NATC, survey response, August 31, 2021.

Natchez Trace Parkway (NATR)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1933–1938

State(s): Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "The Natchez Trace Parkway commemorates 10,000 years of travel along the Old Natchez Trace corridor and provides a 444-mile journey linking culture, nature, and history along one of the oldest transportation routes on the North American continent."[1040]

Note: Managed jointly with Tupelo National Battlefield (TUPE), Natchez Trace National Scenic Trail, and Brices Crossroads National Battlefield Site (BRCR)

Materials Reviewed:

- 71 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/natr/
- 1 webpage hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/tupe
- 6 reports
    - Brown, Lenard E. "Natchez Trace, Old, and Choctaw Agency Site." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1994.
    - NPS. "Tupelo Homesteads." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1997.
    - Thomason and Associates. "National Register Eligibility Assessment: The Natchez Trace Parkway." 2004.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Natchez Trace Parkway." 2014.
    - NPS. "Natchez Trace Parkway Long-Range Interpretive Plan." 2016.
    - NPS. "Natchez Trace Parkway Wayside Media Report." 2016.
- 6 survey responses from employees or partners of NATR or associated sites

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Early Inhabitants and Native Americans, 3500 BC–AD 1600; European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

[1040] NPS, "Foundation Document: Natchez Trace Parkway," 2014, 4.

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Racial Discrimination in Housing

NPS Themes:

- Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Civil War, Great Depression, historic preservation, Indigenous history, infrastructure, memory, politicians, Trail of Tears, War of 1812, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Brices Crossroads National Battlefield Site, Chickasaw Nation, Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, Mississippi's Final Stands, Mississippi Hills National Heritage Area, Muscle Shoals National Heritage Area, Natchez Trace Parkway Association, Natchez Trace Compact, Natchez Trace National Scenic Trail, Southeastern Oklahoma University, Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area, Tupelo National Battlefield Site, University of Mississippi, University of Northern Alabama

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

"Our exhibits, park film and publications do not capture a broad African American experience in connection with the Parkway. We have a lot of room to expand our narrative and grow in our interpretation program and in the telling of African American stories in the park. I'd like to see training that helps the interp staff deal with what can be a confrontational local audience, helps them better understand their own bias, and builds skills to help them talk about race in a productive way. We don't have strong relationships with African American community members. I'd love to see us have a robust internship program using local HBCUs. If I zoom out and look at the park as a whole I'd like to see the staff behave in a more inclusive, empathetic way."[1041]

Congress created NATR in 1938 to preserve and commemorate the Natchez Trace. The historic travel corridor spans multiple periods of significance and has been in use for thousands of years. The 444-mile-long corridor spans the ancestral homelands of the Natchez, Chickasaw, and Choctaw Nations. In the 1700s, the Natchez Trace allowed boatmen to move down the Mississippi to markets at New Orleans and Natchez. The corridor played a role in the War of 1812, the Civil War, and the forced removal of Indigenous peoples along the Trail of Tears. Today, NATR interprets

[1041] NATR, survey response, September 9, 2021.

more than three centuries of history at multiple park units across multiple states. The park units include BRCR and TUPE, two Civil War era sites.[1042]

NATR documents reviewed for this project do not substantively deal with Black or African American history. The Foundation Document (2014) does not mention African Americans traveling the trail, being forced to travel the trail, or the slave trade, which undoubtedly impacted the commercial traffic and the growth of commercial enterprises along the Trace.[1043]

Analyses of historic structures and resources along NATR also fail to include or address Black history. The 2004 NRHP Eligibility Assessment of the Natchez Trace Parkway contains a history of the Parkway broken up by state and primarily focused on roadway development in the 1900s. The report does not include any mention of Black history or experiences.[1044] In other cases, property evaluations mention Black experiences only tangentially, while primarily focusing the narrative on enslavers. For instance, the NRHP nomination form for the Choctaw Agency describes Andrew Jackson "traveling to Natchez to obtain some slaves" in 1811. Jackson entered a confrontation with Choctaw Agent Silas Dinsmore, who also used enslaved labor on his plantation. The lives of the enslaved individuals are not elaborated on. It is unclear what their lives on NATR area plantations might have been like or if their labor also went to maintaining the roads of the Natchez Trace.[1045] Some sites do offer interpretation related to African American presence at sites; Mount Locust, for instance, has a cemetery where enslaved people are buried and waysides to guide visitors.[1046]

The LRIP for NATR, written in 2016, included a discussion of slavery and the slave trade in its interpretive themes, explicitly acknowledging "enslaved people" who traveled the Trace.[1047] The LRIP identified several sites where additional research could bring new stories to light, encouraging a research project to "explore the potential for connecting with African American families who traditionally use the Ross Barnett Reservoir for fishing and picnicking." The LRIP also called for strengthening the relationship between the NPS and Alcorn State University and Jackson State University, HBCUs near the Parkway.[1048] The LRIP acknowledged that NATR needed to do additional work to involve and support "underserved audiences," defined as "Chickasaw, Choctaw, African Americans, and Latinos."[1049]

Of 71 webpages associated with NATR, only two contain any content related to Black or African American history or experiences. One page features a biography of Betsy Love. Betsy Love Allen was the first married American woman to gain rights to property. When her husband became indebted to John Fisher, Fisher insisted that an enslaved man named Toney be sold at auction to repay the debt. According to US law, Mr. Allen became the proprietor of Betsy's property upon

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[1042] NPS, "Foundation Document: Natchez Trace Parkway," 2014, 3–5.

[1043] NPS, "Foundation Document: Natchez Trace Parkway," 2014.

[1044] Thomason and Associates, "National Register Eligibility Assessment: The Natchez Trace Parkway," 2004.

[1045] Lenard E. Brown, "Natchez Trace, Old, and Choctaw Agency Site," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1994.

[1046] NPS, "Natchez Trace Parkway Wayside Media Report," 2016.

[1047] NPS, "Natchez Trace Parkway Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2016, 3.

[1048] NPS, "Natchez Trace Parkway Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2016, 59–60.

[1049] NPS, "Natchez Trace Parkway Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2016, 17.

marriage. However, they were legally married according to Chickasaw law, which meant that Betsy owned all their property.[1050] The other webpage also includes a brief mention of slavery, primarily in relation to commercial enterprises on the trail. "Historic Stands along the Old Natchez Trace" describes how inns, or stands, provided occasional shelter for travelers along the Natchez Trace from the 1790s to the 1840s. Many stands along the Natchez Trace were home to enslaved people; they worked for the profit of stand owners and served travelers.[1051]

Survey respondents indicated that several NATR sites recognize slavery as central to "the development of Mississippi." Mount Locust, for instance, is interpreted as both an inn and a plantation.[1052] Although staff acknowledge the "large slave trade along the Natchez trace," and at sites like Forks in the Road at Natchez, they also acknowledge "we do not incorporate this enough." Some interpretive programming focuses on African American blues musician artists.[1053] Other survey respondents reported that "African American stories are only included in the narrative as enslaved people who worked on the cotton plantations along the Trace."[1054] NATR may be underutilizing nearby resources to expand the available interpretation; one respondent noted the nearby presence of MEMY and noted an overall lack of civil rights interpretation on NATR despite its regional importance.[1055] Survey respondents indicated a need to develop fuller and more complete interpretation of "the plantation story."[1056] One respondent noted: "Very little is known about the enslaved people that were forcibly marched down the Old Natchez Trace trail as well as those who were enslaved at Mount Locust. There has been some research into some of the enslaved people that joined the USCT during the Civil War, but that research is unfinished."[1057]

Others echoed a desire to focus on the role of USCT troops in the Civil War, as well as individuals who may have contributed to building the Parkway in the 1900s.[1058] Staff also wanted to expand the interpretation of civil rights stories, focusing on the range of experiences "outside the main timeline of civil rights (1950s-1960s)" and to explore the use of NATR as a travel corridor for civil rights movement participants.[1059] One staff member indicated the need to expand the stories broadly and holistically: "I think that we should include more narratives about the people who gained their freedom, fought in the Civil War, fought for Civil Rights, created music in areas along the parkway, ran businesses, traveled the parkway, owned enslaved people, helped to develop the

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[1050] NPS, "Betsy Love," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/betsy-love-the-first-american-woman-to-gain-rights-to-property.htm.

[1051] "Historic Stands Along the Natchez Trace," NATC webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/natr/learn/historyculture/historic-stands-along-the-old-natchez-trace.htm.

[1052] NATR, survey response, October 15, 2021; NATR, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[1053] NATR, survey response, August 25, 2021; NATR, survey response, September 9, 2021.

[1054] NATR, survey response, August 25, 2021; NATR, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[1055] NATR, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[1056] NATR, survey response, September 9, 2021.

[1057] NATR survey response, August 25, 2021.

[1058] NATR, survey response, September 9, 2021.

[1059] NATR, survey response, October 15, 2021; NATR/TUPE/BRCR, survey response, August 30, 2021.

parkway as part of the New Deal, held offices in government, and contributed to the history of Mississippi."[1060]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Historic research on African American history along the Natchez Trace, especially in the 1700s and 1800s**.
    - To include discussion of people enslaved along the trace and people who were forced to maintain the road that centers the lives and experiences of these individuals. A survey respondent noted, "Very little is known about the enslaved people that were forcibly marched down the Old Natchez Trace trail as well as those who were enslaved at Mount Locust. There has been some research into some of the enslaved people that joined the USCT during the Civil War, but that research is unfinished."[1061]
    - Should include an interpretive component, or at least detailed recommendations for how to translate this material into interpretive content.[1062]
- Research on families who lived in Tupelo Homesteads.[1063]
- Additional interpretive content.
    - A survey respondent noted the general need for additional interpretive content, "There is a lot we could do here, more waysides could be built that tell of AA history, more printed handouts, web pages, and then overall our team should read more history on the subject so that when visitors come through we have the information. Our museum exhibit could also be remade to include more information on AA history."[1064]

[1060] NATR, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[1061] NATR survey response, August 25, 2021.

[1062] NATR/TUPE/BRCR, survey response, August 30, 2021; NATR, survey response, September 9, 2021.

[1063] NPS, "Tupelo Homesteads," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1997.

[1064] NATR, survey response, August 25, 2021.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, additional training, additional publications or pamphlets, enhanced website content, additional partnerships (both external and internal to the NPS).

New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park (JAZZ)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1994

State(s): Louisiana

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Devoted to preservation of a national musical treasure, New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park provides venues, oral histories, seminars, and demonstrations to experience jazz music and culture in the city where it originated, New Orleans."[1065]

Note: Managed jointly with Jean Lafitte National Historical Park (JELA)

Materials Reviewed:

- 16 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/jazz/
- 4 reports
    - NPS. "New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park: Long-Range Interpretive Plan." 2007.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park." 2015.
    - NPS. "Jean Lafitte NHP and Preserve, New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park Long Range Interpretive Plan." 2019.
    - NPS. "Media Plan: Jean Lafitte NHP and Preserve, New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park." 2019.
- 2 survey responses from employees or partners of JAZZ

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodation, Desegregation of Public Education, Equal Employment, Racial Discrimination in Housing, Voting Rights

[1065] NPS, "Foundation Document: New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park," 2015, 4.

NPS Themes:

- Expressing Cultural Values, Peopling Places

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Black lifeways (funerals, food, culture), Black music, Black organizations (mutual aid, benevolent societies), memory, music, Indigenous history, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- City of New Orleans, Downtown Development District, Hogan Jazz Archive of Tulane University, Louis Armstrong Foundation, National Park Foundation, New Orleans Jazz Commission, New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Foundation, Smithsonian Institution, State of Louisiana, WWOZ Radio, "numerous Benevolent Associations and Social Aid and Pleasure Clubs"[1066]

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

Park facilities include the Old US Mint in the French Quarter and sites in Louis Armstrong Park and the French Market, leased cooperatively with the City of New Orleans. The park goal is "preservation of a national musical treasure, [and] JAZZ provides venues, oral histories, seminars, and demonstrations to experience jazz music and culture in the city where it originated, New Orleans."[1067] The Foundation Document (2015) features many photographs that include individuals of color.[1068] The report names notable individuals related to jazz (like Louis Armstrong) and important New Orleans neighborhoods that are historically Black (like the Tremé District and Third Ward). The interpretive themes note: "New Orleans' location as an international port, along with its diverse history, created an atmosphere in which music traditions from the Caribbean, African nations, European colonial settlements, and indigenous North American tribes would interact and evolve to create a new distinct American sound reflective of the 20th century American character" and identifies jazz "as a fusion of African and European music."[1069]

The 2007 LRIP includes a drawing of Louis Armstrong and photos of Black jazz performers but relies on White voices to explore the significance of jazz music, like John Hass, a Smithsonian-

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[1066] NPS, "Jean Lafitte NHP and Preserve, New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park Long Range Interpretive Plan," 2019, 34.

[1067] NPS, "Foundation Document: New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park," 2015, 3–4.

[1068] NPS, "Foundation Document: New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park," 2015, iv, 7, 9, 16, 23.

[1069] NPS, "Foundation Document: New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park," 2015, 6, 9.

affiliated scholar.[1070] The LRIP recognizes jazz as "America's most widely recognized indigenous music art form" and notes the continuity of jazz history in New Orleans. When discussing cultures in New Orleans, the LRIP does not identify specific cultural groups or deliberately focuses on the syncretic combination of cultures. New Orleans is described as a seaport with a "multicultural history" that "created an atmosphere in which jazz developed and flourished," depriving individuals of agency and assigning agency to physical place.[1071] Visitor goals include appreciation of "the cultural gumbo that is an essential part of jazz heritage."[1072] A section on "The Brief History of Jazz" does discuss the role of African traditions in shaping New Orleans' culture, and that "people of varied African descent, both free and enslaved, made up more than half the city's population" at the end of the 1700s.[1073] The "Issues and Influences" section discusses Hurricane Katrina (2005), the difficulty of capturing music history, and inaccessibility of music education.[1074] In an effort to determine "who are the important musicians to interpret," the NPS intended to pursue a "big tent approach . . . with inclusion rather than exclusion being the rule."[1075]

In 2019, JELA and JAZZ completed an interim LRIP designed to identify interpretive themes, recommend interpretive services and partnerships, and "communicate the parks' purpose, significance, and primary stories." The interim plan was designed to have a five-year lifespan. JELA's significance focused on "the living legacy of south Louisiana's blend of diaspora cultures from Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Caribbean" but none of the LRIP statements include a discussion of slavery or enslavement, despite a context statement which identifies the park namesake, Jean Lafitte, as a smuggler of slaves.[1076] The LRIP does indicate that JELA's name "elevate(s) Lafitte, a man with a dark and shady reputation, to a larger than life status" and suggests reviewing the name.[1077]

JAZZ has significant website content devoted to Black and African American history and experiences. Nine of its sixteen webpages have relevant content. One page links directly to a digital download of an NPS funded research study titled "A Feminist Perspective on New Orleans Jazz Women" by Sherri Tucker. The report contains information about Black women's significant contributions to New Orleans and to jazz music.[1078] Other pages are biographical profiles of

[1070] NPS, "New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2007, 9.

[1071] NPS, "New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2007, 11.

[1072] NPS, "New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2007, 11.

[1073] NPS, "New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2007, 16.

[1074] NPS, "New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2007, 23.

[1075] NPS, "New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2007, 35.

[1076] NPS, "Jean Lafitte NHP and Preserve, New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park Long Range Interpretive Plan," 2019, 8.

[1077] NPS, "Jean Lafitte NHP and Preserve, New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park Long Range Interpretive Plan," 2019, 13.

[1078] "New Orleans Jazzwomen," JAZZ webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/jazz/learn/historyculture/upload/New_Orleans_Jazzwomen_RS-2.pdf

prominent Black jazz musicians like Charles "Buddy" Bolden, John Robichaux., and Joseph "King" Oliver.[1079]

Other webpages focus on place-based Black history. One page explores New Orleans' role as the birthplace of jazz. By the end of the 1700s, the population of New Orleans comprised mostly people of color, enslaved and free. There was great ethnic diversity, which resulted in great cultural exchange, including the development of early jazz. African dance and drumming traditions were important to the origins of jazz. Enslaved people gathered socially on Sundays in an area that is now known as Congo Square. In the late 1800s, there was a growing interest in brass bands and syncopated musical styles influenced by Black traditions like cakewalks and minstrel tunes. New Orleans jazz began to spread to other cities as the city's musicians began to tour. Early influential jazz musicians include Sidney Bechet, Baby Dodds, Louis Armstrong, Pops Foster, Jelly Roll Morton, and Nick LaRocca.[1080] Other webpages celebrate sites of Black community and performance, like the Iroquois Theater and the Oddfellows and Masonic Dance Hall, and the Little Gem Saloon.[1081] One page is devoted to the Karnofsky Tailor Shop and Residence, owned by a Jewish family who provided a home for jazz musician Louis Armstrong and later opened a jazz record shop.[1082]

Site staff at JAZZ report that "African American stories are pretty much woven into all narratives at the site, especially with jazz. While we do tell the stories of all the groups of people who have settled in the city, it is impossible to interpret our story effectively without getting African American history and culture included and done accurately and holistically."[1083] The same respondent requested additional training, stating: "I am building a young and diverse staff of interns and rangers so training support would be much appreciated, especially if it could be done onsite. Specifically training in how to effectively interpret difficult subject matter [like] civil rights, Jim Crow, etc."[1084]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

Example Projects

- None

[1079] NPS, "Charles 'Buddy' Bolden," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/people/charles-buddy-bolden.htm; NPS, "John Robichaux," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/people/john-robichaux.htm; NPS, "Joseph 'King' Oliver," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/people/joseph-king-oliver.htm.

[1080] "Jazz Origins in New Orleans," JAZZ webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/jazz/learn/historyculture/history_early.htm.

[1081] NPS, "Iroquois Theater," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/places/iroquois-theater.htm; NPS, "Odd Fellows and Masonic Dance Hall/Eagle Saloon," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/places/odd-fellows-and-masonic-dance-hall-eagle-saloon.htm; NPS, "Frank Dourou's Little Gem Saloon," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/places/frank-douroux-s-little-gem-saloon.htm.

[1082] NPS, "Karnofsky Tailor Shop and Residence," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/places/karnofsky-tailor-shop-and-residence.htm.

[1083] Supervisory Park Ranger, JAZZ, February 4, 2022.

[1084] Supervisory Park Ranger, JAZZ, February 4, 2022.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Curatorial and archival plan for media collected at JAZZ demonstrations,** focusing on a partnership with area universities and with the potential to set exemplary, equitable, and inclusive collection and preservation strategies to be modeled at other NPS units (need indicated in Foundation Document).
- Historical research on women in jazz.
- Oral histories with modern-day jazz artists.
- Research and oral histories of jazz musicians who experienced segregation.
- Ethnographic study focused on Black communities' relationships with the Mardi Gras Indians. The LRIP plan notes that the "interrelationships between the Mardi Gras Indians, social aid and pleasure clubs, and mutual aid and benevolent societies to jazz history are not fully documented."[1085]
- Visitor Experience Assessment, with an eye toward developing mobile apps and additional points of interest. Could focus on visitor demographics and help determine who is being excluded from JAZZ spaces (need indicated in Foundation Document).
- Analysis of performers at JAZZ demonstrations to determine equity and identify opportunities for different partnerships or performers.
- Efforts to utilize Louis Armstrong Park as originally envisioned. The Foundation Document notes that "continued inaction at Louis Armstrong Park jeopardizes relations with local communities, organizations, and the City of New Orleans."[1086]

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, additional training, enhanced website content, and additional partnerships (both external and internal to the NPS).[1087]

[1085] NPS, "Jean Lafitte NHP and Preserve, New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park Long Range Interpretive Plan," 2019, 23.

[1086] NPS, "Foundation Document: Jazz National Historical Park," 2015, 29.

[1087] Supervisory Park Ranger, JAZZ, February 4, 2022.

Ninety Six National Historic Site (NISI)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1976

State(s): South Carolina

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Ninety Six National Historic Site preserves and commemorates for educational benefit and enjoyment the settlement and development of the English colonies in the backcountry of America and the role of Ninety Six in the Southern Campaign of the American Revolutionary War. Towards that end, the site preserves unique and original resources, including the Star Fort earthworks and Kosciuszko's Mine, associated with the 28-day siege in May and June of 1781."[1088]

Note: Managed jointly with Cowpens National Battlefield (COWP), Kings Mountain National Military Park (KEMO), Overmountain Victory National Historic Trail (OVVI)

Materials Reviewed:

- 0 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/nisi/
- 1 report
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Ninety Six National Historic Site Foundation Document." 2014.
- 1 survey response from employees or partners of NISI

Relevant Time Period(s):

- European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework: Does not relate to one of these themes.

NPS Themes:

- Shaping the Political Landscape

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Indigenous history, Revolutionary War, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery

[1088] NPS, "Foundation Document: Ninety Six National Historic Site Foundation Document," 2014, 5.

Partner Organizations: None identified.

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

NISI's Foundation Document describes the site's relevance in three periods of significance: first, as a "trading and meeting place on the Carolina backcountry from 1715–1760s," then "a thriving colonial village and seat of government (1768–early 1800s)," and third as "a Revolutionary War stronghold."[1089] The site includes American Revolutionary War commemorative monuments, eighteenth-century roads, and archeological materials spanning 6,000 years of settlement. Notable landowners include the Dozier and Gouedy families. The Gouedy family owned a trading post and several area plantations.[1090]

The Foundation Document fails to grapple significantly with the presence of enslaved individuals in the area, although it does note the presence of Henley Creek Cemetery, a burial ground with 36 internments "associated with the Gouedy Plantation." Additional research at the Gouedy Trading Post site could include locating "the slave village."[1091] The Foundation Document does not mention any participation of Black or African American soldiers in Revolutionary War battles. NISI does not currently maintain community connections with descendant communities, though the Foundation Document indicates a need to form relationships with both "tribal [and] African American" stakeholders.[1092]

NISI's website does not include any material about Black or African American stories or experiences.

Survey respondents indicated that although current site interpretation focuses on battle participants, the "entire narrative needs to be expanded upon, including research on the people who were at the sites."[1093] An additional survey response indicated ongoing issues with exhibit planning at NISI, observing that planners from HFC struggled "find information about local African-American history during the revolutionary era." The survey respondent, an employee of the South Carolina state parks system, observed that the Revolutionary War "was outside of the timeframe I'm used to researching, so I didn't know where to point him, but I do know from being in the South Carolina upstate the last few years that there is a wealth of history waiting to be told."[1094]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

[1089] NPS, "Foundation Document: Ninety Six National Historic Site Foundation Document," 2014, 7.

[1090] NPS, "Foundation Document: Ninety Six National Historic Site," 2014, 10.

[1091] NPS, "Foundation Document: Ninety Six National Historic Site," 2014, 10, 54.

[1092] NPS, "Foundation Document: Ninety Six National Historic Site," 2014, 10, 43.

[1093] COWP/KIMO/NISI/OVVI, survey response, September 17, 2021.

[1094] FOSU, survey response, October 13, 2021.

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Archeological research (with mapping component) on burial ground for enslaved people at Gouedy plantation site**, in conjunction with historic study on free or enslaved people of African descent at the site during the trading early colonial period.
- Study of commemoration of the site and the role (or absence) of local African American community members.
- Outreach to local descendent communities.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Park staff (from the jointly managed units of COWP, KIMO, NISI, and OVVI) noted a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, additional interpretive materials like publications and pamphlets, enhanced web content, and additional partnerships (external to the NPS, with area resources like the South Carolina African American Heritage Commission).[1095]

[1095] COWP/KIMO/NISI/OVVI, survey response, September 17, 2021.

Obed Wild & Scenic River (OBED)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1976

State(s): Tennessee

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "The Obed Wild and Scenic River, Tennessee's only wild and scenic river, protects and enhances one of the last free-flowing river systems in the Eastern United States. This system is characterized by rugged terrain and exceptional waters and provides opportunities to experience a dramatic river gorge of the Cumberland Plateau much as it has been throughout human history."[1096]

Materials Reviewed:

- 4 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/obed/
- 1 report
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Obed Wild & Scenic River." 2015.
- 0 survey responses from employees or partners of OBED

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Early Inhabitants and Native Americans, 3500 BC–AD 1600; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework: Does not relate to one of these themes.

NPS Themes:

- Peopling Places

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Environmental history, Indigenous history, industry, rivers, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- Segregation and Jim Crow

Partner Organizations: None identified.

[1096] NPS, "Foundation Document: Obed Wild & Scenic River," 2015, 4.

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

Currently, OBED materials do not substantively address Black or African American stories or experiences in the park unit. No webpages reviewed included relevant content. Site staff did not respond to the survey.

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Ethnographic Overview and Assessment**, focused on expanding the narratives surrounding human settlement, land use, and community building over time.[1097]
- Historic research on industrial and economic use of the area, exploring historic resources like the mines, gristmills, bridges, and train tunnels in the area. Who lived and worked in these places?[1098]
- Historic research on human uses of the river (fishing, boating, other?).
- Oral histories on human uses of the river.
- Interpretative web content on historic uses of flora and fauna in the biodiverse riverine ecosystems.
- Interpretive exhibit displays that address human history, including Indigenous and African American people in the area, including importance of the river as a travel corridor, as a working area, and as a place of finding subsistence from the varied plants/animals.[1099]

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- n/a (no survey responses from park staff)

[1097] NPS, "Foundation Document: Obed Wild & Scenic River," 2015, 37.

[1098] NPS, "Foundation Document: Obed Wild & Scenic River," 2015, 17, 25.

[1099] NPS, "Foundation Document: Obed Wild & Scenic River," 2015, 25, 37.

Ocmulgee National Monument (OCMU)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1934

State(s): Georgia

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "The purpose of Ocmulgee National Monument is to preserve, protect, study, and commemorate the site of more than 12,000 years of continuous human habitation by multiple cultures and peoples, and to study and interpret the interconnectedness of those cultures to the landscape of Ocmulgee Old Fields."[1100]

Materials Reviewed:

- 21 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/ocmu/
- 4 reports
    - Brown, Jennifer. "Ocmulgee National Monument." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1976.
    - Andrews, Deborah, and Peter Collings. "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Ocmulgee National Monument." 2004.
    - Thompson, Ron. "Ocmulgee National Monument: Long-Range Interpretive Plan." 2009.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Ocmulgee National Monument." 2014.
- 1 survey response from employees or partners of OCMU

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Early Inhabitants and Native Americans, 3500 BC–AD 1600; European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Equal Employment, Underground Railroad and Abolition

NPS Themes:

- Peopling Places

[1100] NPS, "Foundation Document: Ocmulgee National Monument," 2014, 5.

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Civil War, CCC, Creek culture, Indigenous history, women's history, WPA

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Ocmulgee Mounds Association

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

OCMU includes several historic resources related to Black or African American history. However, like many other NPS units, OCMU's NRHP nomination form does not include any mention of African American or Black history or experiences.[1101]

In addition to archeological materials from the Early Mississippian period (AD 900–1100), OCMU's site bounds include resources related to the Muscogee (Creek) people, including a historic village site and British trading post.[1102] The site also includes Dunlap House. The Dunlap plantation used enslaved labor, and OCMU includes a cemetery associated with enslaved persons. Another plantation at OCMU, the Lamar plantation, also used enslaved labor.[1103]

During the 1930s, the WPA conducted archeological excavations at OCMU. Over 800 individuals worked on the WPA excavations, one of the largest archeological undertakings in the eastern United States. One of the archeological teams included 40 African American women.[1104] Although the Foundation Document, LRIP, and Ethnographic Overview all mention the crew of African American women, their story does not appear on any website content and presents an opportunity for additional study.

The museum on site at OCMU once included a display of human remains. The exhibit included "an African female who had given birth, presumed to be a slave from the plantation era." Originally misidentified by archeologists and labeled as American Indian remains, the exhibit appears to no

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[1101] Jennifer Brown, "Ocmulgee National Monument," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1976.

[1102] NPS, "Foundation Document: Ocmulgee National Monument," 2014, 7, 47.

[1103] Deborah Andrews, and Peter Collings, "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Ocmulgee National Monument," 2004, 43, 78.

[1104] NPS, "Foundation Document: Ocmulgee National Monument," 2014, 4, 6; Ron Thompson, "Ocmulgee National Monument: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2009, 11; Andrews and Collings, "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Ocmulgee National Monument," 15.

longer exist, but it is unclear what happened to the human remains (either of the African woman or the other individuals displayed).[1105]

At the time of the 2004 Ethnographic Study, the community surrounding OCMU was "a predominantly African American community. The site is used for tourism and educational programs with local schools."[1106]

None of the webpages reviewed had relevant content to Black or African American history and experiences.

OCMU staff described the main interpretive narrative as "12,000 years of occupation," ranging from the Mississippian Period earthen mounds into the 1900s. Interpretation at the site does include the stories of enslaved people, Civil War battlements constructed by African American troops, and the presence of African American gravesites at the trading post. OCMU intends to acquire additional property related to the WPA excavations conducted by African American women during the 1930s, connecting their work and the site to other 1930s archeological projects in central Georgia.[1107]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- Administrative History.
    - To include a history of archeological efforts at site and a discussion of Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) and Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA).
- **Historical research and associated interpretive content exploring the Black women's WPA crew**. If possible, a broader project on CCC work could support efforts both at OCMU and at other sites like BLRI and SHIL.
- Additional research on how the arrival of African people in the region shaped life for those still living in the area.
- Study of people enslaved at Dunlap House and plantation.

[1105] Andrews and Collings, "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Ocmulgee National Monument," 43, 80.

[1106] Andrews and Collings, "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Ocmulgee National Monument," 113.

[1107] OCMU, survey response, October 17, 2021.

- Community outreach projects to connect with descendant communities (of enslaved persons, WPA workers, and more recent park users).
- Project enslaved labor to build Civil War era earthenworks. A broader project on the same subject could support other Civil War sites.
- A study of the people of African descent at the Creek village at this site.
- Research on burial grounds associated with Black community; more nuanced conversation surrounding people of both Indigenous and African descent in Creek communities.
- If additional NRHP nominations are undertaken by park staff (for properties like the visitor center and Dunlap House), all historic contexts should attempt to tell a fuller story of site history. For instance, was the visitor center segregated at the time of construction?

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey responses indicated a need for enhanced web content, as well as additional studies or research projects.[1108]

[1108] Superintendent, OCMU, survey response, October 17, 2021.

Overmountain Victory National Historic Trail (OVVI)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1987

State(s): North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "The Overmountain Victory National Historic Trail commemorates, preserves, and interprets, through public and private partnerships, the spirit of patriot militia and the routes through Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, and South Carolina to and from the Battle at Kings Mountain in 1780, the first major victory of the Southern Campaign of the American Revolution."[1109]

Note: Managed jointly with Cowpens National Battlefield (COWP), Kings Mountain National Military Park (KIMO), and Ninety Six National Historic Site (NISI)

Materials Reviewed:

- 37 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/ovvi
- 3 reports
    - Thomason, Philip, and Steven D. Smith. "Gilbert Town Historic District." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 2006.
    - Goolrick, Faye. "Overmountain Victory National Historic Trail: Long Range Interpretive Plan." 2011.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Overmountain Victory National History Trail." 2017.

Relevant Time Period(s):

- European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Underground Railroad and Abolition

NPS Themes:

- Shaping the Political Landscape

[1109] NPS, "Foundation Document: Overmountain Victory National History Trail," 2017, 6.

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Black military service, Cherokee culture, colonial era slavery, free Black communities, Indigenous history, Revolutionary War, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Overmountain Victory Trail Association (see the LRIP for an extensive list of additional partners)[1110]

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

The interpretation at OVVI does not include substantive discussions of African American history or experiences. The Foundation Document only briefly mentions the presence of enslaved persons at the battle site and in the surrounding areas.[1111] The LRIP describes the battle participants as "forceful, colorful personalities whose characters were shaped by the distinctive overmountain and backcountry culture of Scots-Irish, German, free and enslaved persons of African descent, American Indians in the region, and others who sought the challenges, freedoms, and opportunities of the colonial frontier."[1112]

OVVI area NRHP nomination forms do include brief discussions of African American history. The Gilbert Town Historic District nomination, for instance, describes William Gilbert's ownership and operation of a blacksmith shop, but notes: "It is unknown if William Gilbert was trained as a blacksmith or if it was his slave, Tom, a well known blacksmith, who ran the shop."[1113] By the end of the American Revolutionary War, Gilbert's property included "2,000 acres of land, eleven slaves, and five horses."[1114]

OVVI has zero webpages containing African American stories. Zero of 37 webpages reviewed have relevant content.

[1110] Faye Goolrick, "Overmountain Victory National Historic Trail: Long Range Interpretive Plan," 2011, 46–47.

[1111] NPS, "Foundation Document: Overmountain Victory National History Trail," 2017, 11.

[1112] Goolrick, "Overmountain Victory National Historic Trail: Long Range Interpretive Plan," 7.

[1113] Philip Thomason and Steven D. Smith, "Gilbert Town Historic District," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2006, 15.

[1114] Thomason and Smith, "Gilbert Town Historic District," 21.

Survey respondents indicated that although current site interpretation focuses on battle participants, the "entire narrative needs to be expanded upon, including research on the people who were at the sites."[1115]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Historical research on people enslaved in the area and on William Gilbert's role as an enslaver.** If possible, expand on existing individual narratives to inform interpretation at site, like the story of Tom the blacksmith.[1116]
- Role of African Americans in this campaign and in other Revolutionary War events in the southern Appalachian Mountains.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Park staff (from the jointly managed units of COWP, KIMO, NISI, and OVVI) noted a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, additional interpretive materials like publications and pamphlets, enhanced web content, and additional partnerships (external to the NPS, with area resources like the South Carolina African American Heritage Commission).[1117]

[1115] COWP/KIMO/NISI/OVVI, survey response, September 17, 2021.

[1116] Thomason and Smith, "Gilbert Town Historic District".

[1117] COWP/KIMO/NISI/OVVI, survey response, September 17, 2021.

Reconstruction Era National Historical Park (REER)

Introduction

Founding Year: 2017

State(s): South Carolina

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Reconstruction Era National Historical Park, in Beaufort County, South Carolina, preserves and interprets the resources and complex national stories of Reconstruction—African Americans' quest for freedom, the challenges resulting from the abolition of slavery, and the struggles to redefine the nation during and after the Civil War."[1118]

Materials Reviewed:

- 1 webpage hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/reer/
- 1 report
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Reconstruction Era National Monument." 2019.
- 1 survey response from employees or partners of REER

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodations, Desegregation of Public Education, Equal Employment, Racial Discrimination in Housing, Voting Rights

NPS Themes:

- Shaping the Political Landscape

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Civil War, Indigenous history, Reconstruction, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow

Partner Organizations: None identified.

[1118] NPS, "Foundation Document: Reconstruction Era National Monument," 2019, 5.

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

REER, founded in 2017, is a relatively new park unit. REER protects and interprets a site fundamentally related to African American history. Located "in Beaufort County, South Carolina, [REER] preserves and interprets the resources and complex national stories of Reconstruction—African Americans' quest for freedom, the challenges resulting from the abolition of slavery, and the struggles to redefine the nation during and after the Civil War."[1119] REER centers the African American experience, describing itself as "one of the first places in the United States where formerly enslaved people began defining freedom on their own terms." REER also contextualizes and interprets the broad sweep of social organizations fundamental to the African American experience, including churches, educational institutions, and community organizations that supported and fueled the civil rights movement.[1120]

As of early 2022, REER's website only contained one page. The "History and Culture" page included downloadable content like "The Era of Reconstruction." The page described the Reconstruction era (1861–1900) as the historic period in which the United States grappled with the question of how to integrate millions of newly freed African Americans into social, political, and labor systems, which was a time of significant transformation within the United States. During the period, Congress passed three constitutional amendments that permanently abolished slavery, defined birthright citizenship and guaranteed due process and equal protection under the law, and granted all males the ability to vote by prohibiting voter discrimination based on race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Ultimately, the unmet promises of Reconstruction led to the modern civil rights movement 100 years later.[1121]

Site staff described inclusion of African American stories as "central" to the interpretive mission and materials of REER. "If I had to venture a guess," one staff member responded, "Probably 75% or more of our public facing interp[retive] products (tours, site bulletins, social media content) centers on African American stories."[1122] Staff also reported significant ongoing and upcoming projects. Many focus on historic resources protected and interpreted at REER, but park staff has also been working outside the boundary on tasks like a review of NHL forms related to the nearby Beaufort community.[1123]

Recently Completed Projects

- "Collect Oral Histories Related to Establishment of Freedom Riders National Monument, Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument, Reconstruction Era National Historic Park," through a cooperative agreement with Clemson University.

[1119] NPS, "Foundation Document: Reconstruction Era National Monument," 2019, 5.

[1120] NPS, "Foundation Document: Reconstruction Era National Monument," 2019, 6.

[1121] "History and Culture," REER webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/reer/learn/historyculture/historyculture.htm.

[1122] REER, survey response, February 7, 2022.

[1123] REER staff to Jackie Gonzales, email, October 13, 2022.

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- As of November 2022, significant projects ongoing at REER include:
    - Cultural Landscape Report was at 55 percent (focusing on resources like the Firehouse, Darrah Hall, Camp Saxton, and Brick Church)
    - Archeological Survey of Darrah Hall and Brick Church
    - Beaufort NHL District Study (regional project)
    - Scope of Collections Statement
    - Visitor Center (Firehouse) Reconfiguration
    - General Management Plan
    - LRIP
- Upcoming Projects include:
    - African American Descendent Community Cultural Map and Ethnographic Inventory Project
    - Historic Structure Report dedicated to Brick Church
    - Updates to NRHP documentation, in consultation with regional staff
    - Accessibility Study

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- Archeological investigations at Camp Saxton (requested by survey respondents).[1124]
- **Digitization of oral histories** and interpretive plan/content based on those oral histories.
- Oral histories from Brick Baptist Church Congregation.
- National survey of Reconstruction Era sites and resources.
- Strategic Partnerships plan and implantation (for local partners and Reconstruction-era partners from across the nation).

[1124] REER staff to Jackie Gonzales, email, October 13, 2022.

- Access to historical records like the Penn Collection at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill.[1125]
- Assessment of artifacts or archeological resources held in community.[1126]
- Additional space for museum and interpretive needs.[1127]
- Collaborative projects with other sites specifically focused on telling stories of Americans of African descent.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Additional staff, enhanced website content, and additional partnerships (both external and internal to the NPS).[1128]

[1125] REER staff to Jackie Gonzales, email, October 13, 2022.

[1126] REER staff to Jackie Gonzales, email, October 13, 2022.

[1127] REER staff to Jackie Gonzales, email, October 13, 2022.

[1128] REER, survey response, February 7, 2022.

Russell Cave National Monument (RUCA)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1961

State(s): Alabama

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Russell Cave National Monument preserves, protects, and interprets the outstanding evidence of more than 10,000 years of human use of Russell Cave and its environs by promoting scientific research and public appreciation of its archaeological, ethnographic, and natural resources."[1129]

Note: Managed jointly with Little River Canyon (LIRI).

Materials Reviewed:

- 7 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/ruca/
- 3 reports
    - Beane, Larry. "Russell Cave National Monument." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1999.
    - Edquist Davis Exhibits. "Russell Cave National Monument: Long-Range Interpretive Plan." 2009.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Russell Cave National Monument." 2014.
- 0 survey responses from employees or partners of RUCA

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Early Inhabitants and Native Americans, 3500 BC–AD 1600; US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework: Does not relate to one of these themes.

NPS Themes:

- Peopling Places

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Discrimination/underserving of Black communities in NPS facilities, Indigenous history, Trail of Tears, women's history

[1129] NPS, "Foundation Document: Russell Cave National Monument," 2014, 4.

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations: None identified.

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

RUCA materials fail to substantively engage with African American history. The Foundation Document does not include relevant information.[1130] The NRHP nomination form for Russell Cave does not mention Black or African American stories or experiences.[1131]

RUCA's LRIP acknowledges the park reports a need to

> engage new and diverse audiences. The demographics of the American population are changing drastically. It is important that national park audiences reflect the face of a richly diverse nation. Everyone must feel welcome at national parks, and everyone should have opportunities to see aspects of their own background and experience reflected in the universal meanings and stories interpreted at national parks. RUCA must continue to work to engage traditionally underserved audiences such as African Americans, Hispanic Americans, American Indians, new immigrants, and low-income urban and rural audiences.[1132]

The LRIP does not include African American stories as part of the interpretive goals or narratives.

RUCA's website does not include any material about Black or African American stories or experiences. No webpages reviewed included relevant content.

Site staff did not respond to a survey requesting information about on-site interpretation and planning needs.

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- "Conduct an Ethnographic Overview and Assessment for Two Parks," a joint study for LIRI and RUCA. Initially funded in 2022 (PMIS 316396A), the project was cancelled and will be reattempted during future funding cycles.[1133]

Example Projects

- None

[1130] NPS, "Foundation Document: Russell Cave National Monument," 2014.

[1131] Larry Beane, "Russell Cave National Monument," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1999.

[1132] Edquist Davis Exhibits, "Russell Cave National Monument: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2009, 12.

[1133] Steve Black, Superintendent, LIRI/RUCA, to Jackie Gonzales, email, October 11, 2022.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- Ethnographic Overview and Assessment.
- **Oral histories with people in surrounding communities** about their experiences since NPS came into the region and their interactions with the site.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- n/a (no survey responses from park staff)

Salt River Bay National Historical Park and Ecological Preserve (SARI)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1992

State(s): US Virgin Islands

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Salt River Bay National Historical Park and Ecological Preserve in St. Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands Preserve in St. Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands preserves, protects, studies, and interprets internationally significant historical and cultural sites that encompass more than 2,000 years and human use of the diverse tropical, marine, and terrestrial ecosystems that comprise the Salt River watershed."[1134]

Note: Managed jointly with Christiansted National Historic Site (CHRI) and Buck Island Reef National Monument (BUIS)

Materials Reviewed:

- 2 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/sari
- 1 report
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Salt River Bay National Historical Park and Ecological Preserve." 2015.
- 0 survey responses from employees or partners of SARI

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Early Inhabitants and Native Americans, 3500 BC–AD 1600; European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework: Does not relate to one of these themes.

NPS Themes:

- Peopling Places

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Archeology, Caribbean cultures, early colonial slavery, Indigenous history, maritime, Transatlantic slave trade, women's history

[1134] NPS, "Foundation Document: Salt River Bay National Historical Park and Ecological Preserve," 2015, 4.

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery

Partner Organizations:

- Friends of the St. Croix, USVI National Parks

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

Currently, SARI materials reviewed for this report do not substantively address Black or African American stories or experiences in the park unit. The Foundation Document does not discuss relevant content.[1135] Because park management includes a "complex mosaic of public and privately owned property, as well as waters under territorial jurisdiction found within the park's boundary, [the Park] require[s] collaborative management strategies and mutual support between the Government of the Virgin Islands and the National Park Service."[1136]

SARI protects archeological resources that "span all major periods of human habitation in the U.S. Virgin Islands from the first Amerindian settlements through European contact and colonial periods, generating unparalleled opportunities for scholarly research into the complete history of the Caribbean." The resources include an Indigenous village and ballcourt, as well as a site of "armed resistance by Amerindians to European colonization."[1137]

SARI's website does not include Black or African American history or experiences. No webpages reviewed have relevant content.

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Christiansted National Historic Site, Buck Island Reef National Monument, and Salt River Bay National Historical Park and Ecological Preserve (PMIS #315687).

Example Projects

- None

[1135] NPS, "Foundation Document: Salt River Bay National Historical Park and Ecological Preserve," 2015.

[1136] NPS, "Foundation Document: Salt River Bay National Historical Park and Ecological Preserve," 2015, 3.

[1137] NPS, "Foundation Document: Salt River Bay National Historical Park and Ecological Preserve," 2015, 5.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Ethnographic Overview and Assessment** on land usage in the SARI protected areas, relating experiences in the ecological space to broader experiences in the Virgin Islands (including relationship to VICR and VIIS).
- **Administrative History**, with a special focus on the unique co-management strategy of SARI (including "the federal government, the Government of the Virgin Islands, and the wider U.S. Virgin Islands community"). To include oral histories with former park staff and partners.
- Research on resistance by people of Indigenous and/or African backgrounds, like revolts, maroon communities, and other forms of resistance.[1138]
- Historic research on Estate Concordia/Hubert Harrison Birthplace.[1139]
- Multi-park study on the lives of the people who built fortifications in the Caribbean.[1140]
- Oral history project with the local boating community could provide reflections historic maritime usage, as well present-day uses of the area as relate to disaster preparedness and management.[1141]
- Visitor Use Management Plan. A survey respondent noted, "A visitor use management plan would help park staff understand how park visitors and the local community use and experience the park. A communication plan / civic engagement strategy, comprehensive signage plan, and a partnership plan were all identified as important planning tools that would help address this parkwide issue."[1142]

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- n/a (no survey responses from park staff)

[1138] NPS, "Foundation Document: Salt River Bay National Historical Park and Ecological Preserve," 2015, 5.

[1139] NPS, "Foundation Document: Salt River Bay National Historical Park and Ecological Preserve," 2015, 42; Columbia University Archival Collections, Hubert H. Harrison Papers, MS #1411, accessed 2022, https://findingaids.library.columbia.edu/ead//nnc-rb/ldpd_6134799.

[1140] NPS, "Foundation Document: Salt River Bay National Historical Park and Ecological Preserve," 2015, 5.

[1141] NPS, "Foundation Document: Salt River Bay National Historical Park and Ecological Preserve," 2015, 8, 33.

[1142] NPS, "Foundation Document: Salt River Bay National Historical Park and Ecological Preserve," 2015, 38.

San Juan National Historic Site (SAJU)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1949

State(s): Puerto Rico

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "San Juan National Historic Site is located in San Juan, Puerto Rico. It protects centuries-old Spanish colonial fortifications around the city of San Juan, including Castillo San Felipe del Morro, Castillo San Cristóbal, Fortín San Juan de la Cruz, La Fortaleza (a UNESCO World Heritage Site), and parts of the old city walls."[1143]

Materials Reviewed:

- 12 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/saju
- 4 reports:
    - Vales, Luis E. Gonzalez, Miagros Flories, Anibal Sepulveda Rivera, Silvia Alvarez Curbelo, and Arturo Bird Carmona. "San Juan the City that Grew Beyond Its Walls." 2005.
    - NPS. "San Juan National Historic Site: Long-Range Interpretive Plan." 2006.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: San Juan National Historic Site." 2013.
    - Duany, Jorge. "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of the San Juan National Historic Site: Final Report." 2015.
- 2 survey responses from employees of SAJU

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Early Inhabitants and Native Americans, 3500 BC–AD 1600; European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Racial Discrimination in Housing

NPS Themes:

- Changing Role of the United States in the Word Community, Peopling Places

[1143] NPS, "San Juan National Historic Site: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2006, 5, 19, 21.

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Indigenous history, Spanish colonialism, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery

Partner Organizations:

- Friends of the San Juan National Historic Site[1144]

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

Survey respondents reported that stories of African Caribbean residents of San Juan are largely absent from the established interpretive narrative of the site.[1145] As at other sites, interpretation and research on individuals of African descent is largely done by interpreters with interest in the topic, rather than through institutional channels.[1146] One survey respondent wrote,

> African American (or African Caribbean) narrative is mostly absent. Just some "romantic" stories about few key figures are included. For example, in general, we have been told about "few" slaves working in the construction of fortifications. There is not a humanized perspective of those people that were forced to work here. Only one major figure, a "mulatto" that had an amazing story of economic success thanks to his role as a privateer for the Spanish is partially known.[1147]

Of 12 webpages reviewed, zero contained content on the Black or African American experiences.

The SAJU Foundation Document includes an interpretive theme "Gateway to Riches," which focuses on Transatlantic trade routes without mentioning the Transatlantic slave trade. It fails to mention the experiences of enslaved or free Black individuals who passed through or lived in San Juan.[1148] The Foundation Document notes the complexity of identity and heritage in Puerto Rico and the mixing of Spanish, African, and Indigenous cultures, but without discussing slavery (whether race-based or otherwise) on the island.[1149] It does note that targeted audiences include Black visitors, like those on "African American cruises."[1150]

[1144] "History and Culture," SAJU webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/saju/learn/historyculture/index.htm.

[1145] SAJU, survey response, August 27, 2021; SAJU, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[1146] SAJU, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[1147] SAJU, survey response, August 27, 2021.

[1148] NPS, "Foundation Document: San Juan National Historic Site," 2013, 11.

[1149] NPS, "San Juan National Historic Site: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2006, 87.

[1150] NPS, "San Juan National Historic Site: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2006, 25.

San Juan's Black population is mentioned in the "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of the San Juan National Historic Site: Final Report" (2015) and a report entitled, "San Juan: The City That Grew Beyond Its Walls" (2005). The ethnographic overview and assessment notes that in the 2010 census, 17.3 percent of residents of San Juan Antiguo barrio classified themselves as Black, and it mentions other neighborhoods in San Juan with substantial Black populations (including San Mateo de Cangrejos and Puerta de Tierra). However, there is not much discussion of the experiences of people of color in these neighborhoods beyond enumerating them.[1151] The 2005 report mentions that "convicts, civilian workers, and slaves" were used by Spanish powers to build defenses, and notes that the Puerta de Tierra sector may have been a notably Black settlement, with an 1836 census indicating 168 Black residents (156 freemen and 12 slaves). It also mentions that in the mid-1920s, racial discrimination played a role in employment.[1152] While both of these reports mention the numbers of Black people living in San Juan, there is little discussion of the experiences and lives of these individuals and families or the complexities of racial identities of Puerto Ricans.

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Historic research and related reports on African American history during Spanish colonial era (could be completed in phases)**.
    - To include information about free Black members of expeditions, persecution of Black people (especially Black women) during the Spanish Inquisition in the Americas, enslaved Black families under Spanish Catholic rule in the Caribbean, including similarities and differences from other Spanish colonial outposts in the region and across the world, stories of enslaved people who built the forts and city walls protected as part of the park, lives of Black men, women, and children within city walls, stories of self-emancipated people of African descent from other Caribbean islands who came to Puerto Rico and lived in San Juan, history of the "Morenos Libres" regiment and their crucial contribution to the defeat of English military troops in 1797.
- Special History Study on displacement of communities when the park was created.
- Outreach to local communities. The Ethnographic Overview and Assessment notes, "One group that seldom visits the park is the large number of Dominican immigrants who live in

[1151] Jorge Duany, "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of the San Juan National Historic Site: Final Report," 2015.

[1152] Luis E. Gonzalez Vales, Miagros Flories, Anibal Sepulveda Rivera, Silvia Alvarez Curbelo, and Arturo Bird Carmona, "San Juan: The City That Grew Beyond Its Walls," 2005, 45, 74, 119, 139.

the San Juan metropolitan area." Acknowledges: "For their part, historians and archaeologists have concentrated on reconstructing the daily lives of slaves, free people of color, women, and children in San Juan during the 19th century" and a note that descendant communities still live in area.[1153]

- **Visitor Resource Study** with a focus on groups who have used park resources over the years, including descendants of enslaved and Indigenous peoples living in Puerto Rico.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional publications and pamphlets, enhanced website content, additional partnerships (both external and internal to the NPS), and additional staff and additional trainings for staff.[1154]

[1153] Duany, "Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of The San Juan National Historic Site Palo Seco Community," 3, 6–7, 36–39.

[1154] SAJU, survey response, August 27, 2021; SAJU, survey response, August 25, 2021.

Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail (SEMO)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1996

State(s): Alabama

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "The Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail commemorates the events of the Selma voting rights movement, the people, the places, and the routes of the Selma to Montgomery voting rights marches of 1965. Through partnership and collaboration, the Trail interprets and preserves the important stories of the Selma voting rights movement, inspiring all citizens to be vigilant in protecting their constitutional rights."[1155]

Note: Managed jointly with Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site (TUAI) and Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site (TUIN)

Materials Reviewed:

- 3 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/semo/
- 7 reports
    - Holmes, Nancy, and Nicholas Holmes. "Old Town Historic District (Selma)." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1976.
    - Sullivan, Marilyn B., and Linda Nelson. "City of St. Jude Historic District (Montgomery)." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1990.
    - NPS. "Selma to Montgomery Historic Trail Study: A Study of the Voting Rights March of 1965." 1993.
    - NPS. "Brown Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church." National Historic Landmark Nomination Form. 1997.
    - Besser, Susan. "Old Town Historic District (Selma)." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 2003.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail." 2015.
    - Walton, Cynthia. "Edmund Pettus Bridge," National Historic Landmark Nomination Form, 2015.
- 2 survey responses from employees or partners of SEMO

[1155] NPS, "Foundation Document: Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail," 2015, 5.

Relevant Time Period(s):

- European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodation, Desegregation of Public Education, Equal Employment, Racial Discrimination in Housing, Voting Rights

NPS Themes:

- Creating Social Institutions and Movements, Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Civil and human rights, erasure and displacement of Black communities, Indigenous history, nonviolent protests, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Alabama Department of Archives and History, Alabama Department of Education, Alabama Historical Commission, Alabama Public Television, Alabama State University, Association for the Study of African American Life and History, Rosa Parks Museum and Library, Black Heritage Council of the Alabama State Heritage Commission, Elmore Bolling Initiative, City of Montgomery, City of White Hall, City of Hayneville, City of Selma, Alabama Humanities Alliance, Common Power, Lincolnites, Lowndes County Friends of the Civil Rights Movement, The Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr. Institute, City of Marion

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

SEMO protects and preserves a site of Black and African American history. The site is closely related to TUIN and TUAI, both geographically and thematically, and the three units are jointly managed. SEMO tells the stories of historic places, cultural landscapes and natural environments along the route of the Voting Rights March, nonviolent protests, the civil rights movement broadly, and how visual images from journalists led to national and international exposure, and how worldwide democratic movements were affected by the example of the March.[1156]

[1156] NPS comments on draft report, August 2023.

In 1993, a feasibility study recommended creating the 54-mile-long National Trail that eventually became SEMO. The study discussed legal challenges to systems of discrimination over the long course of the 1900s and discussed the social and community spaces where civil rights activists gathered, like Black churches.[1157]

The site's Foundation Document (2015) positioned the site "to commemorate the routes, people, places, and events significantly linked to the Selma voting rights movement and the three voting rights marches that took place in 1965": Bloody Sunday, Turnaround Tuesday, and the Selma to Montgomery Voting Rights March. The trail begins at Brown Chapel AME Church in Selma and ends at the Alabama State Capitol. Interpretive centers exist in Lowndes County, Selma, and Montgomery.[1158]

SEMO is a site dedicated to preserving Black history, and the NRHP documentation is exemplary in its methodology and commitment to documenting Black history sites for the purpose of preserving historic structures and cultural landscapes. The NRHP nominations also showcase ways in which prior documentation has failed to address Black individuals and communities. The 1976 nomination for Old Town Selma, analyzing 117 structures dating primarily to pre-1910, includes almost no mention of Black communities or individuals. The report does note that in 1850, Selma's population was "973 white and 1,100 Negro inhabitants." Selma's booming cotton industry meant that by 1870, "the population totaled 6,484 of whom 2,824 were white, 3,660 black." Despite mentioning cotton, the report does not mention slavery or sharecropping, nor does it indicate that life for the Black residents likely looked very different from the White residents of Selma. There is a brief mention of the civil rights movement in Selma but no explanation.[1159]

A 2003 amendment to the Old Town Selma nomination added context directly related to Black experiences. Though a relatively brief part of the overall report, the added context explicitly addresses Selma's legacy of enslavement and how the labor of Black residents shaped the nineteenth-century landscape:

> The tangible artifacts such as the antebellum homes and dependencies that survived the Civil War reflect the contributions of the craftmanship of African Americans…Dallas County with its African-American population of 25,760 ranked as the highest in the state. This data underscores the importance [of] slave labor to the region's market economy when examined in light of its prominence in the cotton industry.[1160]

A 1990 NRHP nomination form for City of St. Jude Historic District in Montgomery substantively addresses Black history. The City of St. Jude Historic District includes multiple properties, including St. Jude Church and associated buildings like the Social Center, Educational Institute, Hospital, Rectory, Convent, Cafeteria, and Administration buildings. The site directly interprets and aspires to protect stories of segregation and civil rights efforts. "Established during a

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[1157] NPS, "Selma to Montgomery Historic Trail Study: A Study of the Voting Rights March of 1965," 1993.

[1158] NPS, "Foundation Document: Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail," 2015, 3.

[1159] Nancy Holmes and Nicholas Holmes, "Old Town Historic District (Selma)," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1976, 2–7.

[1160] Susan Besser, "Old Town Historic District (Selma)," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 2003, 108.

time when racial segregation was mandated by law, the City of St. Jude is significant for its role in pioneering nondiscriminatory health service, education, and social services. At the time, the St. Jude Catholic Hospital was the only health facility in Montgomery to have both integrated staff and patients in the 1930s–1960s.[1161] Other landmarks in SEMO are NHLs with extensive documentation rooting their significance in Black history and experiences. Brown Chapel AME is an NHL.[1162] Edmund Pettis Bridge is also an NHL.[1163]

As of 2022, SEMO had limited web content, but all three webpages linked to from its "History & Culture" page significantly engaged with Black and African American history and experiences. One page provided a detailed chronology and context of the events leading to the Selma to Montgomery march, including the murder of Jimmie Lee Jackson. The page described White violence and attacks by law enforcement against Black marchers and their allies. It also placed the march in the context of broader civil rights era events and individuals, like the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s presence at the Selma to Montgomery march.[1164] Another page focused on the significant historic resources protected by SEMO, including the George Washington Carver Neighborhood, a large public housing project constructed for African Americans after World War II and a site of many SNCC and SCLC meetings. The page also discussed Brown Chapel AME Church and Chapel at the City of St. Jude, camping places for the marchers on their journey, the Edmund Pettis Bridge, and the Alabama State Capitol building.[1165] The third webpage linked to "Civil Rights Stories," an NPS-wide project exploring the civil rights movement from the 1940s to the 1960s.[1166]

Site staff indicated that Black stories are central to the interpretive narrative at SEMO.[1167] Survey respondents indicated that narratives focus on the Civil War and civil rights, as well as themes like healthcare, education, voting, and economics.[1168]

The Cultural Landscape Report for SEMO was completed in 2022 and is a rich source of historical information about the park. It was completed after review occurred for this project, but readers should reference the document for more information on African American history at SEMO.[1169]

[1161] Marilyn B. Sullivan and Linda Nelson, "City of St. Jude Historic District (Montgomery)," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, 1990, 1–8.

[1162] NPS, "Brown Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church," National Historic Landmark Nomination Form, 1997.

[1163] Cynthia Walton, "Edmund Pettus Bridge," National Historic Landmark Nomination Form, 2015.

[1164] "History and Culture," SEMO webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/semo/learn/historyculture/index.htm.

[1165] "Places," SEMO webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/semo/learn/historyculture/places.htm.

[1166] "Civil Rights Stories," SEMO webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/semo/learn/historyculture/stories.htm.

[1167] TUIN/TUAI/SEMO, survey response, February 2, 2021.

[1168] TUIN/TUAI/SEMO, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[1169] NPS comments on draft report, August 2023; NPS, "Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail: Cultural Landscape Report," Prepared by WLA Studio, 2022.

Recently Completed Projects

- NPS. "Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail: Cultural Landscape Report." Prepared by WLA Studio. 2022.

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Oral history program.
- As of 2023, SEMO has a social media team that assessing website needs.
- Educational outreach projects for school-age children: as of 2023, the park had identified the need for an Education Specialist on the staff was awaiting the announcement of the position. Additionally, the 60th anniversary of the March is in 2025, and the park is planning an education program that will be engaging schools on a far-reaching manner.[1170]

Example Projects

- NPS. "Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail: Cultural Landscape Report." Prepared by WLA Studio. 2022.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Additional oral histories program with people who participated in the march and related civil rights events** (note that as of August 2023, SEMO had 199 completed oral history interviews). It is important that additional oral histories continue to be funded while people who participated in the events are still living.
- **Ethnographic Overview and Assessment** (recommended in Foundation Document).
- HRS of the entire trail (recommended in Foundation Document).
- Special History Study devoted to Tent City in Lowndes County, where "many tenant farmers were evicted for exercising their right to vote."[1171]
- Comprehensive exhibit plan for all three visitor centers, as well as a comprehensive wayside plan, as recommended by the Foundation Document.
- GIS mapping and physical site assessment of SEMO to facilitate easements and partnerships with local landowners, as recommended by the Foundation Document.
- Funding related to museum collections. Foundation Document notes that the significant curatorial responsibilities across SEMO/TUIN/TUAI makes it difficult "to accomplish tasks effectively and in a timely manner."

[1170] NPS comments on draft report, August 2023.

[1171] NPS, "Foundation Document: Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail," 2015, 13—24.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- SEMO staff indicated a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, additional publications or pamphlets, additional partnerships (both external and internal to the NPS), enhanced website content, and staff training. [1172]

[1172] TUIN/TUAI/SEMO, survey response, October 12, 2021.

Shiloh National Military Park (SHIL)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1894

State(s): Tennessee, Mississippi

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "The purpose of Shiloh National Military Park is to preserve and interpret the battlefields, sites, resources, and oral histories associated with Shiloh, Tennessee, and Corinth, Mississippi, during the Western Campaign of the Civil War."[1173]

Materials Reviewed:

- 12 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/shil/
- 5 reports
    - NPS. "Special Resource Study: Corinth Unit Shiloh National Military Park, Mississippi-Tennessee." 2003.
    - NPS. "Shiloh National Military Park: Long-Range Interpretive Plan." 2009.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Shiloh National Military Park." 2016.
    - Sargent, Liz, Deborah Slaton, and Timothy Penich. "Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History." Edited by Deborah Slaton. 2018.
    - Sargent, Liz, Deborah Slaton, and Timothy Penich. "SHIL NMP Oral History Interview Transcripts." 2018.
- 0 survey responses from employees or partners of SHIL

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Early Inhabitants and Native Americans, 3500 BC–AD 1600; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900, Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950; Civil Rights Movement

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Underground Railroad and Abolition

NPS Themes:

- Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape

[1173] NPS, "Foundation Document: Shiloh National Military Park," 2016, 4.

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Cemeteries, Civil War, CCC, contraband camps, discrimination in NPS facilities, Freedmen's Bureau, Indigenous history, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Alcorn County African-American Historical Association, Corinth Area Convention and Visitors Bureau, Davis Bridge Memorial Association, Friends of the Siege and Battle of Corinth, Hardin County Convention and Visitors Bureau, Hardin County School System, Iuka Battlefield Commission, Middle Tennessee State University, Mississippi State University, Mississippi Hills National Heritage Area, Shiloh National Cemetery, Shiloh Indian Mounds, Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission, Sons of Confederate Veterans, Tennessee State Parks (esp. Big Hill Pond State Park), Tennessee Civil War National Heritage Area, Tennessee Civil War Sesquicentennial Commission, Tennessee Civil War Preservation Association, Tennessee Wars Commission, Daughters of Union Veterans of the Civil War, Shiloh National Cemetery, Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

SHIL protects, preserves, and interprets a Civil War battlefield and associated military infrastructure like crucial transportation corridors and earthen fortifications. The Foundation Document includes "slavery" as a key interpretive theme and notes the presence of the Corinth "Contraband Camp," a site where formerly enslaved persons gathered as refugees. SHIL is also the second-oldest national military park and historic site of commemoration.[1174] SHIL's LRIP includes "the slavery debate" among its interpretive themes but does not discuss it at length. The LRIP underscores the need to discuss experiences of all people during the Civil War, including Black people both "enslaved and free."[1175]

In 2003, SHIL conducted a Special Resources Study of the Corinth District, a unit under SHIL management. Corinth was a haven for refugees, many of whom were formerly enslaved people escaping to Union lines. The Union Army created a "contraband of war" camp under John Eaton, "General Superintendent of the Contraband." At its peak, 6,500 individuals lived in the contraband camp, primarily formerly enslaved people from Mississippi, Tennessee, and Alabama.[1176] The Union Army used "impressed gangs of slaves" to repair infrastructure like railroad bridges, keeping critical

[1174] NPS, "Foundation Document: Shiloh National Military Park," 2016.

[1175] NPS, "Shiloh National Military Park: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2009.

[1176] NPS, "Special Resource Study: Corinth Unit Shiloh National Military Park, Mississippi-Tennessee," 2003, 4–5.

supply lines open; the Confederate Army used enslaved labor to build battlefield fortifications like earthen trenchworks.[1177] After the Civil War, Black communities settled in the area, and historic resources of the Corinth Unit include the Stockade Cemetery associated with the freedpeople and descendent communities.[1178]

In 2018, researchers completed an Administrative History of SHIL. The report described numerous important African American stories, as well as the evolution of interpretation at the site. In exploring stories related to the Corinth Contraband Camp, authors discussed self-emancipation and military service, deliberately centering and contextualizing the African American experience at SHIL and in surrounding communities. The report describes the addition of the Corinth unit and associated archeological investigations at MOCR.[1179] The report also broadens the site story beyond the temporal limits of the Civil War, exploring stories related to African American World War I veterans who served in CCC units at SHIL during the 1930s. It also discusses how SHIL had segregated visitor services for many decades.[1180]

Remnant structures are still extant reminders of this history of segregation, including a public restroom built in 1940 that was initially "Whites Only" and the remains of an all-Black picnic area constructed by the Young Camp CCC crews, an all-Black CCC camp. Workers at this camp completed projects like streambank stabilization, roadway construction, and battlefield landscape rehabilitation that are still plainly visible to visitors today. The park interprets these stories to the public.[1181]

While drafting the Administrative History, report authors Liz Sargent, Deborah Slaton, and Timothy Penich conducted extensive oral histories among staff, community members, and stakeholders. The oral histories discussed many twentieth- and twenty-first-century issues central to management of SHIL, including the segregation and desegregation of park facilities, trends and impacts on visitation, and the role Mayor E. S. Bishop, Corinth's first Black mayor, played in preservation of sites crucial to Black history in the Corinth Unit. [1182]

In one oral history, SHIL Chief Park Ranger Stacy Allen described the negative impact desegregating the park facilities played on Black visitation:

> [W]e had segregation, which we know is not good, but we had facilities for them. They had their own picnic grounds; they had their own restrooms. But they were still living within the society where they were second-class citizens. Now, all of a sudden, on these federal lands, the Secretary of the Interior said, "Everybody's equal." That hadn't changed within the society, though. And now they no longer had their, as they referred to it, "the Negro people picnic ground," or "the Negro restrooms." They had to now share – the colored people had to share – the white facilities. And, of

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[1177] NPS, "Special Resource Study: Corinth Unit Shiloh National Military Park, Mississippi-Tennessee," 2003, 37.

[1178] NPS, "Special Resource Study: Corinth Unit Shiloh National Military Park, Mississippi-Tennessee," 2003, 68.

[1179] Liz Sargent, Deborah Slaton, and Timothy Penich, "Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History," edited by Deborah Slaton, 2018, 257–259.

[1180] Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, "Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History," 50–52.

[1181] NPS comment on draft report, August 2023.

[1182] Liz Sargent, Deborah Slaton, and Timothy Penich, "SHIL NMP Oral History Interview Transcripts," 2018.

> course, they used to have the colored and the white facilities separate. That wasn't there anymore, and they . . . no longer felt safe or comfortable at the parks.[1183]

The result, according to Allen, was that Black visitors, "became somewhat disenfranchised from the history. In other words, the Civil War wasn't being interpreted in a proper context of what was happening within American society . . . African-Americans were a prominent player in this struggle and were prominent beneficiaries from the actions they took, as well as then white America, to start eradicating slavery, start expanding civil rights."[1184]

The oral histories also captured crucial and ongoing shifts in research related to African American history and experiences. Fred Prouty, Director of Programs for the Tennessee Wars Commission, described recent efforts to digitize records related to Tennessee's USCT and identified interpretive resources like a 2013 booklet entitled *Ready to Die for Liberty: Tennessee's United States Colored Troops in the Civil War*.[1185] Another interviewee, Rosemary Williams, described community partnerships, like the 1990s-era effort to secure and preserve Corinth, which involved "organiz[ing] an African-American group of those interested in history and preservation out there to help us with that. We were able to get some more grants through that organization to be able to do the Contraband Camp park."[1186]

Despite these compelling stories, none of the 12 webpages reviewed 2021–2022 included content on African American or Black history or experiences.

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

Example Projects

- Liz Sargent, Deborah Slaton, and Timothy Penich, "Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History," edited by Deborah Slaton, 2018.
- Liz Sargent, Deborah Slaton, and Timothy Penich, "SHIL NMP Oral History Interview Transcripts," 2018.

[1183] Stacy Allen, Chief Park Ranger, Shiloh NMP, interview, April 15, 2015, in Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, "SHIL NMP Oral History Interview Transcripts," 31–32.

[1184] Stacy Allen, Chief Park Ranger, Shiloh NMP, interview, April 15, 2015, in Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, "SHIL NMP Oral History Interview Transcripts," 31–32.

[1185] Fred Prouty, Director of Programs, Tennessee Wars Commission, interview, April 13, 2015, in Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, "SHIL NMP Oral History Interview Transcripts," 7.

[1186] Rosemary Williams, Siege and Battle of Corinth Commission Chair, interview, April 15, 2015, in NPS, Sargent, Slaton, and Penich, "SHIL NMP Oral History Interview Transcripts," 5.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- Regional study on segregation of CCC and experiences of individuals in all-Black CCC camps.[1187]
- Research on the stories (pre- and post-Corinth) of those who passed through the refugee camp and the people who built the earthenworks.
- Interpretive web content about the refugee camp and similar camps in the region.
- Additional partnerships with Alcorn County African American Historical Association.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- n/a (no survey responses from park staff)

[1187] NPS, "Foundation Document: Shiloh National Military Park," 2016, see 37–39.

Stones River National Battlefield (STRI)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1927

State(s): Tennessee

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Stones River National Battlefield preserves, protects, and promotes understanding of the significant sites and historic events associated with the Battle of Stones River, fought during the American Civil War."[1188]

Materials Reviewed:

- 26 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/stri/
- 5 reports
    - Styles, Sean. "STRI National Battlefield Historic Resource Study." 2004.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Stones River National Battlefield." 2014.
    - NPS. "Stones River National Battlefield: Long-Range Interpretive Plan." 2015.
    - Leggett, William, Ida Fadzillah, Rebecca Conard, and Pat Cummins. "Stones River National Battlefield Ethnographic Overview and Assessment." 2016.[1189]
    - Sirna, Angela, and Rebecca Conrad. "Stones River National Battlefield: Administrative History." 2016.
- 0 survey responses from employees or partners of STRI

Relevant Time Period(s):

- US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900, Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950; Civil Rights Movement

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodations, Underground Railroad and Abolition

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[1188] NPS, "Foundation Document: Stones River National Battlefield," 2014, 5.

[1189] Note that this Ethnographic Overview and Assessment was never formally completed and approved by the NPS.

NPS Themes:

- Creating Social Institutions and Movements, Expressing Values, Developing the American Economy, Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Civil War, commemoration, displacement of communities for NPS development, Indigenous history, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- African American Heritage Society of Rutherford County (AAHSRC), Friends of Stones River National Battlefield

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

"Recent years have seen the scope of the park's mission expand to include voices historically marginalized by a federally mandated focus on the battle itself. For example, reclaiming the history of slavery and its impact on our citizens, the concerns of local land-owners—both black and white—in the region, as well as the presence of African Americans within the troops (both North and South) have all become integral parts of the park's educational mission. These changes in program goals reflect changes both within the National Park Service as well as changes in the demographics and values of the region within which the park resides."[1190]

STRI protects, preserves, and interprets a high-casualty Civil War battlefield. Historic properties include a large supply depot called Fortress Rosecrans. According to the Foundation Document, the Union victory at STRI "boosted moral[e] in the North [and] strengthened President Lincoln's political decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation." The victory also "signaled a major shift in American Civil War goals—from a fight to preserve the Union to a struggle for freedom."[1191]

In the aftermath of the Civil War, "the Cemetery Community emerged on battlefield lands, in which U.S. Colored Troop veterans and other freed African Americans developed a rural community structure and agricultural regime within a broader social context of hostility and resentment."[1192] The Administrative History of STRI describes the origins of the African American community: "The cemetery became the focus of Union and African American commemorative efforts in Rutherford County after the war. A freedmen community established itself on the former

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[1190] William Leggett, Ida Fadzillah, Rebecca Conard, and Pat Cummins, "Stones River National Battlefield Ethnographic Overview and Assessment," 2016, 10.

[1191] NPS, "Foundation Document: Stones River National Battlefield," 2014, 3, 6; NPS, "Stones River National Battlefield: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2015, 6–10.

[1192] NPS, "Foundation Document: Stones River National Battlefield," 2014, 12, 29.

battlefield after the war was over. It was called Cemetery community because of its proximity to the national cemetery, which some of its residents helped build. Cemetery residents were active contributors to Union commemoration activities at the national cemetery until the 1920s."[1193] Residents included veterans of the USCT.[1194] The African American community lived on site until 1927, when the NPS displaced the Cemetery community to create STRI.[1195] The policy of displacement echoed earlier War Department Commission decisions to remove African American dwellings along Van Cleve Lane.[1196] The NPS also displaced another small community called the Cedars.[1197] It is possible the NPS and other federal agencies failed to adequately compensate African American residents for their land.[1198]

The LRIP for the site reiterates the presence of the Cemetery community and identifies African Americans as a primary site audience, with a focus on encouraging "collaboration with African American community, will improve opportunities for this audience to experience Battlefield resources and stories." Despite African Americans' substantial population in Tennessee, the 2015 LRIP indicated just 1 percent of visitors are African American. Planners noted "This is of special concern because of the critical involvement of African Americans in the site's history."[1199]

In 2004, STRI partnered with the Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation to conduct a HRS. The report analyzed the Civil War broadly and contextualized STRI in the Middle Tennessee Campaign. The report also described the Reconstruction-era and twentieth-century efforts to commemorate the battle and develop NPS facilities. African American history is included throughout the report, including illustrations like "African Americans serving on a jury during Reconstruction" and artifacts like a "Paysheet for African Americans who worked on Fortress Rosecrans."[1200] The report also describes the crucial role African Americans played in early commemorative efforts; in addition to attending events, individuals contributed to STRI development. For instance, "Herbert Smith, an African American man from the local community who was a highly gifted stone mason, constructed the stone pillars at the two entrances from Old Nashville Highway into the main park area."[1201]

The site has struggled to address African American history and also to involve African American voices in interpretation and visitation. When the visitor center opened, it included a mural depicting "enslaved African Americans running away from their southern owners as the Union Army advanced. The artist depicted these slaves with stereotyped imagery, including exaggerated facial features. Some visitors expressed dissatisfaction with the park's use of this image . . . Ultimately the

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[1193] Angela Sirna and Rebecca Conrad, "Stones River National Battlefield: Administrative History," 2016, 2.

[1194] Sirna and Conrad, "Stones River National Battlefield: Administrative History," 12.

[1195] NPS, "Foundation Document: Stones River National Battlefield," 2014, 12, 29.

[1196] Sean Styles, "STRI National Battlefield Historic Resource Study," 2004, 685.

[1197] Leggett et al., "Stones River National Battlefield Ethnographic Overview and Assessment," 54–56.

[1198] NPS, "Foundation Document: Stones River National Battlefield," 2014, 12, 29.

[1199] NPS, "Stones River National Battlefield: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2015, 20–21.

[1200] Styles, "STRI National Battlefield Historic Resource Study," 20, 35.

[1201] Styles, "STRI National Battlefield Historic Resource Study," 74–78.

park decided to remove the portion of the painting that people felt was offensive."[1202] Although STRI has committed itself to including African American stories in interpretation, a 2013 visitor survey "reinforced much of what was already known anecdotally. The majority of battlefield visitors were middle-aged white men interested in the Civil war. It also showed that very few African Americans visited the park," noting that it is a system-wide problem and "not just one found in Civil War parks."[1203] Recent outreach efforts at STRI have included forming a committee dedicated to African American outreach (which "struggled at first with more white participants than African Americans") and hiring a more diverse staff.[1204] STRI has also endeavored to expand its educational focus and expand interactive opportunities that include important themes outside of military interpretation.[1205]

Of 26 webpages associated with STRI, only one addresses Black or African American history or experiences. One webpage offers a biography of William Holland, who began his life in slavery but gained his freedom when he enlisted in the Union army in 1864. Captured during a Confederate cavalry attack on Athens, Alabama, Holland was forced back into slavery but escaped and returned to Union troops. His regiment was tasked with locating and reburying the remains of Union soldiers at Murfreesboro. They also constructed the stone wall surrounding the Stones River National Cemetery. Holland remained in the area and lived as a part of a freedpeoples' community centered on the national cemetery. He would eventually purchase his property and raise his family there.[1206] STRI offered a cell phone tour of the Cemetery community through OnCell. As of 2023, with the onset of the NPS App, that tour is no longer active, but the park is working to develop a new tour through the NPS App.[1207]

Site staff report that the following narratives are explored in STRI interpretation: that STRI was a major battle of the Civil War, and that slavery was the primary cause of the Civil War; the use of African American labor in the construction of Fortress Rosecrans; the presence and role of the USCT in STRI and the Civil War; and the presence of Cemetery, the freedpeoples' community, which occupied STRI in the aftermath of the Civil War.[1208]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

Ongoing:

- Interpretive programs (two–three per year) in partnership with the AAHSRC.
- The hiring of a Civil War to Civil Rights Intern (2023).

[1202] Sirna and Conrad, "Stones River National Battlefield: Administrative History," 134–35.

[1203] Sirna and Conrad, "Stones River National Battlefield: Administrative History," 144.

[1204] Sirna and Conrad, "Stones River National Battlefield: Administrative History," 103, 151, 162. The committee noted by Sirna remains in existence as an ongoing partnership between the park and AAHSRC and has produced several joint interpretive programs/events. NPS comments on draft report, August 2023.

[1205] Leggett et al., "Stones River National Battlefield Ethnographic Overview and Assessment," 10.

[1206] "William Holland," STRI webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/stri/learn/historyculture/holland.htm.

[1207] Sirna and Conrad, "Stones River National Battlefield: Administrative History," 151.

[1208] STRI, survey response, September 20, 2021.

Upcoming:

- Collaboration with AAHSRC to develop an upgraded NPS App tour for the Cemetery Community to include sites and stories in and out of the park.
- Redesign of William Holland wayside exhibit.
- Collaborate with AAHSRC and Middle Tennessee State University to develop wayside exhibit concepts to support the development of a Cemetery Community Interpretive Trail recommended in the 2023 Cultural Landscape Report.

Example Projects

- William Leggett, Ida Fadzillah, Rebecca Conard, and Pat Cummins, "Stones River National Battlefield Ethnographic Overview and Assessment," 2016.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Research on individuals who served in the USCT in the area** (to build upon park research on the USCT units who served in Murfreesboro).
- Develop additional web-based interpretative content on African American stories connected to STRI.
- Incorporate ranger-led programs that focus on African American themes into the annual schedule.
- Enhance curriculum-based education programs to include the Cemetery Community and USCT stories.
- Additional oral histories with resident and descendant community members (recommended in HRS), to build on existing partnership with Middle Tennessee State University.
- Archeological investigation to "recovery any surface or subsurface vestiges of the Cedars settlement."[1209]

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Site staff acknowledged a need for additional studies or research projects, enhanced website content, and additional partnerships (external to the NPS)[1210]

[1209] Leggett et al., "Stones River National Battlefield Ethnographic Overview and Assessment," 67.

[1210] STRI, survey response, September 20, 2021.

Timucuan Ecological & Historic Preserve (TIMU)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1988

State(s): Florida

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "The purpose of Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve is to protect the natural ecology of over 46,000 acres of lands and waters and over 6,000 years of human history along the St. Johns and Nassau rivers in northeast Florida."[1211]

Materials Reviewed:

- 104 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/timu
- 3 reports
    - Stowell, Daniel. "Timucuan, Ecological and Historic Preserve, Historic Resource Study." 1996.
    - Jackson, Antoinette T., with Allan F. Burns. "Ethnohistorical Study of the Kingsley Plantation Community." 2006.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve." 2012.
- 6 survey responses from employees or partners of TIMU

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Early Inhabitants and Native Americans, 3500 BC–AD 1600; European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodation, Equal Employment, Racial Discrimination in Housing

NPS Themes:

- Peopling Places, Transforming the Environment

[1211] NPS, "Foundation Document: Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve," 2012, 5.

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Agriculture, discrimination in tourism, displacement of Black communities to create parks, Freedmen's Bureau, French colonialism, Indigenous history, maritime, sharecropping/tenant farming, sites of enslavement, Spanish colonialism, USCT, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- East Coast Greenway, Great Florida Birding and Wildlife Trail, Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor; Network to Freedom, Timucuan Parks Foundation

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

TIMU, jointly managed with FOCA, protects and preserves significant cultural and natural resources in Florida. The park's human history spans 6,000 years and 46,000 acres of land and water. The Foundation Document includes Black and African American history and experiences. One of site's primary interpretive themes is "the interaction of cultures throughout the region, especially colonial French, Spanish, and British; European American; American Indian; African; and African American—had a profound impact on American history."[1212] The Foundation Document identifies interpretive narratives related to the lives of enslaved people at Kingsley Plantation; free people of color and enslaved people at Fort Caroline; and segregated tourism during the 1800s and 1900s. It is important to note that, as of August 2023, TIMU was finalizing a new LRIP for the park, which included an updated set of interpretive themes from the Foundation Document.

TIMU has not always centered, interpreted, or closely analyzed Black history and experiences. The 1996 HRS of Timucuan is over 200 pages long but only rarely mentions Black or African American history or experiences. For instance, the report notes that in the early 1770s, the population of East Florida included "perhaps 3,000 inhabitants, exclusive of the Native American population . . . Nearly a third of these settlers were black, most of them slaves."[1213] The use of enslaved labor is often only mentioned in discussing the lives of enslavers, and often in terms complimentary to those individuals or solely related to economics. The head of the McQueen family, for instance, "had his slaves begin to cut the timber from the island, which was cut at his sawmill and sold at St. Augustine." The experiences of the enslaved are not described or analyzed, except to note the feeling of "affection for McQueen's family among his slaves."[1214] The report does

[1212] NPS, "Foundation Document: Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve," 2012, 11.

[1213] Daniel Stowell, "Timucuan, Ecological and Historic Preserve, Historic Resource Study," 1996, 29.

[1214] Daniel Stowell, "Timucuan, Ecological and Historic Preserve, Historic Resource Study," 1996, 35—36.

describe enslaved families living at the Kingsley Plantation, but the discussion is relatively brief, and the discussion turns toward Kingsley's racist writings.[1215]

In 2016, NPS completed an Ethnohistorical Study of the Kingsley Plantation Community. The report substantively addresses Black history and centers Black experiences. Furthermore, the report follows the individuals, families, and communities into the post-Civil War era and their broader experiences in Florida. The chapter titles indicate a desire to explore Kingsley Plantation as a "physical (and social) reminder," contextualizing the protection of buildings alongside protection of cultural experiences and legacies. The report also places Black communities at Kingsley in the context of global and hyper-local perspectives, exploring both the macro stories of the Transatlantic slave trade and the micro stories of Kingsley descendants in Jacksonville. The report also centers Black voices as active agents in determining how the history should be preserved and interpreted. The report authors described themselves as "part of the African Diaspora themselves. Their perspectives, both as participants in this historical process and as anthropologists trained in careful scientific research, makes this a much-needed document." The report also included community collected histories, a model for collaboration and stakeholder investment in the project.[1216] Note that there was a recent report completed under cooperative agreement with the OAH by Amani T. Marshall, PhD, entitled, "The Enslaved Communities on Fort Georgia Island: A Special History Study for Timucuan Ecological & Historic Preserve," completed in March 2022, which was not reviewed for this report.[1217]

Twenty-seven of 104 webpages reviewed include content on Black or African American history or experiences. One page devoted to the "Slave Trade" was in progress and could not be reviewed.[1218] The pages are often brief and linked to other content on the site, allowing visitors to choose their way forward through the digital interpretation. The site includes numerous biographical sketches related to Kingsley Plantation. The profiles include both the enslavers and the enslaved, and the occasional overlaps between the two. For instance, Anna Kingsley was the African-born wife of Zephaniah Kingsley. After "manumission by her husband," Anna became a landowner and enslaver.[1219]

Some webpages profile the lives of the enslaved at Kingsley Plantation. The biographical sketch of Abraham Hanahan, for instance, explains that he served as an agricultural overseer under Kingsley's ownership and eventually Kingsley emancipated him. Hanahan ended his life as a

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[1215] Daniel Stowell, "Timucuan, Ecological and Historic Preserve, Historic Resource Study," 1996, 42—45.

[1216] Antoinette T. Jackson, with Allan F. Burns, "Ethnohistorical Study of the Kingsley Plantation Community," 2006, 8.

[1217] Amani T. Marshall, "The Enslaved Communities on Fort George Island: A Special History Study for Timucuan Ecological & Historic Preserve," Organization of American Historians and NPS, March 2022, https://www.nps.gov/timu/learn/historyculture/upload/508_TIMU-final-508-2.pdf. As of 2023, this study was linked to from a webpage entitled, "More Sources on the Lives of Those Enslaved in Northeast Florida," found here: https://www.nps.gov/timu/learn/historyculture/reading-on-slave-lives.htm.

[1218] "Slave Trade," TIMU webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/timu/learn/historyculture/slave-trade.htm.

[1219] Numerous interwoven pages address this story. See, for example, "Anna Kingsley," TIMU webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/timu/learn/historyculture/kp_annakingsley.htm; NPS, "Anna Kingsley: A Free Woman," TIMU webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/timu/learn/historyculture/kp_anna_freewoman.htm; "Kingsley Moves to Florida," TIMU webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/timu/learn/historyculture/kp_zk_moves_to_florida.htm.

businessman in Haiti.[1220] Another page explores the life of Hannah, a woman enslaved by the Kingsley family who was part of a larger group kidnapped by the Alachua Creeks in 1812. She disappeared from the written historical records for eight years before being sold to a Don Philipe Solano of St. Augustine. Hannah and her family eventually ran away from the Solano plantation and returned to the Creeks. Hannah and her family were still living with the Creeks when the Tribe was forced to relocate to Oklahoma.[1221] These types of pages provide insight to the varied experiences of Black individuals. Pages like the "Sea Island Cotton Economy" explain the broader economic reliance on enslaved labor without omitting Black experiences and history.[1222]

TIMU has several webpages devoted to American Beach, a Black recreation and tourist destination established in 1940.[1223] The web content discusses Jim Crow segregation laws in Florida and the broader region.[1224] The pages explore the foundation of American Beach, the community it served, and the eventual desegregation of recreational facilities after the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.[1225] Importantly, the web content also indicates that the Black community who enjoyed American Beach is still present in the TIMU area, and that they actively engage in protecting, preserving, and interpreting their own historic spaces and stories.[1226]

Other webpages describe ongoing work to expand the understanding of Black experiences and history at TIMU. The page for Cedar Point Ruins describes an archeological dig and the associated plantation operation. "Archaeologists are systematically searching the area to find artifacts that evoke the daily lives of enslaved people who toiled on coastal plantations," and the webpage explains some of the day-to-day things those individuals may have experienced.[1227] A 2010 archeological field school identified a "slave graveyard" associated with Kingsley Plantation, and a portion of the findings report is included in the digital content.[1228]

Site staff indicate that Black and African American history and experiences are included at TIMU and associated sites. At Kingsley Plantation, the lives of enslaved individuals are interpreted

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[1220] "Abraham Hanahan," TIMU webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/timu/learn/historyculture/hanahan.htm.

[1221] "Hannah," TIMU webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/timu/learn/historyculture/hannah.htm.

[1222] "Sea Island Cotton Economy," TIMU webpage, https://www.nps.gov/timu/learn/historyculture/kp_seaislandcotton_economy.htm.

[1223] "Minority at Leisure," TIMU webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/timu/learn/historyculture/ambch_minorityatleisure.htm.

[1224] "Segregation Laws," TIMU webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/timu/learn/historyculture/ambch_segregationlaw.htm.

[1225] "Beginning of the End," TIMU webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/timu/learn/historyculture/ambch_beginningofend.htm.

[1226] "Community in Transition," TIMU webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/timu/learn/historyculture/ambch_communityintransition.htm.

[1227] "Cedar Point Ruins," TIMU webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/timu/learn/historyculture/cpruins.htm.

[1228] "Discovery of a Graveyard," TIMU webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/timu/learn/management/the-discovery-of-a-graveyard.htm.

and expressed.[1229] One respondent described Kingsley Plantation as the oldest antebellum plantation house in Florida, as well as 25 original tabby cabins that were built and occupied by the enslaved population. Interpreters share stories of the lives and complex, intertwined relationships of the enslaved and the enslavers."[1230] Another respondent noted that "this site is located within the Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor. Because it was in Florida and occupied by the Spanish, its overall Gullah Geechee story is typically forgotten and overlooked by many historians and scholars."[1231] Staff also noted that, as of 2023, interpretation at the park did not detail a documented active African presence during the existence of the original Fort Caroline settlement but rather during subsequent eras, including that of the British-established St. Johns Town. The settlement included property now part of FOCA, and it has been documented that there were significant numbers of enslaved people in it, as well as some successful freedom seekers.[1232]

Survey respondents indicated additional narratives that could be added to TIMU and associated sites. At FOCA, a respondent said "we need to uncover the status of the Africans that came with the French and more about the free black settlements of Duval county."[1233] Another stressed the need to place Black stories into narratives of environmental use, especially with regard to "marshes, creeks and the St. Johns River prior, during and after the Civil War."[1234] One respondent reflected, "These complex stories and the legacies they represent can provide valuable opportunities for conversation and learning."[1235] Another NPS commenter noted, "Since 2022, the TIMU has co-created ongoing programming with the gateway descendant community of Cosmo providing regular opportunities for community members to share their spirituality, survival strategies, and foodways in connection with the natural environment including demonstrations of traditional fishing, crabbing, and oyster processing techniques."[1236]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Special History Study on enslaved individuals at Kingsley Plantation (PMIS # 63870A).
- Study on USCT presence in Jacksonville and TIMU.[1237]
- HRS of the Kingsley Plantation (PMIS #200035) (not funded as of August 2023).

[1229] TIMU/FOCA, survey response, October 12, 2021; TIMU, survey response, September 24, 2021; TIMU, survey response, September 10, 2021; TIMU, survey response, September 3, 2021.

[1230] TIMU, survey response, September 10, 2021.

[1231] TIMU, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[1232] NPS comments on draft report, August 2023; "Hester's Bluff and St. Johns Town," *Florida History Online*, accessed August 2023, https://history.domains.unf.edu/floridahistoryonline/projects-proj-b-p-html/projects-plantations-html/hierarchy-of-plantation-pages/hesters-bluff-and-st-johns-town/.

[1233] TIMU, survey response, September 5, 2021.

[1234] TIMU, survey response, October 12, 2021.

[1235] TIMU, survey response, September 10, 2021.

[1236] NPS comments on draft report, August 2023.

[1237] TIMU/FOCA, survey response, October 12, 2021.

- Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve (PMIS # 314659).
- TIMU is researching stories for eligibility for National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom inclusion. The park is already officially listed as part of the Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor and the Reconstruction Era National Historic Network

Example Projects

- Antoinette T. Jackson, with Allan F. Burns, "Ethnohistorical Study of the Kingsley Plantation Community," 2006.
    - Entire report is basically a model project: note particularly efforts to name and trace individuals (Chapter Three) and "Ethnographic Profiles of a Historic Resource Site" (Chapter 5), which details families' experiences post-slavery.
- TIMU employs a "public outreach coordinator" who has been able to build long-term relationships with descendent communities. This is a model that other NPS sites could adopt, rather than have contractors build relationships and then move on.[1238]

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Oral histories and research study of American Beach on Amelia Island** (segregated beach resort established by and for African Americans). Web content indicates the presence of a descendant community and potentially existing stakeholder groups.
- Interpretation of Kingsley Plantation descendant study, additional oral histories.
- Studies of African American experiences at FOCA.
- Tie into Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor projects.
- Study on French colonizers who were free Blacks.
- Training in bias awareness, stress management, and wellness (recommended by staff).[1239]

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, staff training, additional publications and pamphlets, enhanced website content, and additional partnerships (both external and internal to the NPS).[1240]

[1238] Cultural resources consultant to Jackie Gonzales, phone conversation, October 12, 2022.

[1239] TIMU, survey response, September 10, 2021.

[1240] TIMU/FOCA, survey response, October 12, 2021; TIMU, survey response, September 5, 2021; TIMU, survey response, September 24, 2021; TIMU, survey response, September 10, 2021; TIMU, survey response, September 3, 2021; TIMU, survey response, October 12, 2021.

Tupelo National Battlefield (TUPE)

Founding Year: 1933

State(s): Mississippi

Note: Managed by staff of Natchez Trace Parkway (NATR) (jointly with Brices Crossroads National Battlefield [BRCR])

Materials Reviewed: See Natchez Trace Parkway entry.

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework: Does not relate to one of these themes.

NPS Themes:

- Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Civil War, Great Depression, Indigenous history, tenant farming, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow

Partner Organizations:

- Mississippi's Final Stands, Natchez Trace Parkway Association

For analysis and recommendations for TUPE, see Natchez Trace Parkway (NATR).

Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site (TUAI)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1998

State(s): Alabama

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site commemorates the struggle and triumph of the Tuskegee Airmen at Moton Field, site of the primary African American flight training facility during World War II, and their contributions to the integration of the U.S. military and subsequent civil rights advancements."[1241]

Note: Managed jointly with Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site (TUIN) and Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail (SEMO)

Materials Reviewed:

- 5 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/tuai/
- 2 reports
    - NPS. "Moton Field/Tuskegee Airmen, Special Resource Study." 1998.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site & Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site." 2017.
- 2 survey responses from employees or partners of TUAI

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodation, Desegregation of Public Education, Equal Employment, Racial Discrimination in Housing, Voting Rights

NPS Themes:

- Creating Social Institutions and Movements, Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape

[1241] NPS, "Foundation Document: Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site & Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site," 2017, 28.

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Black cultural institutions, Black education, Black military service, Civil Rights, Indigenous history, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Friends of Tuskegee Airmen NHS, Tuskegee University

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

TUAI protects and preserves a site of Black and African American history. The site is closely related to TUIN, both geographically and thematically, and the two park units are jointly managed with SEMO.

TUAI specifically protects and interprets Moton Field, a site where, between 1941 and 1948, the US Army Air Corps trained

> more than 10,000 African Americans . . . as flight instructors, officers, fighter pilots, bombardiers, navigators, radio technicians, mechanics, air traffic controllers, instrument and weather forecasters, electrical and communication specialists, aircraft armorers, gunner specialists, and parachute riggers. Hundreds more African American men and women were trained in flight support occupations such as administration, supply, firefighting, transportation, medicine, laboratory technologies, food service, and music.

African Americans faced significant discrimination, both inside the military in broader American communities. The success of the Tuskegee Airmen program paved the way for desegregation of the military and, in partnership with the nearby Tuskegee Institute, trained a generation to demand and advance the call for civil rights.[1242] TUAI deliberately uses the NPS Civil Rights Framework to guide its interpretation and focuses on the continuing legacy—and the continuity throughout American history—of civil rights activism.[1243]

TUAI collections include the cultural landscape of Moton Field, a significant oral history program featuring recordings of Tuskegee Airmen and their families, and a museum collection with

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[1242] NPS, "Foundation Document: Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site & Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site," 2017, 26.

[1243] NPS, "Foundation Document: Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site & Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site," 2017, 9–10, 32.

many types of artifacts (housed off site at TUIN and other NPS facilities).[1244] A 1998 Special Resource Study included a history of the Tuskegee Airmen program, with a focus on site management, developing community partnerships, and addressing site staffing.[1245]

TUAI's website features significant content related to Black and African American history. Five of five pages reviewed include relevant content. The "History and Culture" landing page explains that the Tuskegee Airmen were a group of Black men who participated in a test conducted by the Army Air Corps to determine if African Americans had the mental and physical abilities to lead, fly military aircraft, and courage to fight in war. Women participated as parachute riggers, training personnel, mechanics, gate guards, control tower operators, fuselage technicians, secretaries, and clerks.[1246]

Web content underscores that the Tuskegee Airmen experiment was a result of the struggle against racial discrimination and the fight for more opportunities for Black American participation in the US military; Tuskegee Institute became the site of a primary flight school for the cadets and, consequently, became the only Black institution to own, develop, and control facilities for military flight instruction.[1247] A webpage of "TUAI Stories" includes a description of Freeman Field, the home base for the 477th Bombardment Group. Black officers protested racist practices of the Army Air Corps; their officer's club was located in an old, dilapidated building needing repairs, while the White officers were in a new building. The protesting officers were arrested and imprisoned, which led to outrage in Black communities. Congress put pressure on the War Department to drop the charges against the officers, but they still received reprimands on their files.[1248]

In 2021, survey respondents indicated that on-site interpretation ranged from the Civil War era to the civil rights era and focused on "stories [that] uplift the African American communities in healthcare, education, voting, and economics."[1249]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Administrative History of TUAI (PMIS #305434).

Example Projects

- None

[1244] NPS, "Foundation Document: Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site & Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site," 2017, 30.

[1245] NPS, "Motion Field/Tuskegee Airmen, Special Resource Study," 1998.

[1246] "History and Culture," TUAI webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/tuai/learn/historyculture/index.htm.

[1247] "Significance," TUAI webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/tuai/learn/historyculture/significance-of-the-tuskegee-airmen-national-historic-site.htm.

[1248] "Stories," TUAI webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/tuai/learn/historyculture/stories.htm.

[1249] TUIN/TUAI/SEMO, survey response, October 12, 2021.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- Comprehensive interpretive planning and enhanced interpretive web content.
- Historic Structure Report for Moton Field.
- Collections management planning.
- Visitor Use Survey.
- Digitization of objects and photographs.[1250]
- **Expanded interpretive web content**, particularly focusing on role of women and support staff, military service of Tuskegee Airmen, and individual biographies to help underscore the role of Tuskegee Airmen in post-war civil rights movement.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- TUAI staff indicated a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, additional publications or pamphlets, additional partnerships (both external and internal to the NPS), enhanced website content, and staff training.[1251]

[1250] All above needs were outlined in NPS, "Foundation Document: Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site & Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site," 2017, 42–45.

[1251] TUIN/TUAI/SEMO, survey response, October 12, 2021.

Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site (TUIN)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1974

State(s): Alabama

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site commemorates and interprets the educational, social, economic, and scientific accomplishments of Tuskegee Institute, its founding leaders, and its importance in African American history."[1252]

Note: Managed jointly with Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site (TUAI) and Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail (SEMO)

Materials Reviewed:

- 4 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/tuin/
- 2 reports
    - Knott, Laura. "TUIN Historic Site: Historic Resource Study." 2013.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site & Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site." 2017.
- 2 surveys responses from employees or partners of TUIN

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodation, Desegregation of Public Education, Equal Employment, Racial Discrimination in Housing, Voting Rights

NPS Themes:

- Creating Social Institutions and Movements, Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape

[1252] NPS, "Foundation Document: Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site & Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site," 2017, 6.

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Black cultural institutions, Black education, Black military service, Civil Rights, Indigenous history, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

Partner Organizations:

- Friends of Tuskegee Airmen NHS, Tuskegee University (Foundation Document recommends strengthening this partnership)

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

TUIN protects and preserves a site of African American history. The site is jointly managed with TUAI and SEMO. TUIN specifically protects and interprets the Tuskegee Institute, "the leading African American school teaching leadership and entrepreneurship in the late 1800s and early 1900s." Notable figures associated with the Institute include its founder, Booker T. Washington, and George Washington Carver, an agricultural leader and inventor. Many Tuskegee students served in World War II as the distinguished Tuskegee Airmen, and others became leaders in the civil rights movement.[1253] TUIN's historic resources include the Booker T. Washington House, George Washington Carver's laboratory, and significant museum collections. The site deliberately uses the NPS Civil Rights Framework to guide its interpretation and focuses on the continuing legacy—and the continuity throughout American history—of civil rights activism.[1254]

In 2019, NPS funded a significant HRS for properties associated with TUIN. The report described the establishment and evolution of Tuskegee Institute from its origins in the mid-1800s to its significant growth at the turn of the 1900s, and its role in watershed moments like World War II and the civil rights movement. The report also provided significant recommendations for additional NRHP documentation (noting the shortcomings of existing documentation) and provided additional avenues for research at the site.[1255]

TUIN's website includes substantive information related to Black history and experiences. Four of four webpages reviewed include relevant content. One page explains the founding of the Tuskegee Institute.[1256] Web content includes biographies of individuals like Lewis Adams, a deacon

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[1253] NPS, "Foundation Document: Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site & Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site," 2017, 3–5.

[1254] NPS, "Foundation Document: Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site & Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site," 2017, 9–10, 32.

[1255] See Chapter 10: Recommendations for National Register Documentation and Further Research in Laura Knott, "TUAI Historic Site: Historic Resource Study," 2013.

[1256] "Founding of Tuskegee Institute," TUIN webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/tuin/learn/historyculture/tuskegee-institute-s-founding.htm.

at Butler Chapel AME Zion Church, who attempted to open a school for Black people in the community to receive a basic education. The school was unsuccessful, but Lewis later served as a founding board member of the Tuskegee Institute.[1257] Another page offers a biography of Tuskegee Institute founder Booker T. Washington, a formerly enslaved man who was hired as the first principal of the school. Washington became nationally known after a speech in 1895 at the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, where he called for Black progress through education and entrepreneurship, rather than trying to directly challenge Jim Crow segregation and the disenfranchisement of Black voters in the South. Washington would also become the first Black person invited to the White House for dinner.[1258] Tuskegee Institute's Director of Agriculture, George Washington Carver, also has a biography page.[1259]

In 2021, survey respondents indicated that on-site interpretation ranged from the Civil War era to the civil rights era and focused on "stories [that] uplift the African American communities in healthcare, education, voting, and economics."[1260]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Administrative History of TUIN (PMIS # 304371).

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Historic research on the role of women at the Institute**, like Margaret Murray Washington, Jennie Dee Booth Moton, Vera Chandler Foster, and Thelma Plane Payton (identified in HRS). To include potential oral history and interpretive components (which could be broken up into separate phases).
- HRS of Booker T. Washington Collection at Library of Congress (recommended in Foundation Document).
- HRS and park partner action strategy for George Washington Carver Museum building (recommended in Foundation Document).
- Exhibit plans for Tuskegee Institute Collection, George Washington Carver Collection, and Booker T. Washington Collection (recommended in Foundation Document).

[1257] "Lewis Adams," TUIN webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/tuin/learn/historyculture/lewis-adams.htm.

[1258] "Booker T. Washington," TUIN webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/tuin/learn/historyculture/booker-t-washington.htm.

[1259] "George Washington Carver," TUIN webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/tuin/learn/historyculture/george-washington-carver.htm.

[1260] TUIN/TUAI/SEMO, survey response, October 12, 2021.

- Cultural Landscape Report that addresses role of landscape architects and an understanding of the physical campus, especially David Andrew Williston and Edward Lyons Pryce (identified in HRS). Staff indicated that any a study of cultural landscapes should include the Greenwood Community and the Old Montgomery Highway, placing TUIN in the context of its surroundings.
- NRHP nomination and documentation to protect resources, like Band Cottage, Rockefeller Hall, Thrasher Hall, the Old Administration Building, Tompkins Hall, White Hall, Power Plant, Huntington Hall, Douglass Hall, Tantum Hall, and Dorothy Hall; structures, like the Gazebo; and landscapes, like the Girls' Quadrangle, the Big Valley, and Campus Drive. A boundary should be established for a historic district that encompasses, protects, and offers avenues of support for historic properties.
- HRS of the Oaks (Booker T. Washington's house).
- Interpretive web content, focusing perhaps on biographies of women (like Margaret Murray Washington) or student life on campus.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- TUIN staff indicated a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, additional publications or pamphlets, additional partnerships (both external and internal to the NPS), enhanced website content, and staff training.[1261]

[1261] TUIN/TUAI/SEMO, survey response, October 12, 2021.

Vicksburg National Military Park (VICK)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1899

State(s): Louisiana, Mississippi

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Vicksburg National Military Park commemorates and interprets the campaigns, siege, and defense of Vicksburg, Mississippi, during the Civil War; interprets the history of Vicksburg from 1862 through Reconstruction, and preserves and protects the battlefield, Vicksburg National Cemetery, and related significant resources."[1262]

Materials Reviewed:

- 82 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/vick/
- 2 reports
    - NPS. "Vicksburg National Military Park: Long-Range Interpretive Plan." 2010.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Vicksburg National Military Park." 2014.
- 1 survey response from employees or partners of VICK

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Underground Railroad and Abolition, Voting Rights

NPS Themes:

- Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Cemeteries, Civil War, Indigenous history, maritime, memory, military service, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation, Reconstruction, Segregation and Jim Crow, Modern Civil Rights Movement

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[1262] NPS, "Foundation Document: Vicksburg National Military Park," 2014, 5.

Partner Organizations:

- Friends of Vicksburg National Military Park and Campaign

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

VICK protects and preserves "areas associated with the siege and defense of Vicksburg, Mississippi," a Civil War battle occurring primarily between May 1862 and July 1863. The park enabling legislation also includes discussion of Reconstruction.

The broader Vicksburg campaign included the Battle of Milliken's Bend, where the "courageous actions of United States Colored Troops…secured the first battlefield victory for these forces, demonstrating the resolve of African Americans to fight for their freedom, leading to a shift in the perception of African Americans in the U.S. military. The Union occupation and subsequent Reconstruction era of Vicksburg served as a national model demonstrating the successes and failures of post–Civil War recovery efforts in the South, including the genesis of the Freedmen's Bureau, which set the tone for self-sufficiency in the African American community."[1263]

VICK's LRIP, written in 2010, focused on achieving "funding to restore Vicksburg National Military Park interpretive staffing levels to meet basic operating requirements" and called for additional "funding to establish a formal education program," with acknowledgement that "students need to understand multiple perspectives." Although the LRIP does not explicitly identify African American experiences as an interpretive framework or goal, Black experiences are threaded throughout the site recommendations. For example, under Reconstruction, the plan notes: "African Americans faced an unknown social environment that potentially offered new opportunities, but more frequently evidenced uncompromising racism." Under the theme of Commemoration, the LRIP notes that "following the Civil War, Vicksburgers of African American descent conducted some of their first public gatherings in Vicksburg." Some of the interpretive exhibits at the site, including a diorama, showcase "the role of African American troops in the Vicksburg Campaign." The LRIP very explicitly notes, however, that "more inclusive information on civilian and African-American participation in the Vicksburg Campaign as well as Reconstruction is needed." Park staff informed planners "that while many African Americans enjoy the park recreationally; they do not attend park programs."[1264]

Of 82 pages on the VICK website, six address Black or African American history or experiences.[1265] Several focus on sites in Louisiana associated with the Vicksburg Campaign, like Winter Quarters, a plantation with an enslaved labor force of 300 individuals.[1266] The webpage for Goodrich's Landing describes how the Union Army leased plantations on which freedpeople grew

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[1263] NPS, "Foundation Document: Vicksburg National Military Park," 2014, 5–6.

[1264] NPS, "Vicksburg National Military Park: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2010, 8, 22, 24, 30, 26, 62.

[1265] Two webpages, "USS Cairo Gunboat and Museum/Crew List of USS Cairo," and "People/Women/Jenny Hodgers" were broken and could not be reviewed.

[1266] "Winter Quarters," VICK webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/vick/learn/historyculture/winter-quarters.htm.

crops, and they established facilities to train Black troops. These troops were then assigned to protect the plantations; however, the Confederates attacked and captured the Black soldiers.[1267]

Other webpages focus on the military service of Black troops. At the Battle of Lake Providence, the 1st Brigade, 6th Division, XVII Corps was a mix of White and Black regiments.[1268] The Battle of Milliken's Bend (part of the Vicksburg Campaign, but not within the park) involved the 8th, 9th, 11th, and 13th Louisiana Infantry Regiments and 1st Mississippi Infantry of the USCT. The Union victory helped to change perceptions on the use of Black troops, and recruitment increased.[1269] Web content also explores the use of Black labor in constructing military infrastructure, like Williams' and Grant's Canal.[1270] A page devoted to a commemoration at VICK explains how the African American monument honors the contributions of Black men—enslaved and free—who served both the North and the South during the war.[1271]

Vicksburg National Cemetery is the largest National Cemetery managed by the NPS and has the largest number of unknown USCT troops buried there. The cemetery is undergoing ongoing cemetery stabilization to protect endangered graves. As part of this stabilization work, research is being conducted to restore identities of individuals in unmarked burial sites (when possible). Throughout this sensitive project, the park is reaching out to descendants in local communities and attempting to repair relationships.[1272]

Site staff report that the siege and military campaign of Vicksburg represent the major narrative of site interpretation. Interpretation also includes the stories of the USCT soldiers who participated in the battle and underscores their important victory at Milliken's Bend. VICK staff noted that in addition to the 5,000 individuals who enlisted in the USCT, "African American men and women came to Vicksburg for safety," settled in the area, and made "significant contributions both during the campaign, occupation, and Reconstruction."[1273] Staff also noted that the park includes three houses that were plantations during the Civil War (the Shirley House, Coker House, and Shaifer House), all of which were sites where people of African descent were enslaved. The park is working to research these people and better tell these stories.[1274]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- Cemetery stabilization project and associated research.

[1267] "Goodrich's Landing," VICK webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/vick/learn/historyculture/goodrichs-landing-june-29-30-1863.htm.

[1268] "Battle of Lake Providence," VICK webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/vick/learn/historyculture/battle-of-lake-providence-june-9-1863.htm.

[1269] "Battle of Milliken's Bend," VICK webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/vick/learn/historyculture/battle-of-millikens-bend-june-7-1863.htm.

[1270] "Williams' and Grant's Canal," VICK webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/vick/learn/historyculture/grants-canal.htm.

[1271] "African American Monuments," VICK webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/vick/learn/historyculture/african-american-history.htm.

[1272] NPS comments on draft report, August 2023.

[1273] VICK, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[1274] NPS comments on draft report, August 2023.

- "I had set up an amazing tandem research projects with Greening Youth for a distance research intern who would go learn archival processes, research skills, and digital copying techniques to electronically send thousands [of] records located at the National Archives in Washington D.C. of United States Colored Troops stationed in the Vicksburg area. An in-person intern from a local HBCU would collect, organize, transcribe, and develop historical research skills to create both a database, web based content for the park's website, new and diverse physical interpretive content in the park, and exciting exhibits. The database would be accessible to link the local African American community to the park for a broader knowledge of how impactful their ancestors were in preserving and protecting the land that became the park as well as a genealogical tool for anyone searching for these important documents."[1275]

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Cemetery Management Plan** that includes continued outreach to descendent communities of all backgrounds.
- Updates to Cultural Landscape Report that include significant focus on how African American individuals shaped landscape.
- General study on Freedmen's Bureau, linked to this park unit by looking closely at role of African American people connected to Vicksburg who helped in its creation.
- Exhibits for Shirley House and *USS Cairo*: include content on who built the house/boat, who worked there (pre-Civil War and during occupation).
- "Work with the park's cooperating association to take Virginia DuBowy's ground breaking publication, 'Glimpses of the African American Experience' the next step. Request funding to have a social history historian review and update the publication and provide additional Vicksburg specific material."[1276]
- Outreach to and oral histories with descendants of the USCT who fought here and descendants of local African American community (suggested in Visitor Use Management Plan).

[1275] VICK, survey response, August 25, 2021.

[1276] NPS, "Vicksburg National Military Park: Long-Range Interpretive Plan," 2010, 65.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, additional publications or pamphlets, additional partnerships (both internal and external to the NPS), enhanced website content, and additional training for staff.[1277]

[1277] VICK, survey response, August 25, 2021.

Virgin Islands Coral Reef National Monument (VICR)

Introduction

Founding Year: 2001

State(s): US Virgin Islands

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "The purpose of Virgin Islands Coral Reef National Monument is to preserve and protect coastal mangroves, shallow-water reefs, and sea grass beds spanning from the bays of Hurricane Hole to the deep water coral reefs, fish, and bottom communities of the shelf edge surrounding St. John, U.S, Virgin Islands."[1278]

Note: Managed jointly with Virgin Islands National Park (VIIS)

Materials Reviewed:

- 0 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/viis/
- 1 report
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Virgin Islands National Park & Virgin Islands Coral Reef National Monument." 2016.
- 1 survey response from employees or partners of VIIS

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Early Inhabitants and Native Americans, 3500 BC–AD 1600; European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodations

NPS Themes:

- Changing Role of the United States in the Word Community, Peopling Places

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Archeology, Caribbean, Indigenous history, plantations, slavery, women's history

[1278] NPS, "Foundation Document: Virgin Islands National Park & Virgin Islands Coral Reef National Monument," 2016, 4.

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery

Partner Organizations:

- Atlantic Slave Trade Project, Friends of Virgin Islands National Park, Virgin Islands Historical & Genealogical Resource Center

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

The following data includes information regarding VIIS, the co-managed Park Unit. This report did not review significant resources related solely to VICR.

VIIS and VICR's combined Foundation Document defines the park unit as a "diverse historic landscape" with "more than 200 historic sites with thousands of historic structures make up a complex cultural landscape that spans the periods of early Spanish, English, French, Dutch, and Danish privateers who first settled here. The infrastructure for a rich plantation economy was built during Danish rule using forced labor in the form of enslaved persons, primarily from Africa d[ur]ing the 18th and early 19th centuries. Each year new historic sites are discovered, [ad]ding to a long list of 17th and 18th century sites documenting one of the best preserved historic colonial island landscapes."[1279] The NPS identified slavery as a crucial interpretive theme for the site, noting that VIIS "provides a setting for exploring the experience of the enslaved Africans and learning about the layers of history and patterns of change within the institution of slavery over time in the West Indies when the Triangle Trade flourished."[1280]

Researchers have conducted significant studies of archeological resources at the site, including still existing architectural elements and pre-European contact sites related to Taino and other Indigenous peoples of the islands. One report suggested the possibility of "pre-Columbian African visitors to St. John."[1281] In 2001, a cooperative effort between NPS personnel, the Virgin Islands Historical & Genealogical Resource Center, independent contractors, and area volunteers set out to expand existing knowledge around the Annaberg Plantation properties. The team aspired "to locate and document any previously unidentified sites, structures, collections, reports, publications, or primary archival materials that could contribute to a greater understanding of the history of the district for interpretive and management purposes." Surveyed sites included the Isaac Constantia Plantation, Estate Annaberg, Annaberg School House, Betty's Hope and the Francis Boiling House, Mary's Point Plantation, Annaberg and Leinster Bay Estate House and Cemetery, Linster Bay Industrial Complex, and Linster Bay Guard House, with periods of significance spanning from 1721–1956.[1282] The report explained the use of enslaved labor in sugar production, described slave

[1279] NPS, "Foundation Document: Virgin Islands National Park & Virgin Islands Coral Reef National Monument," 2016, 8.

[1280] NPS, "Foundation Document: Virgin Islands National Park & Virgin Islands Coral Reef National Monument," 2016, 11.

[1281] C. N. Dubelaar, "Petroglyphs in the U.S. Virgin Islands: A Survey," 1999.

[1282] David Knight, "Annaberg: an updated survey of the Annaberg Factory Complex," 2001, 5–6.

rebellions in the area, and included biographies on Black individuals like George Francis, a man who was born enslaved and eventually became a landholder.[1283] The project included a significant bibliography and an explanation of methodology, including researchers' use of probate records to find data on enslaved individuals.[1284] A similar project focused on the sugar plantation at Cinnamon Bay, which also used enslaved labor.[1285] Significant maritime archeology did not appear in the resources reviewed, and VICR is primarily an offshore park unit.

As of early 2022, VICR did not have any webpages under its History & Culture landing page.

In 2021, VIIS and VICR staff reported that Black history is a crucial component of site interpretation and that the central park narrative is "shared between natural resource protection and education and cultural history of enslavement and cultural lifeways of the islands." In addition to an annual folk life festival, VIIS and VICR staff worked with local partnerships to "support cultural demonstrations in the high tourist seasons." Interpretation also included protecting and interpreting sites of enslavement, including area sugar plantations. VIIS and VICR also participate in the NPS Network to Freedom.[1286]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Special History Study on the 1733 uprising that enslaved people led on St. John**.
- **Oral histories with descendent communities on the islands**.
- NRHP/NHL nominations for sites related to African Caribbean culture, especially outside of the Transatlantic slave trade narrative.
- Cultural Landscape Reports that discuss role of people of African descent in creating, maintaining, and living in the landscape.
- Historic Structures Report that highlights structures built and used by people of African descent.

[1283] Knight, "Annaberg: an updated survey of the Annaberg Factory Complex," 21, 24, 120–21.

[1284] Knight, "Annaberg: an updated survey of the Annaberg Factory Complex".

[1285] David Knight, "A Documentary History of the Cinnamon Bay Plantation," 1999.

[1286] VIIS, survey response, September 21, 2021.

- Significant maritime archeology project, perhaps in partnership with DWP (see BISC) or SWP.[1287]
- Other relevant needs outlined in the Foundation Document:
    - CyArk data for historic structures.
    - Submerged archeological resources studies.
    - NRHP nominations (for precolonial historic and archeological resources).
    - Cultural landscape inventories for key landscapes (other than Caneel Bay).
    - LiDAR data for cultural sites.
    - Cultural resource stewardship assessment.
    - Historic structure reports for key historic structures (i.e., Annaberg, Catherineberg, Cinnamon Bay, Trunk Bay, Reef Bay, Caneel Bay, Creque Marine Railway, Royal Mail, and batteries).
    - Cultural landscape reports for key historic landscapes (i.e., Annaberg, Catherineberg, Cinnamon Bay, Trunk Bay, Reef Bay, Caneel Bay, Creque Marine Railway, Royal Mail, and batteries).
    - Preservation maintenance plan for Caneel Bay.
    - Parkwide preservation maintenance plan.
    - Scope of collections statement.
    - Planning for adaptation to climate change.[1288]

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Site staff (at VIIS) indicated a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, additional training, and enhanced website content.[1289]

[1287] "Research," CHRI webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/chri/learn/historyculture/research.htm.

[1288] NPS, "Foundation Document: Virgin Islands National Park & Virgin Islands Coral Reef National Monument," 2016.

[1289] VIIS, survey response, September 21, 2021.

Virgin Islands National Park (VIIS)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1956

State(s): US Virgin Islands

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "The purpose of Virgin Islands National Park is to preserve and protect for public benefit and inspiration outstanding scenic features, Caribbean tropical marine and terrestrial ecosystems in their natural conditions, and cultural heritage from pre-Columbian through Danish colonial times."[1290]

Note: Managed jointly with Virgin Islands Coral Reef National Monument (VICR)

Materials Reviewed:

- 16 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/viis/
- 4 reports
    - Dubelaar, C. N. "Petroglyphs in the U.S. Virgin Islands: A Survey." 1999.
    - Knight, David. "A Documentary History of the Cinnamon Bay Plantation." 1999.
    - Knight, David. "Annaberg: an updated survey of the Annaberg Factory Complex." 2001.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Virgin Islands National Park & Virgin Islands Coral Reef National Monument." 2016.
- 1 survey response from employees or partners of VIIS

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Early Inhabitants and Native Americans, 3500 BC–AD 1600; European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800; US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework:

- Desegregation of Public Accommodations

NPS Themes:

- Changing Role of the United States in the Word Community, Peopling Places

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[1290] NPS, "Foundation Document: Virgin Islands National Park & Virgin Islands Coral Reef National Monument," 2016, 3.

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Archeology, Caribbean, Indigenous history, plantations, slavery, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- European Exploration and Colonization, Slavery

Partner Organizations:

- Atlantic Slave Trade Project, Friends of Virgin Islands National Park, Virgin Islands Historical & Genealogical Resource Center

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

VIIS and VICR's combined Foundation Document defines the park unit as a "diverse historic landscape" with "more than 200 historic sites with thousands of historic structures make up a complex cultural landscape that spans the periods of early Spanish, English, French, Dutch, and Danish privateers who first settled here. The infrastructure for a rich plantation economy was built during Danish rule using forced labor in the form of enslaved persons, primarily from Africa during the 18th and early 19th centuries. Each year new historic sites are discovered, adding to [a] long list of 17th and 18th century sites documenting one of the best preserved historic colonial island landscapes."[1291] The NPS identified slavery as a crucial interpretive theme for the site, noting that VIIS "provides a setting for exploring the experience of the enslaved Africans and learning about the layers of history and patterns of change within the institution of slavery over time in the West Indies when the Triangle Trade flourished."[1292]

Researchers have conducted significant studies of archeological resources at the site, including still existing architectural elements and pre-European contact sites related to Taino and other Indigenous peoples of the islands. One report suggested the possibility of "pre-Columbian African visitors to St. John."[1293] In 2001, a cooperative effort between NPS personnel, the Virgin Islands Historical & Genealogical Resource Center, independent contractors, and area volunteers set out to expand existing knowledge around the Annaberg Plantation properties. The team aspired "to locate and document any previously unidentified sites, structures, collections, reports, publications, or primary archival materials that could contribute to a greater understanding of the history of the district for interpretive and management purposes." Surveyed sites included the Isaac Constantia Plantation, Estate Annaberg, Annaberg School House, Betty's Hope and the Francis Boiling House, Mary's Point Plantation, Annaberg and Leinster Bay Estate House and Cemetery, Linster Bay Industrial Complex, and Linster Bay Guard House, with periods of significance spanning from

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[1291] NPS, "Foundation Document: Virgin Islands National Park & Virgin Islands Coral Reef National Monument," 2016, 8.

[1292] NPS, "Foundation Document: Virgin Islands National Park & Virgin Islands Coral Reef National Monument," 2016, 11.

[1293] C. N. Dubelaar, "Petroglyphs in the U.S. Virgin Islands: A Survey," 1999.

1721–1956.[1294] The report explained the use of enslaved labor in sugar production, described slave rebellions in the area, and included biographies on Black individuals like George Francis, a man who was born enslaved and eventually became a landholder.[1295] The project included a significant bibliography and an explanation of methodology, including researchers' use of probate records to find data on enslaved individuals.[1296] A similar project focused on the sugar plantation at Cinnamon Bay, which also used enslaved labor.[1297]

As of early 2022, five of 16 cultural resource webpages associated with VIIS and VICR include content on Black history.[1298] Webpages explore issues like the African Diaspora, focusing on the role Danish colonialism and the Transatlantic slave trade played in shaping cultural identities in island communities.[1299] Digital content also explains the Black experience as it relates to the historical resources of the park, including Annaberg Plantation and the use of enslaved labor to build colonial infrastructure.[1300] One webpage, "Making Contact with the Archeological Record: Identifying Contact Period Sites on St. John, US Virgin Islands," features a research project that sought to identify archeological sites that date to European contact and colonization, as well as explain the diverse and complicated relations between Europeans, Taino and Island-Carib Indians, and Africans.[1301]

In 2021, site staff reported that Black history is a crucial component of site interpretation and that the central park narrative is "shared between natural resource protection and education and cultural history of enslavement and cultural lifeways of the islands." In addition to an annual folk life festival, VIIS and VICR staff worked with local partnerships to "support cultural demonstrations in the high tourist seasons." Interpretation also included protecting and interpreting sites of enslavement, including area sugar plantations. VIIS and VICR are listed in the NPS Network to Freedom.[1302]

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

[1294] David Knight, "Annaberg: an updated survey of the Annaberg Factory Complex," 2001, 5–6.

[1295] Knight, "Annaberg: an updated survey of the Annaberg Factory Complex," 21, 24, 120–121.

[1296] Knight, "Annaberg: an updated survey of the Annaberg Factory Complex".

[1297] David Knight, "A Documentary History of the Cinnamon Bay Plantation," 1999.

[1298] Notably, one webpage, "People—St. John Timeline" was broken and could not be reviewed.

[1299] NPS, "Lost in Paradise," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/torres-african-diaspora.htm; "African Diaspora," VIIS webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/viis/learn/historyculture/african-diaspora.htm.

[1300] "Annaberg Plantation," VIIS webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/viis/learn/historyculture/annaberg-plantation.htm; "History and Culture," VIIS webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/viis/learn/historyculture/index.htm.

[1301] NPS, "Contact Period Sites," webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/articles/contact-period-sites-usvi.htm.

[1302] VIIS, survey response, September 21, 2021.

Example Projects

- David Knight, "Annaberg: an updated survey of the Annaberg Factory Complex," 2001.

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- **Special History Study on the 1733 uprising that enslaved people led on St. John**.
- **Oral histories with descendent communities on the islands**.
- NRHP/NHL nominations for sites related to African Caribbean culture.
- Cultural Landscape Report that discusses role of people of African ancestry in creating/maintaining/living in the landscape.
- Historic Structures Report that highlights structures built and used by people of African descent.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff or Partners

- Survey respondents indicated a need for additional staff, additional studies or research projects, additional training, and enhanced website content.[1303]

[1303] VIIS, survey response, September 21, 2021.

Wright Brothers National Memorial (WRBR)

Introduction

Founding Year: 1927

State(s): North Carolina

Park Statement of Purpose:

- "Wright Brothers National Memorial commemorates the first successful power-driven airplane flight, which was made by Wilbur and Orville Wright at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, on December 17, 1903."[1304]

Materials Reviewed:

- 29 webpages hosted by (or linked to from) https://www.nps.gov/wrbr/
- 6 reports
    - Dyson, Emma, Dean Herrin, and Amy Slaton. "The Engineering of Flight: Aeronautical engineering facilities of Area B, Wright Patterson AFB." 1993.
    - Warfield, Ronald. "Wright Brothers National Memorial." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 1996.
    - Chapman, William, and Jill K. Hanson. "Wright Brothers National Memorial, Historic Resource Study." 1997.
    - Allaback, Sarah. "Wright Brothers Visitor Center." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 2001.
    - Renstrom, Arthur. "A Bibliography Commemorating the One-Hundredth Anniversary of the First Flight-December 17, 1903." 2003.
    - NPS. "Foundation Document: Wright Brothers National Memorial." 2017.
- 0 survey responses from employees or partners of WRBR

Relevant Time Period(s):

- Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900; Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950; Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present

Applicable Themes from Civil Rights Framework: Does not relate to one of these themes.

[1304] NPS, "Foundation Document: Wright Brothers National Memorial," 2017, 5.

NPS Themes:

- Expanding Science and Technology, Peopling Places

Geographic or Thematic Linkages:

- Aviation, Indigenous history, women's history

Relevant Historical Overviews:

- Segregation and Jim Crow

Partner Organizations:

- First Flight Foundation, First Flight Society, Outer Banks Forever

Analysis

Analysis of park's current interpretation of African American stories

There is no discussion of African American history or stories in the documents and webpages reviewed for this project.

Upcoming or Ongoing Projects

- None

Example Projects

- None

Recommendations

Future Project Ideas

- Historic research with a significant focus on the lives and experiences of people of African and Indigenous descent in the area.[1305]
- **Historical research and oral histories focusing on history of people of color in the development of flight technology (could be conducted in phases)**.[1306]
- Archeological surveys that consider how the area has historically been used by people of African descent.[1307]

[1305] NPS, "Foundation Document: Wright Brothers National Memorial," 2017, 11.

[1306] NPS, "Foundation Document: Wright Brothers National Memorial," 2017, 11.

[1307] NPS, "Foundation Document: Wright Brothers National Memorial," 2017, 14.

Additional Needs as Identified by Park Staff

- n/a (no survey responses from park staff)

6. Example Projects

Listed below are projects that are especially effective at communicating the stories of African Americans within the historical context of the area. All were conducted by or for the NPS in IR2. Due to this project's scope, most examples listed below are in the disciplines of history, architectural history, ethnography, archeology, or a combination of the above.

The below examples can serve as models for park and regional staff. Ideally, they can spark ideas for new research projects, enabling staff to apply successful models to outstanding research needs. Park staff preparing for a project can locate the example project(s) in that category and use these model reports to help develop a framework for a successful study.

There is at least one example report from each of the below categories:

- Administrative Histories
- Annotated Bibliographies
- Archeological and Historical Research Partnerships
- Ethnographic Overview and Assessments
- Foundation Documents
- Historic Resource Studies
- Interpretive Outreach
- Long-Range Interpretive Plans
- National Register of Historic Places Nominations
- Oral Histories
- Special History Studies
- Websites
- Other Miscellaneous Reports

There is not one set of criteria that make all of these reports effective, apart from their thoughtful discussion of the varied experiences of people of African descent. That said, some commonalities of successful projects include that they were:

- Conducted by people with extensive experience and/or training in historical research and outreach.
- Conducted in partnership with descendent communities.
- Discussed the experiences of African American individuals or families (rather than discussing things like slavery or segregation in generalities, without discussing the people who navigated life amid these systems).

- Included a significant discussion of African American history (more than passing mentions).
- Incorporated outreach and/or oral history components.
- Incorporated plans to adapt research to interpretive content.

A brief explanation for each report indicates what makes it useful or worth emulating. It is also perhaps telling that certain report categories have more exemplary studies than others. Perhaps there is something about the scope or methodology of these reports that is making them more effective at getting at the experience of African Americans.

The parameters of this study do not include room to make judgments on how these reports were implemented into cultural resource management and project development, how they were used to reach new audiences, or whether they led to a change in interpretation at a site. Instead, reports listed have strong historical or ethnographic frameworks with public-facing elements (like collaboration with partners, community buy-in, and clear recommendations) that might be most effective in influencing the primary interpretive narrative of the site.

Administrative Histories

- Cameron Binkley, "Cowpens National Battlefield Administrative History," 2002. (COWP)
    - Includes a case study of NPS staff inadvertently finding information about the participation of Black soldiers in a battle and then adapting that information for interpretive exhibits and services (p. 61).
- Liz Sargent, Deborah Slaton, and Timothy Penich, "Shiloh National Military Park Administrative History," edited by Deborah Slaton, 2018. (SHIL)
    - Associated report: Liz Sargent, Deborah Slaton, and Timothy Penich, "SHIL NMP Oral History Interview Transcripts," 2018.
    - This report includes detailed information about a refugee camp at Corinth, where many people of African descent fled during the Civil War. It also discusses how the Civil War Sesquicentennial spurred new programming about the stories and experiences of people of color in the area.

Annotated Bibliographies

- Kathryn H. Braund, "The African American Experience and the Creek War, 1813–1814: An Annotated Bibliography," 2017. (HOBE)
    - This approachable and multi-purpose document was written by a well-respected scholar. It includes both a narrative introduction that can help NPS interpreters, scholars, and others to contextualize the history being presented, and then detailed lists of sources for further reading. It is easily navigable for readers and could be a model for other sites in which there is a need to determine the scope of resources and scholarship available about a topic.
    - Braund's discussion on primary sources (pp. 24–29) could be helpful to NPS staff thinking through where to start a research project.

Archeological and Historical Research Partnerships

- Slave Wrecks Project.[1308] (CHRI)
    - Community archeology program conducted in partnership with the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of African American History and Culture, the University of the Virgin Islands, and other local groups.

Ethnographic Overview and Assessments

- Muriel (Miki) Crespi, "A Brief Ethnography of Magnolia Plantation," 2004. (CARI)
    - This exemplary project has several sections that combine historical context and interviews in a way that could serve as models for other projects.
- H. F. Gregory and Joseph Moran, "We Know Who We Are; an Ethnographic Overview of the Creole Traditions & Community of Isle Brevelle & Cane River, Louisiana," 1996. (JELA, CARI)
    - Conducted by a local contractor, this project weaves interviews in with historical narrative, and centers black voices.
- David Griffith, "An Ethnographic Overview of the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park," 2015. (GUCO)
    - The visitor survey and reflection on park experiences and interpretation is particularly thoughtful and could be a reference for other military parks (pp. 48–52).
- Antoinette T. Jackson, Whitney Goodwin, Justin Hosbey, and Aaron Frost, "An Ethnohistorical Profile of the African American Community of Archery, Georgia," 2013. (JICA)
    - Example of how a park established primarily to communicate the story of one man (President Jimmy Carter) can also tell the stories of other people who lived in the community.
- William Leggett, Ida Fadzillah, Rebecca Conard, and Pat Cummins, "Stones River National Battlefield Ethnographic Overview and Assessment," 2016. (STRI)
    - Example of an EOA for a Civil War battlefield that centers Black stories.
- Antoinette T. Jackson, with Allan F. Burns, "Ethnohistorical Study of the Kingsley Plantation Community," 2006. (TIMU)
    - Note in particular this report's discussion of efforts to name and trace individuals (Chapter Three) and "Ethnographic Profiles of a Historic Resource Site" (Chapter 5), which detail descendent families' experiences.

[1308] "Research," CHRI website, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/chri/learn/historyculture/research.htm.

Foundation Documents

- NPS, "Foundation Document: Natchez National Historical Park," 2013. (NATC)
    - Discusses the stories of people of African descent during all periods of significance. See as an example of how legislation has helped to center Black stories at this park.
- NPS, "Foundation Document: Timucuan Ecological & Historic Preserve," 2012. (TIMU)
    - Example of how the history of people of African descent can be deeply woven into the Foundation Document of a park that also includes significant natural resources.

Historic Resource Studies

- Rebecca Jones, "Historic Resource Study: African Americans and the Blue Ridge Parkway," 2009. (BLRI)
- David E. Whisnant and Anne Mitchell Whisnant, "Black Lives, Whitened Stories: From the Low Country to the Mountains: A Historic Resource Study of Black History at Rock Hill-Connemara," 2021. (CARL)
- Jennifer Pirtle, Greg C. Smith, and Mary Beth Reed, "The African American Experience at Fort Jefferson, 1847–1876," 2019. (DRTO)
    - Example of how splitting an HRS into segments could give historians enough funding and time to dig deeper into the experiences of groups and individuals.

Interpretive Outreach

- "We Will Rise" podcast. (BICR)
    - A way to connect past and present struggles for civil rights and to connect the movement to popular culture; in the first episode, comedian Roy Wood, Jr., interviews Freedom Rider Charles Person.[1309]
- "Purchased Lives." (CARI)
    - In 2016, Magnolia Plantation partnered with The Historic New Orleans Collection for a traveling exhibit on slavery called "Purchased Lives." Some content from this exhibit is still digitally available here.

Long-Range Interpretive Plans

- NPS, "Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site: Long Range Interpretive Plan," 2011. (MALU)
    - This is an excellent example of an effective LRIP, especially in terms of recommendations and analysis, like the sections "Who's Not Coming and Why?" and

[1309] NPS, "We Will Rise: National Parks and Civil Rights," BICR website, accessed November 27, 2022, https://www.nps.gov/podcasts/we-will-rise-podcast.htm.

"How to Deal with the Difficult Topics?" It also contains examples of how community partnerships can drive interpretive planning.[1310]

National Register of Historic Places Nominations

- Blythe, Robert. "Martin Luther King, Jr., National Historic Site and Preservation District." National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form. 2002. (MALU)
    - This documentation approaches the site holistically and is in conversation with the Historic Resource Study.

Oral History Projects

- "Collect Oral Histories associated with the Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument." (BICR) (PMIS #265332)
    - Ongoing oral history project to interview individuals who were active in the civil rights movement, with a focus on individuals with connections to the Gaston Motel site.[1311]
- "Collect Oral Histories Related to Establishment of Freedom Riders National Monument, Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument, Reconstruction Era National Historic Park" (BICR, FRRI, REER)
    - Ongoing oral history project, interviewing individuals associated with the creation of these three Obama-era parks. Good example of a multi-park oral history project.
- Iyshia Lowman, "Jim Crow at the Beach: An Oral and Archival History of the Segregated Past at Homestead Bayfront Park," 2012. (BISC)
    - Example of researching and telling stories of discrimination at NPS sites (using both oral histories and written documentation). Potential model for other sites to look at and consider how to research their site's history of segregation and discrimination.
- Morgen Young and Emily Greenwald, "Camp Nelson National Monument Oral History Project: Final Report." December 2022. (CANE)
- Dayna Bowker Lee and Rolanda Teal, "Oral History and Ethnographic Interviews with Traditionally Associated People of Cane River Creole National Historical Park," 2015. (CARI)
    - This project, done by a local contractor, centers Black voices and weaves interview excerpts with historical narratives.
- African American Experience and Affrilachian Oral History Projects. (GRSM)

[1310] NPS, "Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site: Long Range Interpretive Plan," 2011, 29, 67–68.

[1311] Rachel Cristine Consulting, "Progress Report: BICR-Collect Oral Histories Interviews, PMIS 265332," September 16, 2022.

- Collaborative projects between the park and the community to document and share the untold stories of African Americans in and outside the Smokies, with a strong outreach component.[1312]

Special History Studies

- Evan Kutzler, Julia Brock, Ann McCleary, Keri Adams, Ronald Bastien, and Larry O. Rivers, "In Plain Sight: African Americans at Andersonville National Historic Site, A Special History Study," 2020. (ANDE)
    - Chapter 7 explores why Black stories were minimized for so long at the site, and what role the NPS played in those silences.
- Julie de Chantal, Heidi Moye, and Anastasia Sims, "African Americans at Fort Pulaski, 1733–1900: A Special History Study," NPS, 2022. (FOPU)
    - Example of how a Special History Study can fill gaps in historical knowledge.

Websites

- "Words Have Power." (FOPU)
    - Walks the reader through the history of African Americans at the site, describing many individuals associated with the site and discussing how sources and traditional ways of doing history have erased their presence. Closes with a discussion of how "Words impact how we relate to the past and to one another," and closes with an interpretive strategy that invites the reader to think about this in their own life: "What do you see? What do you feel? Open your eyes and think about the words we use daily without thought. Words have power, but how are we using that power? Through your words are you helping reinforce people's humanity or simply the conditions forced upon them?"[1313]
- Civil War to Civil Rights Oral History Project. (KEMO)
    - In the fall of 2017, NPS intern Lorenzo Bright conducted a series of interviews with Cobb County residents to highlight experiences and connections between the end of the American Civil War and the civil rights movement. Audio and transcription excerpts are available on this webpage.[1314]
- Timucuan Ecological & Historic Preserve's "History & Culture" landing page. (TIMU)
    - Links to many pages that cover a wide array of experiences of Black individuals from different eras in a way that is integrated with other content.

[1312] GRSM, survey response, August 25, 2021; "African American Experience Project," GRSM webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/grsm/learn/historyculture/african-american-experience-project.htm

[1313] NPS, "Words Have Power," FOPU webpage, last updated March 2, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/words-have-power.htm.

[1314] "Civil War to Civil Rights," KEMO webpage, accessed 2022, https://www.nps.gov/kemo/learn/historyculture/civil-war-to-civil-rights.htm.

Other Miscellaneous Reports

- Tyson Gibbs, "Charles Pinkney National Historic Site: African Americans at Snee Farm Plantation, Mount Pleasant, South Carolina," 2006. (CHPI)
    - Material from this project could be adapted for interpretive use at other plantation sites, or this model (especially the sources section and topic headings) could be used as a model for similar research at other sites.
- Eric C. Poplin and Charles F. Philips Jr., "Biographies of African Americans, Native Americans and Women's Role in the Battle of Cowpens," 2020. (COWP)
    - The biographies are compelling and could serve as a model for other projects, especially since they include guidelines on research methodology and additional research recommendations.
- Joyce Marie Jackson, "Life in the Village: A Cultural Memory of the Fazendeville Community," 2003. (JELA)
    - History of how the NPS physically bulldozed and erased a community of color to tell the story of another community. Applicable context for the many other NPS sites with histories of erasure.
- Dayna Bowker Lee, Rolonda Teal, and Donna Greer, "The African American Experience, Colonial Era Through the Civil War: Chalmette Battlefield and National Cemetery, Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve," 2015. (JELA)
    - Example of military history that incorporates perspectives and experiences of people of color.
- Jason Berggren and Adrienne M. Petty, "'Instilling Wisdom, Building Character:' A Study of Segregation, Politics, and Public Education in Sumter County, Georgia, 1930s–1970s," 2021. (JICA)
    - Example of how a site created to preserve the history of a White family (the Carters) incorporated the history of people of color living in the same community.
- Hermina Glass-Avery, "The War of Jubilee: Tell Our Story and We Will Come: Assessing African American Attitudes Toward the Civil War," 2011. (KEMO)
    - Model report that could be emulated at other Civil War-era sites. It was completed following guidance from African American community members: "While the different groups demonstrated a strong desire to know more about the African American experience during the Civil War, there were strong feelings amongst the participants that the history will not be told correctly here in the South. However, many individuals also expressed hope that a truer and more complete picture could emerge if historians would move beyond traditional viewpoints and methodologies to capture stories told within African American families. One participant stated there needs to be a shift away from the macro-histories to the micro-histories of individuals and families in specific locations like Cobb County" (p. 44).

- David Knight, "Annaberg: an updated survey of the Annaberg Factory Complex," 2001. (VIIS)
    - Uses probate records to locate information about individuals enslaved at the site and piece together their stories.

7. Conclusion

Stories of people of African descent are relevant to every NPS site in the southeastern United States and Caribbean territories. NPS staff are trying to tell these stories, but years of institutional-level neglect can only be remedied through years of institutional-level action. This process has already begun with programs like the Cultural Resource Initiative and the Cultural Resources Preservation Program, as well as with the examples set by civil rights parks established in the past decade. Even since the review of materials began for this report in 2021, many parks have begun new projects, embarked on initiatives, and enhanced their web content related to Black history. Still, at all parks, there remains room for a fuller telling of the experiences of the wide variety of people who have passed through these places.

The NPS has played a visible and official role in national narrative-making since its founding. In neglecting to tell stories about people of color to the same degree as the agency has told the stories of White Americans, it has contributed to the erasure and misrepresentation of people of color in our national stories. As part of this, the NPS has actively demolished or passively neglected physical sites with significant meaning to local communities of color. To move forward, the NPS needs to tell its own history of exclusion.

The recommendations in this report should therefore be part of broader efforts by the NPS to continue on the long path of mending relationships with Black communities. As immediate action items, the NPS should:

- Fund at least one recommendation for each park unit (whether a small research or oral history initiative, or a larger formal study).
- Fund research projects at the regional level with applicability to multiple park units (see especially items in bold in the "Regional Recommendations" section).
- Prioritize projects that promote an intersectional look at communities of color, women, children, and Indigenous Americans.
- Focus on relationship building and collaboration at the park, regional, and national level.

All NPS cultural resource work products and baseline documents should confront, uncover, and address the stories of people of color who have for too long been given short shrift by the agency's work products. Methodologies should prioritize oral histories and outreach to descendent communities, to give people whose ancestors the NPS historically sidelined the opportunity to shape America's public narratives.

The NPS can move forward in an ever more collaborative way by publicly grappling with past wrongs and addressing how those actions have led to mistrust of the agency. To do this, the NPS must prioritize the building of long-term relationships with Americans of all backgrounds. Healing historical pain takes time. It occurs only when all parties are willing to walk together, one small step at a time.

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Biscayne National Park (BISC): https://www.nps.gov/bisc.

Blue Ridge Parkway (BLRI): https://www.nps.gov/blri.

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Camp Nelson National Monument (CANE): https://www.nps.gov/cane.

Canaveral National Seashore (CANA): https://www.nps.gov/cana.

Cane River Creole National Historical Park (CARI): https://www.nps.gov/cari.

Cape Hatteras National Seashore (CAHA): https://www.nps.gov/caha.

Cape Lookout National Seashore (CALO): https://www.nps.gov/calo.

Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site (CARL): https://www.nps.gov/carl.

Castillo de San Marcos National Monument (CASA): https://www.nps.gov/casa.

Charles Pinckney National Historic Site (CHPI): https://www.nps.gov/chpi.

Chattahoochee River National Recreation Area (CHAT): https://www.nps.gov/chat.

Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park (CHCH): https://www.nps.gov/chch.

Christiansted National Historic Site (CHRI): https://www.nps.gov/chri.

Congaree National Park (CONG): https://www.nps.gov/cong.

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Fort Raleigh National Historic Site (FORA): https://www.nps.gov/fora.

Fort Sumter National Monument (FOSU): https://www.nps.gov/fosu.

Freedom Riders National Monument (FRRI): https://www.nps.gov/frri.

Great Smoky Mountains National Park (GRSM): https://www.nps.gov/grsm.

Guilford Courthouse National Military Park (GUCO): https://www.nps.gov/guco.

Gulf Islands National Seashore (GUIS): https://www.nps.gov/guis.

Horseshoe Bend National Military Park (HOBE): https://www.nps.gov/hobe.

Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve (JELA): https://www.nps.gov/jela.

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Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park (KEMO): https://www.nps.gov/kemo.

Kings Mountain National Military Park (KIMO): https://www.nps.gov/kimo.

Little River Canyon National Preserve (LIRI): https://www.nps.gov/liri.

Mammoth Cave National Park (MACA): https://www.nps.gov/maca.

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Medgar and Myrlie Evers Home National Monument (MEMY): https://www.nps.gov/memy.

Mill Springs Battlefield National Monument (MISP): https://www.nps.gov/misp.

Moores Creek National Battlefield (MOCR): https://www.nps.gov/mocr.

Natchez National Historical Park (NATC): https://www.nps.gov/natc.

Natchez Trace Parkway (NATR): https://www.nps.gov/natr.

New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park (JAZZ): https://www.nps.gov/jazz.

Ninety Six National Historic Site (NISI): https://www.nps.gov/nisi.

Obed Wild & Scenic River (OBED): https://www.nps.gov/obed.

Ocmulgee National Monument (OCMU): https://www.nps.gov/ocmu.

Overmountain Victory National Historic Trail (OVVI): https://www.nps.gov/ovvi.

Reconstruction Era National Historical Park (REER): https://www.nps.gov/reer.

Russell Cave National Monument (RUCA): https://www.nps.gov/ruca.

Salt River Bay National Historical Park and Ecological Preserve (SARI): https://www.nps.gov/sari.

San Juan National Historic Site (SAJU): https://www.nps.gov/saju.

Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail (SEMO): https://www.nps.gov/semo.

Shiloh National Military Park (SHIL): https://www.nps.gov/shil.

Stones River National Battlefield (STRI): https://www.nps.gov/stri/.

Timucuan Ecological & Historic Preserve (TIMU): https://www.nps.gov/timu.

Tupelo National Battlefield (TUPE): https://www.nps.gov/tupe.

Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site (TUAI): https://www.nps.gov/tuai.

Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site (TUIN): https://www.nps.gov/tuin.

Vicksburg National Military Park (VICK): https://www.nps.gov/vick.

Virgin Islands Coral Reef National Monument (VICR): https://www.nps.gov/vicr.

Virgin Islands National Park (VIIS): https://www.nps.gov/viis.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Evaluative Matrix Spreadsheet Review Categories

- State
- Park Name
- Alpha Code
- Document Type
- Baseline report? (Y/N) (Ethnographic Overview and Assessment, Historic Resource Study (HRS); National Register, Administrative History)
- Author
- Author Affiliation (if known)
- Document Title or Subpage Title (if NPS website)
- Year
- How the Document was prepared (if known)
    - Park Staff
    - NPS staff (Planning, Regional, HFC, DC, etc.)
    - Other agency (federal or state) staff
    - Intern
    - Volunteer
    - CESU/Cooperative Agreement
    - Contract
    - Unknown
- Evidence/Sources Used (if known)
    - Primary Archival Sources
    - Secondary Sources
    - Archeology/Field Research
    - Architectural History/Field Research
    - Natural Sciences/Field Research
    - Oral Histories/Interviews

    - Combination
    - None Cited/Sources Not Included
- Discipline/Methodology of Research
    - Anthropology / Ethnography
    - Archeology
    - Architectural History
    - History
    - Interpretation
    - Landscape Architecture
    - Natural History / Earth Sciences
    - Combination
    - Unknown
- Focus (park-specific?)
    - One NPS unit
    - Multiple NPS units
    - Broad topic/subject of inquiry (not connected to specific unit(s))
- Digital Location or Report (IRMA, ETIC, NPGalley.com, npshistory.com, Park sub-page link, direct from park staff, NARA, etc.)
- Document title
- Reviewed? (Y/N)
- General description of study/webpage
- Time Period (most relevant)
    - Early Inhabitants and Native Americans, 3500 BC–AD 1600
    - European Exploration and Settlement, 1600–1800
    - US Western Expansion and Antebellum Period, 1800–1860
    - Civil War, Reconstruction, Populism, 1860–1900
    - Process of Change: Progressivism, World War I, Great Depression, World War II, 1900–1950
    - Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam, 1950–Present
- Addresses African American History? (Y/N)

- How does it address African American History (if applicable)? (Description)
- Extent of focus on African American Experience
    - AA history is the primary focus
    - Broad focus and includes no discussion of AA history
    - Broad focus and includes minor discussion of AA history
    - Broad focus and includes some discussion AA history
    - Broad focus and includes significant discussion of AA history
    - Narrow focus and includes significant discussion AA history
    - Narrow focus and includes some discussion AA history
    - Narrow focus and includes minor discussion of AA history
    - Narrow focus and includes no discussion of AA history
- Connection made to themes in Civil Rights Framework and Civil Rights NHL Theme Studies? (Y/N)
- Applicable themes from Civil Rights Framework and Civil Rights NHL Theme Studies (whether author relates or not)
    - Desegregation of Public Accommodations
    - Desegregation in Public Education
    - Racial Discrimination in Housing
    - Equal Employment
    - Voting Rights
    - Underground Railroad and Abolition
    - Relates to multiple in significant ways
    - Does not relate to one of these themes
- Themes
    - Peopling Places
    - Creating Social Institutions and Movements
    - Expressing Cultural Values
    - Shaping the Political Landscape
    - Developing the American Economy
    - Expanding Science and Technology

    - Transforming the Environment
    - Changing Role of the United States in the Word Community
    - Addresses multiple themes in significant detail
    - n/a
- Applicable TOPICS related to African American history that are NOT addressed?
- Connection made to African American experience?
    - Topics discussed and connection is made to the African American experience
    - Topics discussed but no connection is made to the African American experience
    - Topics not discussed related to the theme and the African American experience
- Geographic and Thematic/topical Linkages to other NPS sites in Region (within African American history)?
- Case Studies (any previous initiatives that did a GOOD JOB communicating African American stories that are mentioned in the report or webpage)
- Additional RESEARCH NEEDS Related to African American History (that are made apparent by this study)
- Ideas for SPECIFIC FUTURE PROJECTS/INITIATIVES (either recommended in report or triggered by content in report)
- Affiliate group(s) and contact information (if applicable)

Appendix B: List of Survey Respondents by Park

Parks in which staff or partners responded to the survey:

1. Andersonville National Historic Site (ANDE)
2. Birmingham Civil Rights National Monument (BICR) (managed jointly with FRRI)
3. Biscayne National Park (BISC)
4. Blue Ridge Parkway (BLRI)
5. Brices Crossroads National Battlefield Site (BRCR) (managed jointly with NATR and TUPE)
6. Buck Island Reef National Monument (BUIS) (managed jointly with CHRI and SARI)
7. Camp Nelson National Monument (CANE)
8. Canaveral National Seashore (CANA)
9. Cane River Creole National Historical Park (CARI)
10. Cape Hatteras National Seashore (CAHA) (managed jointly with FORA and WRBR)
11. Cape Lookout National Seashore (CALO)
12. Carl Sandburg Home National Historic Site (CARL)
13. Castillo de San Marcos National Monument (CASA) (managed jointly with FOMA)
14. Charles Pinckney National Historic Site (CHPI) (managed jointly with FOSU)
15. Chattahoochee River National Recreation Area (CHAT)
16. Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park (CHCH)
17. Christiansted National Historic Site (CHRI) (managed jointly with BUIS and SARI)
18. Congaree National Park (CONG)
19. Cowpens National Battlefield (COWP) (managed jointly with NISI, KIMO, and OVVI)
20. Cumberland Gap National Historical Park (CUGA)
21. Cumberland Island National Seashore (CUIS) (managed jointly with FOFR)
22. Dry Tortugas National Park (DRTO) (managed jointly with EVER)
23. Everglades National Park (EVER) (managed jointly with DRTO)
24. Fort Caroline National Memorial (FOCA) (managed jointly with TIMU)
25. Fort Donelson National Battlefield (FODO)
26. Fort Frederica National Monument (FOFR) (managed jointly with CUIS)

27. Fort Matanzas National Monument (FOMA) (managed jointly with CASA)
28. Fort Pulaski National Monument (FOPU)
29. Fort Raleigh National Historic Site (FORA) (managed jointly with CAHA and WRBR)
30. Sumter and Fort Moultrie National Historical Park (FOSU) (managed jointly with CHPI)
31. Freedom Riders National Monument (FRRI) (managed jointly with BICR)
32. Great Smoky Mountains National Park (GRSM)
33. Gulf Islands National Seashore (GUIS)
34. Horseshoe Bend National Military Park (HOBE)
35. Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve (JELA)
36. Jimmy Carter National Historical Park (JICA)
37. Kennesaw Mountain National Battlefield Park (KEMO)
38. Kings Mountain National Military Park (KIMO) (managed jointly with NISI, COWP, and OVVI)
39. Mammoth Cave National Park (MACA)
40. Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site (MALU)
41. Medgar and Myrlie Evers Home National Monument (MEMY)
42. Mill Springs Battlefield National Monument (MISP)
43. Natchez National Historical Park (NATC)
44. Natchez Trace Parkway (NATR) (managed jointly with BRCR and TUPE)
45. New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park (JAZZ) (managed jointly with Jean Lafitte NHP)
46. Ninety Six National Historic Site (NISI) (managed jointly with KIMO, COWP, OVVI)
47. Ocmulgee National Monument (OCMU)
48. Overmountain Victory National Historic Trail (OVVI) (managed jointly with NISI, COWP, and KIMO)
49. Reconstruction Era National Historical Park (REER)
50. Salt River Bay National Historical Park and Ecological Preserve (SARI) (managed jointly with BUIS and CHRI)
51. San Juan National Historic Site (SAJU)
52. Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail (SEMO) (managed jointly with TUIN and TUAI)
53. Stones River National Battlefield (STRI)
54. Timucuan Ecological & Historic Preserve (TIMU) (managed jointly with FOCA)

55. Tupelo National Battlefield (TUPE) (managed jointly with BRCR and NATR)
56. Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site (TUAI) (managed jointly with TUIN)
57. Tuskegee Institute National Historic Site (TUIN) (managed jointly with TUAI)
58. Vicksburg National Military Park (VICK)
59. Virgin Islands Coral Reef National Monument (VICR) (managed jointly with VIIS)
60. Virgin Islands National Park (VIIS) (managed jointly with VICR)
61. Wright Brothers National Memorial (WRBR) (managed jointly with CAHA and FORA)

Parks in which no staff or partners responded to the survey:

1. Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Park (ABLI)
2. Andrew Johnson National Historic Site (ANJO)
3. Big Cypress National Preserve (BICY)
4. Big South Fork National River & Recreation Area (BISO) (managed jointly with OBED)
5. De Soto National Memorial (DESO)
6. Guilford Courthouse National Military Park (GUCO)
7. Little River Canyon National Preserve (LIRI) (managed jointly with RUCA)
8. Moores Creek National Battlefield (MOCR)
9. Obed Wild & Scenic River (OBED) (managed jointly with BISO)
10. Russell Cave National Monument (RUCA) (managed jointly with LIRI)
11. Shiloh National Military Park (SHIL)