

The War for Southern Minds:
The Battles For Lost Cause History Books In North Carolina Schools

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Abstract

The United Daughters of the Confederacy set about to enshrine the ideology of the Lost Cause in the school literature of the South. Due to political upheaval in the 1890s, the Daughters had an extraordinary foundation upon which to begin their work. Throughout the following decades the Daughters fought to keep literature antithetical to their position out of schools. However, during this same time the Division had several factors hindering their work such as a reduction in numbers and a split focus. This thesis examines the beginning of the Daughters' power, major victories, and traces their decline in the literary war from the period of 1890-1976.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The American Civil War split the nation in many ways. There are the more obvious and well known political and geographical splits, but the ideological rift went much deeper and created longer lasting effects than the visible physical separation. Almost immediately after the war's end, Confederate veterans formulated a Lost Cause ideology. The major tenets of the Lost Cause include white supremacy, denial of slavery and the South's role in starting the Civil War, praise of Confederates, and vilification of Union officials. Memoirs written by Southern heroes about their glorious cause affected the view of the Southern populace reeling from the recent defeat and devastation of the war. This tactical effort by former Confederates was for a purpose: to win the next war. This next war would not take place on the field of battle but rather in the hearts and minds of the Southern people. The weapons used would not be bayonets, muskets, or cannons but rather newspaper articles, journals, and history books. The Confederates lost the first war, but they would launch a concentrated campaign to not suffer defeat a second time in a war in which the pen would prove mightier than the sword.

The Lost Cause ideology quickly became enshrined in the minds of white Southerners and was championed by former Confederates and those who shared their convictions. The most prominent of those groups was the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) which was founded in 1896. The UDC worked primarily in the 20th century to instill the Lost Cause into the textbooks of schools across the South. Political developments in North Carolina lent the UDC considerable allies and access to shape the educational landscape. This thesis examines the political foundations in North Carolina that allowed the Daughters of the Confederacy to sustain

an effective war against the textbooks they deemed unacceptable, the Daughters' strategies, tactics, and miscalculations in their endeavors, and how analysis of their efforts reveals the steps likely to be taken by subsequent groups with similar aspirations in the 21st century.

This thesis will also explore several of the most important transitions in the organization beginning in 1898 and ending in 1975. The period from 1898 to the early 1920s was an era of the Daughters' most significant gain and cementation of their political ties and foundation with the government of North Carolina. Once that power was obtained, it was maintained until the 1950s. That foundation allowed the Daughters to combat problematic textbooks such as those written by David Muzzey and Julius Warren in the 1920s and 1940s respectively. During that period of maintenance, the Daughters began to exhibit the first signs of deterioration. The Great Depression brought hardship and the UDC was not immune; from 1929-1939 active membership declined and continued to steadily fall hindering their literary efforts. From the 1950s to 1975, the UDC experienced a gradual decline as over the years they lost members and although government cooperation was stated, it was unlike the special relationship held between the Daughters and the government in the first half of the 20th century. In the 1970s, the critical loss of members led the organization to make acquiring new members their number one priority.

There is an abundant scholarship of the Lost Cause due to its impact and relevance on the history of the nation. Rollins Osterweis made note of the Daughters' work in the realm of textbooks in his work *The Myth of the Lost Cause 1865-1900* (1973). The educational battles of the Daughters were evident in their desire to rewrite the textbooks to shape the narrative of the Civil War and Lost Cause in the educational system. Osterweis writes:

The United Confederate Veterans and the United Daughters of the Confederacy set to work to 'correct' Puritan-oriented colonial history—and, more particularly, to establish in

the Southern schools textbooks with ‘a proper understanding’ of the civilization of the Old South and of that civilization’s war for independence.¹

Here Osterweis notes the Daughters’ goal in regard to school education; their purpose was not for the educational benefit of the children but rather for the vindication of their cause. Osterweis details the inception of a romantic ideal of the South that gave Southerners the pride that allowed them to endure the harsh reality of their defeat. Osterweis’s analysis notes the avenues by which the Lost Cause was spread including literature, education, and religion; newspapers such as *The Century* did much to praise the courage and chivalry of the Generals of the Confederate army.² Osterweis writes: “The Legend of the Lost Cause began as mostly a literary expression of the despair of a bitter, defeated people over a lost identity.”³ Osterweis contends that although they lost the war, the Southerners won the literary battles that followed in the succeeding decades. This victory extended to North Carolina where the Daughters held a stranglehold on the literature involved within school education.

The effort to enshrine the Lost Cause in literature began almost immediately after the war’s end. Prominent efforts got underway in 1889 with the formation of the United Confederate Veterans (UCV) who are the subject of much debate, particularly as to whether or not they were actually affective. In 1971, Herman Hattaway argued that the UCV did not receive enough attention for its role in popularizing historical writings on the Lost Cause.⁴ At their third reunion in 1892, the UCV decided to form a permanent body dedicated to the creation of historical work

¹ Rollin Osterweis, *The Myth of the Lost Cause, 1865-1900*. (Hamden Conn, Archon Books, 1973), 111.

² Osterweis, *Myth*, 90.

³ Osterweis, *Myth*, 90.

⁴ Herman Hattaway, “Clio’s Southern Soldiers: The United Confederate Veterans and History.” (*Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 12, no. 3 1971), 213.

for use in Southern schools and to condemn those not subscribed to their version of history.⁵

There was much debate within the UCV over how to accurately represent history, but ultimately the Lost Cause narrative prevailed. In the following years the committee objected to the way in which several school textbooks represented the causes of the Civil War and lamented that Northern historians had pummeled the South in their writings.⁶ Not surprisingly, upon deciding upon criteria for the examination of history textbooks, the only books that met the conditions placed forth were those authored by Southerners.⁷

The goal of the UCV's Historical Committee and subsequent groups was not to put forth an accurate history of the Civil War; the UCV was only interested in continuing the fight against the dreaded Yankee. Instead of rehashing old feuds with deadly consequences, the group decided that in the war over history textbooks, ink rather than blood would flow. This organization and its efforts would be the foundation that subsequent groups would build upon. Despite their efforts and success, the UCV had several flaws. As an organization comprised of Confederate veterans, it was only a matter of time before its membership died out. The historical committee worked with fervency until 1904 and then seemingly considered their work done, but due to the mortal nature of their organization, they made plans for another group to become the champions of the Lost Cause.⁸

The passing of the torch from the Veterans to the Daughters who succeeded the UCV is examined in Gaines Foster's *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the*

⁵ United Confederate Veterans, *Minutes of the Third Annual Meeting and Reunion of the Confederate Veterans*, (1892), 99. Cited in Hattaway, "Clio," 217.

⁶ Hattaway, "Clio," 222.

⁷ Hattaway, "Clio," 224.

⁸ Hattaway, "Clio," 242.

Emergence of the New South 1865-1913 (1988). Foster analyzed the process by which the UDC came into existence, became the champion of the Lost Cause, and examines the veterans' associations that held that position prior to the UDC supplanting them.⁹ Integral to the early installation of the Lost Cause were the Ladies' Memorial Associations (LMAs) whose primary function and purpose were to keep the resting places of the Confederate dead and memorialize them there. They had little in the way of power and Southern men were the main purveyors and leaders of the Lost Cause until the creation of the UDC in the 1890s.¹⁰ Foster's work details how the UDC continued to hold veterans' reunions and install monuments in the public eye until he ends his analysis in the 1930s. Foster's inquiry is geared towards noting the passing of the torch from the veterans' groups like the UCV and the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) to the UDC instead of the UDC's impact on elementary and secondary level education;¹¹ however, he shows that at the university level there were significant attempts to influence historical education by outside organizations such as the UCV.¹²

David Blight delved into the racial circumstances surrounding the physical reunion of the North and South in the decades after the end of the Civil War and the difference between the memories of the two groups.¹³ The memories of the two reinforced their ideological positions

⁹ Gaines Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913*. (Reprint ed. New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1988), 163.

¹⁰ Foster, *Ghosts*, 6-7.

¹¹ Foster, *Ghosts*, 182-190.

¹² Here Foster mentions the financial backing behind the creation of alternate historical narratives and notes that while the UDC and UCV got along well it was their lack of trust for professional historians that led to disagreements. Foster, *Ghosts*, 190.

¹³ David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*. (Cambridge Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 1-2.

regarding the Lost Cause. In his work, *Race and Reunion* (2003), he writes that after its inception the UDC began to make inroads into the field of textbooks:

Many UDC leaders were anything but pious, quietistic women adorning irrelevant parlors with approved books...On a popular level, they may have accomplished more than professional historians in laying down for decades (within families and schools) a conception of a victimized South, fighting nobly for high Constitutional principles, and defending a civilization of benevolent white masters and contented African slaves. If the Lost Cause now marched to a victory song, the UDC provided much of its spirit and its righteous indignation.¹⁴

Blight does provide insight into how the UDC exhibited influence over public education through other avenues. “She [UDC Historian General Rutherford] lectured teachers to display and teach about the Confederate battle flag, and urged that pictures of Confederate heroes be hung in every school. She provided to instructors lists of Civil War causes (five primary and ten “aggravating”), all of which placed responsibility at the feet of abolitionists.”¹⁵

Additionally, Blight delved into collective memory of the Civil War in *Beyond the Battlefield: Race, Memory, and the American Civil War* examining the differences between memory and history:

Memory is often owned; history interpreted. Memory is passed down through the generations; history is revised. Memory often coalesces in objects, sacred sites, and monuments; history seeks to understand contexts and the complexity of cause and effect. History asserts the authority of academic training and recognized canons of evidence; memory carries the often more powerful authority of community membership and experience.¹⁶

As Blight posits, memory would be the process by which the Daughters would implant their ideology in the historical mainstream. Their implementation of the Lost Cause preyed upon the memory of the South and in turn led to its acceptance as historic fact in the minds of

¹⁴ Blight, *Race*, 278.

¹⁵ Blight, *Race*, 281.

¹⁶ Blight, *Beyond*, 2.

Southerners. The Daughters attained victory through the creation and implementation of their version of history.

In the 21st century, historians turned their attention not only to the Daughters' formation of memory but also their commitment to enshrining their ideology into the minds of children with one of their main focuses being school textbooks. Karen Cox argued in *Dixie's Daughters* (2003) that this was one of the most important tools of the UDC, "It was the Daughter's chief tool of vindication and was used to influence future generations of southerners."¹⁷ To accomplish their task the UDC relied heavily on writing history with a Southern bias that painted the South as the victim of the tyrannical North upon whom the blame for the entire war was placed. Cox writes, "What counted as 'authentic,' of course, was generally history written with a pro-southern slant. History written 'correctly,' they reasoned, vindicated Confederate men, recorded the sacrifices of Confederate women, and exonerated the South. 'Biased' history, on the other hand, regarded secession as an act of rebellion and argued that the South fought the war to defend slavery."¹⁸ What constituted history for the UDC and their subsequent fight for its implementation serves as a point of reference for analysis of the texts they favored and scorned.

The main contribution of Cox is her analysis of what she termed Confederate Motherhood. Essentially, Southern women became invested in keeping their children safe from the evils of the aforementioned "biased" history and it was that fear that provided them with the motivation to fight the literary war in the South. This phenomenon was not new as mothers have always had an interest in protecting their young, but the activism of the mothers politically is

¹⁷ Karen Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture*. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 94.

¹⁸ Cox, *Daughters*, 94-95.

what sets the Daughters apart. Cox writes, “State divisions took the lead in monitoring the textbooks used in white public schools. In some cases, UDC chapters were large enough to form their own textbook committees...Not surprisingly, Lost Cause advocates showed a decided preference for school textbooks written by southerners.”¹⁹ State divisions along with local support from individual chapters formed an impressive army to overlook the textbooks of their state and fight any battle that might occur.

Caroline Janney also explored this issue in *Remembering the Civil War*. Reconciliation implies forgiveness for the actions of another and this was a monumental gap between the two sides of the Civil War. Janney writes, “Even those experiencing it or pushing for it often did not know precisely what it meant.”²⁰ As other authors have explored, reconciliation certainly did not extend to the literary war, and particularly where the issue of slavery was concerned, the two sides were still at odds.²¹ This same division over slavery would be a battleground within school texts as the UDC fought to remove any from use that attributed the cause of the war to slavery.

The goal of the UDC in North Carolina was to fight for their ideology’s inclusion into the educational framework of the state as an additional avenue for the Lost Causes enshrinement into society. The Lost Cause was promulgated through children’s groups such as the Children of the Confederacy, public monuments that reinforced Confederate ideals in the public square, and most importantly and consistently through literature that praised the Confederacy and vilified the Union. Battles over textbooks would be fought for decades as the UDC maintained a vigilant watch over the literature within their schools, an undertaking made possible by their relationship

¹⁹ Cox, *Daughters*, 124.

²⁰ Caroline Janney, *Remembering the Civil War: Reunion and the Limits of Reconciliation*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 6.

²¹ Janney, *Remembering*, 4.

with the state government. Political shifts allowed the Daughters to gain the governmental relationships necessary to effect change that otherwise would have been outside their reach. This thesis begins by examining the political foundations in North Carolina that allowed the Daughters to sustain an effective war against the textbooks they deemed unacceptable.

Chapter 2

Political Foundations

Although the Civil War ended in 1865, its legacy still impacted the lives of North Carolinians in the late 1890s. Despite the efforts of Republicans and their coalition with the Populist Party, the Democrats gained a political foothold in 1898. The Democrats' power was not attained through conventional means; rather, it was attained through targeted racial violence that reached a climax in 1898. Wilmington, North Carolina, became the center of a coup designed to wrest control from the elected officials and place it into the hands of the Democratic Party whose entire campaign was predicated on the idea of white supremacy.¹ This coup provided the UDC with the political foundation upon which they could base their efforts to control the content of school history books. This chapter will examine the building of that foundation and the UDC's early cooperation with the members of the state government to effect change in North Carolina's budding education system.

Before the coup in Wilmington, there was a concentrated effort to form a consensus for "democratic" rule in the state. The Democrats had been ousted from power in the 1890s and a Fusion Party of Republicans and Populists won the governor's mansion and attained control of

¹David Cecelski and Timothy Tyson, *Democracy Betrayed: The Wilmington Race Riot of 1898 and Its Legacy*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1998), 20. For another account see LeRae Sikes Umfleet's, *A Day of Blood: The 1898 Wilmington Race Riot*. Raleigh, N.C: North Carolina Office of Archives and History, 2009; for an additional account see "Politics of a Massacre: Discovering Wilmington 1898" [Politics of a Massacre: Discovering Wilmington 1898 \(ecu.edu\)](https://www.ecu.edu/history/1898/), created by Dr. Karin Zipf professor of history East Carolina University.

the state legislature. Many poor whites defected from the Democratic Party into the Populist Party, set aside their racial identity, and instead adopted a voting pattern based on their collective class identity.² Despite this, the Democrats adopted a campaign strategy in which their number one issue was racial difference. The Democrats labeled African Americans as criminals, disrespectful, corrupt, and a danger to white women.³ In doing so they played upon the fears of an emasculated white male population whose sense of identity and masculinity had become intertwined with the Lost Cause in the years following the Civil War's end. A common theme was the domination of whites by African Americans, and in particular the domination of white women by African American men. This theme harkened back to fears Confederate soldiers had both during and after the Civil War about their women being assaulted by Yankee soldiers.⁴ In playing on this trope, the Democrats were able to not only stoke up racial tensions but to also reinforce them against fears already in the minds of the southern populace.

The stoking of racial tensions also served to give the Democrats an excuse to remove African Americans from serving in politics. There was still the idea of domination of white women, but white supremacists linked interracial relationships with African American participation in politics. Josephus Daniels, white supremacist, Democrat leader, and operator of the *News and Observer*, used the case of the daughter of a sheriff bearing the child of an African American politician to lobby for the termination of African American participation in politics due to the danger it posed to white women. Daniels wrote several articles about the affair: "The articles warned of the risks of allowing black men to hold office and thus instilling in them the

² Cecelski and Tyson, *Betrayed*, 18.

³ Cecelski and Tyson, *Betrayed*, 21.

⁴ Gaines Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865-1913*. (Reprint ed. New York: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1988), 28.

mistaken impression that they were equal to whites. Daniels concluded that this could only lead to the twin scourges of rape and race mixing as poor Bessie had discovered.”⁵ Thus the fear of domination underlying the male psyche of the white supremacists was further used to make the case for denying black men participation in politics.

Democrats took advantage of the stoking of racial tensions and the response of African Americans to violent white supremacy to further argue for the removal of African Americans from politics. Simply put, whites incited violence, then when African Americans retaliated or tried to protect themselves, the white supremacists used the response to paint themselves the victim. The coup in Wilmington became a prime example of this tactic:

From the moment the first black man fell dead at the corner of North Fourth and Harnett Streets on November 10, 1898, Wilmington’s white leadership portrayed the day’s events as a justified, spontaneous response to a black riot. The white supremacy campaign itself was depicted as a legitimate corrective to corrupt black politicians and the “black beast rapist.”⁶

Despite outfitting themselves for the potential of an armed struggle, Democrats portrayed themselves as the saviors of order rather than the sowers of disorder within the state. This tactic would prove useful to them for the entirety of the campaign to suppress African Americans and establish the rule of Democrats in North Carolina.

The campaign to stoke the fires of white supremacy involved a statewide dissemination of propaganda and speeches; two future governors of North Carolina were involved in giving those speeches. The Democrats waged a campaign of violence and intimidation across North Carolina, principally in Wilmington. This campaign was not one where just rhetoric ruled; rather,

⁵ David Zucchino, *Wilmington's Lie: The Murderous Coup of 1898 and the Rise of White Supremacy*. (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2020), 78.

⁶ Zucchino, *Lie*, 333-334.

the Democrats anticipated that it would fall to violence for them to win going so far as to purchase a new gatling gun for their coup.⁷ This measure showed their resolve to suppress African Americans at any cost even if they had to tamper with an election and possibly overturn its results by force: “In their determination to win, leading Democrats had declared their intention of doing so by hook or by crook, peacefully if possible but by revolution if necessary; and they did not falter in this resolve at any stage in the proceedings.”⁸ On election day the Democrats gave the African American citizens an ultimatum that would severely restrict their rights. The acceptance of this ultimatum was not given to the Democrats in the stated manner so a call to arms was issued to white supremacists. The day following the election, armed whites took to the streets and were met in a stand off by African Americans where shots were exchanged. With less firepower and manpower, the African Americans stood no chance against the mob.

Wasting no time, the Democrat mob marched to city hall to demand the resignation of the mayor, alderman, and chief of police.⁹ These men were in turn forcibly replaced by white Democrats. African Americans and prominent Republicans and Populists fled the city leaving it firmly in the hands of the Democrats with little in the way of opposition. The Democrats had seized power in Wilmington, but their influence was not limited to the town. The massacre at Wilmington was just the beginning as Democrats prevailed in the election of 1900 with the election of Charles Aycock giving them control of the governor’s mansion.¹⁰ Thus, the white supremacy campaign of the late 1800s laid the foundation that would prove vital to establishing

⁷ Cecelski and Tyson, *Betrayed*, 28.

⁸ Cecelski and Tyson, *Betrayed*, 29.

⁹ Cecelski and Tyson, *Betrayed*, 36.

¹⁰ Cecelski and Tyson, *Betrayed*, 8.

the educational system that the North Carolina branch of the UDC would exploit to enshrine the Lost Cause in the minds of Southerners.

The issue that propelled the Democrats to the highest office in the state was the suppression of African American voting rights in an effort to not only limit their participation in government as representatives but also to restrict their ability to vote for Republicans. This was achieved with the adoption of a literacy clause. On the surface it seems like a basic literacy test would affect both whites and African Americans equally, but there was a catch. There was a grandfather clause which allowed illiterate whites to keep their voting rights for a time:

Under terms of the amendment's grandfather clause, most illiterate whites would be permanently exempted from disfranchisement by simply registering before 1908, if their ancestors had been entitled to vote in 1867... Any white man who could read and write by 1908 would afterward be able to register to vote, and illiterates registered before 1908 would continue to be able to vote...¹¹

Because of the looming end of the grandfather clause, the government of North Carolina began to consider funding education to increase literacy among the white population so they would be eligible to vote when the clause ended. Glenda Gilmore states that: “The irony was that disfranchising black North Carolinians through a bogusly administered literacy test forced the state to increase funding to white schools so that the one out of five illiterate white men and their illiterate sons could pass it.”¹² Thus the government of North Carolina had its educational purpose: the expansion of education for whites.

¹¹ Benjamin Justesen, “George Henry White, Josephus Daniels, and the Showdown over Disfranchisement,” 1900, (*The North Carolina Historical Review* 77, no. 1 2000), 24.

¹² Glenda Gilmore, “Educational Capital And Human Flourishing: North Carolina’s Public Schools And Universities,” 1865–2015, In *New Voyages to Carolina: Reinterpreting North Carolina History*, edited by Larry E. Tise and Jeffrey J. Crow, (University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 202.

Governor Aycock himself promised to expand education to help illiterate whites gain the proficiency necessary to pass the test. According to Benjamin Justesen, "...Aycock had eagerly assumed the mantle of white supremacy while shrewdly defusing the potential issue of the disfranchisement of illiterate whites by pledging to expand and improve the state's educational system."¹³ Thus with Aycock's election and the establishment of the grandfather clause, North Carolina began to undergo an educational revolution. Aycock was sincere in his desire for white universal education and he pledged the resources of the state to achieve his goal.

Riding the tide of white supremacy, the United Daughters of the Confederacy officially formed as a national organization in 1894; it was not until 1897 that the first chapters of the North Carolina division formed. It is no coincidence that the organization formed amidst the wave of white supremacy sweeping the South. By the time of the national organization's formation, the foundation had already been built for it to carry out their function of spreading the Lost Cause across the South. However, by the time the North Carolina division formed, Democrats had made even more progress to that end. The state of North Carolina was in Democratic hands; the governor was an ardent white supremacist involved in stoking racial violence and dedicated to fostering an educational system determined to promulgate the Lost Cause: "He led a movement that created the political framework in which education could revive and go forward...Passion was in the hearts of his people, folly in their minds, revenge in their purposes."¹⁴

¹³ Justesen, "Showdown," 24.

¹⁴ Robert House, "Aycock And Universal Education," (The North Carolina Historical Review 37, no. 2 1960), 211.

Thus, it is easy to see that the purpose of Aycock's educational reform extended beyond enfranchisement. What were the people passionate about? They were passionate about the legacy of the Confederacy and white supremacy. What was their revenge? Their revenge was not only the disenfranchisement of African Americans but the instillment of the Lost Cause into the educational framework of the state. Who better to champion that cause than the new torchbearers of the legacy of the Confederacy, the UDC. One of the principal ways in which they would instill the Lost Cause in the minds of the South would be through the use of school texts containing their narrative.

In 1903, the UDC realized that advancements in the education of children posed a threat to their version of events regarding the Civil War, its causes, and the men who fought in it. Here the North Carolina UDC's historian, Rebecca Cameron, made the first suggestion for cooperation between the North Carolina division of the UDC and the State Board of Education.¹⁵ What began from this cooperation was the start of direct cooperation between the state of North Carolina and the UDC. Particularly helpful was James Yadkin Joyner who at the time held the position of Superintendent of Public Instruction. Rebecca Cameron noted that Joyner: "...kindly furnished me with a letter endorsing our plan of work and expressing his warm approval of our efforts in this line, assuring us of his co-operation in the endeavor to eliminate from our schools the false teachings which traduce the South and her Heroes."¹⁶ Cameron's letter is the first

¹⁵ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Seventh Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. Asheville NC, October 14-16, 1903. 24.

¹⁶ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Eighth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. Fayetteville NC, October 26-28, 1904. 57.

mention of the group working directly with a member of the North Carolina government and was the beginning of a special relationship between the two parties.

This pairing was in line with Joyner's educational pursuits as he was heavily involved in the installment of programs to train women to be the educators of children. Of Joyner, Calvin Jarrett wrote: "...the young educator widened his already wide range of educational experiences. He kept abreast of the latest developments in public school education. With his experience he was able to pass on practical teaching methods to young women who were going to teach the children of the state."¹⁷ In addition to this, prior to his time of service as superintendent, Joyner also served as the chairman of the North Carolina textbook commission.¹⁸ Thus Joyner was intimately familiar with the process for approving or disapproving textbooks in North Carolina. Undoubtedly, his contribution to women would be of great help to the UDC as these new teachers would be involved in the indoctrination of Southerners with the ideology of the Lost Cause whether directly or indirectly.

In North Carolina Joyner was an educational powerhouse. Prior to his ascension to the heights of educational influence, Joyner served as a teacher and lawyer, and he put both skillsets to work when he set about to transform education in the state. At the time high schools were not government funded, and those that existed were only in towns and counties that could afford them. Perhaps Joyner's greatest work in relation to the goals of the North Carolina division of the UDC was his work in making books available to all in rural public schools and his promotion of literacy among adults. However, the goal of this increase in literacy was so whites would keep

¹⁷ Calvin Jarrett, "The Dreamer Who Saw His Dream Come True," (Peabody Journal of Education 45, no. 3 1967), 149.

¹⁸ Jarrett, "Dream," 150.

their enfranchisement. As Johnson writes: “In the school libraries, Joyner sought to have a standard collection of books, small in number but worthwhile in quality, placed in every rural school in the State. These books were to be available for reading by parents as well as by the school children.”¹⁹ An influx of formal education, the beginning of compulsory education, and the rise of literacy across the state created the perfect conditions for the literature of the Lost Cause to influence the minds of Southerners.

By taking advantage of the burgeoning educational system within the state, the UDC was able to place its ideology within the very foundation of the state’s educational framework. In 1904, Joyner made a statement that sums up the fervor that began to sweep the state with regards to the education of children:

...the people in North Carolina are interested as never before in this question of the education of their children, that they are talking about it among themselves more than ever before, and that a deep-seated conviction and a quiet determination that their children shall be educated are finding surer lodgment in the minds and hearts of the people than ever before. This is, to my mind, one of the most significant evidences of progress. Mighty revolutions are always noiseless and must be wrought first in the minds and hearts and wills of the masses. I believe that such a revolution upon this question of the education of all the people is well under way in North Carolina.²⁰

It is evident that this surge of concern for the education of children allowed the UDC the momentum it needed to carry out its educational mission. In Joyner they found an ally within the government who was pushing for more women in the field of education and shared their interest of textbooks. Joyner had the ability to effect the change the UDC wanted, and he would help them to prevent the use of educational material the North Carolina division of the UDC deemed too antagonistic towards them and their point of view.

¹⁹ Elmer Johnson, “James Yadkin Joyner, Educational Statesman,” (The North Carolina Historical Review 33, no. 3 1956), 370.

²⁰ Edgar Knight, “Public School Education in North Carolina,” (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), 336.

In addition to Joyner, there was another influential member of the North Carolina government at that time that was sentimental to the cause of the UDC, Governor Robert Glenn who succeeded Aycock. In their attempts to control the history textbooks presented in North Carolina schools, the North Carolina division of the UDC appealed to the Governor's office for the creation of a sub-committee whose membership would be comprised of only Loyal sons of the South. That committee would be dedicated to preserving the use of textbooks favorable to the UDC's version of events and removing those opposed to it:

The United Daughters of the Confederacy in this State have been much interested in the character of the historical books taught in our schools...They feel that the subject of selection of school books for use in their State is in as good hands as the law could place it, yet it is deemed no more than right to ask your Excellency, in the appointment of a sub-commission to examine text books, to select only those who are known of all men to be true to the traditions of the fathers.²¹

Just like Joyner, Governor Glenn was sympathetic to the request of the North Carolina division of the UDC and replied in a letter: "I will try and see to it that no one is put upon the Sub-Commission who is not loyal and true to the traditions of the fathers."²² Here is a second example of the UDC working directly in concert with members of the North Carolina government to further the Lost Cause within the educational system of the state.

In the years after their seizure of power, the Democrats built a foundation upon which segregation and the Lost Cause could flourish. Before they ever started targeting school texts, the Daughters had allies in power sympathetic to their ideals and willing to help their cause wherever possible. However, in the beginning years of the organization, there was no discussion about literature except for the collection and preservation of personal letters and anything of

²¹ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Tenth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1906. 33.

²² UDC, *Tenth*, 1906. 34.

historical significance for the creation of a permanent museum to honor the Confederacy.²³ At the beginning of the 20th century, the Daughters of the Confederacy were claiming their role as the guardians of the preservation and creation of Lost Cause literature.

Up until this point the United Confederate Veterans (UCV) had been the literary champions who had fired the first shots to signal the start of the literary war shortly after their formation in 1892. Quickly, however, the Lost Cause reared its head in the Daughters literary efforts, “But, who will record truly the days of our second revolution, the four years of brave but unsuccessful struggle for our rights... North Carolina Daughters of the Confederacy, see that the history is written...”²⁴ This is the first mention of writing “true” history by the NC Division. At this point, most of this history was compiled through the interviewing of Confederate soldiers and sailors.

It was during an address of the President of the North Carolina division of the UDC that mention of a committee to discuss education in schools first appears. “As you know, efforts are being made to have Southern history taught in Southern schools. I have received a number of communications on this subject, and upon request, appointed last December, a committee of ladies to confer with a similar committee of Veterans.”²⁵ Another report about the education of Southern children said: “It is the wish of the committee on History that each Chapter represented in this Convention make it its duty to see that these records of the glorious past, be preserved,

²³ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the First Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1897. And *Minutes of the Second Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1898.. 12-13.

²⁴ UDC, *First*, 1898. 20-21.

²⁵ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Fourth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1900. 8.

and to fight the false histories and combat the false ideals too often taught the children, and to spread the knowledge of books that vindicate the South.”²⁶ At the turn of the century, the members of the North Carolina UDC were beginning their first steps in their campaign to impact education by taking advantage of Aycock’s educational initiative. At the same time, they were continuing to work with other chapters to further the Lost Cause across the nation by installing monuments, taking care of the remaining veterans, and opposing any action, person, or literature that they deemed prejudicial to the South. Although they had only recently formed, by 1900 they boasted 1,260 members among their primary organization and 210 children among the Children of the Confederacy chapters in North Carolina.²⁷ With a surge of members, money, and opportunities, the North Carolina UDC was in a prime position to change the landscape of education in North Carolina.

Although they were in an extraordinary position to start impacting education, the North Carolina division of the UDC did not initially capitalize on the foundation that had been laid for them. The Division Historian expressed sadness and regret that nothing was really accomplished. However, at the sixth annual meeting, the first proposed book to be supported by the North Carolina division of the UDC for the purpose of being used within schools was announced.²⁸ The book was written by Mrs. Willie Ashe, who was the sister of a Confederate soldier and future author of a textbook on North Carolina history, Captain S. A. Ashe. Although the book was not yet accepted by their committee, it marks the first work that the North Carolina Daughters collaborated on to educate children about the Civil War.

²⁶ UDC, *Fourth*, 47-48.

²⁷ UDC, *Fourth*, 75-82.

²⁸ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Sixth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1902. 57.

In 1903, the Daughters made their first mention of textbooks. Here is the recorded beginning of the North Carolina division of the UDC's realization that advancements in the education of children posed a threat to their version of events regarding the Civil War, its causes, and the men who fought in it:

In the tidal wave of educational advancement that is sweeping over the State it is most important that all the teaching brought about by it, shall be sound and true, and such a committee could work to advantage with the State Board of Education, and call upon the State Literary and Historical Society for assistance and countenance in this war upon false, partizan, mischievous and misleading text-books in public schools: while in every community parents should be urged to examine the school books used by their children in private schools and see that no objectionable matter harbors therein.²⁹

Here the North Carolina UDC's historian, Rebecca Cameron, outlined that the most important aspect of their work was the preservation of their history for the education of children who would carry the torch after they passed:

Our work in this order of the United Daughters of the Confederacy is for the children chiefly. We will soon be gone — upon them will rest the burden of patriotic duties of vindicating the action of their fathers, of preserving the principles of constitutional liberty, of maintaining the little that remains to us of State's rights and State sovereignty, and we should see that they are at least trained in the Manual of Arms and have their weapons ready forged to their hands.³⁰

This plea from the historian led to a stated desire for an increase in priority for the examination of textbooks. Thus, in 1903, the North Carolina UDC formed its first textbook committee which comprised eight members. Although the committee was formed, it did not report much success the following year.

The Division ushered the promulgation of the Lost Cause by women into a new phase. Within their first decade, the group had already begun to realize that education was one of the

²⁹ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Seventh Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1903. 24.

³⁰ UDC, *Seventh*, 24.

most important and effective avenues of spreading their version of events. They formed a textbook committee which after two years comprised almost one hundred individuals. Their goal was evident in a statement made by Division President Mrs. Harry London in 1905 in which she outlined the importance of textbooks to the UDC: “Right here allow me to say, that too much stress cannot be put on the necessity for seeing that school books our children study, and the works of fiction they read, convey no false ideas about the struggle of 1861 to 1865, and that we think the work of the Historical and text book committee more important than any, except the Soldiers’ Home.”³¹

Originally, the UDC’s purpose was the preservation of the memory of veterans through the erection of monuments and the leading of celebrations dedicated to those who still remained. However, in a little over a decade their focus and mission statement had already begun to shift. While they still held to their original goal, they had already started to make plans for the next chapter of their organization. They knew time would eventually pass them and the remaining veterans by, and their cause would need to be championed by subsequent generations who according to them would be poisoned by the narrative of false teachers. Fear is why they began to adapt to the growing educational sphere as soon as they began to realize that their narrative could be challenged within the education system in North Carolina.

However, the UDC was not initially consistent with recording their work in regard to textbooks. There may be valid reasons for their lack of consistency, but it is rather an odd occurrence that an organization that had just begun to hold their work regarding textbooks as their second highest priority would not report any progress or lack thereof in their annual

³¹ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Ninth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1905. 11.

meeting. It may have been because there was nothing to report as far as textbooks are concerned, but in later meetings nothing of consequence happened in a particular year and the textbook committee still made some form of a report. In 1907, however, a scholarship fund was created to educate the descendants of Confederate veterans.³² In the following year, the scholarship fund was encouraged to be taken up by every chapter by the president of the North Carolina division of the UDC.

There is no significant mention of textbooks for the rest of the decade. Once again for an organization that had only a few short years prior declared that more emphasis was needed on the educational front with particular attention to textbooks, it is puzzling how quickly they turned away from that focus. Earlier reports disparaged the monuments they now concentrated on from 1907-1909 as less capable of championing their cause and that the erection of monuments was second in importance to that of the introduction of Lost Cause school texts. This could be due to a lack of initial opposition to their narrative, but for the period 1907-1909 more emphasis was placed on monuments, particularly the Arlington monument, rather than education and history. The exception was an explosion of essays written that eclipsed all other years combined in total number of contributions.³³ Thus it appears that the North Carolina division of the UDC had a difficult balancing act to perform. With three main goals of honoring the remaining veterans, building monuments, and influencing education, they had to set priorities and, either for good or bad, education was not always at the top of the list.

³² United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Eleventh Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1907. 63.

³³ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1909. 56.

Moving into the next decade, 1910-1919, the UDC began with a slow effort to start their work where school textbooks were concerned. It seems that while written history itself was not completely neglected, it was not made the priority that the UDC had earlier purported it to be. In 1915, we have a mention of a speech being introduced to North Carolina schools titled *Wrongs of the South Righted*. Reportedly, the UDC historian sent out copies of this publication to various schools within the state of North Carolina and received several responses indicating that they would be used within the history classes of that particular school.³⁴ The speech was given by Mildred Lewis Rutherford who served as the national historian general of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and was responsible for a number of publications on the subject of historical interpretation; she authored a primary text for the scrutinization of textbooks that contained opinions and analysis antithetical to the goals of the UDC.³⁵

In the course of Rutherford's speech, she laid out several wrongs that she believed should be righted regarding the teaching of history in the South. All of the wrongs were common Lost Cause tropes. They included the sovereignty of the states over the federal government, morality of slavery, praise of Jefferson Davis, and vilification of Lincoln which was nothing out of the ordinary for the UDC. Towards the end of the speech, Rutherford made a startling announcement:

I know perfectly well what the young people of today will say: 'We are tired of hearing of these old issues, don't resurrect them.' We have listened to this too long from the young people, and we have allowed them thereby to grow up in ignorance of the truth regarding our history. We must not listen to them any longer. Justice to the living,

³⁴ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Nineteenth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1915. 42.

³⁵ Mildred Rutherford, *A Measuring Rod to Test Text Books, and Reference Books in Schools, Colleges, and Libraries*. (Athens Georgia, 1919.)

memory of the dead, a desire that truth may prevail over error and falsehood makes me urgent to right these wrongs of history now.³⁶

This paints a picture that may not always be evident when examining the South during this time period. In 1914, there were already young people who were tired of the continuation of the battle between the promulgators of the Lost Cause and its opponents whether real or imagined. Yet in spite of that tiredness, Rutherford charged the daughters, and undoubtedly this extended to parents and educators as well, to press on in their crusade to educate southern children with the Lost Cause.

The North Carolina Division made minimal efforts during the 1910s with regards to the issue of textbooks until 1917. Besides a brief note from a report which stated that the textbook committee had compiled a list of acceptable books for the North Carolina Historic Archive, the only other mention of textbooks is another list sent to the North Carolina Textbook commission in 1916.³⁷ So, while the UDC may not have made a habit of recording every single method and incident in which they analyzed a certain book, there was still historical work being done with relation to textbooks; it was at some points less visible than the other work they were doing, particularly with regards to the highly visible monuments they erected across the state.

Despite the perceived lack of visibility at times, the UDC continued to spread their cause through the creation and distribution of literature. While not all of the works produced would have been written for the express purpose of use in public schools, it is appropriate to realize that these works would have been used for the education of all Southerners either directly or

³⁶ Mildred Rutherford and United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Address Delivered by Miss Mildred Lewis Rutherford Historian General United Daughters of the Confederacy. Wrongs of History Righted*, (Savannah Georgia: Friday Nov. 13, 1914. Athens Ga: McGregor Co. Printers.), 34.

³⁷ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Twentieth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1916. 91.

indirectly. For 1917 alone they produced 1,783 typed pages, 626 written pages, 671 printed pages, 85 essays, and 2,507 books placed into schools.³⁸ While the pages and essays written are nothing to scoff at, the volume of books given to schools outweighs them by far. These texts would have been full of the UDC's propaganda and ideology and therefore constitute thousands of tools for them to use and opportunities for them to take advantage. This is yet another example of how exactly the UDC managed to secure the Lost Cause in the minds of generations to come. Not only would the students receive the Lost Cause as truth from school, but likely reinforcement of that ideal from their parents who were taught the very same thing. That reinforcement was the greatest tool of the UDC and one they realized early on and attempted to take advantage of to the fullest possible extent.

The First World War may have taken attention away from the Daughters' focus on spreading the Lost Cause. During the war, the UDC was dedicated to assisting the government in any way they could. Their assistance included buying bonds and volunteering for the Red Cross when possible. The time spent as volunteers highlights an issue that will be further explored in the next chapter, however, from their reported assistance of the government it is easy to assume that the Daughters wanted to be seen as a patriotic organization. Proponents of the Lost Cause had previously used a war to display their loyalty and patriotism to the United States as Foster explains: "The Spanish-American War, in sum, allowed southerners to affirm their loyalty to the union and, of equal importance, to demonstrate their courage and that of the Confederate soldier."³⁹ Naturally, it was in their best interest to be seen in a patriotic light not only for the cause of the Confederacy, but also for the United States despite the obvious contradiction at play.

³⁸ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Twenty-first Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1917. 50.

³⁹ Foster, *Ghosts*, Pg 149

The dichotomy between the Daughters' patriotic devotion to the Confederacy and twentieth century America would continue to be a balancing act the organization would navigate for decades.

It is important to note how the UDC had grown during the 1910s. By the end of the decade, they boasted over 100 active chapters with over 5,000 members; an increase of over 1,000 members in a decade for the North Carolina division of the UDC.⁴⁰ While this increase is not what one would call exponential, it is indicative of steady growth that bolstered the strength of the UDC and allowed it to continue the furtherance of the Lost Cause into the subsequent decade. Without growth the organization could not sustain the amount of work they accomplished year after year as the founding members grew older and less able to carry out their work. Membership in the organization was based upon being the descendant of a Confederate veteran. Due to membership being hereditary, it was limited and therefore it did not have the potential to encapsulate an enormous number of the women that resided in the state.

Thus, in two short decades the North Carolina Division of the UDC had somewhat taken advantage of the wave of white supremacy that prevailed over the Fusionists in 1898 and used it to begin their mission to spread the Lost Cause. The bloody revolution in Wilmington gave the Democrats the rallying cry they needed to complete the campaign for the removal of the enfranchisement of African Americans in the state of North Carolina. Principal to this movement was the future governor of North Carolina, Charles Aycock. Aycock was not only a prevalent white supremacist, but he also had a vested interest in education; his championing the cause of

⁴⁰ Figures pulled from both the thirteenth and twenty-third meeting registrar's reports respectively. United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Thirteenth*, 1909. 54 and United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Meeting Minutes of the Twenty-third annual convention Minutes*, 1919. 44.

education in North Carolina gave the UDC the political and legislative foundation needed for them to carry on their work. Although it is needful to mention the educational reform was still within the framework of saving the enfranchisement of poor illiterate whites and denying it for African Americans as White schools received more money than Black schools.⁴¹ Without the government funding of education statewide, it would have been an almost impossible task for the Daughters of the Confederacy to spread their message across the state on a consistent basis. The building of more schools and the addition of compulsory education in 1907 made the education system of North Carolina a virtual breeding ground for the Lost Cause.

The Daughters had laid a foundation, and they had no real challenge to that foundation for the first two decades of their existence. The closest thing to a threat came in the form of their split focus during the First World War, but the Daughters weathered the storm and used it as an opportunity to show the fervency of their patriotism. The Daughters had only known cooperation with the government and had no rival to their authority on textbooks used within the schools of the state. However, in the next decade the Daughters would meet their first real challenge in opposition to a textbook. It would be a time to see how strong the UDC's foundation in Southern education truly was. This first challenge would not only test the Daughters' ability to work together against a common enemy but also prove the strength of their bond of cooperation with the state, as without help from the government, the Daughters were more bark than bite.

⁴¹ Gilmore, "Educational," 203. In, *Reinterpreting*, Edited by Tise and Crow.

Chapter 3

Triumph over Enemies

At the beginning of the 1920s, the North Carolina division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy continued to preserve its version of history. While the preceding decade did not feature a concentrated focus on either education or textbooks, it saw the UDC take strides towards cementing its ideology in the public square. Thus, the UDC was prepared to enter into the next decade committed to their mission to preserve the Lost Cause in the minds of future generations of Southerners. With increased membership and ability, the members looked to continue the same work they had always done: spread the Lost Cause and combat all who did not believe in their way of life. The goals of the UDC would be no different in the decade of the 1920s. The UDC would keep marching on to the beat of their own drum; however, they would soon meet their first significant challenge; a textbook that challenged central tenets of the Lost Cause.

The year 1920 is special in the history of the North Carolina division of the UDC. The first obstacle appeared in the realm of textbooks that the North Carolina Division would have to overcome. While previous years had broadly mentioned the UDC's scrutinizing of literature placed within school and public libraries, never before had a specific book or author been mentioned as an opponent of the UDC's goals; the one to whom that honor belongs is David Saville Muzzey. The President outlines the problem the UDC had with Muzzey: "The attention

of your President was recently called to many unjust and inaccurate statements in Muzzey's History of America now being taught in our public schools..."¹

The battle against Muzzey's history highlights the strength of the UDC's relationship with the government of North Carolina. The President reported that: "...criticism made to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction by me and a number of others who read it. The State Text Book Commission, of which he (Eugene Brooks)² is Chairman, refused to adopt this history until satisfactory revision was made."³ This shows the special relationship between the UDC and the government in action. The President further reported that:

Later the publishers forwarded me a copy of the revised edition but the objectionable features, in my judgment, have not all been eliminated, and it is hoped that still further modification will be required before it is adopted for general use in our schools. The entire matter has been referred to the Committee on Southern Literature and Endorsement of Books of the General Division.⁴

The UDC would not be satisfied unless the book became effective propaganda for them.

Muzzey's revised edition did not meet the satisfaction of the organization, although, there is no evidence that Muzzey's revisions were to meet the satisfaction of the UDC.

In addition to the words of the President, there was additional commentary on the offensiveness of the book: "Mr. B. R. Lacy, a member of the book commission, denounced the book vehemently. Mr. Lacy says, 'some of the statements that are offensive to North Carolina parents, are the classification of Confederates as traitors; the perpetuation of the old falsehood

¹ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1920.. 19.

² Willard Gatewood, "Eugene Clyde Brooks: Educational Journalist In North Carolina, 1906-1923," (The North Carolina Historical Review 36, no. 3 1959), 307.

³ UDC, *Twenty-fourth*, 1920. 19.

⁴ UDC, *Twenty-fourth*, 1920. 19.

about Lee surrendering sword to Grant, the denial of Sherman's atrocities in the South, etc.”⁵

According to the UDC, Muzzey's history contained condemning words to the Confederacy and condemned its fight as an unworthy cause, a rebellion even, and for that reason the United Daughters of the Confederacy could not allow the book to stay in use within the state. There is no doubt that rebellion is the correct term, but this term only increased the fervency of the UDC as they wanted to vindicate the men and women who served the Confederacy due to their personal connection. Thus, it was this emotional connection that formed part of the basis for their hatred of anything that would negatively portray their family members: “The Daughters’ emotional ties to the past, moreover, provided the motivation required to preserve the ‘truth,’ not only for the sake of their Confederate ancestors, but also for future generations.”⁶ They wanted their children to grow up knowing their ancestors were not traitors but heroes and that helped them continue their cause.

Upon first glance it is easy to see why the UDC would despise Muzzey's book. In his chapter on secession, Muzzey states that slavery was the sole cause for the war. This directly contradicts the Lost Cause which argues the view that the North and not the South was to blame for the start of the conflict. Muzzey further argued that secession and slavery could not be separated as the defeated Confederates had attempted to argue in their personal accounts of the war. Muzzey states: “...the only ‘right’ for which the South was contending in 1860 was the right to have the institution of slavery recognized and protected in all the territory of the United States...It was a conflict in the interpretation of the Constitution; and slavery alone was the cause

⁵ UDC, *Twenty-fourth*, 1920. 41.

⁶ Karen Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 217.

of that conflict.”⁷ Thus, Muzzey’s account of the history of the Civil War clearly articulated a narrative that opposed the UDC’s position of the cause of the war going so far as to write, “To say that secession and the Civil War were not caused by slavery, therefore, is to say that the thing for which a man is fighting is not the cause of the fight.”⁸ The UDC could not allow this book to be used in the North Carolina school system as it was antithetical to their version of the story.

As to the cause of the war, Muzzey makes his case clear and further offers commentary while also giving the defeated Confederates praise. Muzzey writes:

It is impossible for the student of history to-day to feel otherwise than that the cause for which the South fought the war of 1861-1865 was an unworthy cause, and that the victory of the South would have been a calamity for every section of our country. But the indomitable valor and utter self-sacrifice with which the South defended that cause both at home and in the field must always arouse our admiration.⁹

While Muzzey did not accept the notion that the cause for which the Confederacy fought for was just, he did contend that despite their faulty cause, the Confederates deserved praise for the fervency with which they defended their ideology. Earlier in the work Muzzey examined the nature of the conflict and whether the South had the right to secede at all. An argument which was a matter of debate with writers such as Samuel Ashe, a former Confederate soldier and North Carolina history text author, who argued for the total sovereignty of the state and that secession was completely legal.¹⁰ Muzzey decided that despite his own personal view of the matter, that if the South truly believed that it had a cause worthy of revolting, it had the right to do so.¹¹ Although Muzzey disagreed with the cause of the Confederacy he did not deny them his

⁷ David Muzzey, *An American History*, (Rev. ed. New York [etc.]; Boston; Ginn and company, 1920), 330.

⁸ David Muzzey, *An American History*, (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1911), 420.

⁹ Muzzey, *History*, 467.

¹⁰ Samuel Ashe, *History of North Carolina vol 2*, (Spartanburg, S. C.: Reprint Co., 1971), 544.

¹¹ Muzzey, *History*, 420.

admiration because they fought for a cause in which they believed. Once again, the duality of Muzzey's assessment of the American Civil War is on display.

While the mention of slavery as the cause of the conflict was undoubtedly sufficient alone to earn the ire of the UDC, Muzzey's examination of other aspects of the Civil War were also problematic for the Daughters. A pillar of the Lost Cause was praise for Southern leader Robert E. Lee. Muzzey praises Lee as the greatest general of the South and that Lee conducted the war with skill and devotion.¹² His only remarks towards Lee disparaging the Confederate general were Lee surrendering his sword to Grant, describing Lee as "vanquished," and Lee's failure at Gettysburg.¹³ Muzzey in no way wrote about Lee as if the general were a monster to be hated and his overall opinion of Lee was positive. Muzzey does not disparage Grant for his wartime service; however, he does not lift Grant into a saintlike position either. Muzzey instead saves his description of a saint for Lincoln. When he does call into question Grant's war record, he spins it into a positive light much to the chagrin of those promulgating the Lost Cause.¹⁴ Similarly with Sherman, Muzzey does not write about the famous march to the sea with horror, but rather simply recounts the event. He does defend Sherman from Southern detractors noting how Sherman had ordered that private property be respected and that there were no complaints of his soldiers assaulting women.¹⁵ This would have further brought upon the condemnation of the book by the UDC.

Muzzey was not a radical; however, he displayed principles in his analysis that could be distasteful to those who were either progressive or traditional. Muzzey held to racist convictions,

¹² Muzzey, *American*, 336.

¹³ Muzzey, *History*, 464-465.

¹⁴ Muzzey, *History*, 459.

¹⁵ Muzzey, *History*, 463.

yet denied slavery as a just institution. Although by today's standards the immorality of slavery is recognized, in 1920s the UDC was actively defending the institution with their glorification of the antebellum South. Muzzey decried the defense of slavery; however, that did not mean that he was a progressive completely on racial issues. Muzzey was, "Accepting conventional theories of the innate inferiority of blacks and others of stocks less hardy than Anglo-American."¹⁶ Thus, Muzzey was a white supremacist himself, yet he opposed the idea of slavery and called it a blight on the nation's past.¹⁷ Muzzey also fell in line with the UDC on the issue of African American participation in politics that when they were in charge there was corruption, extravagance, and incompetence.¹⁸ Many of Muzzey's points were in line with the racial thinking of the UDC, but their shared view on race was not enough to overcome their hatred of Muzzey's analysis of the Civil War.

The UDC was not the only group to oppose Muzzey's work. The Better America Federation was an organization dedicated to combatting what they viewed as "Bolshevik" literature in the history texts of the United States. They fought against the use of Muzzey's book in California.¹⁹ Just after the First World War, nationalism was at an all-time high. This coincided with a red scare due to the rise of communist Russia.²⁰ The rise of national patriotism combined with fear of the Bolsheviks led to the scrutinizing of everything that could possibly be considered anti-American. Unfortunately for him, Muzzey's book became a prime target for

¹⁶ Gary Nash, Charlotte Crabtree, and Ross Dunn, *History On Trial: Culture Wars and the Teaching of the Past*, (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1997), 27.

¹⁷ Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn, *Trial*, 26-27.

¹⁸ Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn, *Trial*, 27.

¹⁹ Norman Hapgood, Sidney Howard, and John Hearley, "Professional Patriots," (New York: Boni, 1927), 146. Found in Edwin Layton, "The Better America Federation: A Case Study of Superpatriotism," (Pacific Historical Review 30, no. 2 1961), 137-47.

<https://doi.org/10.2307/3636698>.

²⁰ Layton, "Better," 141-142.

those purporting to be the watchdogs of patriotism. Muzzey himself was not someone who would strike one as a radical socialist reformer. He was New England born and Columbia educated and employed.²¹ His place of origin and education further earned the UDC's disdain as they wanted to keep Northern authors out of the South.²² Muzzey's work was not targeted because he advocated socialist principles, but rather that he did not only praise the history of the United States. In this case, Muzzey's work was scrutinized for his analysis outside of the Civil War.

Muzzey's work was under fire from the superpatriots for his assessment of the colonists during the Revolutionary War. Muzzey argued that there was not total cohesion among the colonists on whether to support the revolution. His stance was that those who remained loyal to the crown after the Declaration of Independence was ratified became traitors to their new country (America) and were subsequently treated as such. He did not favor King George like his detractors would argue, rather he simply states that before there was a United States, the colonists were Englishmen who wanted their grievances settled.²³ Therefore, the grievances of those attempting to condemn Muzzey's work as unpatriotic fell into the same snare as the UDC. They argued from a place of emotion and not fact; their heightened patriotism and fear of a red invasion through literature and military conflict clouded their judgment just as the emotional ties of the UDC to the Confederacy clouded their ability to be objective.

²¹ Nash, Charlotte, and Ross, *Trial*, 26.

²² Rutherford Mildred Lewis and United Daughters of the Confederacy. 1914. Address Delivered by Miss Mildred Lewis Rutherford Historian General United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Wrongs of History Righted*. Savannah Georgia Friday Nov. 13, 1914. Athens Ga: McGregor Co. Printers. <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/13091711.html>. 3-4.

²³ Muzzey, *History*, 129.

Not everyone agreed with the detractors of Muzzey. His work was defended by some due to its focus on non-military issues and its approach of conveying both viewpoints in the American Revolution. In 1922, historian E. E. Gotherman wrote: "It is true Dr. Muzzey gives both the Colonial and British points of view as every fair historian must, but at no time does he speak discredibly of any one of them."²⁴ Whether right or wrong, and whether or not he agreed with the views being analyzed, Muzzey presented both sides of a conflict in the case of both the American Revolution and Civil War. Unfortunately, there were those who could not stand a narrative opposing their own to be taught in schools across the nation. Additionally, Muzzey's lack of deifying historical figures brought contempt.

Another defender was H. P. Harding, the superintendent of Charlotte schools and a member of the North Carolina textbook commission.²⁵ Harding defended Muzzey's work from the UDC stating that there was no reason for the organization to object to the use of the book in schools.²⁶ The text book committee selected a number of books for use of which Muzzey's book represented just one of the choices. The decision of which book to use in the individual schools was in the hands of the individual counties.²⁷ Thus, the UDC had to fight Muzzey's work on two fronts. Not only was it approved by the state commission, but it was favored over other books for use in the school systems.

²⁴ E.E. Gotherman, *"History Fair, Says Professor High School Professor Defends Work of Dr. Muzzey Against Charges of Lack of Americanism,"* Lexington Herald, October 29, 1922: 1 NewsBank: Access World News – Historical and Current.

²⁵ Anonymous, *"Harding Defends Book Selected by Commission. Declares Muzzey's History Should Not be Objectional to Southern School Children,"* (Charlotte Observer Charlotte, North Carolina: August 2, 1921), 11. NewsBank: Access World News – Historical and Current.

²⁶ Unknown, *"Counties Name Muzzey's Book. Final Selection Not Made by State Textbook Commission."* (Charlotte Observer Charlotte, North Carolina: August 15, 1921), 12. NewsBank: Access World News – Historical and Current.

²⁷ Unknown, *Selection*, 12.

The North Carolina division of the UDC would therefore work at both the state and local level in their campaign to rid North Carolina of the work of David Muzzey. Harding supposed an additional reason for the UDC's vitriol towards Muzzey's book. Harding suggested that the hatred the UDC had for Muzzey's work was in part due to the organization being influenced by book publishers who wanted their work approved for use instead of Muzzey's.²⁸ Harding expressed his belief that the aims of the UDC were genuine in their concerns for the textbook; however, he also asserted his opinion that the UDC were being taken advantage of by the book publishers. Thus, Harding suggested that the organization itself was able to be influenced by others, although in truth they needed no encouragement.

Muzzey's work was attacked both locally and nationally, but the attack from the so-called superpatriots may have influenced the UDC's attack on him. Recalling the desire of the UDC to appear patriotic in the eyes of the nation, the organization may very well have jumped on the wagon with the patriots. This can only be speculated, but it stands to reason that it would have been an easy way for the UDC to further show its patriotism to the nation as they were opposing a so-called "treason text."²⁹ In effect, they could eliminate two birds with one stone: removing a book that was antithetical to their objective while also appearing patriotic. The North Carolina division of the UDC was nothing if not opportunistic. Either way, the perfect storm brewed for Muzzey's work to be opposed in North Carolina and on a national scale.

The work of the UDC to rid North Carolina of Muzzey's distasteful work was not entirely completed in 1920. Numerous individual chapters wrote letters of complaint to the State Textbook Committee requesting that they remove Muzzey's history from use in North Carolina.

²⁸ Unknown, *Selection*, 12.

²⁹ Nash, Charlotte, and Ross, *Trial*, 26.

The North Carolina Division encouraged its members to use all necessary connections to remove the books from North Carolina education:

A letter has been sent to each Chapter President, asking that they write a protest, against unfair histories, to each member of the State Board of Education and each member of the State Text Book Committee—names and addresses of these were enclosed with the request, the Chairman of this Committee, having previously written each of these educational officials, the Governor included, asking for the elimination of Muzzey's and other unfair histories from our schools. Protests were sent to 55 high school superintendents, who were reported to be using Muzzey's History. Some of these have replied, saying the book has been taken from their classrooms.³⁰

The campaign not only highlights the vitriol for Muzzey's work, but also the relationship between the Division and the leadership of various institutions. With the influence they wielded, the Daughters were able to effect change at the local and state level. On the local level they waged a campaign of letter writing to high school administrators.³¹ No one in the educational system in North Carolina was safe from the UDC's attack on Muzzey's textbook. Undoubtedly the UDC's pressure was also felt all across the South as the UDC general division worked for the same change nationally. Not only did they present their case to the educational institutions of North Carolina but also the court of public opinion through the publication of their hatred for Muzzey's work in newspapers across the state.³²

Shortly after, it was announced that the UDC had eliminated Muzzey's history book from use within the schools of North Carolina.³³ The work of the textbook committee of both the UDC and the United Confederate Veterans of North Carolina (UCV) was responsible for the removal

³⁰ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Twenty-fifth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1921. 62.

³¹ Elizabeth Gillespie, *Mothers of Massive Resistance: White Women and the Politics of White Supremacy*. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017),

³² UDC, *Twenty-fifth*, 62.

³³ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Twenty-sixth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1922. 17.

of Muzzey's book from circulation in North Carolina. The President of the North Carolina division of the UDC announced: "In May I went to Raleigh, and in company with your Historian and several members of the Text-Book Committee, appeared before the State Board of Education and was gratified to hear Dr. Brooks announce the elimination of Muzzey's History from the State schools."³⁴ Again, the historian made note of the accomplishment: "A most important work has been the elimination of Muzzey's History from our schools, which, in connection with the Text-Book Committee, we have been able to accomplish."³⁵ The Daughters' accomplishment was owed in part to the State Superintendent of Education who canceled Muzzey's contract with the state. The cooperation between the organization and government harkens back to the early years of the UDC when the organization worked with James Yadkin Joyner in a similar manner.³⁶

The Daughters were able to wage this battle against Muzzey's book due to their support from the government. A statement from 1920 attributed to an anonymous publisher summed up the Daughters' potential political capital; the publisher remarked: "If the Daughters would get together and stay together long enough to put their choice before the people, they could run any Governor or State Superintendent away from Raleigh for failure to respect their choice."³⁷ This highlights an aspect of the relationship between the Daughters and the government. There is always the political incentive to acquiesce to the request of an influential group of voters both then and now. The North Carolina division of the UDC did have a visible political presence within the state. Consequently, politicians were eager to work with the organization due to their

³⁴ UDC, *Twenty-sixth*, 17

³⁵ UDC, *Twenty-sixth*, 39.

³⁶ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Eighth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1904. 57.

³⁷ UDC, *Twenty-fourth*, 1920. 42.

shared beliefs as their beliefs were synonymous.³⁸ However, if they had not been willing to work with the UDC in their goal of shaping education, the UDC had the personnel and fervency to make any politician's life difficult.

The UDC began the 1920s ardently opposed to the work of one author, but that is not the only significant occurrence of that period. In the previous decade the North Carolina division of the UDC gained 1000 members from 1909-1919. By the end of 1920 they had almost gained that number of new members in only one short year.³⁹ There is no evident explanation for the spike in membership, but in the decade before it is arguable that the UDC had more of a visible role as the stewards of the remaining veterans and their reunions as well as their national push for more monuments. These public endeavors may explain the uptick in membership along with the work of the UDC in assisting the government with the war effort, although, this is only speculation. This rise in membership would have benefited the UDC in their crusade against Muzzey's textbook as the individual chapters and members participated in the campaign to rid North Carolina of the treasonous text.

The UDC also confronted the content of textbooks in regard to the prominence of North Carolina's history within the education of children in the state. The UDC believed that for their cause in the state to be carried on by subsequent generations of North Carolinians, it would be necessary to only use histories that heavily favor North Carolina's history:

...it being much more important that the children who later are to constitute the people of the State should have correct information about their State and about their fathers than about other States and other peoples. Therefore, those histories that pass over North

³⁸ Cox, *Culture*, 160.

³⁹ UDC, *Twenty-fourth*, 1920. 36.

Carolina's actions as relatively unimportant are not suitable for North Carolina schools; while those that misrepresent North Carolina's actions are positively objectionable.⁴⁰

The report clearly indicates that not only were textbooks which misrepresented the actions of North Carolina during the Civil War not acceptable, but those not favoring North Carolina history would also not be tolerated. The UDC was not invested in a well-rounded historical education for the children of the state; rather, the organization wanted the children to carry within themselves love for the state of North Carolina first.

The President of the UDC continued to campaign for the scrutinizing of history books used within the state until American historians wrote histories fair to the South.⁴¹ Despite the success that they had achieved, the fervency of the UDC had not wavered. They boasted: “our original aims have been accomplished, namely, the elimination from our public school system the use of histories unfair to the South, and a growing sentiment over our State of the love of truth and justice in our text-books—honor and loyalty to the heroes of the Confederacy.”⁴² Yet with that proclamation came a petition for more involvement at the local level to practice vigilance in their local schools.⁴³ The local textbook committee would have the responsibility of policing the books being used in their schools, giving talks to the students, and fostering a relationship with the school for the purpose of instilling a love for the Lost Cause.⁴⁴ The lessons learned from the battle against Muzzey effected the way the UDC would fight future books.

⁴⁰ UDC, *Twenty-fifth*, 62.

⁴¹ UDC, *Twenty-sixth*, 17

⁴² UDC, *Twenty-sixth*, 47.

⁴³ UDC, *Twenty-sixth*, 47.

⁴⁴ UDC, *Twenty-sixth*, 47-48.

In 1923, no real work needed to be accomplished by the UDC in the realm of textbooks because there was seemingly no work for them to accomplish.⁴⁵ They had won. They seemingly succeeded in eliminating Muzzey's work from schools while others struggled with its elimination as it was a best seller until at least the 1930s.⁴⁶ All of the Division's aims to that point had been achieved or were in progress. The North Carolina division's defeat of Muzzey attracted praise from the national organization of the UDC and in particular from Mildred Rutherford.⁴⁷ That the national organization would praise North Carolina for its defeat of Muzzey's textbook speaks volumes about the accomplishment. The literary strength of the UDC was due to their activism and was made possible through cooperation with the government of North Carolina. Namely, those in the government aiding the North Carolina division of the UDC were the members of the Textbook Commission, State Superintendents of Public Instruction, and the Governors of North Carolina.⁴⁸ These leaders were sympathetic to the UDC's cause and therefore gave their movement educational legitimacy. Thus, at the beginning of the twenties, the North Carolina division of the UDC experienced glory in the midst of the war for textbooks.

⁴⁵ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Twenty-seventh Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1923. 46.

⁴⁶ Jonathan Zimmerman, "each 'Race' could have its Heroes Sung: Ethnicity and the History Wars in the 1920s," (The Journal of American History 87, no. 1 06, 2000), 99.

⁴⁷ Gillespie, *Mothers*, 49.

⁴⁸ Although recall that not everyone on the Textbook Committee was in favor of the UDC's opposition to the work of David Saville Muzzey.

Chapter 4

The Decline of the Daughters 1924-1976

The United Daughters of the Confederacy continued to further their cause in the interwar period. Within a few decades of their inception, they had obtained a monopoly on control of the historical textbooks being used in North Carolina schools. Even though this monumental goal had seemingly been achieved, there still remained the task of maintaining a watchful eye over the education of the children of the state. After the defeat of Muzzey's book, the Daughters were firmly cemented as the guardians of historical education. However, this period saw the beginning of their decline as the Daughters had to contend with a steady loss of personnel and a split focus. This chapter examines the continuing literary efforts of the Division and their decline in the literary war.

In the 1920s, the North Carolina Division of the UDC was experiencing victory after their seeming defeat of the history textbook written by David Muzzey. In 1923, they had declared victory over their dreaded foe and were continuing to keep a watch over the textbooks used in North Carolina schools. The annual meeting for 1924 contained a statement that education was not only the future of the UDC, but of the entire South.¹ This statement signals a transition within the UDC's existence. The Daughters' first goal was the care of and memorialization of the remaining Confederate veterans. With almost all of the veterans having died out by 1924, the North Carolina Division of the UDC began to make education their primary focus which up until that time had been second on their list of priorities. While their

¹ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Twenty-eighth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1924. 17.

priorities were shifting, they still managed to make significant inroads into placing books they deemed acceptable into the public sphere through donations to public and school libraries. In 1924, they placed 958 books into public libraries.² This metric shows how the UDC influenced public education apart from the textbooks being used in the classroom. Not only were children being educated in the classroom, but with the rise of literacy rates across the state, adults were able to access these biased materials which could shape their viewpoint if they had not already formed an opinion.

After the defeat of Muzzey's textbook, the Daughters did not rest on their laurels but rather continued to work towards their goal of domination of the literary arena. The UDC began investing in scholarships for students attending the state's colleges and universities, Woodrow Wilson became an honorary member of the organization, and the daughters began work on a monograph detailing the role of women in the Civil War titled *Women of the South in Wartimes*.³ Also, there was the announcement of governmental approval of tributes to Robert E. Lee and Andrew Jackson. Additionally, there were talks within various meetings of county boards of education and teachers' meetings which largely concerned two major areas.

The first was the stressing of the importance of not only remembering, but celebrating Confederate heroes such as Lee, Davis, and Jackson.⁴ This mission kept in line with the North Carolina Division's previous goals and is nothing out of the ordinary, but their second request was different. Previously, the Daughters had continued to ask for fair and unbiased textbooks but shied away from naming them with rare exception. They had named some monographs that they

² UDC, *Twenty-eighth*, 39.

³ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Twenty-ninth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1925. 17.

⁴ UDC, *Twenty-ninth*, 18.

disliked such as Muzzey's, but here they named several books and articles that they requested their members prioritize to be placed within schools. In 1925, the UDC asked that seven books and pamphlets be given preference to be placed into schools, their content varying from articles on both presidents of the Civil War, the South's role in the making of the nation, and the South in literature.⁵

One example was Horton Rushmore's *A youth's history of the great civil war in the United States, from 1861 to 1865*. Rushmore claimed in his opening statement to the reader that his work was not to defend any one party or group, but he then immediately contradicted that statement. Rushmore drew comparisons between the Republican party and the British monarchy declaring the actions of the Republicans to be tyrannical and their motives to be about tearing the Union apart rather than its preservation.⁶ Rushmore used the patriotic sentiments of the American Revolution to frame the Confederacy's struggle against the Union as a righteous cause. Rushmore also framed the battle as a struggle against the abolitionists rather than the Northerners as a whole.⁷ From this writing, his view of slavery can be interpreted as he sees the abolition movement as the cause for the troubles of the nation. The request for this book to be placed in schools is unlike that of previous appeals given its proximity to the Civil War as it was published in 1866.

While the literary future of the organization appeared free from struggle, there was bad news lurking that would upend the North Carolina Division's greatest achievement to date. The

⁵ UDC, *Twenty-ninth*, 38-39.

⁶ Horton Rushmore, *A youth's history of the great civil war in the United States, from 1861 to 1865*, (New York: Van Evrie, Horton & co: 1866) Sabin Americana: History of the Americas, 1500-1926 (accessed February 28, 2023). iv

⁷ Rushmore, *Youth's*, iv-v.

UDC discovered that although they had been successful in removing Muzzey's work from schools as a textbook, they were not successful in its total elimination from the school system; despite their efforts Muzzey's history was still being used in schools as a reference book. Even in 1932, the Division was still wrestling with the removal of Muzzey's history as a reference book. Their greatest triumph now appeared less like a total victory due to the book's continued use which by their own admission was almost as equally damaging to their cause as if it was still being used to teach. The chairman of the textbook committee noted: "They succeeded in eliminating it as a textbook in North Carolina schools, but lately it has been found in High School reference libraries all over the state, and it can do almost as much harm there as when actually studied."⁸ The Division did much to shape the historical education of North Carolina, but their influence over the literary war was not without limit even at what can be considered the height of their ability.

The North Carolina Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy had a turbulent couple of decades following their success in the early years of the 1920s. The organization had record membership highs and lows and endured fluctuation throughout the period. On one hand they had maintained the status quo in terms of their educational power, but in those decades there were observable cracks that began to form in the organization, in particular where membership was concerned. The UDC in North Carolina boasted an impressive 7,345 members active within the organization in 1929.⁹ By the end of the 1930s, the Division would see a loss of 3,000 active members. Thus, the organization started to exhibit a decline in personnel that would follow them

⁸ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1932. 90.

⁹ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Thirty-third Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1929. 88.

for decades to come and begin the steady deterioration in ability to promulgate the Lost Cause in literature. This did not immediately cripple their efforts; however, the beginning of their numeric decline certainly was not beneficial to their cause.

The UDC kept up their efforts to implement certain textbooks into the state's historical curriculum. They distributed the *Handbook of Historical Facts about North Carolina's part in the war between the states* in 1931 and endorsed James Truslow Adams' *Epic of America* for both personal use and for a book to place within a school's assortment of books. Adam's work, like that of all material endorsed by the organization, contains both aspects of the Lost Cause and language that supports it. Twice, before the subject of the American Civil War and the events leading up to it are even mentioned, Adams uses the word secession to describe two events in American history. The word is first used to describe the struggle of the original thirteen colonies against Great Britain.¹⁰ The use here by Adams undoubtedly links in the mind of the reader the notion of secession as a noble cause by establishing a connection between the American Revolution and Civil War.

In 1934, the state textbook commission met and selected the textbooks for the next period with the assistance of the textbook committee from the Division.¹¹ The next mention of the UDC's work is not in the realm of public education, but rather at the college level. In 1936, the UDC turned its attention briefly to schools when it donated S. A. Ashe's *A Southern View of the Invasion of the Southern States by the North, and the War of 1861-1865*. While the organization had an extreme focus on the literature used in their local schools, they also had an interest in

¹⁰ James Adams, *The Epic of America*, (New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1931), 72.

¹¹ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Thirty-eighth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1934. 82-83.

college education, albeit their interest tended towards financially sponsoring college education rather than shaping it.

Besides the crusade over Muzzey's textbook, the Daughters had no significant battles to wage against another book until the 1940s. When the North Carolina textbook committee met, they endorsed *North Carolina Yesterday and Today*, a text written by Julius (Jule) Warren which the UDC's textbook committee did not want to accept; they would have preferred one the UDC endorsed written by one Miss Willie Ashe.¹² In their crusade against the book by Warren, the Daughters had help. The assistance the North Carolina Division received was not initially from their usual source, the North Carolina textbook committee or the State Superintendent of Public Education, but rather their most ardent support for this particular literary battle came from newspaper articles calling for the removal of the book.

In the *News and Observer*, a statewide circulated newspaper, Nell Battle Lewis took the book to task with three articles condemning it for errors and for the perceived political dealings and failures that she believed led to the adoption of the book statewide.¹³ Previously, the UDC's rejection of Muzzey's book was due to the type of "inaccuracies" the work contained, but the main objection to Warren's book, at least from Lewis, was due to general chronological, grammatical, and contextual errors that seemingly plagued the text.¹⁴ Lewis highlighted several examples of errors such as incorrect biographical information given for political figures who

¹² United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Forty-fifth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1941. 85.

¹³ Nell Lewis, "A Political Stink—Part 3," *News and Observer*, March 16, 1941, 30.

¹⁴ Recall that the UDC's main objection to Muzzey's work had more to do with his views that they deemed biased, not in line with the Lost Cause, rather than his work containing simple and basic mistakes which was the main sticking point with the work of Warren.

were involved in North Carolina politics.¹⁵ Warren was confusing and inaccurate when he referred to the formation of the Republican party and the political campaign of 1860. Here, Warren not only gave inadequate context for the transition from the Whig party to the Republican party, but he also erred by not clearing up the political chronology. Thus, he made it sound as though the Whig party was still active in the presidential campaign of 1860 and that the formation of the Republican Party was in 1860.¹⁶

Lewis took no personal issue with Warren in her writings as one might expect, but her ire and contempt instead were directed toward the state textbook commission and its superintendent for adopting it for use. The state officials were rebuked for their adoption of the book due to Warren being an education official himself: “State education officials were criticized for not having reviewed the text themselves (or having it reviewed by a competent authority), and the role of the State School Commission in accepting a book prepared by one of its own members aroused suspicion of complicity.”¹⁷ Thus, there was perhaps favoritism at work in the selection of Warren’s book for use instead of those offered by more experienced authors. A simple cursory perusal of the book would have undoubtedly uncovered the inaccuracies that it contained, but it seems that they either missed them due to lack of knowledge of the subject themselves, or they simply did not care and thus the charge of favoritism from Lewis would have been accurate.

The potential of favoritism is further evident in Lewis’s scathing rebuke of the textbook committee since there was more than one option available to them. Lewis writes:

Adoption of the Warren textbook by the State Board of Education was particularly reprehensible because of the fact that the Board’s choice did not necessarily lie merely

¹⁵ Nell Lewis, “*A Political Stink—Part 2*,” *News and Observer*, March 9, 1941, 34.

¹⁶ Nell Lewis, “*A Political Stink—Part 2*,” *News and Observer*, March 9, 1941, 34.

¹⁷ William Powell, *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*: Vol. 6, T-Z, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1996), 126.

between the Warren text and the sound, accurate, well-organized Newsome-Lefler one containing certain realistic statements which the politicians could not stomach. There were at least three other texts on North Carolina history submitted.¹⁸

As evident, there were many other books that the governing body could have selected but chose not to. Lewis makes mention of statements that the committee could have chosen one by Newsome-Lefler but elected not to, in the opinion of Lewis, due to political statements within the book.¹⁹ The North Carolina Division attempted to block the acceptance of the book, but their efforts were in vain as the book was adopted before the bulk of their opposition could be stated to the committee.²⁰ Eventually however, due to the efforts of the textbook committee and their allies in the press, namely Lewis, the book was recalled by the governor to the joy of the UDC: “Since the adoption of the Warren History much has been done and said. The Book has been recalled by Governor Broughton, as it contained over 1,000 errors.”²¹ Once again we have an example of the UDC working in cooperation with the government to effect the change in education that they wanted. This event also highlights that the UDC not only had help from those in government, but also from one of the premier sources of information at the time, the newspaper.

In regard to inaccuracies, it appears that Warren’s book contained a number that no one would find acceptable, save maybe Warren himself. In this aspect, it seems that the opposition of the UDC may have served two purposes. The first would be the stated attack of incorrect information within the book which would have allowed them to appear concerned with the quality of education students received. There were so many inaccuracies, approximately 1,000,

¹⁸ Lewis, “Political,” 30.

¹⁹ Due to this occurring in 1941 the book mentioned here is most likely Lefler and Newsome’s *The growth of North Carolina* which was published in 1940.

²⁰ UDC, *Forty-fifth*, 85.

²¹ UDC, *Forty-fifth*, 86.

that they would have easily been able to discredit the book while attempting to reach another of their goals, namely, the introduction of more textbooks supporting the Lost Cause.²² No matter what the opinions of Warren about the Lost Cause or the Confederacy, it benefitted the UDC to attack it in order to appear to be the guardians of education irrespective of whether the Lost Cause was attached or not, thereby furthering their perceived educational legitimacy.

However, the Lost Cause can be found in Warren's book as he repeats its basic tenets throughout the chapter dedicated to the Civil War. Most significant is Warren's statement that states' rights was the issue over which the nation split, but to his credit, he does at least concede that slavery was the topic over which the debate for states' rights broke the nation.²³ Another popular trope of the Lost Cause that Warren's account uses was the claim that Southern generals were superior compared to their Northern counterparts and he heavily highlights both the manpower and logistical advantage of the North.²⁴ It seems as though Warren's argument for the superiority of Confederate generals was their success against the overwhelming odds they faced due to the difference in population and mechanization. Here, Warren is making the argument that the South only lost due to the overwhelming advantage of the North and not tactical errors on the part of the Confederate generals.

Warren's book has aspects of the Lost Cause woven into its analysis of the Civil War; however, it is not extraordinarily blatant nor is it as condemning of the North as the UDC would have liked. Because of this, it is easy to see why the North Carolina Division would not have wanted it to remain in use due to its lack of focus of the Civil War, lack of condemnation of the

²² Powell, *Dictionary*, 126.

²³ Julius Warren, *North Carolina Yesterday and Today*, (Raleigh: Printed by Edwards & Broughton Co. 1941), 165-166.

²⁴ Warren, *Yesterday*, 172-173.

North, and its inaccuracies. In addition, if there was no lack of championing the Lost Cause and the book was not plagued with inaccuracies, it is conceivable that there may have otherwise still been objection to the book, particularly, because the book was not well written.

Following the campaign to remove the Warren textbook from the school system in 1941, there was a significant lack of literary movement. The lack of progress was likely due to the Second World war that started in September 1939. The Second World War brought with it hardships that the North Carolina Division quickly adapted to. After the start of the war, the Daughters began monitoring their patriotic contribution to the war effort. This contribution manifested in several ways. Between American entry into the war in 1941 and the Daughters' next annual meeting, the organization contributed approximately 60,000 hours assisting the war effort. Additionally, the Daughters contributed overall roughly 321,000 hours to the Red Cross and other war relief efforts from the period 1942-45. With a reduced membership of 4,388 the Daughters managed to significantly contribute to the war effort.²⁵ Additionally, this decade was stable as far as decade long membership is concerned as the organization only lost a couple hundred active members between 1939 and 1949.²⁶

The patriotic activities of the North Carolina division did not stop at the war's end. Rather, for several decades they continued their volunteer work and continued to document their patriotic contributions. The war provided the Daughters with another opportunity to show their patriotism, but it came with a cost. In addition to the over 300,000 hours of service to the military effort and Red Cross during the war, they donated thousands of additional hours to

²⁵ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Forty-third Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1939. 50.

²⁶ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Fifty-third Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1949. 96

several other causes surrounding the war effort.²⁷ This commitment came at a cost to their mission of furthering the Lost Cause. While they were helping the physical war effort, their efforts in the literary war were on hold. As such, there was no real work accomplished in the Daughters' literary effort during the war. Additionally, any hours spent serving in patriotic fashion after the war's end took away from the Daughters effort to effect change. Couple the patriotic exertion with the decline in active membership, and the Daughters had less time and numbers to accomplish their literary goals.

In 1948, however, North Carolina adopted a new textbook that was satisfactory to the UDC. The textbook for the High School level was *The Development of America* by Wirt and was welcomed by the UDC. Particular praise was given for its lack of omission of "important phases" of US history and for its instruction of major events that had occurred recently such as the trial of war criminals and the control of atomic energy.²⁸ Three other texts are mentioned for this year; *American History for Young Americans* for seventh graders, *The Story of North Carolina*, and *The Growth of North Carolina*.²⁹ Lefler and Newsome's *The Growth of North Carolina* provides a prime example of the kind of scholarship the North Carolina division wanted for history textbooks for use in the public schools. Not only was it a book which contained tenets of the Lost Cause, but it was also a book which focused on the history of North Carolina written by North Carolinians.³⁰ The southern identities of the authors harken back to the writings of Mildred

²⁷ This number is drawn from the patriotic service reports of the organization for the years of the war.

²⁸ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Fifty-second Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1948. 71.

²⁹ UDC, *Fifty-second*, 71.

³⁰ Sam Ragan, "Remembering Stalwarts." (The North Carolina Historical Review 59, no. 2 1982),

Rutherford in which she wanted Southern as opposed to Northern historians to write the history of the South.

The *Growth of North Carolina* is not unlike other texts which contain positive analysis of the Lost Cause. It refers to the American Civil War as the “War for Southern Independence” and with that statement Lefler and Newsome cast the Confederacy into a positive light harkening back to the Revolutionary War by playing on the idea of a suppressed people fighting against a tyrannical regime.³¹ It also tackles the issue of slavery and its role in sparking the conflict, however, Lefler and Newsome take a less than condemning approach and simply recount both the economic and cultural reasons for the institution’s continuation in the South.³² For example, in addition to acknowledging that slavery was a system of control that whites held over blacks, Lefler and Newsome write about the necessity of slavery to repay the slave owners, provide them with a living, and to make a profit.³³ While it is not extraordinary in its approach to the topic, Lefler and Newsome’s work, from the standpoint of furthering the Lost Cause and North Carolina centric history, is exactly what the North Carolina Division wanted.

Besides the texts mentioned, the UDC again had a supposed non-ideological objection to the way students were being taught. The objection the North Carolina Division had was the way that history and geography were not being presented together. According to their report, when the seventh graders were reading *American History for Young Americans*, their geography textbook was instructing them on the geography of South America.³⁴ It stands to reason that with

³¹ Albert Newsome and Hugh Lefler, *The Growth of North Carolina*, (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y. World Book Company, 1940), 258.

³² Newsome, and Lefler, *Growth*, 262.

³³ Newsome and Lefler, *Growth*, 262.

³⁴ UDC, *Fifty-second*, 71.

this objection the North Carolina Division was more concerned with the students of North Carolina learning about their own history before moving on to the history of other cultures and nations. While not necessarily a negative, it does raise the question of whether or not this was an actual educational issue. More than anything, the opposition of the Daughters was most likely a reflection of nationalism and hyper-patriotism than any actual educational concern from the North Carolina Division on behalf of students' education.

Furthermore, the UDC was concerned with the future of children's education not related to the Civil War:

The urgency of the world conditions, and the demands at this time, call for definite curriculum changes to prepare youth for modern life. A speed, accuracy, efficiency, and skills not known to past generations are in demand in this atomic age. The texts should be written to prepare for present and future, as well as to understand the past.³⁵

While this may not be some extraordinary revelation on the surface, it does mark a change in the way that the organization's educational efforts can be viewed. The United Daughters of the Confederacy was an organization that was founded to spread the Lost Cause and enshrine its legacy in the United States. Although their primary goal was the promulgation of the Lost Cause, they also had an interest in preparing the future generations for more than just becoming mouthpieces for Confederate propaganda. The Division should not be let off of the hook for all that they have done, but it does show that their minds were not only occupied with the defeat of the dreaded Yankee's perspective.

Strangely, although the UDC had no stated objection to texts used in the 1948 school year, within just two years (1950) they would claim that there were no textbooks that adequately portrayed their view of the Civil War. Despite their earlier successes, it seems that now the UDC

³⁵ UDC, *Fifty-Second*, 71.

found themselves in a situation over which they had no perceived control over the textbooks used in the state. Concerning the textbooks in use they wrote: “In them no adequate coverage of truthful and impartial writings of the period of the War Between the States (1861-1865) is found. Incessantly the term “Civil War” is used. “Slavery,” as the main cause of the conflict is played up; which this organization refutes.”³⁶ In the preceding decade the North Carolina Division of the UDC lodged no complaints over content in history textbooks pertaining to the Civil War, but in 1950 it seems as though views that they were diametrically opposed to crept up on them in the school-approved texts.

To fight the perceived evils they had uncovered, the North Carolina Division of the UDC turned once again to mass mobilization of their members. Although, their numbers had continued to fall from 1939-1949 ending the 1940s at 4,127 active members as opposed to the 4,388 members in 1939, the Daughters continued to fight for the preservation of the Lost Cause in literature.³⁷ Their goal was to enact a proverbial bombardment of the State Superintendent and the State Textbook Committee chairman to ask them to review the histories used in the school system and to provide analysis of them in a report to be given back to the Daughters.³⁸ Strangely, textbooks are not emphasized again until 1955, but that report makes mention of several texts in use that likely would have been approved in 1950 that the UDC specifically did not have an objection to earlier.³⁹

³⁶ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Fifty-fourth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1950. 76.

³⁷ UDC, *Fifty-third*, 96.

³⁸ UDC, *Fifty-Fourth*, 76-77.

³⁹ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Fifty-ninth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1955. 58-59.

The loss would only be exacerbated in the following decades as the nation underwent the Korean War and the Civil Rights movement gathered increased momentum. At the close of the period of maintenance, the UDC had continued to occupy their role as the guardians of education in the South. Throughout the decades the Daughters were able to remove material they deemed unusable and continued to work hard to instill Lost Cause texts in the North Carolina school system. After this period, the organization would no longer have the same ability to effect the change in the literary battle that they had enjoyed for the first half of the century. This is partially due to the loss of membership ending the 1950s with 3,746 members but it is also due to the Daughters' continued split focus.⁴⁰

During the Cold War Era, the North Carolina Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy faced challenges unlike ever before. The 1950s saw *Brown v. Board of Education* and as the 1960s approached the Civil Rights Era was in full swing. In North Carolina, one such demonstration of the fight for integration occurred in Greensboro where a group of African American college students protested segregation at a Woolworths with one of the most famous sit-ins in the quest for racial equality.⁴¹ Almost 100 years after the beginning of the American Civil War, the Civil Rights movement was underway in the Southern United States:

The centennial of the Civil War coincided with the southern civil rights movement; the memories of the Confederacy were reinforced by the celebration of the centennial and were revitalized by the perceived threats to white supremacy raised by the sit-ins, the boycotts, and the marchers and protesters in Greensboro, Nashville, Birmingham, St. Augustine, Selma, and dozens of other southern cities and towns in the 1950s and 1960s.⁴²

⁴⁰ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Sixty-third Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1959. 75

⁴¹ Bruce Dierenfield, *Civil Rights Movement: The Black Freedom Struggle in America*. (n.p. ROUTLEDGE. 2021), 64-66.

⁴² Stuart Towns, *Enduring Legacy: Rhetoric and Ritual of the Lost Cause*, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2012) Accessed February 16, 2023. ProQuest Ebook Central. 118.

Unfortunately for those seeking equal rights and the defeat of the Lost Cause, they were up against a system in the South whose leadership had been inundated in the Lost Cause for decades.⁴³ However, all was not as hopeless as the UDC would have wanted. The rest of this chapter will relate the reasons for the decline of the Daughters' power, influence, and drive to carry out their war for the enshrinement of the Lost Cause.

In her work, *Mothers of Massive Resistance*, Elizabeth McRae notes the impact of female segregationists on the South and the fight they waged to uphold segregation and Jim Crow. McRae posits that segregation of schools was the most visible form of expression that was taken by the segregationists attempting to uphold racial segregation.⁴⁴ Nominally, that is true, and it is easy to see that segregation of schools was central to the plans of the purveyors of the Lost Cause, however, its visible segregated nature allowed the Lost Cause texts to flourish. School texts were undoubtedly a less visible form of expression for the Lost Cause to flourish in, but the overarching segregated structure provided the cover needed for their impact. What did it matter which texts were used if the schools were segregated? Even after the integration of schools, the Civil Rights Era would run its course before the Daughters' efforts in North Carolina would face the threat of texts teaching African American cultural history.

The UDC had to contend with the potential implementation of other cultural histories being pursued for historical study in public education. The introduction of other cultural viewpoints was likely one of the worst-case scenarios for the UDC. At the time, there had been a rumor of a request for the addition of another cultural history that would not only have added to

⁴³ Towns, *Legacy*, 118-119.

⁴⁴ McRae, Elizabeth Gillespie *Mothers of Massive Resistance: White Women and the Politics of White Supremacy*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2017. 184.

the condensing of the Civil War curriculum, but also cast it in a light that the UDC would be diametrically opposed to. That topic would be the addition of the “Cultural History of the Black Man.”⁴⁵ The rumor was that all of the textbooks for 1970 would have had to include cultural history of African Americans.⁴⁶ The way in which that history would have been presented would have been the opposite of what the UDC’s lost cause narrative. The Daughters had survived the Civil Rights Era, but now they were facing some of the cultural changes that were to come about as a result of the Civil Rights Movement’s impact on the United States. That a rumor would have been spread about the potential inclusion of this form of history shows the progress that had been made against the Division’s monopoly on school texts.

While the UDC had been fighting the introduction of opposing views of history, they also began to run into what may have been the downfall of the organization. The UDC initially posted strong numbers when it came to membership, but throughout the decades their membership declined. By 1929 the UDC’s active membership was 7,345 members. While they had their spirits up during the initial years of the depression, by the end of the decade (1939) their membership had dropped to 4,388 members.⁴⁷ At the end of the decade, the North Carolina division had lost nearly 3,000 active members yet boasted an increase in total membership registered.⁴⁸ While it seems that the organization technically had a victory in terms of total membership achieved, it suffered loss in terms of active membership.⁴⁹ While the total increase looked positive on paper, in reality the loss of several thousand willing foot soldiers in the

⁴⁵ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Seventy-third Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1969. 92.

⁴⁶ UDC, *Seventy-Third*, 92.

⁴⁷ Note: The figures above are for active membership. The North Carolina Division reported an increase in total membership between 1929 and 1939 but a decrease in active membership.

⁴⁸ UDC, *Forty-third*, 50.

⁴⁹ UDC, *Forty-third*, 50.

literary war and their struggle for the enshrinement of the Lost Cause in society certainly hampered the North Carolina Division's efforts both in regard to educational influence and overall cultural impact. At this point, the decline's inception did not mean that the Division would no longer be an effective force, but rather that the 1930s marked the beginning of a negative trend in the North Carolina Division's membership.

While this may have not been drastically felt initially, this trend over a period of several decades would have a lasting effect on the organization's operational capabilities. The decrease from 1939 was not so large as the total active members in 1949 was 4,127.⁵⁰ Once again there was not a drastic drop as the membership at the end of the 1950s was 3,746 members.⁵¹ However, there was a significant loss of members in the 1960s as the total number of active members was only 3,000 in 1969.⁵² Finally, the last full decade examined is the 1970s in which the North Carolina Division ended with an active membership of 2,493.⁵³

It is important to note that the UDC continued to strive for their goal of enshrining the Lost Cause and they reportedly were still making progress in 1976, but it was no longer their main goal. Long gone were the days in which they held considerable sway; their main goal shifted to that of survival. "We have reached many goals as you can see from the different reports. We have made many strides in all of our work, and I feel that our work has been wonderful in all field EXCEPT MEMBERSHIP. New members must still be our number ONE

⁵⁰ UDC, *Fifty-third*, 96.

⁵¹ UDC, *Sixty-third*, 75.

⁵² UDC, *Seventy-third*, 92.

⁵³ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Eighty-third Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1979. 84.

goal.”⁵⁴ The UDC’s very survival was beginning to come into question as membership became their number one concern. Couple this with the President of the North Carolina Division reporting that certain chapters no longer wanted new members and only wanted to maintain the status quo and the UDC was thrown into crisis.⁵⁵ Rather than continuing to be an organization devoted to spreading the Lost Cause, it seems that to some members it had devolved into nothing more than a social club.

Another factor adding to the Daughters’ declining contribution was their split focus. As has been previously contended, the Division was concerned with their patriotic image. Naturally, as a group dedicated to the preservation of memory of a band of rebels, they were concerned as to how their patriotism for the Confederacy would be seen in regard to their dedication to the United States after the war’s end. The Second World War provided a plethora of opportunities for the membership of the organization to demonstrate their loyalty and love for their country. On paper this sounds like a positive, and undoubtedly their volunteering was an area for which the Division could genuinely be recognized for its positive contribution to the United States. While this dedication undoubtedly helped their image, it came with a significant time commitment.

The Daughters did not simply stop their patriotic activity after the conclusion, but rather they continued it for decades, albeit not at the same level as they had during the Second World War. In spite of that, the Daughters served continuously through both the Korean and Vietnam wars, yet their best decade of volunteerism after World War Two amounted to only a fraction of

⁵⁴ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Eightieth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1976. 75.

⁵⁵ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Seventy-fifth Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1971. 73.

time donated. Between their starting recording year of 1942 and 1979, the Division donated over 880,000 hours to either patriotic services or other organizations and causes.⁵⁶ However, despite this being a positive for the nation as it certainly benefitted from the volunteer effort for the wars, it may not have been the most beneficial of moves for the Division in the long run. Every hour given in service to the community not in the vein of the Lost Cause detracted from the ability of the North Carolina Division to promulgate the Lost Cause. That is not to say that the women of the UDC did not use it to their favor, but rather it represents another avenue of commitment that took away resources from their battle in the literary and educational wars.

Additionally, the ties to patriotism in the Cold War era harkens back to the UDC's fight against Muzzey's textbook and its stated ties to left wing politics. The criticism of Muzzey's book nationally included criticism of anti-American sentiments.⁵⁷ The UDC did not want to seem anti-American and therefore backed the critics of Muzzey's book from this angle. Future armed conflicts, however, gave the Division another chance to display their patriotic fervor. While World War Two was a fight against fascism, Korea and Vietnam were battles against communism. So, while the Daughters' patriotic contributions are certainly admirable, there is a notion that some of their efforts may have been to continue to bolster perceptions of their patriotism against their ideology's past as the preferred viewpoint of traitors.

Lack of membership, factors such as decline in political power, and a split in the Daughters' focus between education and patriotic activity hurt their efforts. One way to observe

⁵⁶ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Forty-sixth through the Eighty-third Annual Conventions of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division. 1942-1979.*

⁵⁷ Recall that these were not accurate accusations, but rather nationalistic attacks on historical accuracy regarding the national identity of the revolutionaries leading up to and during the American Revolution.

the decline in their effectiveness is by looking at the number of talks given in schools and the number of pupils addressed in each decade. In the 1930s, there were nearly 1,000,000 students addressed in the schools of the state by members of the Division.⁵⁸ With the difficulties of the depression coupled with the strain of World War Two in terms of supplies and hours given to volunteering, that number dropped to 430,000 for the 1940s.⁵⁹ Continuing into the 1950s students addressed dropped once again to 149,000.⁶⁰ For the 1960s the number was reduced to 78,000.⁶¹ By the 1970s, less than 10,000 students were included for the entire decade.⁶² The decline in the students addressed in schools is just one example of the reduction in the Daughters' efforts overtime.

The membership crisis did not completely spell the end of the North Carolina division as it has lasted for almost five decades after 1976, but it does speak to the decline of the organization. The decline of the North Carolina division of the UDC had been happening for decades and the loss of members, Civil Rights, and split focus undoubtedly affected their ability to effect change in North Carolina textbooks. However, while they may not wield the overt power they once held, they have achieved many of their goals as the Lost Cause continues to dominate conversations about the memory of the Civil War.

⁵⁸ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Thirty-fourth through Forty-third Annual Conventions of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1930-1939.

⁵⁹ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Forty-fourth through Fifty-third Annual Conventions of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1940-1949.

⁶⁰ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Fifty-fourth through Sixty-third Annual Conventions of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1950-1959.

⁶¹ United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Sixty-fourth through Seventy-third Annual Conventions of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1960-1969.

⁶² United Daughters of the Confederacy. *Minutes of the Seventy-fourth through Eighty-third Annual Conventions of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, North Carolina Division*. 1970-1979.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

The memory and memorialization of the Confederacy continues to be an ongoing issue to the present day and shows no sign of wavering. While in recent years more has been done to remove symbols of the Confederacy, there are many who still remain loyal to the Lost Cause and fight for its place in the public square. As recently as 2017, there was a deadly riot in Charlottesville, Virginia which was sparked by the issue of the removal of a monument dedicated to the memory of Robert E. Lee. Consequently, the riot sparked a national debate on the existence of the statues in the public eye and places of prominence. It seems that although the UDC's influence is not as prominent as it once was, the ideology it helped enshrine is still very much alive.

Although their ideology is still around today, the Division's impact on literature has experienced a dramatic decline. Yet, their legacy may be beyond that of their ideology. Instead, the Daughters may be most memorable educationally speaking for the framework that analysis of their work and tactics in the literary war provides of groups fighting on a different front of that war. As this thesis has shown, the Daughters had a framework for their fight and had political support as their political party had a stranglehold on the State of North Carolina. In addition, they also had ideological support as in the Jim Crow era the politicians of the day held to the same beliefs as the Division. Thus, the Daughters had a tremendous foundation with which to launch their campaign. These advantages coupled with their tactics of bombardment of officials when they required their aid and the fervency with which they targeted any literature that they deemed offensive provides any group seeking to learn how to be successful in a battle for a particular ideology with a foundation on which to base their own tactics.

Battles over what is taught in schools are still being fought in the present not unlike those that the Daughters waged in the 20th century. While the issues being contested have somewhat changed, it does not mean that the modern fight in the literature wars is any less important or severe. Race is still an integral issue albeit in a somewhat different form as both sides of the political aisle claim the other is either too sensitive to racial issues or not sensitive enough.¹ Additionally, issues of gender, sexuality, and sex education are of increasing importance in the literary war of the modern day. While these books are not always history texts in the vein that the Daughters were railing against, it is worth noting that the UDC also went after literature that was not directly being used as a school textbook but was available for use in the library.

Race is a central issue today just as it was in the years that the Daughters were at the height of their power. Both the inclusion of diverse literature and the ban of literature with a negative racial component are issues of contention. In the current climate, segregation and the Lost Cause has been replaced with a fight over the ban or inclusion of Critical Race Theory (CRT). CRT is a method through which academics attempt to address racial inequality through curriculum although its original purpose was to address racial inequality in the legal system. The problem is that both sides of the political aisle reportedly believe that the other is winning the battle regarding CRT in schools.² Thus, neither side is likely to stop their fight for either its ban or implementation in school curricula.

One organization attempting to document the ongoing war is PEN America which houses information regarding book banning along with information for writers whose work has been

¹ Anthony Zurcher, "Why are certain school books being banned in US?," *BBC News*, February 7th, 2022. Accessed February 25th, 2023.

² Anthony Zurcher, "Critical race theory: the concept dividing the US," *BBC News*, July 22nd, 2021. Accessed March, 14th 2023.

banned on their website.³ One key piece of information is the organization's stated description of parents' rights with regard to the material their children would be educated with. One statement from their website reads: "While parents and guardians ought to be partners with educators in their children's education, and need channels for communicating with school administrators, teachers, and librarians, particularly concerning the education of their own children, public schools are by design supposed to rely on the expertise, ethics, and discretion of educational professionals to make decisions."⁴ While that statement seems indisputable, it is more than likely that if the experts had an opinion or ideology differing from PEN's that the organization would be calling for reform.

Additionally, PEN America included this in their statement on parental rights in education:

Although 'parents' rights' is a powerful piece of political rhetoric, in most instances, it is being invoked to mean rights for a particular group of parents with distinct ideological views, rather than a neutral effort to engage all parents and students in ensuring that schools uphold free speech rights.⁵

The problem with that statement is that it assumes that schools are a place of neutrality in which every viewpoint can be expressed with zero backlash. Going even further is the notion that the educational experts are unbiased. Bias is everywhere; everyone has it whether it affects their judgement consciously or subconsciously; school textbook and library book selections will never be free from bias no matter the ideology of the individual or group making the selection.

Just like in the case of the Daughters, motherhood and parental instinct plays a key role in this generation's fight for their ideologies and beliefs in school texts. It is an understandable

³ PEN America, *FAQ*, Accessed February 26th, 2023.

⁴ PEN America, *FAQ*, 1.

⁵ PEN America, *FAQ*, 1.

phenomenon that parents would be concerned about what their children were being taught in school, especially if that is counteractive to their own personal beliefs. Thus, protective instinct is still a major driving force and provides activists with needed motivation in their fight against texts that oppose their viewpoints. A conservative activist group, Moms For Liberty, are a clear example of this. Much like the Daughters' own literary efforts, the Moms For Liberty are an organization founded for the express purpose of promoting liberty through education.⁶ Additionally, like the Daughters, they have a relationship with a political party, the Republican Party, particularly in Florida where they have a special relationship with Governor Ron DeSantis who has made educational reform a part of his mission.⁷ In addition to their roots in Florida, they boast a nationwide network of chapters.

One aspect of this parental protection is observable in the fight to ban explicit materials from being accessible in school libraries. It is entirely reasonable that parents would want to protect their children from material that they simply are not old enough or mature enough to process. Thus, using the protection of children's innocence as a reason to ban books can be a powerful tool in the literary battle. In Florida, there is at least one example of a book with sexually explicit material that is graphic in its depiction of intercourse complete in graphic novel format.⁸ With the possibility of explicit texts being available to children, even highschoolers, it is

⁶ Moms for Liberty, *FAQ*, Accessed February 26th, 2023 [Who We Are | M4L National - USA | \(momsforliberty.org\)](https://www.momsforliberty.org/who-we-are)

⁷ Andrew Atterbury, "Moms for Liberty' mobilize for school board races—with DeSantis in tow," *Politico*, July 15, 2022.

⁸ Travis, Scott; Anthony, Man; and Postal, Leslie: "Broward high schools remove book reported by parents' group and labeled by DeSantis administration as pornographic." February 15th, 2023 [Broward high schools remove book reported by parents' group and labeled by DeSantis administration as pornographic – Sun Sentinel \(sun-sentinel.com\)](https://www.sun-sentinel.com/story/news/education/2023/02/15/broward-high-schools-remove-book-reported-by-parents-group-and-labeled-by-de-santis-administration-as-pornographic/7000000001/)

easy to see why parents would be worried about their rights and influence over school library books and textbooks.⁹

A member of Moms for Liberty summed up that argument in a column for the Charlotte Observer. The argument was that in all other aspects of modern society there are rules and guidelines concerning what content is appropriate for consumption by children. Movies have a rating system, consuming alcohol is illegal before 21 years of age, and video games all have aspects of restriction for the benefit of the individual.¹⁰ Movies, television programs, and video games all fall within that category, but there is a measure of discretion that the parent wields regarding when to expose their children to certain elements of the more graphic examples in these categories.¹¹ Yet the Moms argue that that is not the same standard that is held for books in schools as they feel as though their parental right to discretion is not being respected in schools like it is in other realms of society.

As has been examined with the Daughters, political coverage and pressure are fundamental to wage a successful battle in the literary war, but the Moms not only have two governors sympathetic to their cause, they are seeking their own political offices. Founded by former members of Florida school boards, they understand the power of educational office.¹² Backed by Governor DeSantis and empowered nationwide by a stated growing membership, it seems as though the Moms for Liberty will continue to remain prominent in the war over school

⁹ In this particular instance it was reported that no one actually checked out the book in one school's library and it was only somewhat available at others. The book in question also was not recommended for anyone below the 9th grade level.

¹⁰ Anonymous, "You've got us all wrong. Moms for Liberty isn't about banning books," December 28th, 2022. [Moms for Liberty is about parental rights, not banning books | Charlotte Observer](#)

¹¹ Anonymous, "Liberty," 1.

¹² Moms for Liberty, "FAQ," 1

literature, however, only time can truly tell what their impact will be.¹³ Currently the group has been influential on the conservative side of the literary war, but given the organization's short existence it is too early to say whether or not they will have the same enduring impact on literature that the Daughters did in their campaign to enshrine the Lost Cause into school texts.

Yet Mom's for Liberty's own stated objectives leaves a question unanswered. Given their stated views on the parents' rights to be in control over their children's education, what would they do in the event they win? Undoubtedly, as long as separate ideologies exist there will be a fight. What happens if the pendulum shifts and the literature they promote is suddenly subject to be banned in schools? The problem with book banning is the precedent it sets. One group's book banning is seen as an injustice by their opponents and vice versa.

This thesis offers no path forward beyond the banning or endorsement of books; rather, it acknowledges that due to the nature of politics and ideological clashes that this method of control is never likely to be removed from the repertoire of individuals and groups seeking to exert their influence to gain power over narratives. Just like the Daughters promulgated the Lost Cause for decades following their inception, so too will groups holding varying viewpoints continue to wage battles against their ideological foes. The literary war will likely never end, but examination of past battles and actors provides a glimpse into the strategies and tactics that can be used to effect change in literature.

¹³ At the time of writing the group is being reported as having a membership of around 100,000.

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