

THE LOST CAUSE, RECONCILIATION, AND WHITE SUPREMACY IN
SOUTH CAROLINA'S EDUCATION SYSTEM, 1920 – 1940.

Jeffrey Allan Bird, Jr.

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Master's Thesis Committee

John Kaufman-McKivigan, Ph.D., Chair

Anita Morgan, Ph.D.

Jennifer Guiliano, Ph.D.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my grandparents, John and Shirley Barton, without whom my love of history would have never began. I love you both!

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CAROLINA'S EDUCATION SYSTEM, 1920 – 1940.

Between 1920 and 1940, South Carolina saw major changes in its education system both in response to low literacy rates in the state and as part of a national trend in education reform. The period also saw the emergence of one history textbook as the dominant history text for middle school students across the state. William Gilmore Simms and his granddaughter, Mary C. Simms Oliphant, the authors of this history text, had influence over middle school-aged children's history education for over a century with their books being used in South Carolina schools in some capacity from around 1840 until 1985.

These books exhibit strong influence from the Lost Cause Movement, as well as reconciliationist and white supremacist ideology, to present a more pro-southern point of view of the Civil War. Through heroification—the remaking of historical figures into heroes despite their flaws—revision/omission, and both implicit and explicit racism, Simms and Simms-Oliphant weaved narratives that twisted the facts of the Civil War era. These narratives implanted in the seventh and eighth grade students' minds who typically read the textbooks' false ideas about the events and people involved in the war.

While research on history textbooks generally is widespread, there have been no in-depth studies of the influence of Simms and Simms-Oliphant on South Carolina's education system. In the 1920s and 1930s, when students across the country on average completed eight to nine years of school, Simms' and Simms-Oliphant's books would have been the last history book many of those students would have read before ending

their schooling. This gave these two authors immense power to influence public opinion in South Carolina.

Ultimately, it appears that education is the primary tool through which South Carolina, and other southern states, have institutionalized Lost Cause, reconciliationist, and white supremacist narratives of the Civil War era that continue to influence public opinion in South Carolina and across the South.

John Kaufman-McKivigan, Ph.D., Chair

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INTRODUCTION

In November 2013, former First Lady Michelle Obama visited Bell Multicultural High School in Washington, D.C. to speak to sophomores who would eventually be the college class of 2020 about the importance of their education. She stressed that the power to influence their education was in their hands. Their education would help to make this country a better place.¹

The now-former First Lady clearly understood that education wields a significant amount of power. Students may only learn history from their middle school and high school history textbooks. This lack of college-level history education gives those primary and secondary textbooks immense power and influence over the ideas and opinions that many will carry with them for the rest of their lives. Middle and high school level history is a contested site where authors intent on telling a twisted version of history have attempted to wield control over historical narratives. History textbooks, for example, became the primary path through which South Carolina educators and administrations, as well as those in other southern states, institutionalized a Lost Cause driven narrative surrounding the Civil War and Reconstruction era (c. 1860 – 1876).² Those involved in the Lost Cause movement, an attempt by former Confederates to explain the South's defeat and maintain white control over the political process, led this effort to create a version of the South's demise that romanticized the bravery of its soldiers and war heroes

¹ Tina Tchen, "The First Lady on the Power of Education," The White House. Web. Accessed February 2, 2021. <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2013/11/12/first-lady-power-education-12>

² While the definition of what is "false" may vary with each author's viewpoint, the basic definition I am working off of is any information that contradicts well known and accepted fact and/or that exaggerates some information while excluding other information in a way that changes the narrative.

rather than highlighting its losses and desire to continue slavery.³ Textbook authors relied on three approaches to their Lost Cause influenced histories: heroification, or the creation of heroes out of historical figures; revision and omission, which worked to change or leave out important parts of the story; and implicit and explicit racism.⁴

The records of the South Carolina State Board of Education and the state superintendent of education in the 1920s and 1930s as well as a series of books published by famed author William Gilmore Simms and his granddaughter Mary C. Simms-Oliphant form the basis of this analysis. These two authors wrote textbooks for school-age children about the history of South Carolina. Simms published his first history textbook in 1840. Oliphant later revised and published editions of his book from 1917 until 1932 when she began to publish her own narrative. Between Simms' first book published in 1840 and Oliphant's book, which was in use until 1985, these two authors wielded almost exclusive influence over the history education of South Carolina's middle school-aged children for 145 years.⁵

³ Matthew Wills, "Origins of the Confederate Lost Cause, The Mythos of the Lost Cause of the Confederacy." JSTOR. Web. Accessed. June 16, 2020. <https://daily.jstor.org/origins-confederate-lost-cause/>; When using the word "South," I am referring to those states that were in active rebellion against the United States. While the border states did maintain slavery and also contributed soldiers to the Confederacy, they were not officially politically tied to the Confederacy.

⁴ James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me, Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong*, (New York: The New Press, 2018), 11; Lincoln Quillian, "Does Unconscious Racism Exist?" *Social Psychology Quarterly* 71, No. 1: 6-11; Sally Lehrman. "The Implicit Prejudice." *Scientific American* 294. No 6: 32, 34; Oluo, Ijeoma, *So You Want to Talk About Race* (New York; Seal Press, 2019); Robin DiAngelo, *White Fragility: Why It's So Hard for White People to Talk About Racism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2018).

⁵ Michael Odom and W. Matthew J. Simmons, "The History of South Carolina, From Its First European Discovery to Its Erection into a Republic," The Simms Initiatives, University of South Carolina. Web. Accessed January 27, 2021. http://simms.library.sc.edu/view_item.php?item=123805; Mary C. Simms Oliphant, *The Simms History of South Carolina* (Columbia, SC: The State Company, 1932); William Gilmore Simms *The History of South Carolina*. Edited by Mary C Simms Oliphant. Columbia, SC: The State Company, 1927; William Gilmore Simms, *The History of South Carolina*. Edited by Mary C Simms Oliphant, Revised Edition ed.)Columbia, SC: The State Company, 1922).

Between 1919 and 1920, the median number of years in school most students in the United States completed was around 8.2. That number increased by only 0.2 years between 1920 and 1930. It then increased by another 0.2 years again between 1930 and 1940. It was not until 1969 that most students in the country completed 12 or more years of school.⁶ Most students' history education ended in seventh or eighth grade, the terminal years that coincided with use of Simms' and Simms-Oliphant's books in South Carolina schools. The combination of trends in years of completion in school and the number of years these books were used make these sources the most important resources in the entire study of South Carolina's history education in the early to mid-twentieth century. Simms and Oliphant achieved this level of influence primarily through Simms' fame and prestige. Though his writing was more localized compared to Oliphant's state-wide use, Simms dreams of having his own history textbook for South Carolina became a constant, and sometimes frustrating, part of his life.

William Gilmore Simms (Picture 1) was born on April 17, 1806, in Charleston, South Carolina to William Gilmore Simms Sr. and Harriet Ann Augusta. His father, a military veteran, fought in the Creek Indian Wars (1813-1814) and served under General Andrew Jackson during the War of 1812. His mother died shortly after his father left for the Creek Indian Wars. Simms was raised by his grandmother and developed an interest in history through her relating



Picture 1: Portrait of William Gilmore Simms. By an unknown artist.⁷

⁶ Thomas D. Snyder, Editor, *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, 1993), 21.

tales of the American Revolution.⁷ At ten years old, his grandmother sent him to a grammar school located on the grounds of the College of Charleston, South Carolina. While there, he learned how to read in multiple languages including French, Latin, German, and Spanish. After two years in grammar school, he left to become a druggist apprentice.⁸ In 1824, after a visit to his father in Mississippi, he returned to Charleston to study law. He started a literary weekly called *The Album*, and became engaged to Anna Malcolm Giles, the “daughter of a grocer and former state coroner.”⁹ Simms and Giles married a year later in 1825. He was admitted to the South Carolina bar six months after the wedding. Despite his interest in law, Simms devoted time to literary pursuits. Simms’ early literary career was concentrated in poetry with his first book of poems published in 1825. He would publish a new book of poems about every three years throughout his life. He released a new work of fiction typically once a year. Simms also regularly published original orations, histories, and biographies as well as “edited collections of documents and dramas and a geography of South Carolina.”¹⁰ Between all of his different publications, he had something coming off the press approximately every three months. Simms’ fiction saw nation-wide popularity. It would climb to its peak in the 1830s and 1840s when historical fiction, Simms’ forte, was all the rage but would quickly decline

⁷ Mary C. Simms-Oliphant, *National Register of Historical Places Inventory Nomination Form: William Gilmore Simms Estate, Bamberg County, South Carolina*. National Parks Service. Web. Accessed January 14, 2021. https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/GetAsset/NHLS/71000742_text; *William Gilmore Simms*, n.d., oil on canvas, 67.3 x 55.2 x 2.5 cm, National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C., accessed February 23, 2021. https://npg.si.edu/object/npg_NPG.95.20?destination=portraits/search%3Fedan_q%3DArtists%26edan_fq%5B0%5D%3Donline_visual_material%253Atrue%26edan_fq%5B1%5D%3Dset_name%253A%2522American%2520Origins%2522%26edan_fq%5B2%5D%3Dtopic%253A%2522Men%2522%26edan_local%3D1

⁸ David Moltke-Hansen, “William Gilmore Simms: An Overview,” The Simms Initiatives, University of South Carolina. Web. Accessed January 14, 2021. <http://simms.library.sc.edu/biography.php>; Oliphant, *National Register*.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

by 1850. Simms' attention turned more to politics resulting in a sharp decrease in his publication of texts and popularity.¹¹ He published a few books in the 1850s, but the majority of his most popular works were published in the 1830s and 1840s.¹²

Simms held a deep pride in the South. Though he often visited the North, he lived exclusively in his home state of South Carolina. Simms' pride in his southern heritage skirted the line between reality and fantasy. He once declared proudly, "I am an ultra Southron." A Southron is a person from the South.¹³ Though he criticized the South for its tendency toward luxury and its economic weakness, he also proclaimed strong support for the institution of slavery.¹⁴ His defense of slavery is best characterized in a letter he wrote in response to critiques on American culture by Harriet Martineau of England in her publication *Society in America*. In his letter he wrote:

They [our founders] were democrats, not levellers. Democracy is not levelling—it is, properly defined, the harmony of the moral world. It insists upon inequalities, as its law declares, that all men should hold the place to which they are properly entitled. The definition of true liberty, the undisturbed possession of that place in society to which our moral and intellectual merits entitle us. *He is a freeman, whatever his condition, who fills his proper place. He is a slave only, who is forced into a position in society below the claims of his intellect. He cannot but be a tyrant who is found in a position for which his mind is unprepared, and to which it is inferior.*¹⁵

Simms asserted that people were born into the class and race into which they belonged. He believed that enslaved people were of the lowest level of society because they were

¹¹ Moltke-Hansen, "William Gilmore Simms."

¹² Oliphant, *National Register*

¹³ J.V. Ridgely, *William Gilmore Simms* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1962), 19; "Southron," Merriam-Webster. Web. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/Southron>; The word Southron originated in Scotland and was originally used to describe people from England. It was later adopted in the US to describe people from the southern United States.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 21.

¹⁵ Ridgely, *William Gilmore Simms*, 22-23.

“inferior” and not mentally capable of occupying a higher rung in society. He opposed his home state only once during the Nullification Crisis of 1832-1833 when South Carolina, led by then-Vice-President John Calhoun, opposed the tariff acts passed by President Andrew Jackson and declared that a state could ignore or nullify a federal law.¹⁶ Simms took a Unionist stance, believing that states could not nullify laws passed at the federal level.¹⁷

As early as 1851, Simms concluded that the United States needed to split into two distinct and separate nations with slavery being the primary division. His opposition to abolition was heightened after Harriet Beecher Stowe published *Uncle Tom's Cabin* whose themes so enraged Simms that he chose to publish his own work of fiction, *Woodcraft*, as a response to Stowe's book. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* clearly identified and challenged the evils of slavery. Stowe wrote in the preface of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, “The object of these sketches . . . is to awake sympathy and feeling for the African race, as they exist among us; to show their wrongs and sorrows, under a system so necessarily cruel and unjust.”¹⁸ No Christian could “enforce or obey” laws that protected slavery.¹⁹ In order to avoid offending his northern readership, Simms critiqued *Uncle Tom's Cabin* through humor. The main character's wit and good nature in *Woodcraft* was the driving force of the book's tenor. Simms weaved a narrative of slaveholders as kind and caring, and the South as misrepresented by northerners. He romanticized the past believing that the “ideal society” was in the past, not in the present in which he lived. He declared that

¹⁶ “Nullification Proclamation: Primary Documents in American History.” Library of Congress. Web. Accessed March 9, 2021. <https://guides.loc.gov/nullification-proclamation>

¹⁷ Moltke-Hansen, “William Gilmore Simms.”

¹⁸ Dorothy S. Brown, “Thesis and Theme in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.” *The English Journal* 58, no. 9 (1969), 1331.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 1331.

his book was “probably as good an answer to Ms. Stowe as has been published.”²⁰ His book only further stoked tensions between the North and South. Simms would align himself with southern nationalism, believing in full separation from the North.²¹ The Civil War was not kind to Simms. He lost his wife in 1863, his son Gilmore was wounded in battle, and his home burned down twice—once by accident and once by General William Tecumseh Sherman’s forces as they marched through the state. He lost his entire library in the second fire.²² His final years were defined by trying to maintain enough financial security to support his family while attempting to rebuild his home. He died on June 11, 1870, from an undiagnosed disease—likely cancer.²³

Simms began writing *The History of South Carolina* in 1839 with the first edition published in 1840. A second edition, published in 1842, consisted of the original text and a companion book, *The Geography of South Carolina*. In 1847, Simms began researching a third edition, published in 1860, that included an increased discussion of contributions from the state’s upcountry; in all, the additions to the book added over 100 pages. Despite his extensive revisions, his book was never adopted statewide. Instead, it was used in a limited number of schools including the South Carolina Military Academy. In the third edition, Simms added discussion questions to each chapter to make it more appealing as

²⁰ John McCardell, *The Idea of a Southern Nation, Southern Nationalists and Southern Nationalism, 1830-1860* (New York; W W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1979), 167-168; William Gilmore Simms, *Woodcraft* (New York; Redfield, 1854).

²¹ *Ibid*, 168.

²² Ridgely, *William Gilmore Simms*, 125-126; Mary Ann Wimsatt, “Simms, William Gilmore.” American National Biography. Web. Accessed February 22, 2021. <https://www-anb-org.proxy.ulib.uits.iu.edu/view/10.1093/anb/9780198606697.001.0001/anb-9780198606697-e-1601507?rskey=b9oXMN&result=2>

²³ Ridgely, *William Gilmore Simms*, 128; Wimsatt, “Simms, William Gilmore.”

an educational text. It did not reach widespread use until his granddaughter published a revised edition in 1917.²⁴

Perhaps because her influence was more localized to South Carolina, biographies of Simms' granddaughter, Mary C. Simms-Oliphant (Picture 2), are few and limited in their coverage. Her career, however, was important to the



Picture 2: Mary C. Simms Oliphant.²⁵

shaping of South Carolina's history education system. She was born January 6, 1891, in Barnwell County, South Carolina. Simms-Oliphant attended the College for Women in Columbia and graduated in 1916 with a bachelor's degree in Liberal Arts and Piano.²⁵ In 1917, the state superintendent of education of South Carolina asked her to update William Gilmore Simms' history books for use in the state's schools, citing her strong skills as a writer. She published periodic editions of Simms' book until 1932 when she authored her own version, *The Simms History of South Carolina*. This book had nine different editions from the time it was published until it stopped being used in South Carolina schools in 1985, a span of fifty-three years.²⁶ Her other major publications included *The South Carolina Reader* (1927), a companion to her revised edition of Simms' book, *Gateway to South Carolina* (1947), a third-grade history textbook,

²⁴ Odom, "The History of South Carolina."

²⁵ Bruce E. Baker, "Oliphant, Mary Chevillette Simms," South Carolina Encyclopedia. University of South Carolina, Institute for Southern Studies. Web. Accessed January 22, 2021. <https://www.scencyclopedia.org/sce/entries/oliphant-mary-chevillette-simms/>; [Mary C. Simms Oliphant], South Carolina Public Radio. Accessed February 23, 2021. <https://www.southcarolinapublicradio.org/post/o-oliphant-mary-chevillette-simms-1891-1988>

²⁶ Walter Edgar, "'O' is for Oliphant, Mary Chevillette Simms [1891-1988]," South Carolina Public Radio. Web. Accessed January 22, 2021. <https://www.southcarolinapublicradio.org/post/o-oliphant-mary-chevillette-simms-1891-1988>

collections of William Gilmore Simms' writings published between 1952 and 1982, *The Works of A. S. Salley: A Descriptive Bibliography* (1949), and a biography of her grandfather.²⁷ Her work in local and state history extended beyond her writings. She was a member of the Upper Carolina Society, which "was organized to preserve the rich history of the area and the group remained active until the Great Depression" and the Greenville Historical Records Committee.²⁸ Both of these organizations were precursors to what is now the Greenville County Historical Society. Simms-Oliphant was also the director of the South Carolina Public Library Association.²⁹ Simms-Oliphant died on July 27, 1988, in Greenville, South Carolina. She spent the majority of her life working to preserve her grandfather's legacy and to maintain influence over the history education of students in South Carolina. South Carolinians who are fifty years old or older today in 2021 studied history using her books and carry her influence.³⁰ It is worth noting that several biographies of Simms were directly influenced by Simms-Oliphant. The National Register of Historical Places Inventory Nomination Form, which included a lengthy account of Simms' life, was submitted by Oliphant. Likewise, Simms' biographer J.V. Ridgely expressed his gratitude to Oliphant for allowing him use of the five-volume *Letters of William Gilmore Simms*, published by Oliphant, to inform his book on Simms.³¹ Oliphant only held control over the history of the state but also the history of her grandfather.

²⁷ Baker, "Oliphant."

²⁸ "About the Organization, The Story Behind the Historical Society." Greenville County Historical Society. Web. Accessed January 22, 2021. <https://greenvillehistory.org/about-the-organization/>

²⁹ Baker, "Oliphant."

³⁰ Baker, "Oliphant."

³¹ Ridgely, *William Gilmore Simms*, 11.

The state board of education set the precedent early on how it would adopt textbooks for students in South Carolina. As recently as 2013, South Carolina still adopts all textbooks at the state level, giving the state complete control over what its students learn. It is no accident that all but one former Confederate state adopts textbooks at the state level to this day (Table 1). This way, they can have uniform instruction across the state and ensure that they all receive the same Lost Cause driven narrative of the Civil War.³²

This study is arranged into four chapters that address one of the main tools for the continuation of Lost Cause narratives used by Simms, Simms-Oliphant, and the State Board of Education in producing

State	Adopts at the State Level	Adopts at the Local Level	Civil War Allegiance
Alabama	X		CSA
Arkansas		X	CSA
California	X		USA
Delaware		X	USA
Florida	X		CSA
Georgia	X		CSA
Illinois		X	USA
Indiana		X	USA
Iowa		X	USA
Kansas		X	USA
Kentucky	X		BORDER
Louisiana	X		CSA
Maine		X	USA
Maryland		X	BORDER
Massachusetts		X	USA
Michigan		X	USA
Minnesota		X	USA
Mississippi	X		CSA
Missouri		X	BORDER
New Hampshire		X	USA
New Jersey		X	USA
New York		X	USA
North Carolina	X		CSA
Ohio		X	USA
Oregon	X		USA
Pennsylvania		X	USA
Rhode Island		X	USA
South Carolina	X		CSA
Tennessee	X		CSA
Texas	X		CSA
Vermont		X	USA
Virginia	X		CSA
West Virginia	X		USA
Wisconsin		X	USA

Table 1: Textbook Adoption by State as of 2013. General textbook adoption as of September 2013 in all states which existed in 1864. Scudella, Vincent. "State Textbook Adoption," Education Commission of the States. Web. <https://www.ecs.org/clearinghouse/01/09/23/10923.pdf>

³² Vincent Scudella, "State Textbook Adoption," Education Commission of the States. Web. <https://www.ecs.org/clearinghouse/01/09/23/10923.pdf>

history education materials. Chapter One, “The Lost Cause,” gives a brief overview of the Lost Cause movement and illustrates for the reader where the ideology originated and how it affected education. It emphasizes the ways the Lost Cause affected, and still affects, public monuments and namesakes such as schools, roads, and other public places that students and the general public are exposed to on a daily basis. Chapter Two, “The White Savior,” provides an in-depth analysis of how heroification in Simms and Simms-Oliphant’s history textbooks transformed southern Civil War hero and South Carolina governor Wade Hampton III into a state-wide and regional hero. A brief biography of Hampton’s life is followed by examples and analysis from Simms’ and Simms-Oliphant’s books that illustrate the power of the heroification process. Chapter 3, “A Tale of Two Forts,” addresses revisionism as driven by reconciliationism and white supremacy by comparing and contrasting the ways in which Simms and Oliphant discussed, or failed to discuss, Fort Sumter and Fort Wagner, two significant battlements in the Charleston Harbor that saw noteworthy engagements during the war. This chapter also seeks to navigate Simms’ and Oliphant’s motivations behind telling such different versions of these forts’ histories compared to narratives not driven by Lost Cause ideologists. Chapter 4, “Of Our Own Race,” also addresses white supremacist ideology and seeks to illustrate the implicit and explicit bias and racism used by Simms and Simms-Oliphant to reinforce that white supremacy and downplay the severity of slavery and the treatment of African Americans during and after Reconstruction. This chapter uses both psychological concepts as well as ideas from Critical Race Theory to address the shadow of racism filling the pages of these books.

Collectively, this thesis highlights the importance and power of education in the formation of local, regional, and national mindsets on the past that inform public opinion today. Authors of history wield an immense amount of power and must be held accountable for what they write in the textbooks being used in schools. For those authors who are now dead whose works were widely consumed, their texts should be analyzed and broken down in order to understand how they affected opinions that are now influencing further generations through government policies and a continued cycle of misinformation in our education system. By learning how to spot the Lost Cause driven methods used to alter histories, students and teachers can understand the ways in which authors of southern history implant biases into their history texts.

CHAPTER ONE

THE LOST CAUSE

To fully understand why the education system in South Carolina, and other southern states, has been plagued by campaigns of misinformation, it is important to have a basic understanding of The Lost Cause movement in American history. The Lost Cause (c. 1865-1913) arose as a way for wealthy white southerners to control the narrative around why the Confederate States of America lost the Civil War, defend their enslavement of Black people, and glorify those who rebelled against the Union.³³ These slaveholders also needed a way justify what many poor white southerners called a “rich man’s war and poor man’s fight.” Tensions between social classes in the South had heightened during the war when the Confederate Congress passed the Conscription Act of 1862 but included exemptions for all but poor white farmers.³⁴ Historian David Blight cites organizations, rituals, a public memory, “a cult of the fallen soldier, a righteous political cause defeated by superior industrial might, a heritage community awaiting its exodus, and people forming a collective identity as victims and survivors” as the contributors to the Lost Cause.³⁵ Often the defense of this ideology took on flowery and nostalgic language, “They [southern soldiers] lost their young, noble lives to defend the sweetest land on earth from degradation.”³⁶ Language like this was consistently used to

³³ Matthew Wills, “Origins of the Confederate Lost Cause, The Mythos of the Lost Cause of the Confederacy.” JSTOR. Web. Accessed. June 16, 2020. <https://daily.jstor.org/origins-confederate-lost-cause/>

³⁴ Nancy Isenberg, *White Trash: The 400-Year Untold History of Class in America* (New York; Penguin Books, 2017), 158.

³⁵ David W. Blight. *Race and Reunion, The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA; The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001), 38.

³⁶ J. C. M. "Just a Word About the Lost Cause." *Register of Kentucky State Historical Society* 1, no. 3 (1903): 91-92. Accessed June 16, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/23366103.

defend and glorify a time when men owned other men and saw no folly in their transgression. The mission of people choosing to write Lost Cause histories, not all of whom were professional historians, can be summarized as telling the “true” history of the war free from what those writers saw as northern bias. As early as 1865, Virginia newspaper editor Edward A. Pollard, author of *The Lost Cause*, declared that he intended to tell a “history of the War above political misrepresentations.” His goal was threefold: “the record of facts; the accounts of public opinion existing with them; and the lessons their context should convey or inspire.”³⁷ In the early 20th century, authors of southern history like Dr. Mary Scrugham worked to spread outlandish claims about the Union and Abraham Lincoln. In “Force or Consent as the Basis of American Government (1923)”, Scrugham wrote that southerners were afraid that Lincoln and northern Republicans would create “a state of affairs in their midst similar to that which Bolshevism has brought to Russia.” She argued that Lincoln was a usurper who did not have the consent of the American people, and specifically the South, to be president. Because Lincoln was not on the ballot in many southern states and did not receive more than 50% of the popular vote, she believed that Lincoln did not have a legitimate claim to the presidency.³⁸ This despite Lincoln clearly having won the electoral college as well as a plurality in the popular vote of close to 500,000 votes, a 10-percentage point lead.³⁹ Lincoln was the legitimately elected president. Despite irrefutable evidence, these authors propagated and peddled altered histories.

³⁷ Edward A. Pollard. *The Lost Cause, A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates* (New York; E.B. Treat & Co., Publishers, 1866), III.

³⁸ Mary Scrugham, *Force or Consent as the Basis of American Government* (Lexington; United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1923), 1–8.

³⁹ “Presidential Election of 1860: A Resource Guide.” *Library of Congress*. Web. Accessed January 8, 2021.

While Pollard may be credited with coining the phrase “The Lost Cause,” historian Caroline E. Janney suggests it could have started at the immediate close of the war with the mobilization of southern women to memorialize those Confederates who fought and died through organizations such as the Ladies’ Memorial Associations.⁴⁰ Historian John A. Simpson cites 1889 as a pivotal starting point for the movement. Simpson theorizes that between the end of the Civil War in 1865 and his death on December 6, 1889, Jefferson Davis had come to be well-respected and a revered figure. While Davis’ handling of the war had been controversial at that time, upper class white southerners later started to view him as a true hero who endured being imprisoned. They sought to instill that same opinion of Davis in the lower classes of the South. In Simpson’s representation, the most important aspect of “Southern vindication” was the moral magnificence of Confederate leaders including Davis. Davis’ death in 1889 came just months after the creation of the United Confederate Veteran’s Association (UCV), which was founded by white men who served in the Confederate Army. The UCV Historical Committee created a “six-plank platform introducing a ‘renaissance’ in Southern historicism.”⁴¹ Their platform called for:

- (1) Chairs of American history to be created in all universities,
- (2) local Boards of Education to have powers to censor partisan, sectional, or unpatriotic literature,
- (3) state legislatures and officials to strive for ‘proper interpretations’ in state histories, and to teach those studies in public schools,
- (4) the UCV must become active in procuring and preserving historical data, and encouraging good historians to publish,
- (5) every ex-Confederate should try, within his power, to record events as he

⁴⁰ Caroline E. Janney, “The Lost Cause.” *Encyclopedia of Virginia*. Web. Accessed June 18, 2020. https://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/lost_cause_the#start_entry

⁴¹ John A. Simpson, “The Cult of the ‘Lost Cause,’” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 34, No. 4, 1975. p. 350 – 361.

remembers them for posterity, (6) publishing houses and other societies should patronize Southern authorship.⁴²

The UCV made it clear that historical education was central in their efforts. Davis' death deepened their desire to instill a positive view of Confederate Heroes' legacies in the minds of southern youth.

The UCV was not alone in its pursuit of embedding Lost Cause ideology into education. The United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) worked tirelessly to institutionalize pro-Confederate versions of Civil War history. The organization was primarily made up of women who were part of the social elite, whether it was through marriage to wealthy merchants, lawyers, judges, and legislators, or from being direct descendants of wealthy planter families. From its founding through the end of World War I, the organization restricted its membership to members of the social elite.⁴³ The UDC sought to ensure that southern children believed that the southern cause was justified, even if the Confederacy did suffer a military defeat. They took their campaigns directly into the schools by conducting visits to celebrate Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis' birthdays, "sponsored essay contests for students and teachers," hung portraits of Lee and Davis in classrooms, and pressured to have schools renamed in honor of Confederate heroes. The UDC insisted that teachers put special emphasis on reverence for their heroes; this emphasis was echoed in the essay contests where most submissions were about Confederate war heroes. When they hung the portrait of Robert E. Lee in schools,

⁴² Simpson, *The Cult of the Lost Cause*, 351. Note 5. ; This rhetoric has been repeated each time discussions over Confederate monuments have risen. As recently as 2020, President Trump has used similar rhetoric to defend Confederate monuments.

⁴³ Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville, FL; University Press of Florida, 2003), 5.

they purposefully hung it near a portrait of George Washington in order to draw a visual comparison for southern students between Lee and Washington as founding fathers of the country. These efforts proved immensely effective in creating a pro-Confederate narrative around the Civil War for southern students.⁴⁴

The racially charged nature of the fall of Reconstruction (1865-1876) and rise of the Lost Cause should not and cannot be ignored. Blight notes that the “private nostalgia, public memory, and Reconstruction politics” of the South created an atmosphere that was incredibly hostile to Black equality and political influence. He stated, “the great challenge of Reconstruction was to determine just how defeated the South really was, and to establish how free the emancipated slaves really were.”⁴⁵ As will be demonstrated in the following chapters, white southerners fought back against “negro rule,” or political influence exercised by African Americans after Reconstruction. White southerners saw “negro rule” as a threat to their states and looked to their fallen leaders as symbols to inspire other southern whites to restore white rule.

Schools and textbooks were not the only place that students were exposed to simplified histories of the Civil War, however. The Lost Cause movement also saw a rapid increase in the number of statues to Confederate leaders and soldiers across the nation. Early proponents of constructing Confederate monuments, typically members of organizations such as the UDC and UCV and Ladies’ Memorial Associations (LMAs), claimed to give voice to the vanquished. By honoring those who “nobly” fought for the South, they felt their cause would be vindicated. Jefferson Davis toured in 1886

⁴⁴ Cox, *Dixie’s Daughters*, 126-130.

⁴⁵ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 42-44.

dedicating monuments to the Confederacy in various southern cities. Davis himself would be the subject of a large monument building campaign after his death.⁴⁶

Directly after the end of the Civil War in 1865, LMAs started sponsoring Confederate Memorial Days across the south typically held on either April 26, “the day of General Joseph E. Johnston’s surrender”, or May 10, “the day General Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson died.” These memorial days were observed by gathering in Confederate cemeteries around the monuments, listening to speeches about the fallen Confederates, and placing flowers and flags on their graves.⁴⁷ This early form of memorialization was followed by a rapid increase in the construction of monuments to Confederate leaders and soldiers in prominent public places primarily by the UDC. Ninety-three percent of monuments that were built in public places were constructed after 1895 and corresponded with the growth and influence of the UDC. The UDC expressed their desire for these monuments to be placed in places where they could be seen, observed, and studied by children; the monuments, along with Confederate flags that the organization hung in public schools across the South, were meant to reinforce the lessons the UDC believed children should be learning.⁴⁸ They shifted from being symbols of mourning, as many of the monuments built directly after the close of the Civil War were, to being symbols of celebration of the former Confederacy.⁴⁹

As recently as 2019, in South Carolina alone, there were 194 symbols or commemorations of the Confederacy including two cities, a commemorative license plate, two counties, 120 highways/roads, 58 monuments, and 4 school names. Of these, 1

⁴⁶ Simpson, *The Cult of the Lost Cause*, 353–355.

⁴⁷ Cox, *Dixies Daughters*, 4, 50.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 2.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 66.

county, 12 highways/roads, 3 monuments, and 3 schools bear Robert E. Lee's name. Perhaps the only Confederate general to receive a similar level of memorialization in the state is "Stonewall" Jackson, who got his name during the First Battle of Manassas (1861) where he was said to have held his position like a stone wall.⁵⁰ The UDC made sure that students' and the general public's ideas of historical figures and events were reinforced by these public commemorations of Confederate figures and events. People began to believe that the memorials raised to these men *are* history and not just *representations* of history. Perhaps the administrators at Robert E. Lee Academy would fight against renaming the school because they believe that the school is a memorial to Lee and that changing the name itself would be erasing history. Monument builders in the South, including those who erect things like schools and roads named in honor of Southern heroes, believe that their monuments are true representations of history.⁵¹ The process of heroification enters into a process when monuments begin to be erected to the heroes of the South. The monuments are built to memorialize a hero. This monument then comes to stand for a cause, not just for the person it is meant to represent. White southerners may claim that the cause is memorialization of their heritage, but there is some implied racism behind many of the monuments.

Organizations such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy and periodicals like *The Confederate Veteran* (1893-1932), a magazine published out of Nashville, Tennessee, wielded incredible power over education. While the UDC did not run *The*

⁵⁰ "Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy." Southern Poverty Law Center. Web. Accessed December 2, 2019. <https://www.splcenter.org/20190201/whose-heritage-public-symbols-confederacy>. This site contains a downloadable spreadsheet of their findings from which these numbers are drawn.; "Thomas J. 'Stonewall' Jackson." American Battlefield Trust. Web. Accessed March 19, 2021. <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/biographies/thomas-j-stonewall-jackson>

⁵¹ Dell Upton, *What Can and Can't Be Said, Race, Uplift, and Monument Building in the Contemporary South* (New Haven; Yale University Press, 2015), 21.

Confederate Veteran, they did publish updates on their organization and other articles in the periodical. Beyond their direct interjection in schools, these publications helped get their message out.

The UDC's efforts to influence education extended into the collegiate level with the awarding of scholarships to southern students descended from Confederate veterans. In 1916, the group awarded 599 half scholarships totaling \$65,198. The types of available scholarships for 1917 increased from 40 to 48, often with multiple recipients per scholarship and awards varying from full tuition coverage to smaller amounts between \$50-100.⁵²

The Lost Cause not only worked to reinforce an altered history of the Civil War but worked to patch white fragility. White people sought to retain their sense of comfort with race and maintain "dominance within the racial hierarchy." Robin Diangelo, author of *White Fragility*, teaches that "though white fragility is triggered by discomfort and anxiety, it is born of superiority and entitlement . . . it is a powerful means of white racial control and the protection of white advantage."⁵³ In the South, the struggle with white fragility was tied closely with the importance put on honor by white southerners. Especially for the white elite in the South, though not limited to members of the upper classes, honor was as important to them as life itself. Before the war, control over slavery contributed to the sense of honor that white southerners maintained because they also had liberty while the slaves did not. When they lost that sense of control, however, suddenly, in their eyes, their honor and liberty were threatened. They felt they were put on the same

⁵² "Education in the U.D.C." *The Confederate Veteran*. Vol. XXV, No. 6. 1917.

⁵³ Robin Diangelo, *White Fragility: Why It's So Hard for White People to Talk About Racism* (Boston; Beacon Press, 2018), 2.

level as the freed slaves.⁵⁴ The protection of white southern honor then had to turn to other methods such as justifying high illiteracy rates across the board and working to increase white literacy across the region. Illiteracy rates in the South during the early twentieth century were high. South Carolina had a total illiteracy rate of around twenty percent, including white and Black residents, the second highest in the nation at that time behind Louisiana.⁵⁵ In order to explain away the high illiteracy rates, publications turned to blaming the Civil War for disrupting education systems in the South. An article in the *Confederate Veteran* noted that an education system had been established and was being sustained in the South long before the North and touted almost 1,000,000 enrolled students in 1860. It went on to assert that, with the war, “the wealth of the South, together with the flower of Southern manhood and Southern Genius, passed away.” This article claimed that the war destroyed southern education, the illiterate men of the South were still upstanding people, and that the illiterates of the South, particularly the mountainous regions, were not descended from “criminals and paupers.” They were descended from English and Scottish ancestors, thus maintaining their honor.⁵⁶

Just as the Lost Cause does not seem to have an exact starting point, its ending is also imprecise. Simpson seemed to believe that the movement ended around 1913 with the beginning of World War I.⁵⁷ Other historians, such as Karen L. Cox of the University of North Carolina, agree that the “heyday” of the Lost Cause ended with World War I. While it is most likely that the Lost Cause Movement ended sometime around World War

⁵⁴ William J. Cooper Jr., Thomas E. Terrill, and Christopher Childers, *The American South: A History, Volume 1: From Settlement to Reconstruction* (Lanham, MD; Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 309.

⁵⁵ Janet G. Hudson, *Entangled by White Supremacy: Reform in World War I-era South Carolina*. (Lexington; University Press of Kentucky, 2009), 261.

⁵⁶ G.W. Dyer. “White Illiteracy in the South.” *Confederate Veteran*. Vol. XXXVI, No. 6, 1928.

⁵⁷ Simpson, *The Cult of the Lost Cause*, 360.

I, its influence has remained present for decades. For example, there is no evidence that Mary C. Simms-Oliphant was a member of the UDC, however, her books echo many of the themes propagated by the organization. She was likely raised on Lost Cause ideology in her schooling and continued to believe and teach those ideas through the textbooks she published. While she was not actively involved in the Lost Cause movement, her works successfully continued its legacy. Another example of the Lost Cause's continuity is the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s. According to Karen Cox, failed resistance to the movement came to be seen as yet another lost cause for white supremacists across the nation.⁵⁸

Contemporary examples of the Lost Cause's continued influence are many. Memorialization has continued to be one of the primary physical representations of this influence. A common form of memorialization seen across the south is schools named for Confederate heroes. Three schools in South Carolina bear Robert E. Lee's name. The Robert E. Lee Academy in Bishopville, South Carolina, was founded in 1965 as part of a movement to establish what are nicknamed "segregation academies," which started just after the ruling on *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954. In South Carolina, the South Carolina Independent School Association (SCIA) was founded in 1965 to help establish these private schools, originally helping to open 7 across the state.⁵⁹ As of the 2018-2019 school year, the SCIA had 123 schools in its membership with a total enrollment of around 30,000 students.⁶⁰ Even since 2004, this number is up from 98 schools and

⁵⁸ Karen L. Cox, "Lost Cause Ideology." *Encyclopedia of Alabama*. Web. Accessed June 18, 2020. <http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-1643>

⁵⁹ Gloria Ladson-Billings, "Landing on the Wrong Note: The Price We Paid for Brown." *Educational Researcher* 33, no. 7 (2004): 3-13. www.jstor.org/stable/3700092.

⁶⁰ "History and Organization." South Carolina Independent School Association. Web. Accessed December 3, 2019. <https://www.scisa.org/about/history-and-organization.html>

approximately 28,000 students.⁶¹ It is notable that neither the website for Robert E. Lee Academy or the SCIA discuss why they were originally established. The admissions page of Robert E. Lee Academy now states that the school does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, or national/ethnic origin, as is required by law, but it fails to acknowledge its past and admit that its original purpose was a sinister one. By maintaining the name Robert E. Lee Academy, however, the school indirectly continues to promote the ideas upon which it was founded.⁶² Memorialization of men such as Robert E. Lee serves to reinforce the narratives that are taught in schools and vice versa. If schools present Lee in a saint-like manner, the ability for Civil Rights activists and others opposing Confederate memorialization to have these memorials removed is significantly diminished.

Students who attended, and still attend, these “segregation academies” like Robert E. Lee Academy, are fed a message of racial inequality whether it be direct or implied. At the creation of these academies, the belief was more explicit, but with the more recent integration of these schools, the idea is more implied through means such as continuing to bear Lee’s name. Not only does Robert E. Lee Academy, and other schools bearing his name, continue to promote implied racism, they further protect Confederates’ place as heroes in the hearts and minds of Southern citizens.

The continued existence of hate groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Confederates also illustrates an ongoing commitment to Lost Cause ideology and white supremacy. As of 2019, the Southern Poverty Law Center lists 26 known neo-Confederate groups across the South, not including white nationalist, neo-Nazi, and Ku

⁶¹ Ladson-Billings, “Landing on the Wrong Note: The Price We Paid for Brown.”

⁶² “Admissions.” Robert E. Lee Academy. Web. Accessed December 3, 2019.
<https://www.releeacademy.org/admissions>

Klux Klan groups.⁶³ Additionally, arguments over Confederate monuments and symbols continue to the present moment.

South Carolina flew a Confederate flag over their statehouse from 1961 until the shooting of nine people worshipping at a historic black church in Charleston in 2015. Even after such a heart-breaking event, a debate in the statehouse took place before any action was taken.⁶⁴ The flag, seen in Picture 3, though



Picture 3: Confederate Flag from South Carolina Statehouse. This flag was removed from the South Carolina statehouse grounds on July 10, 2015, the last Confederate flag to ever fly on the property. Photo by the author.

removed, is still on display in the South Carolina Confederate Relic Room and Military Museum housed within the South Carolina State Museum.

The Lost Cause ideology grew powerful and took root in states like Indiana, California, Montana, Iowa, Massachusetts, and New Jersey, among others. Each have monuments dedicated to famous Confederates despite not being part of the Confederacy. All succumbed to the ideas preached by white southerners since the end of the Civil War. Since the murder of George Floyd by a police officer in Minneapolis in May 2020, one of the latest in a string of highly publicized incidents of police brutality against African Americans in custody, more and more states took action to remove these symbols. As of

⁶³ “Hate Map.” Southern Poverty Law Center. Web. Accessed June 18, 2020.
<https://www.splcenter.org/hate-map?ideology=neo-confederate>

⁶⁴ Stephanie McCrummen and Elahe Izadi, “Confederate flag comes down on South Carolina’s statehouse grounds.” *The Washington Post*. Web. Accessed June 18, 2020.
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2015/07/10/watch-live-as-the-confederate-flag-comes-down-in-south-carolina/>

June 2020, of the 70+ Confederate monuments that had been removed since the Charleston shooting in 2015, one third of those came down since George Floyd's death. The city of Indianapolis moved quickly to remove a monument dedicated to Confederate deaths at Camp Morton, a prisoner of war camp located in Indianapolis, that was erected in 1912.⁶⁵ The monument was moved from Greenlawn Cemetery to Garfield Park in 1928 with the passage of a bill sponsored by Representative Ralph E. Updike of Indianapolis.⁶⁶ Updike introduced the bill in part due to pressure from the Southern Club, a group of southern sympathizers in Indianapolis that was officially formed in 1918.⁶⁷ Even in states like Virginia, one of two states with the most remaining monuments, citizens began to topple statues of Confederate heroes. This round of monument removal sparked outrage once again from people across the nation, even those with no ties to the South. If anything, the fact that conversations over the removal of Confederate monuments are a nationwide discussion, proves the power of the Lost Cause.

The UDC remains an influential force in the South. They identify five main objectives of their existence: Historical, Benevolent, Educational, Memorial, and Patriotic; all of these tenets remain in their mission statement in 2021. Their website is very intentional to call the war the "War Between the States" and even works to reward those who help preserve Confederate History. The organization awards the "Jefferson Davis Historical Silver Medal" to any student who excels in this preservation effort.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Bonnie Berkowitz and Adrian Blanco, "Confederate Monuments are Falling, but Hundreds Still Stand. Here's where." *The Washington Post*. Web. Accessed June 18, 2020.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/national/confederate-monuments/>

⁶⁶ "Bill Provides Removal of Confederate Monument," *The Indianapolis News*, April 3, 1928, 2.

⁶⁷ "Solemnity Marks Tribute to Dead," *The Indianapolis News*, May 30, 1918, 1.

⁶⁸ "Objectives of the UDC." United Daughters of the Confederacy. Web. Accessed June 16, 2020. <https://hqudc.org/objectives/>

The Lost Cause was created as a way to give defeated Confederates and their descendants control, in some instances complete control, over the narratives that would be taught and spread across the nation. Those who worked to create the original movement and propagate the ideology that rose from it knew that the easiest and most efficient way to spread their preferred histories was to incorporate them into education. The methods used to institutionalize the Lost Cause are many, but heroification, revision/omission, and racism as discussed in the following three chapters are three of the most powerful.

CHAPTER TWO

THE WHITE SAVIOR

Historical actors can wield significant influence over the ways they are remembered and the ways their stories are told while they are still alive. They may write autobiographies, destroy evidence of their words and actions, or as was the case with Jefferson Davis, actively participate in the memorialization of their own legacies and the legacies of their associates through monument building campaigns.⁶⁹ For others, though, the influence over their own narratives is more passive and their stories are no longer in their hands once they die. As the closing song from *Hamilton: An American Musical* says, “You have no control: who lives, who dies, who tells your story.”⁷⁰ Both those who actively influence their own narratives and those who are more passive become the objects of heroification. Through heroification, figures throughout history have representations thrust upon them that then influence the way their story gets told. Through this process, historical figures are made images of perfection who can do no wrong. Organizations such as the UDC and UCV—as well as southern historians, reporters, publicists, and educators—were major players in the heroification of Confederate leaders and soldiers across the nation. They were the authors of these pristine representations making them seem purer and more virtuous. Historian James W. Loewen notes that through heroification, “our educational media [textbooks] turn flesh-and-blood individuals into pious, perfect creatures without conflicts, pain, credibility, or

⁶⁹ John A. Simpson. “The Cult of the ‘Lost Cause.’” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 34, No. 4, 1975. p. 350–361.

⁷⁰ Lin Manuel Miranda, *Hamilton: An American Musical*. Atlantic Records, 2015, MP3.

human interest.”⁷¹ Textbook authors use passive voice as a means to “insulate” historical actors from the less appealing parts of their lives. This insulation effect serves to make people who did bad things seem less bad and tries to appeal to a wider audience. In fact, Norma Gabler, one textbook critic who Loewen quotes, openly admitted to distorting the truth around historical figures when she said that textbooks in general should, “present our nation’s patriots in a way that would honor and respect them,” rather than pointing out their faults.⁷² It seems that, showing respect for people from the past outweighs telling the truth about their pasts.

In South Carolina, one of the main individuals to emerge from the Civil War era as a hero to most white South Carolinians was General Wade Hampton III. Wade Hampton III was born on March 28, 1818 in Charleston, South Carolina. He was named after his father and grandfather, both of whom served in the United States Army.⁷³ Hampton’s grandfather, Wade Hampton I, was one of the wealthiest plantation owners in the South with his estate producing around \$100,000 annually when he died in 1835. Much of the prominence of the Hampton family in South Carolina was due to the enormous wealth and influence Hampton I gained during his life.⁷⁴ Wade Hampton I was a commander during the Revolutionary War, served in the South Carolina General Assembly, served in the United States House of Representatives, was a trustee of the South Carolina College, and was a major general during the War of 1812. In addition to his service, he purchased land in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana. He also

⁷¹ James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (New York: The New Press; 2018), 11.

⁷² Loewen, *Lies*, 18-26.

⁷³ “Wade Hampton,” *American Battlefield Trust*. Accessed April 26, 2020. Web. <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/biographies/wade-hampton>

⁷⁴ Rod Andrew, Jr., *Wade Hampton: Confederate Warrior to Southern Redeemer* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 3–10; His income is calculated in nineteenth century currency.

owned approximately nine hundred enslaved people in South Carolina and Louisiana alone. This wide geographic reach allowed him to sell cotton, sugar, and molasses, bringing him immense wealth.⁷⁵ Hampton I was a cruel slave owner with one British traveler noting that he gave them very little food, overworked them, and kept them mostly naked. Hampton III's biographer, Rod Andrew, Jr., noted that in Hampton I's eyes, slaves were "capital assets whose sole purpose was to increase his own wealth."⁷⁶ Hampton's slaves were so malnourished that they took advantage of their master and overseers being away at church on Sundays to steal fruit from orchards to augment their rations.⁷⁷

Hampton's son followed in his father's footsteps joining the army and serving as a second lieutenant during the War of 1812. Hampton II's fortunes were inherited and included both of his father's plantations in South Carolina as well as a tract of land in Mississippi totaling approximately 14,500 acres of land and upwards of 600 enslaved people. Within a few years of his father's death, Hampton II purchased more land in Wisconsin and Texas, bringing his holdings to around 24,500 acres in four states. By the 1850s, Wade Hampton II and his sons owned around 3,000 enslaved persons.⁷⁸ Both the second and third Hamptons appear to have been concerned with their slaves' health and families. At no point, however, did they consider freeing the enslaved people on their plantations, leaving those concerns empty and hollow.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Ronald E. Bridwell, "Hampton, Wade I." *South Carolina Encyclopedia*. Accessed April 26, 2020. Web. <http://www.scencyclopedia.org/sce/entries/hampton-wade-i/>

⁷⁶ Andrew, Jr., *Wade Hampton*, 11.

⁷⁷ Edward E. Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2014), 201.

⁷⁸ Andrew, Jr., *Wade Hampton*, 13–16.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 16-18.

Wade Hampton III graduated from South Carolina College in 1836 prepared to practice law, but took a liking to his more aristocratic life seeing no appeal in pursuing a life in law or politics. Instead, he managed the plantations his father owned and developed a love of hunting.⁸⁰ His first wife, Margaret, bore five children before dying in 1852.

Hampton was elected to the State Assembly in 1852 and reelected in 1854. In 1856 he was elected to the State Senate and was reelected to that office in 1860.⁸¹ At the start of the Civil War in 1861, Hampton enlisted as a private but was quickly promoted to colonel by the governor of South Carolina. By 1863, he was one of two brigade commanders of Jeb Stuart's cavalry corps. In 1864, after taking several months to recuperate from an injury at Gettysburg, Hampton became the commander of Lee's cavalry following Stuart's death at the Battle of Yellow Tavern. Hampton was applauded for his work as commander of the cavalry eventually earning himself a promotion to lieutenant general, only one of three southerners to achieve that rank without any formal military training.⁸²

After the war, Hampton worked to strengthen the Democratic Party in Radical Republican-controlled South Carolina. The 1868 platform of the Republican Party included granting equal suffrage to southerners who remained loyal to the North during the war, extending the period of time over which the national debt would be paid, denouncing then-President Andrew Johnson, and endorsing further immigration from foreign nations, a declaration of "sympathy with all the oppressed people which are

⁸⁰ Ibid, 24-25.

⁸¹ Ibid, 39.

⁸² James Robertson, *After the Civil War, The Heroes, Villains, Soldiers, and Civilians who Changed America* (Washington, DC: National Geographic, 2015), 95-97.

struggling for their rights.” It also supported the restoration of rights to any former Confederate who declared their loyalty to the Union.⁸³ In contrast, the Democratic Party’s platform of 1868, which Hampton would have supported, included provisions such as the immediate restoration of the southern states to the Union, amnesty for former Confederates, rapid repaying of the national debt, the abolition of the Freedmen’s Bureau and “all political instrumentalities designed to secure negro supremacy,” and equal rights for “naturalized and native-born citizens at home and abroad.” The platform also declared that the Republican Party had subjected the states to “military despotism and negro supremacy.”⁸⁴ In order to help strengthen the Democratic Party and its platform, Hampton worked to court freedmen to the party in hopes of gaining a majority.⁸⁵ High-ranking former Confederates were barred from running for office making Black men a potential block of voters in South Carolina. African Americans made up approximately 59% of South Carolina’s population as of 1870.⁸⁶ While only Black men would have been eligible to vote and not all of the freedmen would have been registered to vote, with the disenfranchisement of many former Confederates under “radical” rule, African American men made up a significant portion of the voting population. When attempts at courting and controlling the Black vote failed leading up to the 1868 election, Hampton turned to the Ku Klux Klan, a domestic terrorist organization founded after the end of the Civil War of which he was a member. The group used violence and intimidation to assert

⁸³ “Republican Party Platform of 1868,” American Presidency Project. Web. Accessed March 28, 2021. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/republican-party-platform-1868>

⁸⁴ “1868 Democratic Party Platform” American Presidency Project. Web. Accessed March 28, 2021. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/1868-democratic-party-platform>

⁸⁵ Robertson, *After the Civil War*, 97-98.

⁸⁶ U.S. Census Bureau (1870). Population of the United States (By States and Territories) in the Aggregate and as White, Colored, Free Colored, Slave, Chinese, and Indian at each census. Retrieved from <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-04.pdf?#>

white supremacy.⁸⁷ While he publicly denounced the violence being carried out by the Klan in the wake of the 1868 election, he participated as the Grand Dragon of the South Carolina Klan.⁸⁸ The Grand Dragon is a position within the Klan hierarchy that runs state-wide operations.⁸⁹ After the passage of the third Force Act in April 1871, Federal troops occupied the state and arrested hundreds of suspected Klansmen who had been harassing and killing Black South Carolinians. Hampton, and several other former Confederates in the state, worked behind the scenes to secure the best legal defense for those who were arrested. While the intervention by the Federal government did end the violence in the state, a very small number of Klansmen were actually convicted and even those who were convicted typically received light sentences.⁹⁰

In 1876, Hampton was elected governor of South Carolina, the first Democrat elected since the end of the Civil War. His margin of victory was slim, just 1,134 votes with some votes likely being cast by former Confederates who had been granted political amnesty and restoration of their voting rights by Congress in 1872.⁹¹ Hampton was assisted in his electoral efforts by the “Red Shirts”, a paramilitary, white supremacist arm of the Democratic Party in South Carolina who sought to keep African Americans from voting by using direct intimidation tactics.⁹² On election day, wearing a red shirt to make

⁸⁷ “The Ku Klux Klan” *Nation Geographic*. Web. Accessed March 28, 2021. <https://www.nationalgeographic.org/article/ku-klux-klan/>

⁸⁸ Michael Newton, *White Robes and Burning Crosses: A History of the Ku Klux Klan from 1866* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2014), 19

⁸⁹ Illinois Legislative Investigating Committee. “Ku Klux Klan: A Report to the Illinois General Assembly.” Printed by the Authority of the State of Illinois, 1976, 32. Web. Accessed March 28, 2021. <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/Digitization/46433NCJRS.pdf>

⁹⁰ Fritz Hamer, “Wade Hampton: Conflicted Leader of Conservative Democracy.” *The Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association*, 2007, 32–33.

⁹¹ Robertson, *After the Civil War*, 98.; Hamer, “Wade Hampton: Conflicted Leader,” 33.

⁹² James McPherson and James K. Hogue, *Ordeal by Fire, The Civil War and Reconstruction, Fourth Edition* (New York: McGraw Hill, 2010), 647.

their presence known, they brandished rifles and pistols at the polls.⁹³ Hampton was typically accompanied by mounted Red Shirts wherever he went. In some instances, hundreds of Red Shirts would ride along to protect Hampton as he travelled the state giving speeches.⁹⁴

Red Shirt involvement in the 1876 election, as well as the incredibly close margin of victory led to a dispute in the gubernatorial election. Hampton declared himself the winner, but his Republican rival, Governor Daniel Henry Chamberlain, protested. Chamberlain was supported by the Federal troops still occupying the state. Tensions grew throughout November. Angry citizens from around the state began to gather at the State House, but Hampton took to the steps and asked the opposing factions to disperse and asserted himself as a clear leader for the state. He was inaugurated in December of 1876 despite his rival not resigning until April of 1877 officially handing the governorship to Hampton.⁹⁵

A significant factor in Hampton's rival ceding the election was the Compromise of 1877 and the withdraw of Federal troops from South Carolina's capital. The election of 1876 had ended without a clear winner in the presidential election between Rutherford B. Hayes, the Republican, and Samuel J. Tilden, the Democrat. Tilden won the popular vote by 254,694 votes, a margin of 3 percent, and led Hayes in the electoral college but remained one vote shy of victory.⁹⁶ South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, the only southern states still under the control of Republican governments, had disputed results.

⁹³ "South Carolina 'Red Shirts' Battle Plan (1876)." *Facing History and Ourselves*. Web. Accessed July 7, 2020. <https://www.facinghistory.org/reconstruction-era/south-carolina-red-shirts-battle-plan-1876>

⁹⁴ Hamer, "Wade Hampton," 33.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 35–36.

⁹⁶ "Presidential Election of 1876: A Resource Guide." *The Library of Congress*. Web. Accessed October 23, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/elections/election1876.html>

This precipitated a series of negotiations between Republicans and Democrats to determine the outcome. The Republicans convinced the Democrats to accept Hayes' victory as long as Hayes promised to withdraw all remaining troops from the South. Not only did this compromise lead to Wade Hampton's opponent conceding, but it effectively signaled the end of the Reconstruction era as all former Confederate states were once again under white Democratic control.⁹⁷

Hampton's time as governor lacked the grandiosity that his military career and campaign for governor represented. His only major "accomplishment" was increasing funding for the state's public education system and an equalization of per pupil expenditures for both Black and white students. This was achieved through an amendment to the state constitution on January 26, 1878 allowing for a school tax to be levied. The tax, combined with a poll tax, was to be distributed to school districts "in proportion to the respective number of pupils attending the public schools."⁹⁸ The state superintendent of education used increased enrollment numbers as evidence that Black schools were receiving their fair share of funds raised from the taxes. Between 1869 and 1876, when Republicans still controlled the state, enrollment by Black students was around 41,691. Between 1876 and 1879, when Wade Hampton was governor, enrollment was around 60,723, a 45 percent increase. While these numbers certainly suggest that access to education increased, it does not necessarily prove equal distribution of funding.⁹⁹ The increase in enrollment was likely due to a general improvement in the

⁹⁷ "Compromise of 1877," *HISTORY*. Web. Accessed October 23, 2020.
<https://www.history.com/topics/us-presidents/compromise-of-1877>

⁹⁸ "Eleventh Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Education of the State of South Carolina." (Calvo & Patton, State Printers; Columbia, S.C., 1979), 7-8.

⁹⁹ "Eleventh Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Education of the State of South Carolina," 8.

education system of the state. The education system established by the Reconstruction government was intended to be universal for students of all races. The system was initially temporary and most provisions, such as compulsory attendance by students six to sixteen years old, were not in effect until the system was completely established. The system never fully met its goals and funding proved inadequate for proper schoolhouses and good teachers. There was also strong opposition to the system, in part, as historian W.E.B. Dubois seems to suggest, because “there was a deep prejudice against mixed schools.”¹⁰⁰ As such, Hampton’s funding increases were likely the reason for the increase in education quality and availability. While Hampton began the process of increasing per-pupil expenditures across the board, the state, and in fact the nation, have never achieved equal funding for students across both economic and racial lines. These deficits continue to suppress students in poor communities from receiving the same quality of education as students in wealthier communities.¹⁰¹ Beyond his efforts to continue building the public

¹⁰⁰ W.E.B. Dubois, *Black Reconstruction in America*, First Free Press Edition, (New York; Free Press, 1998), 649 – 651.

¹⁰¹ The issue of quantity over quality has been an ongoing issue across the United State since public education systems were created and continues today. Studies continue to show that schools located in larger, poorer areas, which are also typically majority Black due to historical phenomena such as redlining and generational wealth deficits, are consistently larger with increased class sizes, lower quality curriculums and educational materials, and less qualified teachers. Much of this comes down to the amount of money available in different geographic areas. A larger school system with poorer families and a smaller school system with wealthier families could contribute the same dollar amount in taxes, but the larger school will have a smaller per-student expenditure than the smaller school. This gap in monies available to schools in lower income areas continues to perpetuate the issues faced by students of color. In South Carolina alone, there was a three percent decline in per-pupil expenditures state-wide from the 2008-2009 school year to the 2013-2014 school year, but when narrowed to just the top 15 school districts in the state on the SC Education Oversight Committee’s poverty index, the decline in per-pupil expenditures was 14.7 percent. While it appears the state experienced losses in education funding as a whole, statistics clearly show that the poorest districts in the state experienced the largest declines.; Linda Darling-Hammond, “Unequal Opportunity: Race and Education,” Brookings. Web. Accessed January 13, 2021. <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/unequal-opportunity-race-and-education/>; Mike Compton, “S.C. school spending deteriorates in districts with the most poverty,” South Carolina Appleseed Legal Justice Center. Web. Accessed January 13, 2021. <http://www.scjustice.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/SC-Education-Funding-Analysis-final.pdf>

education system in the state, Hampton's tenure as governor was mostly uneventful. He subsequently served two terms in the U.S. Senate and died in April of 1902.¹⁰²

Wade Hampton III's deeds as one of the largest slaveholders in the South, as a leader in the Confederate Army, and as and member and one time leader of the Red Shirts and KKK in South Carolina were all downplayed in the writing of Simms and Simms-Oliphant's textbook. The 1927 edition of William Gilmore Simms' book *The History of South Carolina* edited by his granddaughter Mary C. Simms-Oliphant, mentions Hampton in a handful of pages out of 34 pages discussing the Civil War. The same can be said of the 1932 edition rewritten and published by Oliphant.¹⁰³ What little is mentioned of Hampton's time as a general in the Confederate army presents him as a strong, brave leader. In a short tale of the defense of Trevilian Station, Simms claimed that Hampton "completely outgeneraled" his opponent Union General Sheridan and that the Union lost "twice as many men as Hampton" Additionally, Simms claimed that the Union army was only able to destroy "a few feet" of the railroad line. The actual facts of the battle are much different.¹⁰⁴ The battle at Trevilian Station was one part of a two-part plan by Grant to cut railroad supply lines to Richmond. General David Hunter was assigned to cut the supply line between Richmond and the Shenandoah Valley while General Sheridan was sent to destroy the line east of the valley. While the Confederates were able to repel the Union forces under Sheridan, the battle was a draw, not a momentous Confederate victory.¹⁰⁵ The Union forces captured Trevilian Station on the

¹⁰² Hamer, "Wade Hampton," 37.

¹⁰³ William Gilmore Simms, *The History of South Carolina*. Edited by Mary C Simms Oliphant (Columbia, SC: The State Company, 1927), 176-209; Mary C. Simms Oliphant, *The Simms History of South Carolina* (Columbia, SC: The State Company, 1932), 194-239.

¹⁰⁴ Simms, 1927, 202.

¹⁰⁵ McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*, 458.

first day of fighting and tore up a few miles of the railroad. While this was still not enough to fully disrupt the supply line, Simms' claim was an overstatement. Additionally, in total casualties, the Confederate forces actually suffered approximately 50 more than the Union forces with the rebels sustaining 1,000 casualties and the Union sustaining 950.¹⁰⁶ In only two sentences, Simms took a fairly simple defense mission and inflated it into a grandiose success story for Hampton. In doing so, Simms, and later Oliphant in her 1932 edition, ignored the few advantages the South did have. The men of the South were able horsemen and had a homefield advantage. For most of the war, the Union was invading the South, thus fighting on unfamiliar, hilly territory while the southerners were able to fight on ground they had lived on for generations.¹⁰⁷ While these advantages did not always result in a victory for the South, they are significant in explaining many of the victories, such as Trevilian Station, that the smaller, less well-supplied army was able to achieve. The few tales of Hampton's military campaigns only describe the positive outcomes and never discuss the losses or casualties. While the "Beefsteak Raid" was a significant moment of heroics for Hampton, it did not come without a cost. During the Battle of Petersburg in 1864, Hampton led a raid behind Union lines and ultimately stole 2,486 head of cattle from the Federal cattle corral. The raid supplied much needed food for the Confederate army. However, Hampton lost 61 men during the raid, a fact left out by Simms and Oliphant. While this number is not large, ignoring it as Simms did only serves to heighten the heroics of Hampton's mission and

¹⁰⁶ "Trevilian Station" *American Battlefield Trust*. Web. Accessed July 10, 2020. <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/civil-war/battles/trevilian-station>

¹⁰⁷ Simms, 1927, 186.

minimize the consequences of war.¹⁰⁸ Beyond these two small glances into Hampton's military career, the only other times Simms and Oliphant mention him during the war are simply to state that he was present. When describing the First Battle of Manassas, or the First Battle of Bull Run as named by the North, Simms stated, "With him [General Jackson] were Wade Hampton with the Hampton League and General Barnard E. Bee of South Carolina."¹⁰⁹ Other than small mentions like these, Hampton's military career goes largely undiscussed.

Hampton's election as the first Democratic governor of the state since the Civil War was the key element Simms and Simms-Oliphant grasped to turn him into a southern Lost Cause hero. In order to build the tension needed to make Hampton a savior, Simms and Simms-Oliphant depicted South Carolina as being in a state of distress under "radical" Republican rule. They paint African American involvement in state politics as negative and praise the Ku Klux Klan for its efforts to suppress and threaten Black citizens of the state because, according to them, "no white man felt that his life or property were safe any longer."¹¹⁰ As a response to their fear, white men sent representatives to Congress to beg for help. Feeling moved by the pitiful stories from those South Carolinians of the "Robber Governor" Franklin J. Moses and "dishonesty of the state government," as Simms-Oliphant wrote, some in congress declared:

The cry of that outraged, helpless and suffering people has reached our hearts as well as our understanding. That once prosperous and beautiful State is on the verge of ruin. A horde of thieves and robbers, worse than any that ever infested any civilized community on earth, have her by the throat and are fast sucking her life-blood. Three hundred thousand of her citizens, descendants of those who fought and won with our fathers the

¹⁰⁸ Earl J. Hess, *In the Trenches at Petersburg: Field Fortifications and Confederate Defeat* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 147; Simms, 1927, 202–203.

¹⁰⁹ Simms, 1927, 187.

¹¹⁰ Oliphant, 1932, 247

battle of American liberty, are crying to Congress for redress—for help. To refuse their request is to drive them to despair and ruin.¹¹¹

The conveniently unnamed congressmen who shared these sentiments made clear their belief that Black citizens being involved in the political process was a death knell to American civilization. By declaring that Republican control and Black leadership were worse than an infestation that was sucking the life blood from South Carolina, those congressmen confirmed their continued commitment to white supremacy in the South. Hampton was drafted to run for governor in the midst of all this outrage. Simms-Oliphant stated that “every decent white man in South Carolina went to work to deliver the State from its evil rulers.” These “evil rulers” that Simms-Oliphant presented certainly included Republicans, northern Carpetbaggers, southern Scalawags, and Black politicians, all of whom southerners believed had no right to run the governments of the southern states.¹¹² Simms-Oliphant clearly viewed all of those groups as malicious invaders intent on destroying the South despite many, Black politicians and Scalawags especially, having lived in the South their entire life. Despite working to portray Hampton as a champion for peace during the campaign, Simms-Oliphant further demonized Radical Republicanism and unintentionally described some of Hampton’s darker ulterior motives behind his calls for antiviolence. For example, with the Federal Army’s intervention against the Ku Klux Klan, Hampton feared that heightened violence

¹¹¹ Oliphant, 1932, 247; It is significant to note the kind of helpless language used by oppressors when they become upset that their prejudice is not the norm any longer. This same kind of vernacular is seen today in the midst of the Black Lives Matter movement. Suddenly, not being allowed to be racist is offensive.

¹¹² A carpetbagger was a northerner who moved into a southern state after the Civil War to profit from Reconstruction. A scalawag was a white southerner who cooperated with northern Republicans during Reconstruction.

by the Red Shirts during his campaign might bring down the force of the Federal government on the state once again, thus hurting his chances of winning the election.¹¹³

Hampton's election victory is depicted in both Simms' and Simms-Oliphant's books as a victory over vicious oppressors. In Simms' words, Hampton was seen as "the deliverance of the State." He kept crowds outside of the state house from turning violent when the election results were contested.¹¹⁴ While the Federal government had already sent troops into the state at this point at the request of Governor Daniel Chamberlain, Hampton feared that any violence ignited by Democrats in the state would result in prolonged Federal intervention and possibly hand the election to his opponent.¹¹⁵ Despite the controversy surrounding the election, Simms writes that Hampton was declared the winner by the South Carolina Supreme Court and President Rutherford B. Hayes.¹¹⁶ This is a misinterpretation of the South Carolina Supreme Court decision on December 6, 1876, in the case *Wallace vs. Hayne and Mackey*. Hampton's election was not the only one being contested; the state legislature elections were also uncertain. The Republicans claimed victory and occupied the statehouse; the Democrats also claimed victory and formed their own legislative body. The South Carolina Supreme Court decided in *Wallace vs. Hayne and Mackey* that the Democratic-controlled legislature was the rightfully elected legislature and that the man that body elected as Speaker of the House, William Wallace, was the rightfully-elected Speaker of the House. This decision did not, however, determine the "winner" of the gubernatorial race. Rather, the Supreme Court

¹¹³ Oliphant, 1932, 249.

¹¹⁴ Simms, 1927, 228.

¹¹⁵ Oliphant, 1932, 249.

¹¹⁶ Simms, 1927, 229.

declared the rightfully elected legislature was the same party as Hampton thereby allowing the party's candidate to be installed as governor.¹¹⁷

Simms and Simms-Oliphant ended their sections on Hampton's election with similar sentiments but slightly different wording. Oliphant, in the 1927 edition of her grandfather's book, claimed that the Democrats of South Carolina has succeeded in overthrowing "the usurpers" of their government and had "taken possession of the government."¹¹⁸ Simms-Oliphant rewrote the ending of the same chapter stating, "By April 1877, twelve years after the Confederate War was over, South Carolina was in control of its government."¹¹⁹ Simms and Simms-Oliphant not only presented Hampton as the savior who helped return South Carolina to its people, they also reaffirmed Hampton's place as the *white* savior of the state. With the "brave and wise Wade Hampton" in governorship, "South Carolina was in the hands of its own people once more."¹²⁰ Hampton's victory signified not only the ousting of the Radical Republican governments, but also the success of the Democratic Party to end "negro rule" in the state. By saying that "South Carolina was in control of its government," Simms-Oliphant was participating in blatant erasure of all of the African Americans who had been involved in the state's government for the first time since the end of the Civil War. While she was likely also referring to white "carpetbaggers" and "scalawags," a return to white normalcy, that being with white Democrats once again in charge of the government, was the highest thing on her list. The damage that ideology like this created lasted for generations in South Carolina. Between 1870 and 1897, eight different African American

¹¹⁷ State ex rel. Wallace v. Hayne, 8 S.C. 367 (1876).

¹¹⁸ Simms, 1927, 229.

¹¹⁹ Oliphant, 1932, 251.

¹²⁰ Ibid, 253–254.

men served from South Carolina in the US House of Representatives. By the time Wade Hampton left public life, having served in various positions throughout the US government, there were no remaining Black representatives from South Carolina.

There would not be another African American elected to Congress from South Carolina for near another century. Despite being the majority of the population for most of the state’s history, Black South Carolinians would only see the first African American from South Carolina to serve in the US Senate in 2013 when Senator Tim Scott was appointed to his seat by Governor Nikki Haley.¹²¹

Joseph Rainey	Republican	South Carolina 1 st	1870 – 1879
Robert C. De Large	Republican	South Carolina 2 nd	1871 – 1873
Robert B. Elliot	Republican	South Carolina 3 rd	1871 – 1874
Richard H. Cain	Republican	At-Large & SC 2 nd	1873 – 1875 (AL) 1877 – 1879 (2 nd)
Alonzo J. Ransier	Republican	South Carolina 2 nd	1873 – 1875
Robert Smalls	Republican	South Carolina 5 th South Carolina 7 th	1875 – 1879 (5 th) 1882 – 1883 (5 th) 1884 – 1887 (7 th)
Thomas E. Miller	Republican	South Carolina 7 th	1890 – 1891
George W. Murray	Republican	South Carolina 7 th South Carolina 1 st	1893 – 1895 (7 th) 1896 – 1897 (1 st)
Jim Clyburn	Democrat	South Carolina 6 th	1993 – Present
Tim Scott	Republican	US Senate	2013 - Present

Table 2: African Americans Elected to Congress from South Carolina. The ten men in this table are the only African Americans from South Carolina to have served in the US Congress. As of 2020, no African American women have yet served the state in Congress.¹²²

While not much else about Hampton’s time as governor is touched on, Simms and Oliphant did make an effort to have Hampton’s South Carolina sound peaceful and cooperative. Oliphant painted a picture of the newly elected Democratic government

¹²¹ Oliphant, 1932, 253–254.

¹²² “Black Americans in Congress.” *History, Art, & Archives: United States House of Representatives*. Web. Accessed July 11, 2020. <https://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/BAIC/Black-Americans-in-Congress/>

helping to establish the new sharecropping system in which “negroes willingly went to work on the farms.” A sense of longing for the days of slavery can be felt when Oliphant wrote about how the “great plantation” was no longer a thing and that these years were still “hard ones for the plantation owner, the former slave, and the new white farmer.”¹²³

School books and history books for children in the North used similar methods of revision as Simms and Simms-Oliphant. They heroified northern leaders and altered narratives surrounding certain events. Maybe the only method not as prevalent, but still present, is racism. In one book, a short play about Abraham Lincoln is featured which plays him up as a well-liked and universally adored figure. It also uses clever wording to stir feels of patriotism and love of country. One line in particular stands out as a heroification of Lincoln. After Lincoln’s assassination, a southern soldier in the play proclaims, “We southerners fought against Lincoln, and he has beaten us; but I know that even the South has lost its best friend.”¹²⁴ This romanticization of Lincoln goes a little far. While Lincoln has become something of a martyr since his death, he was not as widely popular as many today think he was. Democrats across the nation, even in the North, wildly disagreed with his policies such as the suspension of habeas corpus during the Civil War. Southerners harbored a hatred for Lincoln years after his death; Russell Conwell, a journalist from Massachusetts, detailed how houses across the South featured portraits of Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, and even John Wilkes Booth, Lincoln’s assassin, in their sitting rooms.¹²⁵

¹²³ Oliphant, 1932, 253–254.

¹²⁴ Eleanore Hubbard, “A Little Life of Lincoln, A Play in 4 Acts,” *Little American History Plays for Little Americans* (Chicago, New York, Boston; Benj.H. Sanbord & Co, 1920), 150.

¹²⁵ Philip B. Kunhardt III, “The Assassination of Abraham Lincoln, Lincoln’s Contested Legacy,” *Smithsonian Magazine*. Web. Accessed February 15, 2021.
<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/lincolns-contested-legacy-44978351/>

While the alteration of Lincoln's legacy in the play is inaccurate, it is also important to recognize that the heroification of Lincoln causes much less harm than the heroification of former Confederates, especially those who were some of the wealthiest slaveholders in the South. It is necessary to clarify that holding all historical figures accountable for their actions is important and Lincoln certainly was not free from holding some of the same widespread views of his contemporaries, he was after all a supporter of the colonization movement which sought to offer an option to free Blacks to immigrate to Liberia and Central America. Lincoln's support of colonization and whether or not he believed in full racial equality is much debated. He did often lean on his support of colonization in his debates with Stephen A. Douglas and in his presidential campaign and career to illustrate his early position of separating the races. Though his ideas evolved as he grew older, he did not fully abandon colonization until 1864.¹²⁶ Lincoln's legacy, no matter how fiercely debated it may be, compared to Wade Hampton III, for example, stands as a stark contrast to the hate filled motivations of Hampton his entire life.

The heroification of Wade Hampton began with his election to the governorship of South Carolina and has been carried out through the teaching of his legacy. The modern-day South Carolina statehouse grounds are evidence of the impact he had upon the people of the state. One state office building constructed from 1938-1940 bears his name and is located next door to the office building bearing the name of John C. Calhoun, in many ways putting the two men on equal footing in terms of their importance to the state. The building was originally constructed with separate bathrooms for African

¹²⁶ Michael Vorenberg, "Abraham Lincoln and the Politics of Black Colonization," *Journal of the Abraham Lincoln Association* v 14, no 2 (1993). Web. Accessed February 15, 2021. <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/j/jala/2629860.0014.204?view=text;rgn=main>



Picture 4: African American History Monument. The statehouse, constructed by slaves, in the background. Photo by the author.

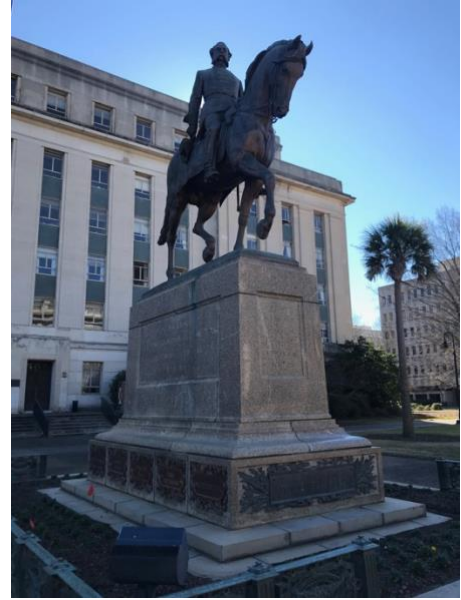
Americans, the perfect representation of the harmful effect of Hampton's election on the state.¹²⁷ In front of the Classical styled office building stands a massive statue of Wade Hampton III on horseback. Originally erected across the street from Trinity Cathedral in 1906, the location of Hampton's grave, it was relocated to its current place in front of the

Hampton office building in 1969. The monument was constructed primarily by funds from Confederate legacy organizations like the United Daughters of the Confederacy (Wade Hampton Chapter) and the United Confederate Veterans (Hampton Camp). The statue itself stands 15 feet tall, not including the pedestal upon which all of Hampton's leadership positions and battles are carved.¹²⁸ Even though it has been relocated from its original position, it still looms over the entire statehouse grounds. In 2001, the African American History Monument (Picture 4) was erected as a way to tell the story of African Americans in South Carolina from 1619, the start of the slave trade, to the present. The monument is beautiful and stands as a beacon of hope in a state that has been filled with

¹²⁷ "Wade Hampton State Office Building" Historic Columbia. Web. Accessed July 17, 2020. <https://www.historiccolumbia.org/tour-locations/wade-hampton-state-office-building>

¹²⁸ "Wade Hampton III Monument" Historic Columbia. Web. Accessed July 17, 2020. <https://www.historiccolumbia.org/tour-locations/wade-hampton-iii-monument>

so much hatred.¹²⁹ Despite the beauty and message of the monument, it is flanked by towering Confederate monuments on either side. To the left, the statue of Hampton (Picture 5) casts its shadow of oppression over the history of African Americans and to the right, a large tower dedicated to Confederate soldiers (Picture 6) greets visitors to the statehouse grounds. Even when the African Americans of the state are given recognition, the shadow of Wade Hampton and the Confederate cause still looms just over its shoulder.



Picture 5: Statue of Wade Hampton III. The Hampton office building is in the background. Photo by the author.



Picture 6: Confederate Soldiers Monument. Photo by the author.

Today, Hampton’s body rests in the cemetery at Trinity Cathedral directly across from the statehouse grounds among a maze of tombs and sunken headstones. His legacy, however, lives on in the hearts and minds of the people of South Carolina. Through over a century of sensationalism reinforced by a narrative of heroism through education, Hampton’s influence has reigned powerful over the South Carolinian mindset. Even with the removal of some Confederate symbols from the statehouse grounds,

¹²⁹ “African American History Monument” Historic Columbia. Web. July 17, 2020. <https://www.historiccolumbia.org/online-tours/state-house-monuments-tour/african-american-history-monument>

Hampton still stands tall. His monument looms as a reminder of the “hero” who “saved” South Carolina from the wild and unruly grip of Northern carpetbaggers and scalawags. As long as the narrative of “southern heritage” exists, so will the memory of the state’s white savior.

CHAPTER THREE

A TALE OF TWO FORTS

Observing the processes authors of southern histories utilized to tell their own versions of the stories of the Civil War makes it apparent that those who control knowledge influence public memory. While the process of deciding what to include and what to omit is standard practice in historical authorship, the way authors like Simms and Simms-Oliphant exercised this helped to propagate the reconciliationist and white supremacist ideals being pedaled at the height of their work. Historian David Blight describes three modes of memory that formed after the Civil War. The first was a reconciliationist vision, the second was a white supremacist vision which often joined together with reconciliation, and the third was an emancipationist vision. Reconciliation sought to quickly reunify the United States but failed to maintain the new social order that was established after the Civil War. Rather than embracing the importance and nuance of race in American politics and social life, reconciliation and reunionification took precedence over the continued correction of racial inequalities and centuries of enslavement of African Americans. As a result, the reconciliationist vision overtook the emancipationist vision and embedded itself as the dominant form of memory for the remembrance of the Civil War. These modes of memory were not necessarily actively recognized in their time in the same way that the Lost Cause was. Rather, trends like reconciliation were communal mindsets that resulted from a sudden realization of an opportunity and a degree of agency for white southerners to reclaim their history and

present their own Lost Cause driven narratives.¹³⁰ It was white southerners' discovery that they could "transform loss of the battlefield into a reunion on terms largely of their own choosing," that in part led to the surge in a commitment to white supremacy and positive memorialization of Confederate heroes.¹³¹ Historian Jean M. O'Brien notes the deliberate intention of those in memory work, which she defines as "the myriad ways in which monuments imbedded in a social fabric play a role in how individuals and collectives make meaning of the past as distinct from the concrete matter of what happened," to instill memories of the past and ensure that the thing being enshrined is not forgotten.¹³² Memorialization of certain people or events through physical monuments or through books often comes with an emphasis on the positive parts of the narrative and minimizes any significant conflict involved. O'Brien quotes historian David W. Blight when he said, "The dominant mode of memory is reconciliation."¹³³ Because of this phenomenon, authors of history wield an immense amount of power. This fact makes what those authors write inordinately powerful and influential, and when they distort facts or omit information from their writings without being held accountable, it can alter the truth and steer the student of history toward inaccurate or entirely false ideas on historical events and actors.

Simms and Simms-Oliphant both contributed to the reconciliation mindset.

Simms-Oliphant was a student of it herself having read the work of former Confederate leaders such as Confederate President Jefferson Davis and Confederate Vice-President

¹³⁰ David M. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA; The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001), 2-3.

¹³¹ Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 264-265.

¹³² Jean M. O'Brien, *Monumental Mobility: The Memory Work of Massasoit* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2019), 7.

¹³³ O'Brien, *Monumental Mobility*, 13.

Alexander Stephens who had published histories of the Confederacy in 1881 and 1868 respectively.¹³⁴ Both Davis and Stephens helped to set the tone for Lost Cause ideology early on by asserting that the war was not about slavery, but rather a difference in opinion on the Constitution. Rather than the war being about preserving the Union or freeing enslaved peoples, they framed the war as a war of northern aggression that placed the South in the role of the victim.¹³⁵ The narratives that Davis and Stephens helped to establish effectively served as the genesis for the Lost Cause ideology and reconciliationist mindset that Simms and Simms-Oliphant would continue to teach through their textbooks. Sociologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot has written that historical authenticity “implies a relation with what is known that duplicates the two sides of historicity: it engages us both as actors and as narrators.”¹³⁶ Simms and Simms-Oliphant likely did not believe that what they were writing was revisionist or misleading. Especially in Simms-Oliphant’s case, she was incorporating the writings of the authors who came before her—such as Davis, Stephens, and her grandfather—especially her grandfather’s textbook. While today the empirical exactitude of Simms and Simms-Oliphant’s books does not stand, in their time, they were authentic histories to the authors.

What Simms and Simms-Oliphant built on was the revisionist history presented by those authors of southern history that established the dominant narratives surrounding the Civil War and Reconstruction. Writing about revisionist history can be difficult as, at

¹³⁴ Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (Gloucester, MA: Collier Books, 1971); Alexander Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States: Its Causes, Character, Conduct and Results* (Philadelphia, PA: The National Publishing Co., 1868).

¹³⁵ James M. McPherson, “What Caused the Civil War,” *North and South*, no. 1, (2000): 14.

¹³⁶ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past, Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 150.

its core, most history is technically revisionist history. Historians are in the business of revisionism simply due to the nature of their work; historians seek to provide new interpretations of past “truths . . . of traditional historiography.”¹³⁷ In doing so, historians are constantly providing revised versions of history. The distinction between “good” and “bad” revisionist history comes down to its motive and topic. Giovanni Cattini, a lecturer in Contemporary History at the University of Barcelona, separates histories into those written with academic intent and those written with political intent. Revisionism driven by political motivations is typically viewed in a negative light “because it is associated with a vulgar use of certain historical events manipulated for political ends and with a complete lack of scientific foundation.” The writing of history driven by political debate often contains distortions and inaccuracies of the past.¹³⁸

Two very powerful and closely related tools of politically motivated revisionism are omission and erasure. Both of these tools are used to actively overlook carefully chosen aspects of history “in favor of a dominant narrative.”¹³⁹ In the textbooks written by Simms and Simms-Oliphant, both omission and erasure were used to make the histories they presented comfortable for their white southern readers by denying the truths of historical events. These tools can be used to either hide aspects of history that cast an unfavorable light on the subject’s past or to hide favorable aspects of the subject’s opponents. Omission and erasure can create a public memory and national identity that is carefully curated.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Giovanni Cattini, “Historical Revisionism, The Reinterpretation of History in Contemporary Political Debate.” *Transfer: Journal of Contemporary Culture*, no. 6, (2011): 30-37.

¹³⁸ Cattini, “Historical Revisionism,” 30.

¹³⁹ Tricia E. Logan, “Memory, Erasure, and National Myth,” *Colonial Genocide in Indigenous North America*, edited by Andrew Woolford et al. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 149.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 149-150.

In South Carolina textbooks of the 1920s and 1930s, moments in the histories of Fort Sumter and Fort Wagner in the Charleston Harbor during the Civil War were drastically revised if not omitted from the narrative altogether. In writing of Fort Sumter and Fort Wagner, William Gilmore Simms and Mary C. Simms Oliphant presented generations of South Carolinians inaccurate narratives of these two significant battles. The *Star of the West* is but one paragraph in Simms' book. The *Star of the West* was an unarmed merchant vessel sent by the North to resupply Fort Sumter. The ship was sent unarmed to avoid bloodshed. When the ship entered Charleston Harbor, it was fired upon by southern guns. The supplies and reinforcements never made it to the fort. While the gunners along the shores of the harbor did not fire on the fort, firing on the *Star of the West* could have been construed as an act of war. The details of the vessel's voyage are concise and accurate in Simms' narrative, it is the omission of the word "unarmed" that changes the meaning and perception of the story. Simms simply states that the ship was a steamer that was fired upon when it entered Charleston Harbor and turned back. There is no explanation of why, thus leading readers to perceive sending the ship to reinforce Fort Sumter as an aggressive move on the part of the Union. Simms' alteration of the facts of this event fed into Lost Cause ideas by framing the Union as the aggressors in the conflict. He did not offer any explanation of why the ship had to turn back or why it did not return fire. The omission of such a small yet important fact in this story could have contributed to a complete discrediting of his work had he been challenged, but he was not. Students in the South had been learning this Lost Cause talking point and reconciliationism for decades by the time Simms-Oliphant published the edited editions

of Simms' book. There was no reason for the students reading those books to think that the information they were being presented was inaccurate.¹⁴¹

In the 1932 edition of her book, Simms-Oliphant claimed that word came to Charleston as early as March that the United States intended to send ships to Charleston to resupply Fort Sumter.¹⁴² While Lincoln did make the final decision to reinforce the fort on March 29, 1861, he had sent no dispatches to Charleston to announce his decision. Commissioners from the South had arrived in Washington earlier that month because Secretary of State William Seward had, without authorization or evidence to support his claim, informed South Carolina that the fort would be surrendered.¹⁴³ Oliphant's claim that the South learned of Lincoln's intent to resupply the fort in March is inaccurate. Oliphant stated that "President Lincoln had promised the Confederate commissioners in Washington to tell them before he acted, if he intended to reinforce Fort Sumter."¹⁴⁴ It is true that there were commissioners in Washington from the South, however, Lincoln never met nor spoke with them. In fact, he refused to as he believed that meeting with them would give them some impression that he viewed the South as a sovereign nation, which he did not.¹⁴⁵ Lincoln instructed Secretary Seward to meet with them and assure them that the administration intended peace and reunion; in all actuality, Lincoln still was

¹⁴¹ William Gilmore Simms, *The History of South Carolina*. Edited by Mary C Simms Oliphant, Revised Edition (Columbia, SC: The State Company, 1922), 183.

¹⁴² Mary C. Simms Oliphant, *The Simms History of South Carolina* (Columbia, SC: The State Company, 1932), 203.

¹⁴³ James M. McPherson and James K. Hogue, *Ordeal by Fire, the Civil War and Reconstruction, Fourth Edition* (New York, NY: McGraw Hill, 2010), 155.

¹⁴⁴ Oliphant, 1932, 203.

¹⁴⁵ Shelby Foote, *The Civil War, A Narrative, Volume 1, Fort Sumter to Perryville* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1986), 45-46.

not sure at that point what the best course of action would be.¹⁴⁶ Where Oliphant was likely pulling this idea from was Secretary Seward passing on information to the commissioners without authorization from Lincoln to do so. Seward had all but assured the commissioners that the fort would be surrendered. When questioned on the matter weeks after promising this to the commissioners, Seward replied less assuredly than before, “I am satisfied the government will not undertake to supply Fort Sumter without giving notice to Governor Pickens.” Lincoln was never once involved with the commissioners from the South.¹⁴⁷

Simms-Oliphant also stated that Lincoln purposely sent reinforcements on their way to the fort before he sent the dispatch to Governor Pickens “in order to surprise the Confederates at Charleston.”¹⁴⁸ It is true that Lincoln did make the decision to send provisions to Fort Sumter on April 4. The expedition, though, did not set sail for the fort until April 6, 1861.¹⁴⁹ On the same day that the fleet left, Lincoln sent instructions to R.S. Chew, a clerk in the United States State Department, to deliver a message to Governor Pickens of South Carolina informing him of the resupply mission. Chew was directed only to seek an audience with Pickens if Sumter was still under Union control and had not been attacked. If it had, he was to immediately return to Washington.¹⁵⁰ The dispatch arrived on April 8, only two days after being sent.¹⁵¹ Oliphant’s claim that assurances from Lincoln were given to the commissioners—whether in person, in writing, or through

¹⁴⁶ Brag Bowling, “Who is to blame for first shot?” *The Washington Post*. Web. Accessed April 8, 2021. https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/who-is-to-blame-for-first-shot/2011/04/04/AF1M5uHD_story.html

¹⁴⁷ Foote, *The Civil War*, 45–46.

¹⁴⁸ Oliphant, 1932, 203.

¹⁴⁹ McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*, 157; Harry S. Stout, *Upon the Altar of the Nation, a Moral History of the Civil War* (New York: The Penguin Group, 2006), 18.

¹⁵⁰ Abraham Lincoln. “Instructions to R. S. Chew.” April 6, 1861.

¹⁵¹ Foote, *The Civil War*, 47.

Secretary Seward—lacks support even in other histories published by white southerners during the Lost Cause era. Confederate President Jefferson Davis dedicated a chapter to the events surrounding the southern commissioners in his book *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*. He wrote uncertainly of whether Seward had any authorization from Lincoln to issue assurances of peace and withdrawing of Federal troops from Fort Sumter to the commissioners.¹⁵² This Simms-Oliphant fabrication of events was likely hers alone. Not only did it present three false claims that entire generations of South Carolinians grew up believing, but it also strove to deflect blame away from the Confederacy for the outset of the war, something that specifically ties into the reconciliationist mindset.

Simms and Simms-Oliphant also presented a narrative surrounding Fort Sumter that misconstrued the cause of the conflict to level blame on President Lincoln and the Union. The history of the fort differs significantly from Simms and Simms-Oliphant's narratives. Construction on Fort Sumter began in 1829 as part of an effort to reinforce the United States' coastlines after weaknesses were exposed during the War of 1812. Building continued through the start of the Civil War in 1861. The fort is situated on a man-made island in the middle of Charleston Harbor as defense against any incoming sea attacks.¹⁵³ With South Carolina's secession from the Union in December 1860, Fort Sumter became one of only two forts in southern territory still under Union control as of April 1861. Major Robert Anderson, the commander of Union forces at Fort Moultrie located across the harbor on Sullivan Island, feared an impending attack on his position.

¹⁵² Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, 140-148.

¹⁵³ Brandi Oswald, "Building Fort Sumter." National Archives. Web. Accessed January 11, 2021. <https://unwritten-record.blogs.archives.gov/2018/04/06/building-fort-sumter/>

He recognized that Fort Sumter, though incomplete, would be easier to defend as it was not accessible by land. On December 26, 1860, Anderson ordered his troops to spike the guns and abandon Fort Moultrie, secretly moving in the night to Fort Sumter.¹⁵⁴

Anderson was hopeful that removing himself from a vulnerable position would maintain peace. The people of South Carolina saw this move as a violation of President James Buchanan's pledge to maintain the status quo in Charleston.¹⁵⁵

After relocating to Fort Sumter, Anderson knew that an attack on the fort by South Carolinians would be almost impossible to fight off without reinforcements. The first efforts to reinforce the fort came when Buchanan dispatched reinforcements and supplies on January 5, 1861.¹⁵⁶ The *Star of the North* was sent to resupply the fort and was fired upon by the Confederates. President Buchanan, however, reverted to his after-me-the-deluge policy following the attack on the vessel. He chose to take a stance of inaction and left the mess to his successor.¹⁵⁷ The second attempt to supply the fort took place not long after Abraham Lincoln's inauguration on March 4, 1861. After weeks of deliberations, Lincoln gave the order on March 29 for an unarmed flotilla of supplies only to be sent to the fort. The fleet set sail for Fort Sumter on April 6, 1861.¹⁵⁸ In an attempt to separate supplies and reinforcements, supplies would be sent to the fort via the unarmed vessels while the warships would stay further out of the harbor and would only take action if provoked. Lincoln reassured the southerners of his intentions by sending a

¹⁵⁴ Spiking a gun was the action of driving a metal spike into the touch-hole of a cannon, thus disabling it. "spike someone's guns ." *The Oxford Dictionary of Phrase and Fable, Encyclopedia.com*. (July 15, 2020). <https://www.encyclopedia.com/humanities/dictionaries-thesauruses-pictures-and-press-releases/spike-someones-guns>

¹⁵⁵ McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*, 154.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 154.

¹⁵⁷ Foote, *The Civil War*, 44; "James Buchanan." *The White House*. Web. Accessed August 4, 2020. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/james-buchanan/>

¹⁵⁸ Stout, *Upon the Altar of the Nation*, 18.

dispatch ahead of the arrival of the fleet.¹⁵⁹ The dispatch reached Governor Francis W. Pickens of South Carolina on April 8:

I am directed by the President of the United States to notify you to expect an attempt will be made to supply Fort Sumter with provisions only, and that if such an attempt be not resisted, no effort to throw men, arms or ammunition will be made without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort.¹⁶⁰

Lincoln made his intentions clear to those in South Carolina as well as Confederate President Jefferson Davis, hoping that the South would not prevent the North from completing a humanitarian mission or else ignite war. Davis, however, this as an act of aggression. He demanded the evacuation of the fort by Union soldiers. Major Anderson refused. On April 12, 1861, Confederates began bombarding Fort Sumter. Despite holding out for hours, the Union forces ultimately surrendered with no loss of life.¹⁶¹

Simms and Simms-Oliphant wrote versions of Fort Sumter's history that presented the Union as the aggressors removing blame for the conflict from the South. If anything, the continuation of Lost Cause narratives by Simms and Simms-Oliphant showcases the power and longevity of Lost Cause ideology. The authors who established Lost Cause ideas—such as Jefferson Davis, Alexander Stephens, and Edward Pollard—effectively altered the history of Fort Sumter for students all across the South. Davis wrote very directly about who he felt was the aggressor in the Civil War.

The attempt to represent us as the *aggressors* in the conflict which ensued is as unfounded as the complaint made by the wolf against the lamb in the familiar fable. He who makes the assault is not necessarily he that strikes the first blow or fires the first gun. To have awaited further strengthening of their position by land and naval forces, with hostile purpose now declared, for the sake of having them “fire the first gun,” would have been as unwise as it would be to hesitate to strike down the arm of the assailant,

¹⁵⁹ McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*, 157.

¹⁶⁰ Foote, *The Civil War*, 47.

¹⁶¹ Stout, *Upon the Altar*, 19.

who levels a deadly weapon at one's breast, until he has actually fired. After the assault was made by the hostile descent of the fleet, the reduction of Fort Sumter was a measure of defense rendered absolutely and immediately necessary.¹⁶²

Davis represents the South Carolinians who fired upon Fort Sumter as the peaceful defenders protecting themselves from a hostile aggressor. Davis position as the former president of the Confederacy afforded him immense power and influence over the southern mindset during Reconstruction and after. While the primary source documents contradict Davis' claim that the North had aggressive intent, he had already been raised to a heroic position by the former Confederates by the time he wrote his book; his readers would have taken anything he wrote as fact without question. Alexander Stephens shared Davis' sentiment in his own book and reinforced the idea that the North was the aggressor and the South was acting purely out of defense.

It was indeed more than a mere declaration of war. It was an act of war itself! . . . Whatever change of views may have taken place in the mind of Mr. Lincoln, as to the line of policy he intended to pursue to Fort Sumter and the other United State Forts within the Confederate States, after the assurance given, can in no way excuse or palliate the duplicity and fraud practiced afterwards on the Confederate Commissioners.¹⁶³

Stephens shared Davis' belief that resupplying Fort Sumter was an act of war but once again ignores the fact that Lincoln never once provided any personal assurances to the Confederate government. Just like Davis, though, Stephens was perceived as a hero of the Confederacy and his writings would have been taken as truth. Davis and Stephens both helped establish the narratives that Simms and Simms-Oliphant accepted as fact. Simms and Simms-Oliphant's narratives were authentic in terms of what they believed and what was widely accepted, but it is nonetheless important to recognize that the heroified

¹⁶² Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, 154.

¹⁶³ Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States*, Volume 2, 351.

figures that white southerners idolized had created altered narratives that permeated southern education well into the 20th century.

Simms and Simms-Oliphant's outline of events surrounding Fort Wagner are problematic due to omission. Simms' original publication said very little about the assault on Battery Wagner in general. The fort was constructed on Morris Island in 1862 to strengthen defenses around Charleston Harbor. Confederate leadership also improved three already existing forts in the harbor: Moultrie, Sumter, and Johnson.¹⁶⁴ Simms simply stated that the battery was attacked and eventually all the batteries on Morris Island were surrendered to the Federal troops.¹⁶⁵ Simms-Oliphant went into more detail about the history of the fort and of the assault on the battery in July 1863. Assaults against Charleston took place throughout 1862, but the largest assaults would not occur until 1863. According to Simms-Oliphant, Union soldiers landed on the southern end of Morris Island and made their way north toward Wagner but were stopped when the soldiers in the fort started firing their cannons. The next day, Union forces attacked the fort suffering heavy losses. They fell back to begin building their own defenses further south on the island. It would take assistance from ironclads attacking the fort from the sea to finally make the forces in Fort Wagner succumb to the Union offensive in September 1863.¹⁶⁶

At first glance, this one page description of the military activity on Morris Island seems straight forward with a basic timeline of events. The battle at Fort Wagner was fairly small and did not have a massive impact on the outcome of the war. It did however

¹⁶⁴ Oliphant, 1932, 209.

¹⁶⁵ Simms, 1927, 197.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, 223–224.

prove the worth and valor of African American soldiers. While the initial attacks on Fort Wagner were not successful, the men who fought and died on the day of the first attack proved that Black soldiers could “fight well and bleed for their country alongside whites.”¹⁶⁷ The sacrifice of the 54th Massachusetts is believed to have helped transform the meaning of the war into a war for the abolition of slavery.¹⁶⁸ The 54th had ignited the debate over equal pay for Black soldiers in the Army. Black soldiers were promised \$7 a month plus \$3 for clothing; compared to \$13 a month plus \$3 for clothing that white soldiers were offered. The soldiers in the 54th declared their pay unacceptable and refused to accept lower pay for the same work and level of risk. Even when the governor of Massachusetts offered to pay the difference, the 54th still protested as they felt it was the duty of the Federal government to treat all of its soldiers equally. In addition to fighting for equal pay, the 54th Massachusetts spoke out against the policy that kept Black men from being made commissioned officers. By the end of the war, three men in the regiment were promoted to lieutenants.¹⁶⁹ Despite how Simms and Simms-Oliphant depicted the battle at Fort Wagner, the Massachusetts 54th Colored Infantry was central to the attack. In July 1863, two years after the bombardment of Fort Sumter, the Union forces began an all-out siege on Charleston Harbor including Forts Sumter and Wagner. The attack on Fort Wagner on Morris Island was led by the 54th Massachusetts Infantry Regiment, an all-Black regiment.¹⁷⁰ In late May 1863, the soldiers of the Massachusetts 54th shipped out and were taken to Beaufort, South Carolina, around 70 miles south of

¹⁶⁷ Stout, *Upon the Altar*, 316

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, 316–317.

¹⁶⁹ Joseph T. Glatther, “‘Glory,’ the 54th Massachusetts Infantry, and Black Soldiers in the Civil War.” *The History Teacher* 24, No. 4. (August 1991): 478–479.

¹⁷⁰ McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire*, 389.

Charleston. From there, they made their way to Morris Island, arriving by July 18. Upon arrival, their commander, Massachusetts abolitionist Robert Gould Shaw, requested that his regiment take the lead in the attack. Odds of success were not favorable; Fort Wagner consisted of “heavy fortifications, an intervening ditch filled with four feet of water, and a steep sloping parapet.”¹⁷¹ With a lack of reinforcements and heavy fire, the regiment suffered 50% casualties including Shaw who died after taking up the state colors from the fallen Union color bearer.¹⁷² Because of the immense importance that the 54th Massachusetts and the attack on Fort Wagner had for the Black community and for the Union as a whole, the omission of the presence of the 54th Massachusetts in Simms and Simms-Oliphant’s textbooks could only be a deliberate attempt to remove Black bodies from the story of the Confederacy’s eventual defeat. Students in South Carolina would not have learned about the courageous acts of the 54th Massachusetts Colored Infantry from Simms and Simms-Oliphant. Nor did they learn it from Davis and Stephens. Neither Davis nor Stephens included anything on Fort Wagner or the Massachusetts 54th in their books. Davis’ book was published after the end of Reconstruction in 1876 and Stephen’s book was published in 1868, just three years after the end of the war when memories and emotions about the war were fresh. Both of them were important in establishing the reconciliationist and white supremacist mindsets of those white southerners writing histories of the war. Simms and Simms-Oliphant took their cues from authors like Davis and Stephens in practicing erasure of Black Americans from the historical narrative.

By deliberately omitting all traces of Black soldiers at Fort Wagner, Simms and Simms-Oliphant were exercising a form of erasure and power over Black bodies and their

¹⁷¹ Stout, *Upon the Altar*, 314.

¹⁷² *Ibid*, 314.

histories, something that has been a consistent issue in American historiography. In the case of Fort Wagner. They were free men who fought against the Lost Cause ideologies for which Simms and Simms-Oliphant stood. Rather than include them in a narrative that would directly contradict their personal feelings, Simms and Simms-Oliphant left them out entirely.

Despite failing to initially take the fort, the 54th Massachusetts Infantry became a symbol of hope for the Black community in the North. Sergeant William Carney, who at one point took up the state colors and made sure that they never hit the ground, was the first African American to ever be awarded the Medal of Honor. The bravery and valor of the Massachusetts 54th confirmed for many, and swayed the hearts of the doubters, that Black soldiers were worthy of fighting for the United States. In fact, General Ulysses S. Grant believed that the arming of Black soldiers, along with emancipation, “is the heaviest blow yet given the Confederacy.” Allowing Black soldiers to fight in the war not only proved their value but helped change the meaning of the war into a “‘crusade’ for freedom.”¹⁷³

America and its history has centered on the control of Black bodies: slavery, segregation, mass incarceration, police brutality, continued attempts to subvert Black Civil Rights movements such as Black Lives Matter, etc. In writing about the body, Michel Foucault said, “power relations have immediate hold upon it; they invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out our tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs.” He goes on to say that the desire to exercise power over the body is often directly connect to economics and subjection. “The body becomes a useful force only if it is both a

¹⁷³ Stout, *Upon the Altar*, 315–317.

productive body and a subjected body.” The process of forcing a body into subjection does not have to involve violence, though it often does, but it can be subtle and use no violence. In either case, it is almost always “calculated, organized, technically thought out.” Foucault calls the knowledge of how to conquer a body the “political technology of the body.”¹⁷⁴ Ta-Nehisi Coates wrote in his book *Between the World and Me*, “In America, it is tradition to destroy the Black body—it is heritage.”¹⁷⁵ When analyzing Coates’ work, Philosopher James B. Haile III asserted that America is “a man-made reality in which the Black body is destroyed.”¹⁷⁶ Haile states that the Black body highlights the reality that America is a place created by humans labeling themselves as white at the expense, destruction, and death of the Black body.¹⁷⁷ The philosophical studies of Foucault, Coates, and Haile may differ, but their scholarship all emphasizes the importance of control over the body in long-standing power structures. Those who maintain control over the body stay in power while those be controlled struggle to gain significant ground in their struggles for justice and equality. In the aftermath of the Civil War, southern authors of history sought to assert their own view of past events on students of history. Though they had lost the war, they could remain conquerors over Black bodies through the systems of oppression they helped to create: segregation, Jim Crow, mass incarceration, etc. They could also exert their power over Black bodies by removing them from the historical narrative. They removed Black voices from the places where the bodies could not be removed. William Gilmore Simms and Mary C. Simms-

¹⁷⁴ Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish, The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. (New York: Vintage Books, a Division of Random House, Inc., 1977.), 25–26.

¹⁷⁵ Ta-Nehisi Coates, *Between the World and Me* (New York: Spiegel & Grau, 2015), 103.

¹⁷⁶ James B. Haile III, “Ta-Nehisi Coates’s Phenomenology of the Body,” *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy* 31, no. 3. (2017); 500.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 500.

Oliphant are perfect illustrations of the continuation of this phenomenon created by Confederate soldiers and officers who also wrote histories.

The long-term effects of this erasure were perfectly illustrated in Charleston, South Carolina between 2005 and 2008. In 2005, private developers purchased 128 acres of land on Morris Island with the intention of building luxury homes near the site of Battery Gregg, a Confederate battery just north of where Fort Wagner once stood. Preservationists and historians sprang to action to save the island. The historical significance of the land that was threatened by these developments was not the only thing motivating those working to save the site; the men who fought and died on the island were buried in the sand after the battle and remained undisturbed since. This land was more than a battlefield, it was a final resting place. With no official excavations having taken place on the island, the bodies were never exhumed and moved. Luckily, those who fought to protect the island from development were successful and the battlefield remains undisturbed.¹⁷⁸ While the developers who tried to turn the island into beachfront property likely did not know at first that the site held such significance, or perhaps they just did not care, it still speaks to the power that erasure has on history. Historians knew the island's importance, but outside of those who had specifically studied the battle at Fort Wagner and the 54th Massachusetts infantry, a general ignorance on the history of the site led to what could have been a tragic disturbance of hallowed ground.

In comparing the ways Simms and Oliphant wrote about Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie, Lost Cause revisionism, reconciliationism, and white supremacy permeate. In

¹⁷⁸ Fergus M. Bordewich, "Preservation or Development at Morris Island?" *Smithsonian Magazine*. Updated March 25, 2001. Web. Accessed October 2, 2020. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/preservation-or-development-at-morris-island-74405200/>

one event, the Confederates were the victorious side of the battle, even though they were on the losing side of the war. This led to both the heightened tales of southern bravery and the defensive tales of northern treachery. They sought to belittle the opposition and build up the bravery and gallantry of their own soldiers. When they found themselves in the position of being defeated both in battle and ideologically, such as is the case with Fort Wagner, they resorted to removing important parts of the story. Their Lost Cause narratives of Fort Sumter and Fort Wagner were rooted in reconciliation, revisionism, oppression, and white supremacy. Continued racist rhetoric drove their textbook histories and led to the omission of Black bodies and Black voices from the overall narrative of Fort Wagner. Through deeply institutionalized prejudices, Simms and Simms-Oliphant managed to only allow Black bodies into their histories when it best suited their narratives.

CHAPTER FOUR

“OF OUR OWN RACE”

According to the American Psychological Association, implicit prejudice is a subconscious negative feeling toward a particular social group or groups.¹⁷⁹ The phenomenon happens without thinking. The challenge is, as sociologist Lincoln Quillian points out, that many people who experience this phenomenon do not believe themselves to be prejudiced people. Mahzarin Banaji, who has been studying these tendencies since the 1980s, has found that such prejudices and biases can form in our psychology early on in life. In one study of Japanese and white New Englanders, she discovered that children of both groups as young as 6 years old showed signs of such bias.¹⁸⁰ Additionally, the famous “Baby Doll Test” conducted by Kenneth and Mamie Clark, showed that implicit prejudice has an effect on all races. In this particular study, they placed two white baby dolls and two Black baby dolls in front of Black children then told them to identify which ones were “nice” which ones were “bad” and which ones were “most like you.” The majority of the children said the Black dolls were bad.¹⁸¹ The education system in South Carolina from 1920 to 1940 exhibited clear examples of both implicit and explicit prejudice in its formation and in the resources it chose for its schools. Continued dedication to the dehumanization of enslaved people and their ancestors resulted in

¹⁷⁹ “Implicit Prejudice.” *APA Dictionary of Psychology*. American Psychological Association. <https://dictionary.apa.org/implicit-prejudice>

¹⁸⁰ Lincoln Quillian. “Does Unconscious Racism Exist?” *Social Psychology Quarterly* 71, No. 1: 6-11; Sally Lehrman. “The Implicit Prejudice.” *Scientific American* 294, No 6: 32, 34.

¹⁸¹ “Kenneth and Mamie Clark Doll.” National Park Service. Web. Accessed June 13, 2020. <https://www.nps.gov/brvb/learn/historyculture/clarkdoll.htm>

further segregated education and the passage of laws that disproportionately affected Black students across the state.

With the creation of a new education system by Radical Republicans during Reconstruction, African Americans were finally allowed to attend school. In the earliest years of this education system established by the Reconstruction Era “radical” constitution of the state, African Americans and white students were allowed to be integrated. Simms-Oliphant described a Democratic convention in the state that opposed this new constitution declaring that it kept “the best men of the state from voting.” Members of the convention voiced their dislike of the integration of the schools, stating that the new education system could not be sustained, and that it “allowed the ignorant to rule the intelligent.”¹⁸² It seems that even after the war, there was a belief that African Americans were ignorant and uneducated. There was also a reluctance to provide them with any form of meaningful education.

In 1920, the South Carolina State Board of Education decided that their education system needed an overhaul. Attitudes toward South Carolina’s existing education system at this time were influenced by a few key factors. As part of the draft issued during World War I, new recruits were required to take a literacy test. Recruits from South Carolina failed this test in large numbers. They also did not meet the “physical and mental standards” for the draft. At first, South Carolina experienced rejection rates between 68 to 80 percent as a result. Even after the first deluge of the draft evaluations, South Carolina continued to have around a 25 percent rejection rate, still high for the time. As early as 1916, reformers in the state were already looking at ways to improve their educational

¹⁸² Simms, 1922, 216-217.

practices. Many felt that the massive rejection numbers were an embarrassment. The newfound economic wealth of the state due to World War I supported founding reform groups.¹⁸³

Literacy tests for the draft shone a light on South Carolina's literacy issues. The state's overall illiteracy rate stood at about 20 percent, nearly 7 percent higher than the national average. In fact, the only state in the country with a higher illiteracy rate was Louisiana. Forty percent of the state's African American population could not read or write. As of 1916, 75 percent of the state's total population had lower than an elementary education and only about 2.4 percent of all students enrolled in college. These numbers exposed deep rooted problems in the state's educational programming.¹⁸⁴ In addition to the issue of illiteracy in the state, the nation was being swept by the progressive education movement starting as early as 1915. The movement, founded by philosopher John Dewey, sought to completely reform the way children were taught in the United States. The reforms introduced by this movement strove to emphasize a child's creative nature and give children the freedom to explore and learn freely without such strict, dominating schedules and curricula. The guiding principles of the progressive-led education movement hoped to do away with the idea that teachers were working to subdue "young barbarians" and put in its place an education system that was nurturing to a child's creativity and exploration.¹⁸⁵ Between the high illiteracy numbers and education reform movements sweeping the nation, the all-white South Carolina Board of Education

¹⁸³ Janet G. Hudson. *Entangled by White Supremacy: Reform in World War I-era South Carolina*. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2009), 68-69.

¹⁸⁴ Hudson, p. 69, 261.

¹⁸⁵ H.B. Alberty. "The Progressive Education Movement." *Education Research Bulletin* 8. No 8 (April 17, 1929): 163-169.

decided it was time for change. They declared that “the people of South Carolina are ready, as they have never been before, for a forward step in education.”¹⁸⁶ They decided to increase the qualification requirements for teachers, raise teacher pay, update school buildings, clarify state standards, and create a more specific school board structure at both the state and local levels. As part of these overhauls, the State Board of Education set the tone for how race was to be treated in their renewed school system.¹⁸⁷

The tone that education in South Carolina would take in regards to race was set in those early days of planning for this educational makeover. Despite the State Superintendent of Education John E. Swearingen’s desire to improve education for African Americans, the biases he and the other board members learned throughout their lives had seeped into their policies.¹⁸⁸ Swearingen himself displayed many racist and nativist tendencies. He once declared that “theorists who put Anglo Saxon standard second or who do not understand and recognize our paramount obligation to maintain white supremacy ought not to be allowed to touch anything here.”¹⁸⁹ Separately, in a letter written in 1919, Swearingen wrote, “In reply to your request for my views concerning the foreigner problem . . . I am convinced that no adult should be allowed to remain in America unless he is willing to master ordinary English . . . a foreigner who clings to his foreign tongue ought not be allowed to stay here.”¹⁹⁰ Another three members of the State Board of Education—S.H. Edmunds, W.L. Brooker, and S.J. Derrick—made

¹⁸⁶ “Program of Public School Policy.” Minutes of the State Board of Education, Columbia, SC. March 19, 1920.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Edward Janak, “Swearingen, John Eldred.” South Carolina Encyclopedia. Web. Accessed June 14, 2020. <http://www.scencyclopedia.org/sce/entries/swearingen-john-eldred/>

¹⁸⁹ Janet G. Hudson, *Entangled by White Supremacy: Reform in World War I-era South Carolina* (Lexington, KY; University Press of Kentucky, 2009), 270.

¹⁹⁰ Letter from J.E. Swearington, State Superintendent of Education. Columbia, October 25, 1919.

up the committee that selected and adopted Mary C. Simms-Oliphant's revised edition of *Simms' History of South Carolina* for the first time in 1917.¹⁹¹

When discussing the kinds of things the board felt needed to be taught in their schools, they spent some time on “cultural studies.” They stressed that a full and successful education would include these cultural studies that would “plan for him [students] a life of wise, and broad understanding, rich with the beauty and power of the cultural inheritance of the race.”¹⁹² They stated that they wanted to instill an understanding of “the spiritualizing power of the language and literature of our own race.”¹⁹³ Coupled with the specific mention of the “education of the negro,” “race” was referring solely to the white “race.” African Americans were separate.¹⁹⁴ The paragraph dedicated to the discussion on education for African American citizens opened saying that South Carolina needed to take “a definite stand as to what policy it intends to pursue with reference to the education of the negro.”¹⁹⁵ This stance fed into two widely held racist beliefs about African Americans at that time; the minutes of the board of education stated, “He [African Americans] is with us in large numbers, and is a necessary part of our industrial system”; a better education is “what is best for him and for the economic order to which he and we both belong.”¹⁹⁶ These statements argued that the primary motivation behind providing a better education for African Americans was of an economic nature. South Carolina's educational system relied on the idea that African

¹⁹¹ South Carolina General Assembly, *Report of State Officers, Board and Committees to the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina* (1918), 47-48.

¹⁹² “Program of Public School Policy,” Minutes of the State Board of Education, Columbia, SC. March 19, 1920.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

Americans were no more than an economic tool and that by educating them it would lead to further success for white citizens.¹⁹⁷

It is not surprising, then, to find that the board of education consistently chose to readopt Mary C. Simms-Oliphant's books *The History of South Carolina* and *The Simms History of South Carolina*. The members of the board of education were raised under the same Lost Cause, reconciliationist, and white supremacist ideology that Simms-Oliphant utilized in her books. Simms and Simms-Oliphant continued to demonstrate their belief in those ideologies and narratives in their use of racist tropes to justify slavery and the continued subjugation of African Americans. Throughout three available editions of Simms-Oliphant's books published in 1922, 1927, and 1932, she demonstrated explicit prejudice and ill will toward Black citizens in the state. She harbored a personal vendetta noting that her grandfather's house was burned to the ground during Sherman's march to the sea.¹⁹⁸ Under the subheading "The Question of Slavery" in her exploration of the states' rights movement, Simms-Oliphant stated that "on account of the cold climate of the Northern States the negroes did not thrive and slavery was practically abolished in the North."¹⁹⁹ She went on to say that the southern states were much more suitable for slaves because it was an agricultural region.²⁰⁰ These sentiments all echoed Jefferson Davis when he wrote, "The slaves, however, were numerous in the Southern, and very few in the Northern, states. This diversity was occasioned by differences in climate, soil, and

¹⁹⁷ "Program of Public School Policy," Minutes of the State Board of Education, Columbia, SC. March 19, 1920.

¹⁹⁸ William Gilmore Simms, *The History of South Carolina*. Edited by Mary C Simms Oliphant, Revised Edition ed. (Columbia: The State Company, 1922).

¹⁹⁹ Simms, 1922, 161.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 161.

industrial interests.”²⁰¹ Lines of thought like these stemmed from the writings of scientists like Carl Linnaeus and Georges Buffon who wrote about the biology of race and ultimately contributed to the creation of scientific racism. The use of science to divide humans by race started in the early to mid-1700s with the publication of Carl Linnaeus’ *Systema Naturae*. In this publication, he divided humans into four races which he designated by geographic location. These four races were Europaeus, Americanus, Asiaticus, and Africanus.²⁰² Scientific arguments about the origins of race eventually branched into two schools of thought. Monogenesis argued that all humans share a common ancestor. Polygenesis argued that there were multiple points of origin for the human race that all appeared simultaneously. This theory also stated that each point of origin was technically a different species. Scientists from around the world used polygenesis to assert that humans descended from the European point of origin were superior and had higher abilities, powers, and natural dispositions than those of other points of origin. Scientific racism was used in the nineteenth century to justify slavery on the basis of race. Samuel Cartwright, a doctor from New Orleans, released publications like “Diseases and Peculiarities of the Negro Race,” in which he described two afflictions of black people. The first being “Drapateomani, or the disease causing negroes to run away.” The other being “Dysaesthesia Aethiopica, or hebetude of mind and obtuse sensibility of body . . . called by overseers, ‘Rascality.’”²⁰³ Cartwright argued that these “diseases” were natural in descendants of Black people and that freedom only escalated

²⁰¹ Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (Gloucester, MA; Collier Books, 1971), 25.

²⁰² Nicholas Hudson, “‘Nation to Race’: The Origin of Racial Classification in Eighteenth-Century Thought,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, no. 3. (1996), 253.

²⁰³ Henry Louis Gates, Jr. *Stony the Road, Reconstruction, White Supremacy, and The Rise of Jim Crow* (New York; Penguin Press, 2009), 56-61.

their symptoms.²⁰⁴ By the time Simms-Oliphant began publishing her books, scientific racism had spurred the eugenics movement, which carried well into the 1920s, even securing a legal victory in the 1927 Supreme Court decision in *Buck v. Bell* which upheld Virginia's sterilization law.²⁰⁵ Scientific racism no doubt had an influence on people like Jefferson Davis and later Mary Simms-Oliphant.

Simms-Oliphant tried to blame England for the continuation of slavery in the Americas saying, "Even when England did away with slavery at home, she would not consent to abolishing the slave trade in her colonies."²⁰⁶ In fact, the United States was no longer under British rule when England ended its slave trade nor when England abolished slavery. In all actuality, England ended its slave trade on March 25, 1807, just a few weeks after the United States passed a similar law. They abolished slavery at home on August 1, 1834, over thirty years before the United States would do the same and only after the Civil War.²⁰⁷ While it is true that England did not fully abolish slavery in all of its colonies until 1928, that in no way excuses the United States.²⁰⁸ The idea of placing blame for slavery in Britain's lap stems from Thomas Jefferson's original rough draft of the Declaration of Independence where he wrote that Britain had "waged cruel war against human nature itself," by capturing people and "carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere."²⁰⁹ While Jefferson and Oliphant were correct in stating that Great Britain was to blame for the introduction of slavery to what would become the United

²⁰⁴ Ibid, 61-62.

²⁰⁵ Ibid, 79.

²⁰⁶ Simms, 1922, 162.

²⁰⁷ "About the abolition." The National Archives. Accessed March 9, 2019. Web. <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/slavery/about.htm>

²⁰⁸ Marika Sherwood, *After Abolition, Britain and the Slave Trade since 1807* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2007), 1-2.

²⁰⁹ Thomas Jefferson, "Jefferson's 'original Rough draught' of the Declaration of Independence." Library of Congress. Web. Accessed June 4, 2020. <https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/declara/ruffdrft.html>

States, the United States continued slavery of its own volition for nearly another ninety years after declaring independence from Britain and abolished slavery much later than Britain.

Another instance of deflection occurred when Oliphant attempted to blame abolitionists for the *continuation* of slavery. In “Abolitionists Hamper Freeing Slaves,” she noted that “the freed negroes had already given trouble and the Southern people thought it unwise to increase their numbers while the Abolitionists were exciting them.”²¹⁰ The “meddlesome activities” of abolitionists made it impossible to come to a “peaceable solution of the slavery question or a gradual emancipation of the negroes.”²¹¹ They “offered no remedy for the evils which would befall the South when the negroes were freed.”²¹² She failed to elaborate on what exactly those “evils” were. Despite calling slaves and free Blacks “ignorant and easily misguided,” she failed to discuss, in any of the editions of this book, the fact that South Carolina forbade teaching slaves to read and write as early as 1740. Any person caught doing so would be levied with a one hundred pound fine.²¹³ In her 1932 edition, she discussed South Carolina’s creation of a free public-school system in 1811 that would allow “all children of the State, rich and poor alike,” to go to school.²¹⁴ At no point during this section of her book did she mention education for slaves or free Blacks. The reality that that there was not a process for them to be educated and in fact, it was discouraged despite state law.

²¹⁰ Simms, 1922, 168.

²¹¹ Ibid, 168-169.

²¹² Simms, 1922, 167.

²¹³ “Slavery and the Making of America. The Slave Experience: Education, Arts, & Culture: PBS.” *Thirteen, Media With Impact.* , www.thirteen.org/wnet/slavery/experience/education/docs1.html; Note that South Carolina was obviously still a British colony at this time.

²¹⁴ Oliphant, 1932, p. 177.

Throughout all three editions of Simms-Oliphant's book used for this study, she relies heavily on the word "savage" to discuss the civilizing mission.²¹⁵ In continuing to justify the continued existence of slavery into the 1860s, Simms-Oliphant said that there was "no doubt that holding human beings in slavery was a great wrong."²¹⁶ Even in later editions of the book, she continued to utilize this argument and only slightly changed the wording. The sentiment of her 1932 edition argued that slavery was wrong ". . . in spite of the fact that it civilized to a great extent thousands of negroes who were brought over as savages from Africa."²¹⁷ This downplayed the scale of the Atlantic slave trade. Though Simms-Oliphant was correct that "thousands" of slaves were brought to the United States, the number brought directly to the U.S. was actually about 388,000 with approximately 60,000 to 70,000 more arriving in the U.S. after first being taken to the Caribbean. This does not include those died in transit.²¹⁸

Further evidence of the civilizing mission in southern planters came when Simms-Oliphant wrote, "They [southerners] emphasized the fact that slavery had taken savages into a civilized, Christian land. They brought out the fact that before the negroes came to the South they had never even heard of Christ."²¹⁹ The religious aspect of the civilizing mission was not unique to southern slaveholders nor to Mary Simms-Oliphant. Religion played a significant role in "civilizing" people deemed "savage" or "backward." Simms-Oliphant's statement that many slaves had never heard of Christ before coming to the

²¹⁵ The civilizing mission is the driving force of much of the world's imperialism. The basic tenet is that the imperialists believe their way of life to be superior to others and they wish to force their way of life on people whom they consider to be "savage" or "uncivilized."

²¹⁶ Simms, 1922, 162.

²¹⁷ Mary C. Simms Oliphant, *The Simms History of South Carolina* (Columbia, SC: The State Company, 1932), 181.

²¹⁸ Henry Louis Gates Jr, "How Many Slaves Landed in the US?" The Root. Accessed March 10, 2020. Web. <https://www.theroot.com/how-many-slaves-landed-in-the-us-1790873989>

²¹⁹ Simms, 1922, 179.

New World is not false. In the period of time when the Atlantic slave trade was in its height, before the mass colonization of Africa by Christian and Muslim nations, most tribal groups practiced traditional African religions. Though each individual religion had minute differences, Jacob Olupona, professor of indigenous African religions at Harvard Divinity School, points out that even referring to African beliefs as “religion” does not accurately describe what many traditional African religious practices were/are. For Africans practicing traditional religions, religion is not separate from other aspects of one’s life. There is a significant emphasis on a connection with ancestors that is absent from Judo-Christian and Islamic beliefs.²²⁰ In fact, the political makeup of Africa was often just as complex as many European states. Africa was home to many powerful empires throughout history; around the same time that the Atlantic slave trade began in the 15th century, the Songhai Empire was in control of a large portion of West Africa.²²¹ Basing a people’s level of civilization on their religious beliefs clearly did not and does not prove to be a basis for accurately making such a determination.

This idea of African Americans as ignorant and savage continued throughout Simms-Oliphant’s narrative. During Reconstruction, African Americans were able, for the first time, to participate in the American political system. In October 1867, there was a call for general voter registration in South Carolina to ensure an electorate when elections would later be held. According to Simms-Oliphant, African Americans took baskets and bags with them to register because they did not know what registering to vote meant. She claimed that they thought registration was a good of some kind. They “were

²²⁰ Anthony Chiorazzi, “The Spirituality of Africa.” *The Harvard Gazette*. Accessed March 10, 2020. Web. <https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2015/10/the-spirituality-of-africa/>

²²¹ “Songhai, African Empire, 15th-16th Century.” South African History Online. Accessed March 27, 2020. Web. <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/songhai-african-empire-15-16th-century>

afraid that, whatever it was, there would not be ‘enough to go around.’”²²² Simms-Oliphant’s concerns over whether or not African Americans were smart enough to vote were put partially to rest when white landowners and politicians quickly acted to pass Black codes and Jim Crow laws to limit the amount of influence and power African Americans could truly have.²²³ Oliphant wrote that these codes were “enacted for the protection of the white man against the negro.”²²⁴ She believed, and so did many white people after the close of the Civil War, that African American rule would be catastrophic. The reasoning behind this ties directly into the lack of education they held. “The state had a tremendous problem to face in the sudden freeing of thousands of irresponsible, uneducated, unmoral, and, in many cases, brutish, Africans.”²²⁵ Again, Simms-Oliphant seems to contradict herself. At one moment she claimed that Africans had been civilized by the white man when they were brought to the Americas, but at another point she seemed to suggest they were just as “savage” as when they first arrived. She went so far as to call them “brutish.” This is one of Simms’ and Simms-Oliphant’s greatest breaches in logic throughout their narratives. They touted their success in civilizing the “savage” African, yet they seemed to believe that the process had failed. If anything, this illustrates the way in which white supremacy eclipses logic.

²²² Oliphant, 1932, 243.

²²³ The Statute at Large of South Carolina Vol. XII containing the Acts from December 1861 to December 1866. An Act to Establish and Regulate the Domestic Relations of Persons of Color and to Amend the Law in Relation to Paupers and Vagrancy, Act No. 4733. General Assembly, 19 December 1865 (Columbia, SC: Republican Printing Corp., 1875): 269-285. South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina.

²²⁴ Simms, 1922, 212.

²²⁵ Ibid, 212-213.

Much of this language used by Simms and Simms-Oliphant is paternalistic.²²⁶ Paternalism typically sought to lessen the severity of slave conditions by claiming that slaveholders treated their slaves with kindness and “fed them well and clothed them comfortably.”²²⁷ According to Simms and Oliphant, slaves were given the best care. When they were ill their masters helped nurse them back to health. They were never overworked. The authors went so far as to say that “they led a care free life because their masters provided for all their needs.”²²⁸ Supposedly many slaves loved their masters. Some even stayed with their masters even after being freed. Statements such as these glossed over the horrors that enslaved people suffered at the hands of their masters and overseers. Simms and Simms-Oliphant also failed to explain the reasons why some former slaves had no choice but to stay with their masters even once freed. Unfair sharecropping practices in the South left freed people in subservient positions due to a lack of capital. This resulted in an inability to purchase necessary equipment, animals, and seed and left many African Americans trapped in a system not much better than slavery.²²⁹ Additionally, many landowners and store owners gave goods on credit to sharecroppers at very high interest rates, which left most in debt.²³⁰

Proving even further their prejudice against African Americans, Simms and Simms-Oliphant praised the actions of the Ku Klux Klan. It is not surprising that editions published in the late nineteen teens and the 1920s had a heavy emphasis on the Klan.

²²⁶ “Paternalism.” *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Accessed April 14, 2020. Web. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/paternalism/>

²²⁷ William Gilmore Simms, *The History of South Carolina*, edited by Mary C. Simms-Oliphant (Columbia, SC: The State Company, 1927), 146.

²²⁸ Simms, 1927. 146.

²²⁹ James M. McPherson and James K. Hogue, *Ordeal by Fire, The Civil War and Reconstruction*. Fourth Edition (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2010), 630.

²³⁰ Edward E. Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told, Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2014), 408.

After the release of the book *The Clansman* and the film *Birth of a Nation*, the KKK saw a rapid resurgence. As the Klan developed, it eventually came to embody not only racism but “evangelical Protestant morality.”²³¹ Chapter thirty, “Overthrow of Radical Government,” of the 1922 edition opens with a three-page discussion of the Klan. Simms-Oliphant wrote that the Klan was formed in order to “protect the women and children of the State.”²³² Simms and Simms-Oliphant said that the Klan was mostly inactive until 1870 when the “negro” state militia was formed. The Klan actually formed in South Carolina as early as 1868 when the Grand Dragon of the Tennessee Klan sent a representative to South Carolina to help organize the Klan there. This version of the Klan was a terror-filled organization that used murder and intimidation to achieve their goals. In the first year of the Klan’s existence in South Carolina, eight African Americans were killed by the Klan. Two of these people, James Martin and B.F. Randolph, were members of the State House of Representatives and State Senate respectively, both Republicans. In fact, the Klan of South Carolina was almost indistinguishable from the Democratic Party of the state, even if some members of that party had not yet taken up full Klan membership and paraphernalia.²³³

The violence and intimidation used by the Klan was to keep African Americans away from the polls. In the wake of the Civil War, Black people were primarily voting for Republicans, many of whom were considered carpetbaggers from the North or were Black.²³⁴ Voter suppression tactics were practiced by the Klan during the duration of the

²³¹ Linda Gordon, *The Second Coming of the KKK, The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s and the American Political Tradition* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2017), 11–15.

²³² Simms, 1922, 220.

²³³ Herbert Shapiro, "The Ku Klux Klan during Reconstruction: The South Carolina Episode," *The Journal of Negro History* 49, no. 1 (1964): 34-55.

²³⁴ A carpetbagger was typically a Northerner who moved to the South after the Civil War in search of political and economic influence over the region.

1868 election cycle as well as on election day itself. Klan members used violence to drive African Americans away from the polls and, in some instances, killed some who were attempting to vote. Murders and beatings were reported all across the state from Spartanburg County to Union County, the location of the militia lynchings. Also in Union County, Tilman Ward, an African American, was murdered because he refused to leave town after his “stepdaughter gave birth to a child fathered by a white man.” In York County, an Army commander estimated that there were anywhere between 300 and 400 instances of violence between November 1870 and July 1871.²³⁵ In other places across the state, the Klan checked voter registration and only allowed those registered as Democrats to continue to the polls. All of this and more occurred before the creation of the Black state militia.²³⁶ Simms-Oliphant claimed that the sight of the Klan kept Black people in the state “away from his evil doing.”²³⁷ The evil doing to which Simms and Oliphant refer is the supposed vandalism and raucousness of the “negro” state militia. Their presence, according to Simms-Oliphant, was likely to cause riots among white citizens and that there were cases of assault and murder by white citizens in the state due to their presence.²³⁸ The accusations against the later Black state militia were that of burning houses and “indignities of all kinds.”²³⁹ Only one example of violence by the militia is mentioned, the killing of a man named Stevens by the militia.

The Klan targeted more than just Black voters. Anyone who supported African Americans could be marked as a potential target as well. They led a raid against the

²³⁵ Shapiro, “The Ku Klux Klan,” 41–43.

²³⁶ *Ibid*, 37–38.

²³⁷ *Ibid*, 220.

²³⁸ *Ibid*, 213.

²³⁹ *Ibid*, 220.

Republican leaders of York County and successfully drove out the treasurer of the county. This contempt was not reserved for politicians, though, as schools in York County were frequently targeted and burned and white teachers were attacked. Bill Wilson, a white man, was beaten by members of the Klan because he taught at a Black school.²⁴⁰

When Simms and Simms-Oliphant, adding to her grandfather's work, wrote about the Klan in their textbooks, they failed to mention the murders and terror perpetrated by the Klan. While they did describe the killings of militiamen who supposedly murdered Mr. Stevens, they presented these killings as more of a heroic act rather than an act of terror. In fact, the wording used to introduce this incident reads, "The negroes in the town of Union first called down upon themselves the punishment of the Klan."²⁴¹ Simms and Oliphant do not just seem to condone these killings. They also suggest that the killings were an act of justice and punishment. In fact, the militiamen were already in jail for the murder they had committed. Justice was already being served, but Simms and Simms-Oliphant demonstrate a toxic southern mindset that justice through the law was not enough.

Using the power of the "Force Act" passed in 1870, which allowed the President to enforce the 15th Amendment and outlawed dressing in disguises with the intent of violating another citizen's Constitutional rights, the federal government became involved in South Carolina to put down what they considered to be rebellious acts by the Klan.²⁴²

²⁴⁰ Shapiro, "The Ku Klux Klan," 43.

²⁴¹ Simms, 1922. 220.

²⁴² "Landmark Legislation: The Enforcement Acts of 1870 and 1871." United States Senate. Web. Accessed June 4, 2020.

<https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/EnforcementActs.htm>

Hundreds of people were arrested throughout the state, fined for their actions, and given jail sentences ranging from three months to five years. Oliphant declared that these trials were “farces.”²⁴³ In her 1932 edition, Simms-Oliphant’s tone on the Klan remained the same. Though the discussion shortened to a mere page and a half rather than three pages, perhaps a reaction to the declining influence of the Klan in the late 1920s, praise of the Klan was as potent as ever. In fact, the newest addition to her praise came when she said that “many of the best men in South Carolina belonged to the Ku-Klux Klan.”²⁴⁴

One of the narratives that Simms and Simms-Oliphant built their defense of the Klan on was that southern white men of the Klan were trying to defend the honor of their white women. Ibram Kendi, quoting Ida B. Wells, describes this narrative as a shield that Klan members used to “palliate,” or lessen the severity of, the lynchings they carried out on Black men. This narrative was often accompanied by an opposite message of Black women as “thieves and prostitutes.”²⁴⁵ Simms and Oliphant leaned into this idea of the virtuous white woman and the predator Black man a couple times in defending the Klan. Since this was a middle school history book, Oliphant likely left out graphic details of supposed assaults or insults.²⁴⁶ “Women were insulted on the streets.”²⁴⁷ It is interesting to note that, in Oliphant’s 1932 edition, all mention of the protection of women was removed from the Klan narrative. The removal of this narrative is puzzling because the idea was still used to justify lynching of African Americans for decades. Perhaps the

²⁴³ Simms, 1922, 222.

²⁴⁴ Oliphant, 1932, 245.

²⁴⁵ Ibram X. Kendi, *Stamped from the Beginning, The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America* (New York: Nation Books, 2016), 275-276.

²⁴⁶ Simms, 1922, 220.

²⁴⁷ Ibid, 220.

narrative was removed for the same reason that the whole Klan section was reduced—a reaction to the weakening of the Klan’s political power in the country.

There is no indication in the minutes of the state board of education that Simms-Oliphant’s books were used solely in white schools, meaning that her outlandishly racist texts were likely used in Black-only schools as well. The impact of these highly problematic texts on Black students is illustrated perfectly by Kenneth and Mamie Clark’s baby doll test. The systems of oppression work away at the psyche of the oppressed.²⁴⁸ An interesting adoption by the board of education, however, was a book intended solely for African-American children. Starting in the 1920s, the board adopted *The Upward Path, A Reader for Colored Children*. This book was a compilation of writings by influential African-American authors intended to educate African American children on the history of their race. The book features an introduction by Robert R. Moton, who was the principal of the Tuskegee Institute. It was compiled by Myron T. Pritchard and Mary White Ovington, principal of Everett School in Boston and Chairman of the Board of the NAACP respectively. The text contained entries from notable names like Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Dubois, and Frederick Douglass. Despite all of the explicitly racist and prejudiced things being taught out of Oliphant’s books, this book seems to be the one speck of light in all that darkness.²⁴⁹

While the adoption of a book like *The Upward Path* for Black students was not unique to South Carolina, it is nonetheless important to acknowledge it on an individual basis. The introduction to the book lays out the purpose as being to educate young

²⁴⁸ See page. 64 for further discussion of the babydoll test.

²⁴⁹ Myron T. Pritchard and Mary White Ovington, *The Upward Path, A Reader for Colored Children* (New York: Harcourt, 1920).

African Americans on the history of their race. “The Negro has yet to learn of the part which his own race has played in making America great; has yet to learn of the noble and heroic souls among his own people, whose achievements are praiseworthy among any people.”²⁵⁰ There appeared a desire to instill a greater sense of pride in young African Americans for the accomplishments of “his own race” that history books such as Oliphant’s would not provide them.²⁵¹ The adoption record for this book specifically notes that it is “A supplementary reader for negro schools.”²⁵² This choice by the board of education, though positive for the African American children of South Carolina, once again added to the lack of any positive education on African American history, heritage, or culture for white children. The students at white schools across the state would not read Booker T. Washington’s account of his path toward attending Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Virginia or W.E.B. Dubois’ story of his first teaching job or Frederick Douglass’ inspiring tale of escaping slavery.²⁵³ Instead, those children continued to be subjected to the prejudiced teachings of Mary Simms-Oliphant.

The effects of an education system that not only openly taught racist rhetoric but openly promoted and praised racist groups like the Ku Klux Klan and Red Shirts cannot be understated. All of the racist ideas that were taught to school children in South Carolina from 1920 to 1940 ripple through the years as those children became the legislators, governors, representatives, and senators for the state and, furthermore, the

²⁵⁰ Pritchard and Ovington, *The Upward Path*, x.

²⁵¹ *Ibid*, x–xi.

²⁵² “Adopted Books Classified with Respect to Changes.” Minutes of the State Board of Education, Columbia, SC. May 19, 1922. P.960.

²⁵³ Booker T. Washington, “Up from Slavery.” *The Upward Path, A Reader for Colored Children* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920), 15–19; W.E.B. Dubois, “My First School.” *The Upward Path, A Reader for Colored Children* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920), 29–37; Frederick Douglass, “How I Escaped.” *The Upward Path, A Reader for Colored Children* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920), 121–127.

authors of history textbooks for later generations. Those school children would be the ones in power in the 1950s and 1960s during the height of the Civil Rights Movement. An example of the effects was the creation and expansion of South Carolina's separate but equal schooling system that those legislators who grew up in the 1920s and 1930s worked to establish. After a lawsuit was filed against the state in 1950 arguing that segregation did not allow for equal schooling among white and Black students, the state levied its first sales tax to increase education funding. Between 1951 and 1957, the number of Black public schools in the state nearly doubled. After the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954, South Carolina continued to resist integration and did not desegregate their schools until 1963. The final dual schools established on the basis of race were not eliminated until 1970.²⁵⁴ Additionally, laws like the "Disturbing School" law (1976), which was vague enough that it became a crime to simply be loud in school or talk back to staff and police, was used disproportionately to punish Black students. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) found that Black students in the state were about four times more likely to be charged with criminally disrupting school than their white counterparts. For many students, this entry into the juvenile justice system at such a young age contributed to the school-to-prison pipeline. It also resulted in students being less likely to graduate high school. This law was not repealed until 2016.²⁵⁵ One year after the law's repeal, the state saw a fifty-one percent decrease in the number of disturbing school charges.²⁵⁶ The children and grandchildren of those who worked to

²⁵⁴ "SC Equalization Schools." South Carolina Information Highway. Web. Accessed April 15, 2021. <https://www.sciway.net/afam/sc-equalization-schools.html>

²⁵⁵ Sarah Hinger, "South Carolina Legislature Repeals Racist 'Disturbing School' Law for Students," American Civil Liberties Union. Web. Accessed April 16, 2021. <https://www.aclu.org/blog/racial-justice/race-and-inequality-education/south-carolina-legislature-repeals-racist>

²⁵⁶ South Carolina Department of Juvenile Justice, *Annual Statistical Report 2016-2017*. p. 14.

maintain segregation in South Carolina are the people who run the government and education system of the state today. Racism in one generation is not isolated to that generation; it spreads and effects those that come later.

In an age when public education was becoming more and more important to the average citizen, schools played, and still play, a vital role in the formation of public opinion on matters of race. The way that race is portrayed and discussed in schools can have a lasting impact on students' opinions. It is important to expose the racist rhetoric littering history textbooks and work to remove the hurtful and dangerous effects of such rhetoric over time.

CONCLUSION

Just two days before the Inauguration of President Joe Biden, the Trump Administration released its first, and only, report from the 1776 Commission it had created in September 2020. The commission was formed to combat what the soon to be former president saw as the proliferation of anti-American ideas in history education and he pushed for a new, more “Pro-American” curriculum. Trump proclaimed that “the left-wing rioting and mayhem are the direct result of decades of left-wing indoctrination in our schools.”²⁵⁷ The issues with the commission and the report were many. First of all, the commission only consisted of conservative activists, politicians, and intellectuals, but no professional historians.²⁵⁸ Risking sounding redundant, a commission on *history* did not have a *single professional historian* advising or leading it.²⁵⁹ The commission’s report identified five “Challenges to America’s Principles” that it sought to address: slavery, progressivism, fascism, communism, and racism and identity politics and serves as a contemporary illustration of the long term impact of Simms and Simms-Oliphant’s valorization efforts.

The section on slavery attempted to claim that “many Americans labor under the illusion that slavery was somehow a uniquely American evil,” but since slavery was a widespread phenomenon in human history then essentially the United States received too

²⁵⁷ Michael Crowley and Jennifer Schuessler, “Trump’s 1776 Commission Critiques Liberalism in Report Derided by Historians,” *The New York Times*. Web. Accessed February 3, 2021.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2021/01/18/us/politics/trump-1776-commission-report.html>

²⁵⁸ The definition of conservative used in this context would be political affiliations that “dispose to preserve existing conditions, institutions, etc., or to restore traditional ones and limit change.”

“Conservative,” Dictionary.com. Web. Accessed June 25, 2021.

<https://www.dictionary.com/browse/conservative>

²⁵⁹ Crowley, “Trump’s 1776 Commission.”

much criticism for it.²⁶⁰ The authors of the report claimed that the founders abhorred slavery and laid the groundwork for its demise in the Declaration of Independence when they stated, “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.” African Americans, though, were held in bondage until 1865. Even those who were free were not considered citizens nor could most vote until the same year slavery was ended. There were some instances of African Americans voting in northern states before 1865 with Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont extending voting rights to African Americans, but those six states only consisted of 6% of the total African American population of the country. New York also allowed African Americans to vote, but there was a \$250 freehold property requirement to do so that only applied to African Americans.²⁶¹ Even after being granted suffrage nationwide, Jim Crow laws passed throughout the nation after the end of Reconstruction kept African Americans from having free and open access to the polls, especially in southern states, until the Civil Rights Act was passed in 1964 and the Voting Rights Act in 1965.²⁶² The creation of the 1776 Commission illustrates the troubling reality that, though the events of this study occurred in the past, attempts to control history in order to influence public opinion is still a modern issue. The alteration of historical facts in history textbooks did not end when the Lost Cause movement faded. It continues today.

²⁶⁰ The President’s Advisory 1776 Commission, “The 1776 Report.” Web. Accessed February 3, 2021. <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/The-Presidents-Advisory-1776-Commission-Final-Report.pdf>, 10.

²⁶¹ National Historical Landmarks Program, “Civil Rights in America: Racial Voting Rights.” National Parks Service. Web. Accessed February 22, 2021, 4.

https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/upload/CivilRights_VotingRights.pdf

²⁶² “Transcript of the Civil Rights Act (1964),” Our Documents. Web. Accessed June 25, 2021.

<https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=97&page=transcript>; “Transcript of the Voting Rights Act (1965),” Our Documents. Web.

<https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=100&page=transcript>.

The larger issue at play in the type of revisionism seen in books such as those published by Simms and Oliphant is the systematic racism that their core beliefs were built on and that they helped to perpetuate. While only one chapter of this study was dedicated to addressing the racism of Simms' and Oliphant's works, racism drove the topics of the other chapters, heroification and revision/omission. Systematic racism forms a cycle that has repeated and repeated for centuries in the United States. Simms and Oliphant both held beliefs that were products of this system and they also contributed to the spread of those beliefs to future generations. In fact, when one takes into consideration that Oliphant's book was used in South Carolina schools until 1985, there is a strong possibility that the current governor of South Carolina, Henry McMaster (born 1947), and both of the US Senators from South Carolina Lindsey Graham (born 1955) and Tim Scott (born 1965), all learned South Carolina history from Simms-Oliphant's book in middle school.²⁶³ All three of these major politicians in the state could be passing on Simms-Oliphant's biases, even if they do not realize they are doing so.

Ijeoma Oluo defined racism in her book *So You Want to Talk About Race*, as "any prejudice against someone because of their race, when those views are reinforced by systems of power."²⁶⁴ The commonly misconstrued thing about racism that she works to dispel is "you don't even have to 'be racist' to be a part of the racist system."²⁶⁵ In other words, simply being complacent and doing nothing when racism occurs allows for it to

²⁶³ "Gov. Henry McMaster," National Governors Association. Web. Accessed February 15, 2021. <https://www.nga.org/governor/henry-mcmaster/>; "GRAHAM, Linsey O.," Biographical Directory of the United State Congress. Web. Accessed February 15, 2021.

<https://bioguideretro.congress.gov/Home/MemberDetails?memIndex=g000359>; "SCOTT, Tim," Biographical Directory of the United State Congress. Web. Accessed February 15, 2021.

<https://bioguideretro.congress.gov/Home/MemberDetails?memIndex=S001184>

²⁶⁴ Ijeoma Oluo, *So You Want to Talk About Race* (New York: Seal Press, 2019), 26.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 28.

continue. She goes on to say, “it’s the system, and our complacency in that system, that gives racism its power, not individual intent.”²⁶⁶ Combatting the overall system is difficult, but it does in part start with calling out the views we hold, both implicit and explicit, and the views that those around us hold. This does lead to uncomfortable conversations, but Oluo’s suggestion to bring more credibility and understanding to the conversation is to link the behavior being addressed to the aspect of the system that it reinforces. One example she provides is:

If you hear someone at the water cooler say, “black people are always late,” you can definitely say, “Hey that’s racist” but you can also add, “and it contributes to the false beliefs about black workers that keeps them from even being interviewed for jobs, while white workers can be late or on time, but will always be judged individually with no risk of damaging job prospects for other white people seeking employment.”²⁶⁷

By pointing out the system that the racist act, comment, or thought reinforces, it can help create a connection for that person to how their one small act contributes to the greater phenomenon.²⁶⁸ In terms of working to point out racism in textbooks, it can be useful to connect what is being said in a textbook with the myths and prejudices that those statements help to continue. For example, when Simms and Oliphant claimed that slaveholders helped to civilize enslaved Africans, it perpetuated the idea that people from Africa were uncivilized when, as was shown in chapter 4, civilizations in Africa were thriving long before, during, and after the start of the slave trade.

Education itself has the power to either reinforce racism or to enlighten students to the systematic issues that permeate American society. Sociologist Geoffrey T. Wodtke explains in his article “The Effects of Education on Beliefs about Race and Inequality”

²⁶⁶ Oluo, *So You Want*, 28.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 35.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 35.

that education has shown to effect students' beliefs on prejudice and "promote structural rather than individualist explanations for racial inequalities through several mechanisms."²⁶⁹ Education is believed to give students historical, social, and economic context for racial inequality, more racially diverse social interaction, and higher level critical thinking skills that allow them to work through negative racial stereotypes. Wodtke's study shows that white Americans with a higher education are much more likely to believe in structural reasons for racial inequality while those with less than sixteen years of education are twenty-four percent more likely to believe that racial inequality is due to "a lack of will power on the part of blacks," an idea that reinforces the racist stereotype of the lazy Black person.²⁷⁰ Issues in education arise, however, when those with power and influence in the educational field are affected by those structural factors that cause racial inequality. By the time Mary C. Simms-Oliphant wrote her histories of South Carolina and the state board of education adopted her books, Jefferson Davis, Alexander Stephens, Edward Pollard, the UDC, the UCV, and countless others had been working for decades to establish their Lost Cause, reconciliationist, and white supremacist ideology in the American South. Simms-Oliphant became a cog in the machine and helped to instill the racist, pro-southern narratives surrounding the Civil War in generations of South Carolinians. Education, in this instance, became the primary tool through which the Lost Cause, reconciliationism, and white supremacy were institutionalized in the South. This institutionalization and propagation of the Lost Cause permeates American society and continues to result in things such as former-President

²⁶⁹ Geoffrey T. Wodtke, "The Effects of Education on Beliefs about Racial Inequality," *Social Psychology Quarterly*, no. 4. (2018), 275.

²⁷⁰ Ibid, 275, 284; Christine Reyna, "Lazy, Dumb, or Industrious: When Stereotypes Convey Attribution Information in the Classroom." *Education Psychology Review*, no. 1 (2000), 87.

Trump's 1776 Commission and the attempts in 2021 to pass over 160 laws across the nation that would result in increased voter suppression, especially for racial minorities.²⁷¹ While the Lost Cause movement ended around World War I, its effects continue to seep into American life. Working to understand how education has been and continues to be used as a tool to further antiquated ideas is central to finding solutions to reverse the negative effects of a Lost Cause inundated education system.

²⁷¹ Elizabeth Sweren-Becker and Hannah Klain, "The Fight for Voting Rights in 2021." Brennan Center for Justice. Web. Accessed April 22, 2021. <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/analysis-opinion/fight-voting-rights-2021>

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CURRICULUM VITAE

Jeffrey Allan Bird, Jr.

Education

Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis, Indianapolis, IN

Master of Arts in United States History

August 2021

Butler University, Indianapolis, IN

Bachelor of Arts in History

Bachelor of Arts in Theatre

May 2018

Cum Laude

Honors & Awards

Butler University Department of History and Anthropology

Steinberger Award for students in History with the top scholastic records.

Butler University Department of Theatre

Daniel C. Warrick Outstanding Theatre Student Award

Experience

Indiana Historical Society

May 2018 – Present

First-Person Interpreter/Facilitator

- In-depth research and training for interactive exhibits in the Museum Theatre department. Extensive experience in local history research.
- Cast in the following exhibits: You Are There 1943: Italian POWs at Atterbury (Adelso Miotto – Italian POW), You Are There: 1839: Religion and the Divided Frontier (Rev. Moody Chase – Presbyterian Minister), You Are There: 1939: Exploring Angel Mounds (Merrill Grothe – Civil Engineer and Project Manager), Cole Porter Room (Singer & Facilitator).

Frederick Douglass Papers

August 2018 – May 2020

Research Assistant

- Researched and provided footnotes for people, locations, dates, references, and allusions in Frederick Douglass' writings.

Indiana Historical Society

January 2018 – May 2018

Museum Theatre Intern

- Researched and wrote a short play based off of a previous You Are There exhibit set in a Muncie, Indiana Ball canning facility.
- Trained in the Cole Porter Room as well as You Are There exhibits.