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The lost cause and the commonwealth: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and forging civil war memory in Kentucky.

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The Lost Cause and the Commonwealth:
The United Daughters of the Confederacy and Forging Civil War Memory in Kentucky

By

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Abstract

For over a century, the Kentucky division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy has worked to instill the Lost Cause myth of the Confederacy in the state's public schools, libraries, and places where a white child could learn about the past. Few scholars have studied the activities of the Kentucky division of the UDC, although some of the organization's most influential work took place in the state, and the organization's national founder, Caroline Meriwether Goodlett, was born in Todd County, Kentucky. This honors thesis offers an in-depth examination of the work of the Kentucky division, drawing from the rich primary source materials held at local repositories, including the Filson Historical Society in Louisville and the Kentucky Historical Society in Frankfort. In addition, publications penned and edited by UDC members, including the Louisville-produced *The Lost Cause: A Confederate War Record*, provide insight into the group's efforts to rewrite the history of the war and slavery consumed by the public. The UDC's campaigns of indoctrination, in short, have for generations shaped the historical memory of white Kentuckians and Americans. This thesis argues that the organization's influence was particularly strong in Kentucky, a divided Union state during the war, but one that became in the postwar memory of white Kentuckians a Confederate state. I conclude that these activities made the Kentucky chapter unique, enabling its members to accomplish some of the organization's most significant and influential work in the United States.

Lay Summary

The Lost Cause ideology, first developed in the decades after the Civil War by former Confederates in the Deep and Upper South, argued that the Confederacy fought a valiant struggle against the oppressive northern states for a just cause: the protection of individual and states'

rights.[1] In addition, promoters of the Lost Cause praised the Confederate soldiers who, they argued, staunchly fought and died for these principles, while encouraging southern white women to promote this veneration. The narrative also discounted the role of slavery in the coming of the war. Civil War memory remains an important issue in American society today. More than one hundred fifty years after the war's end, debates over the public display of Confederate imagery, including flags and monuments, continue, given new life by the rise of the Black Lives Matter movement. Today, social justice organizations like BLM highlight the white supremacist ideology that reinforced the Lost Cause myth and the Confederate iconography and memorialization that resulted, calling for its removal. In this effort, they are combating the legacy of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, whose relentless efforts to promote the racist mythology of the Lost Cause has ensured that many white American remember the Confederacy and its objectives favorably.

Keywords

Kentucky history; New South, United Daughters of the Confederacy; Lost Cause; Civil War; Southern studies

[1] Gary W. Gallagher and Joan Waugh, *The American War: A History of the Civil War Era* (State College, PA: Flip Learning, 2015), 237.

Table of Contents

Introduction

During the years following the American Civil War, the Commonwealth of Kentucky experienced a remarkable contest over the memory of the war. In 1861, Kentucky was an Upper South state in which slavery was a declining but still profitable system of labor for many white Kentuckians. Unlike most other slave states, however, Kentucky did not join the Confederacy and the majority of Kentuckians who fought in the war served in the Union Army. Nonetheless, regions, cities, towns, and individual families divided their loyalties during the Civil War. Moreover, the debate did not end with the defeat of the Confederate States of America (CSA) in 1865. Instead, in the years after the war, many white Kentuckians fought to advance a favorable memory of the Confederacy.[2] Doing so required that they rewrite history, arguing that the South seceded and fought for states' rights, rather than slavery, and that a majority of white Kentuckians embraced a Confederate identity. No group fought harder for this revisionist and flawed history than the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC). In the process, the women of the UDC reshaped the history of Civil War Kentucky and profoundly influenced popular understanding of the causes and course of the war both regionally and nationally. Kentucky experienced an extraordinary battle over memory due to its conflicting identities: a southern state, a border state, and a slave state, but also a Union state. Thus, the UDC needed to fight

[2] This thesis does not discuss the extensive and determined work of Black Kentuckians and Black Americans to combat false and racist memories of the Old South, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. For further reading, see Clint Smith, *How the Word is Passed: A Reckoning with the History of Slavery Across America* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2021); W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction: An Essay Toward A History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1935); Anne Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky: The Lost Cause and Civil War Memory in a Border State* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 46-48, 63-64, 91-93, 99-103, 107-08, 167-71; and David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 15-29, 45-50, 131-34, 145-49, 220, 253-54, 300-380.

more intensely and persuasively than divisions in Deep South states to prove its Confederate loyalties and preserve its memories.

Forging the Lost Cause Myth

The Lost Cause ideology, first developed by former Confederates in the Deep and Border State South, argued that the Confederate States of America fought a valiant struggle against the oppressive northern states for a just cause: the protection of individual and states' rights.[3] Promoters of the Lost Cause also praised the staunch devotion of the Confederate veterans who fought for these principles, and called on southern white women to foster veneration for southern soldiers' military valor. The narrative also rejected the idea that slavery played a significant role in the coming of the war. The earliest Lost Cause proponents understood that slavery, becoming increasingly uncommon and stigmatized in the nineteenth-century western world, tarnished the Confederate legacy and thus they either minimized its significance or more commonly described the institution in a sympathetic fashion, emphasizing benefits slavery brought both to the enslaved people and the enslavers. Finally, adherents of the Lost Cause ideology celebrated the constitutional principles for which the Confederates fought: that the South had a constitutional right to secede when the North violated southern rights and to defend their "nation" after secession. They argued that states retained their sovereignty after the ratification of the Constitution and were thus justified in acting as sovereign bodies.[4]

Jubal A. Early and Edward A. Pollard became the most important early proponents of the Lost Cause. Early's memoir, *The Last Years of the War for Independence*, told the military

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[3] Gallagher and Waugh, *The American War*, 237.

[4] Mildred Lewis Rutherford, *Truths of History: A Fair, Unbiased, Impartial, Unprejudiced and Conscientious Study of History* (Athens, GA: Southern Lion Books, 1920), 1-7. For descriptions of the Lost Cause myth, see Gallagher and Waugh, *The American War*, 237-40 and Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 255-99.

history of the war while shining a favorable light on the Confederacy.[5] Pollard's extensive and detailed *The Lost Cause,* discussed the origins, course, and results of the war. He argued that the contest between the North and the South constituted a "war of ideas"[6] and championed the Confederacy's defense of states' rights against the northern embrace of an oppressive federal government. Pollard's history reflected white southerners' belief that both combatants fought for noble principles. After defeat on the battlefield, Pollard argued, the South continued to fight this ideological battle: "She [the South] has thrown down the sword to take up the weapons of argument."[7] The South, Pollard stressed, must continue the fight for its principles in the political sphere. Early and Pollard's histories initiated this second war—a "war of ideas"—that would shape how Americans remembered the war.

The Lost Cause myth, however, constituted only one of several modes of remembrance that Americans forged in the years and decades after the war. Many former white Unionists and some Confederates, for example, embraced the Reconciliationist memory. This powerful commemorative tradition "muted the divisive issue of slavery, seldom assigned relative value or virtue to the two causes, and cheered the bravery and steadfastness of white soldiers in Union and Confederate armies."[8] Though a putatively neutral mode of remembrance, the Reconciliationist tradition in reality offered a revisionist and partial view of the conflict. As the name implies, supporters of this commemorative trope sought to reconcile the formerly warring sections of the nation. But doing so required that they neglect slavery as the primary cause of the

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[5] Jubal A. Early, *A Memoir of the Last Year of the War for Independence, in the Confederate States of America: Containing an Account of the Operations of His Commands in the Years 1864 and 1865* (Lynchburg, VA: C. W. Button, 1867).
[6] Edward A. Pollard, *The Lost Cause: A New Southern History of the War of the Confederates* (New York: E. B. Treat and Co., 1867), 750.
[7] Pollard, *The Lost Cause*, 750.
[8] Gallagher and Waugh, *The American War,* 240.

conflict and on this point the Reconciliationist and Lost Cause memories converged. Indeed, the two problematic memorial traditions worked in tandem to eradicate the memory of slavery and its central role in the coming of the war, with important political consequences during Reconstruction. As historian David Blight writes, "in the South, private nostalgia, public memory, and Reconstruction politics coalesced among whites to produce an increasingly lethal environment for the experiment in black equality forged out of the war."[9] As a result, Confederate apologists like the United Daughters of the Confederacy who favored the Lost Cause interpretation often utilized Reconciliationist concepts and terminology to build broader support. Meanwhile, many white northern Unionists accepted portions of the Lost Cause narrative in an effort to achieve sectional reconciliation.

The UDC and the Lost Cause

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the United Daughters of the Confederacy led the charge to spread the Lost Cause, particularly through education. Led by southern white women, the UDC perpetuated the Lost Cause myth in a variety of ways, including the erection of Confederate monuments throughout the country, relief work for Confederate veterans and their families, and the promulgation of a pro-South curriculum in public schools and beyond. This education work consisted primarily of writing and distributing textbooks and other curricula favorable to the South, but also included displaying Confederate imagery in schools, forming an auxiliary organization called the Children of the Confederacy (CofC), administering pro-South essay contests, and establishing scholarships for white southern youth to attend colleges and universities. The UDC worked tirelessly to ensure that future generations—especially white children—received an education that perpetuated the Confederate Lost Cause myth. Monuments

[9] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 42.

served as prominent and visible symbols of the Confederate Lost Cause memory, but southern white women's work in shaping the education of schoolchildren had an arguably larger impact.

Caroline Meriwether Goodlett founded the UDC in Nashville in 1894.[10] She lived the majority of her life in Tennessee, but was born and raised in Todd County, Kentucky.[11] Before Goodlett established the UDC, southern white women had founded Ladies' Memorial Associations (LMAs) to honor and rebury Confederate dead throughout the South. These organizations worked with children to maintain gravesites, placing flowers and flags on the graves to honor their Confederate ancestors.[12] Confederate patriotism and familial ties motivated this memorial work. In 1894, Savannah LMA secretary Anna Davenport Raines wrote to Goodlett, revealing the motives of the women who formed the UDC. In their correspondence, Goodlett suggested that "the Ladies of the South ought to organize . . . [into] one broad Sisterhood," and Raines wrote of correcting "falsehoods" in textbooks.[13] They remained dedicated to the immediate needs of Confederate veterans and their families and tending to the graves of the Confederate dead, but they concluded that their memorial organization' ongoing success required educating white children in southern values.[14] The UDC consolidated various memorial associations, bringing together the female descendants of Confederate veterans and other sympathizers to forge a national movement with five objectives: Confederate memorialization, historical revisionism that venerated the Confederate cause, benevolent work

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[10] Josephine M. Turner, *The Courageous Caroline: Founder of the UDC* (Montgomery, AL: Paragon Press, 1965), 39.
[11] Turner, *The Courageous Caroline*, 19.
[12] Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 119.
[13] Caroline Goodlett to Mrs. L. H. Raines, April 24, 1894, and Mrs. L. H. Raines to Mrs. M. C. Goodlett, April 29, 1894, as transcribed in the Mildred Lewis Rutherford Scrapbooks, vol. 2, 70–74, Eleanor S. Brockenbrough Library, Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, quoted in Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 18.
[14] Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 16-19.

with Confederate veterans and families, educating white southerners in the tenets of the Lost Cause, and providing a social outlet for elite and middle-class southern white women.[15]

Mildred Lewis Rutherford, born in Athens, Georgia, in 1851, served as the UDC's historian general between 1911 and 1916, during which time she helped propagate the Lost Cause by writing, teaching, monitoring, and prescribing the content of public school textbooks.[16] A schoolteacher for fifty-four years, she lectured extensively and wrote textbooks such as *The South in History and Literature* and *American Authors*, both reflecting a patriotic devotion to the South.[17] Rutherford also wrote and compiled *A Measuring Rod to Test Text Books, and Reference Books in Schools, Colleges, and Libraries.* Featuring a brief commentary by C. Irvine Walker, a chairman of the United Confederate Veterans, Rutherford's *Measuring Rod* established guidelines for acceptable textbooks used to teach southern children. She wrote indignantly about previous textbooks, declaring that they were "unjust to the South and her institutions" and "refus[ed] to give the South credit for what she has accomplished."[18] To remove what she considered the northern "bias" of existing textbooks, Rutherford prescribed eleven principles, taken from her *Truths of History*, that all textbooks must follow. Further, Walker directed all schools and libraries to teach and purchase only those books that followed the guidelines.[19]

Rutherford's directives painted the South in a positive light, placed blame for the war on the North, defended the institution of slavery, and asserted that the southern states did not secede

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[15] Ibid., 16-19.
[16] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 279.
[17] Sarah H. Case, "The Historical Ideology of Mildred Lewis Rutherford: A Confederate Historian's New South Creed," *Journal of Southern History* 68, no. 3 (2002), 606-608.
[18] Mildred Lewis Rutherford, *A Measuring Rod to Test Text Books, and Reference Books in Schools, Colleges, and Libraries* (Athens, GA: United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1920), 4.
[19] Rutherford, *A Measuring Rod*, 3.

and fight the Civil War to maintain slavery. Thus, Rutherford insisted that textbooks recognize that "secession was not rebellion," that "the North was responsible for the War between the States," that "the War . . . was not fought to hold the slaves," and that "the slaves were not Ill-Treated in the South."[20] Rutherford declared that the only acceptable textbooks were those that embraced this Lost Cause narrative. More shockingly, in his introduction, Walker encouraged "all library authorities in the Southern States . . . to mark all books in their collections which do not come up to the same measure" and were thus "'*Unjust to the South*.'"[21] In short, Walker called on libraries to deface the title page of books that did not meet Lost Cause standards. Any student who ventured to read such a book would immediately know the anti-southern bias of its contents. In *Truths of History*, Rutherford stated that she "hoped . . . every teacher of history and literature will use 'Truths of History' in connection with their textbooks to counteract the falsehoods of history."[22] Influential white women like Rutherford labored industriously to ensure that the ideas of the Lost Cause narrative were taught throughout the South and the nation. The language of Rutherford's pamphlet reflected the broader perspective of Lost Cause advocates. UDC-approved textbooks defended the honor and bravery of Confederate soldiers while praising the South's traditional patriarchal and racial hierarchy, venerating male leaders, and downplaying slavery.

Before the twentieth century, states made little effort to standardize school curriculum. However, the rise of public education in the South in the postwar era fueled the rise of standardized textbooks, with most published in the North.[23] Rutherford's *Measuring Rod* worked

[20] Ibid., 4.
[21] Ibid., 3.
[22] Rutherford, *Truths of History*, 1.
[23] Earl King, "Lost Cause Textbooks: Civil War Education in the South from the 1890s to the 1920s" (Honors thesis, University of Mississippi Honors College, 2018), 25.

to ensure that southern public schools used history textbooks with a pro-southern perspective. Among the textbooks approved by the UDC were Susan Pendleton Lee's *New School History of the United States* and former Confederate President Jefferson Davis's *A Short History of the Confederate States of America*. Lee wrote her textbook specifically for use in public and private schools, and it proved popular with southern school boards.[24] The textbook covered the entirety of American history, but included a sizeable section focused on the Civil War. Throughout her textbook, Lee used the Lost Cause-inspired phrase "the War between the States" to describe the war. In her discussion of slavery, Lee concluded that "hundreds of thousands of African savages had been christianized [sic] under [slavery's] influence. The bondage . . . was not thought a wrong to them." She also described enslaved people in the antebellum South as "better off than any other menial class in the world."[25] These assertions about slavery proved among the most popular in the Lost Cause memory. The idea that enslavers treated their enslaved people well not only helped cement their defense of the institution, but also bolstered the idea that the North unjustly attacked the South.

However, the textbook's pro-Confederate bias went far beyond discussions of slavery. Lee wrote that "the results of the war, though not proving that the South was wrong, has been for the best interests of both sections."[26] Here, Lee articulated an important tenet of the Lost Cause. She recognized that the South lost the war militarily, but argued that white southerners nonetheless pursued a valiant quest. Finally, Lee claimed that one of the reasons President Abraham Lincoln and northern Republicans wished to abolish slavery in the South was to ensure Union victory, even though most northerners did not seek an end to slavery at the outset of the

[24] King, "Lost Cause Textbooks," 30.
[25] Susan Pendleton Lee, *New School History of the United States: Revised* (Richmond, VA: B.F. Johnson Publishing Co., 1900), 262.
[26] Lee, *New School History of the United States*, 263.

conflict, as many proponents of the Lost Cause asserted.[27] Here, Lee accurately portrayed the views of most white northerners who rejected abolition and had few moral objections to slavery. But Lee employed this factual statement to bolster her inaccurate argument that the South did not fight the war to protect and maintain slavery and to highlight what she considered northern hypocrisy. This sort of teaching introduced a situation in which southern children learned some historical truths alongside larger inaccuracies, making it difficult for them to distinguish reality from myth. Lee's history rewrote the past for southern children by distorting the nature of race relations, misrepresenting the causes of the war, and "indulg[ing] in a remembrance of things imagined."[28]

UDC-approved textbooks like Lee's fed southern white children a steady stream of false and illusory statements, particularly about slavery. They learned that slavery, rather than an exploitative and violent labor system, was instead a kind and Christian institution. Lee drew such conclusions from a combination of misleading and outright false statements. While a spectrum of cruelty existed among enslavers in the antebellum South, after the war UDC-approved textbooks depicted all enslavers as kind and caring, ignoring the violence that maintained the system of slavery. As Lee herself wrote, "the kindest relations existed between the slaves and their owners. A cruel and neglectful master or mistress was rarely found. The sense of responsibility pressed heavily on the slave-owners, and they generally did the best they could for the physical and religious welfare of their slaves."[29] Indeed, UDC-approved textbooks claimed that African Americans prospered while enslaved. Rutherford, for example, asserted that African Americans

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[27] Ibid., 299.
[28] Catherine Clinton, *Tara Revisited: Women, War, and the Plantation Legend* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1995), 174.
[29] Lee, *New School History of the United States*, 262.

enjoyed better health while enslaved and that their fitness had declined since emancipation.[30] At the heart of such arguments, however, lay a paradox. The women who disseminated the Lost Cause doctrine insisted that slavery did not cause the war while at the same time devoting enormous energies to inventing a distorted history of benevolent enslavers and happy and loyal enslaved people. In their textbooks, slavery became a fabrication, involved only incidentally in the coming of the war but at the same time an essential and admirable institution.

Lee's textbook reflected another major strand of the Lost Cause ideology—namely, that the Confederates fought a valiant fight against a tyrannical North and the South's veterans deserved great honor. Lee described at length the battles and struggles of the war, emphasizing the perseverance of white southern troops and civilians. "The South," Lee wrote, "was defending her territory against attack"[31] from an aggressive northern people. By 1863, Lee argued, "notwithstanding all their sufferings . . . the Southern people and the Confederate Government preserved a buoyant, determined spirit, and hoped for ultimate success."[32] Lee's textbook also honored the southern white women who supported the war. "The devotion of Southern women will always be remembered," Lee claimed. "They . . . never lost their trust in God and in the righteousness of their cause."[33] Such statements praising the South purposefully encouraged southern white children to honor and praise the men and women of the Confederacy and the system of racial oppression—slavery—that the Confederacy defended.

The UDC in Kentucky

The Kentucky Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy first organized in 1897 in Lexington. The group did not publish the minutes of their first meeting, but the proceedings of

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[30] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 281.
[31] Lee, *New School History of the United States*, 264.
[32] Ibid., 312-13.
[33] Ibid., 297.

the second meeting, held in Louisville in 1898, appeared in in *The Lost Cause: A Confederate War Record*, a Louisville newspaper edited by two Kentucky women. By its second year, the Kentucky UDC had, in addition to the groups in Lexington and Louisville, established chapters in Franklin, Elizabethtown, Bowling Green, Winchester, and Richmond. In contrast, few chapters appeared in Appalachian Kentucky, which was a Union stronghold during the Civil War.

Figure 1: Map of Kentucky UDC Chapters.[34]

In its early years, the women of the Kentucky division devoted their greatest efforts to reinterring the Confederate dead and providing support for Confederate veterans and their families. This early focus reflected the origins of the UDC in the scattered groups of ladies'

[34] Minutes of the Sixteenth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, October 10-11, 1912, Confederate Civil War Collection, Filson Historical Society, Louisville, KY (hereafter, CWC, FHS); and Minutes of the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the UDC, November 14-17, 1906, University of Minnesota, https://www.google.com/books/edition/Minutes_of_the_Annual_Convention/WeBEAQAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0 (accessed February 19, 2023).

memorial associations that sought to ensure the proper burial of the Confederate dead.[35] In the years following the Civil War, relief work took precedent over other activities because former soldiers and their families still experienced the long-term effects of war. However, the Kentucky Daughter's focus shifted to education as the years passed and the immediate needs of veterans and their families declined.

In Kentucky, the work of the UDC proved especially potent. The task of rewriting state history in favor of the Confederacy required that the Kentucky Division exert greater effort than UDC chapters in most other southern states because, though divided during the Civil War, Kentucky did not join the Confederacy. Moreover, ninety-thousand more Kentuckians fought for the Union than the Confederacy.[36] This history made the educational work of the Kentucky UDC chapters vital in creating a strong Confederate memory in the state. Historian Anne Marshall argues that "due largely to the sheer scope of its activities, the UDC played a much larger role than the [United Confederate Veterans] in shaping Kentucky's Confederate memory."[37] Despite the difficulty of the task, members of the Kentucky UDC worked tirelessly to enshrine and celebrate the memory of the state's Confederates.

The efforts of the UDC women to promote a pro-Confederate education included a defense of the white supremacy inherent in the Lost Cause myth. According to historian David Blight, "the UDC planted a white supremacist vision of the Lost Cause deeper into the nation's historical imagination than perhaps any other association."[38] Slavery, UDC women argued, was not a central cause of the war; southerners fought instead to defend the constitutional principle of

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[35] Caroline E. Janney, *Burying the Dead but Not the Past: Ladies' Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 1-2.
[36] A. C. Quisenberry, "Kentucky Union Troops in the Civil War," *Register of Kentucky State Historical Society* 18, no. 54 (1920): 13-18; http://www.jstor.org/stable/23369562.

[37] Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky*, 160.
[38] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 273.

states' rights, the southern economy, and the southern way of life. However, the UDC's defense of slavery revealed the institution's crucial role in the war. The "way of life" that Confederates defended, according to UDC historians, consisted of heroic and benevolent enslavers who enjoyed the loyalty of the enslaved people. In this telling, the war was both "about and not about slavery."[39] As Marshall adds, "many of the activities of Kentucky UDC chapters and members relegated African Americans to the subservient roles they had held before the war and quietly celebrated the return of white rule throughout the South."[40]

The UDC's romanticized and false depiction of slavery, plantation life, and the experience of enslaved Black Kentuckians before and after the war assumed African American racial inferiority while praising white Americans. In a report delivered to the third annual Kentucky UDC convention, the chapter historian proclaimed that the organization's pro-South histories "should be studied in our schools [and] talked of by our firesides until tradition is imbued with its spirit. History and tradition should go hand in hand in emphasizing the fact that the men and women of the old South and their descendants made our country what it is today—the most potent, glorious branch of the Anglo-Saxon race in existence today."[41] This idealization of the Old South included denying the cruelty of slavery and attributing what violence she could not ignore to a small number of widely disparaged slaveholders or overseers. The Kentucky UDC forged an inaccurate view the ante- and postbellum South by claiming that white southerners built and sustained the region, ignoring its dependence on Black labor. Importantly, these campaigns were directed most vigorously at white southern youth. The Kentucky UDC wanted to ensure, through education in public schools, the Children of the Confederacy, public

[39] Ibid., 260.
[40] Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky*, 164.
[41] Minutes of the Third Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, November 23-24, 1899, p. 38, CWC, FHS.

libraries, and any other place that children occupied, that the Lost Cause ideology lived on for generations.

In addition to the Kentucky UDC's propagation of a false history regarding slavery, many members of the UDC openly honored the Ku Klux Klan. The historian of the Fulton, Kentucky chapter, Georgia Pierce, wrote in a 1911 essay that the KKK was "the salvation of the Arian [sic] race in the Southern states" and thus "should have an honorable place in history." Furthermore, Pierce claimed that "there was no dastardly deed done by this order" and that "they were regulators of law and order [that] stepped no further than justice."[42] Pierce's justification of the horror inflicted by the KKK against Black Kentuckians falsely claimed that the organization did not commit lynchings and murders against innocent people. It also justified the rampant extralegal and vigilante violence the state experienced in the postwar years[43] as necessary to defend and protect the honor of white women.

During the Eighth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division, held in Paducah in 1904, president Henrietta Morgan Duke stated, "The Daughters in Kentucky have approached the sacred task assigned them in the true spirit of patriotism, forgetting all other considerations in the supreme desire to execute a common purpose."[44] Duke was the sister of infamous Confederate raider John Hunt Morgan and the wife of Confederate General Basil Duke.[45] Indeed, UDC records refer to Duke and other members by their husband's names. Duke herself also had a chapter named in her honor in Georgetown, Kentucky, and her mother, Henrietta Hunt Morgan,

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[42] Minutes of the Sixteenth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, October 10-11, 1912, p. 76, CWC, FHS.
[43] Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky*, 56.
[44] Henrietta Morgan Duke, "Address of the State President," Minutes of the Eighth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, October 12-13, 1904, p. 6, CWC, FHS.
[45] Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, 1909, pp. 60-61, CWC, FHS.

had a chapter bearing her name in Newport, Kentucky. The language used in her statement reflected the purpose of the UDC and the methods by which they persuaded white women to join and follow. By describing white women's task as "sacred," Duke linked the Lost Cause to the Christian traditions of the South and southern women's devotion to their faith. She also connected the Lost Cause to American nationalism, although the UDC ironically sought to paint secession from the Union as patriotic. Finally, Duke's words spoke to the Daughters' strong sense of fellowship, which was central to the UDC's foundation and endurance.[46]

Social class and gender enabled many women who joined the Kentucky UDC to occupy a central role in the dissemination of the Lost Cause narrative. Social status proved paramount, especially in the UDC. Historian Sarah Case asserts that "most UDC members . . . came from prominent families. In order to join . . . potential members needed to prove themselves not of 'objectionable character' and indeed, leaders placed great importance on feminine decorum." The organization's most prominent leaders descended from elite antebellum families that included many high-ranking Confederate officials and government officers.[47] Kentucky UDC historian Sophie Fox Sea married Andrew M. Sea, a Confederate captain and member of the United Confederate Veterans.[48] Kentucky Division President Charlotte Woodbury was a Louisville socialite and active in the city's political scene. Woodbury and her husband, Louisville lawyer John L. Woodbury,[49] frequently hosted social gatherings, luncheons, and

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[46] Duke, "Address of the State President," Minutes of the Eighth Annual Convention of the Kentucky UDC, October 12-13, 1904, pp. 6-8, CWC, FHS.
[47] Case, "The Historical Ideology of Mildred Lewis Rutherford," 604.
[48] "Obituary of Andrew M. Sea, Louisville, Kentucky," *ConfederateVets.com*, https://confederatevets.com/documents/sea_ky_cv_03_18_ob.shtml (accessed February 15, 2023).
[49] "John L. Woodbury," *Courier-Journal*, March 25, 1913, http://echo.louisville.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/john-l-woodbury/docview/1038625960/se-2 (accessed February 15, 2023,).

dances at their home on First Street.[50] This kind of prominence allowed these middle and upper class southern white women to succeed in the perpetuation of the Lost Cause. Historian Caroline Janney argues that many of these women "wanted to join a vibrant and active female association because doing so provided a popular social outlet for middle-class women." They also celebrated the perceived superiority of their white heritage while simultaneously downplaying the role of slavery in the war.[51] These women utilized accepted gender norms and their social status as educators and mothers to ensure they influenced the teaching of southern white children.

Joining the UDC enabled Kentucky women to exercise sociopolitical power and influence while working within patriarchal power structures. The suffrage and women's club movements ran concurrently to the rise of the UDC in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, reflecting the growing number of women acting in the political sphere. According to Cox, "the UDC, like other [women's clubs], offered women a social and cultural outlet and the opportunity to engage in progressive reform," but was unique by offering "the opportunity to . . . uphold the values of their race and class. Ironically, it also gave them respectability within the traditionally male sphere of politics—cachet they often used to their advantage."[52] Hence, the women of the UDC worked outside the home, assuming non- traditional work as writers, speakers, and lobbyists. In Kentucky, for example, the UDC successfully acquired $7,500 from

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[50] "Luncheon: Given by Mrs. John L. Woodbury for Misses Alma Lear and Mary Lear, of Paint Lick," *Courier-Journal*, March 15, 1914, http://echo.louisville.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/luncheon/docview/1016798608/se-2; and "Washington Dance: Given Friday Night by Mr. and Mrs. John L. Woodbury," *Courier-Journal*, February 22, 1914, http://echo.louisville.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/washington-dance/docview/1016776990/se-2 (accessed February 1, 2023).
[51] Janney, *Burying the Dead but Not the Past*, 170-71.
[52] Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 29.

the Kentucky Senate to fund a monument to John Hunt Morgan in Lexington.[53] Likewise, in 1906, UDC women exercised political and social connections to pressure the General Assembly to ban the presentation of the play based on Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the state.[54] These actions linked the UDC to various women's movements of the Progressive Era while also celebrating a Confederate past.

Sea was among the most important of the Kentucky UDC's leaders. As the historian of the state division, she wrote and disseminated pro-South historical essays for circulation in public schools and libraries. In an essay presented at the eighth annual state convention in Paducah, she identified the Commonwealth as a martyr to an invasive federal government, which acted "like a huge serpent," fastening its "coils . . . around Kentucky."[55] In this example of the "war of ideas" taking place in the state, Sea used melodramatic language to heighten opposition to the federal government among white Kentuckians. The South had lost the war on the battlefield, but UDC women like Sea made it their lives' work to defend the principles of the Confederacy, as invented by Lost Cause adherents. At the division's third annual meeting in 1899, Sea highlighted the importance of the organization's educational mission, particularly the creation and dissemination of pro-South histories to white children. Sea described the task as "a graver and holier responsibility than was ever borne by any association of women of any age or clime or condition."[56] Members of the UDC recognized from the organization's founding the vital importance of educating future generations in the Lost Cause ideology. Achieving this goal

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[53] Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky*, 172.
[54] Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky*, 166-70.
[55] Sophie Fox Sea, "The Historian's Report," Minutes of the Eighth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, October 12-13, 1904, p. 23, Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, KY (hereafter, KHS).
[56] Sophie Fox Sea, "Historian's Report of the Albert Sidney Johnston Chapter," Minutes of the Third Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, November 23-24, 1899, p. 37. CWC, FHS.

also required censoring materials that the group perceived as anti-southern or pro-Union. In 1902, for example, Sea wrote to the Louisville School Board demanding that schoolchildren stop performing the Union Civil War song, "Marching Through Georgia," in the classroom.[57] Earlier in the year, teachers had sent Louisville schoolchild Laura Galt home for refusing to sing the song and the UDC praised her. Galt's noncompliance, according to historian Karen Cox, was "vivid proof that pro-Confederate education worked."[58]

Textbooks and Curriculum

From the Kentucky Division's founding, its members zealously advocated that the Lost Cause be taught in public schools and anywhere else children could learn and absorb the myth. At the Division's third annual meeting, held in Richmond in 1899, Ida W. Harrison, who later became division historian, stressed the importance of the organization's educational campaigns.[59] Invoking the responsibilities of southern white women, Harrison described educating southern children in the Lost Cause as a form of welfare. She reminded her listeners that the UDC constitution identified education as the organization's highest purpose and then described the actions of various Kentucky chapters in furthering the Lost Cause narrative. She praised the Lexington chapter, for example, for its successful campaign to convince the Lexington Board of Education to celebrate the birthday of Confederate General Robert E. Lee in public school classrooms. "Think," she exclaimed to her fellow members, "what an influence on character may be exerted by holding up before the boys and girls once a year the life of so good and so great a

[57] Minutes of the Sixth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, October 8-9, 1902, p. 15, CWC, FHS.
[58] Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 119.
[59] Minutes of the Third Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, November 23-24, 1899, p. 12-16, CWC, FHS.

man!"[60] Such successes in the schools, Harrison believed, helped promote ideological unity among white southerners and ensured that future generations would continue to imbibe the Lost Cause message. At the same 1899 meeting, the Lexington chapter reported that the local board had placed a portrait of Lee in every public school in the city,[61] and at subsequent meetings, other chapters reported their efforts to achieve the same goal.[62] The Kentucky UDC continued to place images of Confederate leaders in schools for decades. The Mayfield chapter, for example, placed photos of Lee and Jackson in two schools in 1926.[63]

In 1902, as part of her role as state division historian, Harrison recommended that all chapter historians:

> examine the school histories in use in the public schools of her town, to see if they present a fair and just account of the war between the States, and that she report the result of this work to the State Historian. . . . This difficult and delicate work should be undertaken in no prejudiced or sectional spirit; we no more want histories that are blindly partial to the South than we want them unjustly biased against the North. We would have our children taught history as it was, in no strain of apology for the South, or of fulsome eulogy to the North.[64]

Harrison's request reflected the reconciliationist goals of Lost Cause adherents, but the narrative they created and espoused in their educational campaigns sought to justify and praise the cultural

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[60] Minutes of the Third Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, November 23-24, 1899, p. 15, CWC, FHS.
[61] Ibid., 19.
[62] Minutes of the Fifth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, November 21, 1901, p. 26, CWC, FHS; Minutes of the Sixth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, October 1902, p. 15, CWC, FHS.
[63] Minutes of the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, October 19-21, 1926, p. 79, CWC, FHS.
[64] Minutes of the Sixth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, October 8-9, 1902, p. 16, CWC, FHS.

and social values of the Old South and the Confederacy. Former Confederates sought reconciliation, then, on southern terms. The call to examine closely public-school curriculum in Kentucky provided a better idea of the UDC's true goals and broader national objectives. These defenders of the Confederacy created a narrative that enshrined white supremacy, defended slavery as a benevolent institution, and downplayed its role as the central cause of the sectional divide and the war.

One year later, in 1903, Harrison described the response to her call that chapter historians examine school histories. She reported that "one [Daughter] says that the history in use in her community is both 'unfair and untrue;' one of these ladies was instrumental in introducing a satisfactory history in her schools." She added that, "the Lexington Chapter presented last winter a Confederate battle flag to each of the five public schools in their town."[65] At the height of the Kentucky UDC's activities, Daughters dutifully followed their leadership's recommendations to introduce pro-southern histories to white schoolchildren. Harrison's description of the advances made and work still to be undertaken reveals the dedication of the Kentucky Daughters to their mission that future generations remember the Commonwealth as a Confederate state. Kentucky Daughters especially favored the word "impartial" to describe histories they inserted in public school curriculums and supplementary reading, reinforcing their idea that northern histories were biased against the Confederacy.[66] The Daughters' successful endeavors ensured that Kentucky's white schoolchildren saw Confederate battle flags and portraits of Robert E. Lee every day they attended the institutions where they gained much of their historical consciousness. The intervention of the UDC in public education ensured that white pupils were exposed to the Lost

[65] Minutes of the Seventh Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, October 14-15, 1903, pp. 17-18, CWC, FHS.
[66] Minutes of the Sixth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, October 8-9, 1902, p. 17, CWC, FHS.

Cause ideology in the classroom.

Lexington public schools used Elizabeth Shelby Kinkead's *A History of Kentucky* and the Fayette County Teachers' Association regarded it as "the very best school history of our State that has been written."[67] Lucy Fitzhugh Stuart, a Lexington daughter, served on the Board of Examiners for the city schools.[68] The text, while diverging at points from the Lost Cause narrative—for example, it used the term "Civil War"—reflected pro-Confederate and pro-slavery perspectives. Specifically, the text's characterization of slavery as a benevolent institution and the valorization of Confederate generals contributed to the pro-South curriculum in Fayette County schools. Of slavery and the enslaved, Kinkead asserted that in "the Commonwealth the lot of the slave was comparatively happy" and "in many cases the slaves were unwilling to leave their homes. While they greatly desired freedom, they were as a class a peaceable people that dreaded change. They knew the life they were living. It had sore trials; but they realized that they would always be provided for."[69] Kinkead's portrayal of enslaved people as content and well cared for came directly from the Lost Cause narrative and thus reflected the UDC's educational goals.

Louisville's Albert Sidney Johnston chapter was particularly active in endorsing pro-South histories in public school curriculums, an effort led zealously by Sophie Sea. In 1905, the chapter proclaimed that "the work of which we are most proud is the movement we have inaugurated in Louisville and Jefferson County urging the adoption of non-partisan histories in

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[67] M. A. Cassidy, "Fayette County Teacher's Association" Program, September 14, 1896, Lucy Stuart Fitzhugh Scrapbook, Special Collections, FHS.
[68] Lucy Stuart Fitzhugh Scrapbook, Special Collections, FHS.
[69] Elizabeth Shelby Kinkead, *A History of Kentucky* (New York: American Book Company, 1896), 152-54.

our public schools, as supplementary readings and reference."[70] The same year, Sea urged all members to "use their influence personally with the superintendents and teachers" to introduce UDC-approved textbooks into schools.[71] Here, the women of the Kentucky UDC would use their social status and connections to propagate the Lost Cause. In 1913, the chapter endorsed Marguerite Dickson's *American History for Grammar Schools*, but only after the Daughters offered input on its content. In a 1915 essay about the history of the chapter, Charlotte Woodbury noted that "the history as first presented to us contained some glaring errors." Subsequently, a committee of Kentucky UDC members that included Sea and Woodbury met with editors from the Macmillan Publishing Company to push for certain corrections in line with UDC and Lost Cause ideas, resulting in a new edition of the textbook.[72] Comparing the 1911 and 1914 editions reveals the Kentucky UDC's revisions. The term "Civil War" does not disappear from the text, but in most instances Dickson replaced it with "War Between the States." Notably, this editorial intervention changed the title of Section XVI from "Secession and the Civil War" to "Secession and the War Between the States."[73] Likewise, the Daughters significantly altered a section entitled "Things To Do," which included suggestions for classroom activities. The 1911 version instructed students to "show . . . that it was really slavery that brought on war, and not simply the Southern belief in states' rights," while the 1914 edition removed this statement.[74] Although

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[70] Minutes of the Ninth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, October 26-27, 1905, p. 117, CWC, FHS.
[71] Minutes of the Ninth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, October 26-27, 1905, p. 33, CWC, FHS.
[72] Charlotte Woodbury, "A History of the Albert Sidney Johnston Chapter No. 120 United Daughters of the Confederacy," 1915, p. 10, United Daughters of the Confederacy Collection (hereafter, UDCC), KHS.
[73] Marguerite Dickson, *American History for Grammar Schools* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1911), 378; Dickson, *American History for Grammar Schools*, 2nd ed. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1914), 378.
[74] Dickson, *American History for Grammar Schools*, 385.

Dickson elsewhere asserted that "it is undoubtedly true that slavery caused the Civil War,"[75] the Kentucky Daughters clearly reshaped the content of the text. In negotiations with the publisher, the UDC made some concessions, but the Daughters used their influence to make as many changes as possible.

The revised text also contained more subtle nods to the Lost Cause myth, particularly in Dickson's discussion of the difficult question of the loyalties of Kentucky and the other border slave states of Delaware, Maryland, and Missouri. In the 1911 text Dickson wrote, "it was for some time hard to tell whether they would stay with the North or join their Southern neighbors and friends." The 1914 revision, reflecting the Kentucky UDC's influence, instead questioned whether the border states "were to be considered as Southern states or as Northern states."[76] The first edition positioned the border states as part of and loyal to the North, with the South identified as "neighbors and friends." The revision eliminated this assumption of border state loyalty to the North and instead asked the readers—in this case impressionable schoolchildren—to decide if border states were northern or southern.

The 1911 text added, "Lincoln's great wisdom was shown in his treatment of these states, which all finally came out decidedly on the Union side." In the 1914 revised text, Dickson added that "moves in the direction of secession were made in these states and they were admitted into the Confederate States of America. Lincoln's great wisdom was shown in his treatment of these states which were finally reclaimed by the Union."[77] Dickson's revised passage was narrowly accurate; a secessionist government in Bowling Green successfully sought admission to the

[75] Ibid., 387.
[76] Ibid., 387.
[77] Ibid., 387.

Confederacy.[78] However, it failed to explain that throughout the war, a strong Unionist government in Frankfort rejected Confederate overtures. The revision reflected the influence of the UDC's Lost Cause ideology. The 1911 edition made no mention that border states considered joining the Confederacy and instead portrayed them as choosing to remain in the Union. In contrast, the 1914 edition discussed the admission of Kentucky's secessionist government to the CSA with the federal government having to seize back the state from the South. These revisions, directly proposed and overseen by the Kentucky UDC, ensured that schoolchildren would be taught the Lost Cause version of history.

The Kentucky UDC's work with textbooks continued for decades, with the Division reporting in 1928 that it sought to influence the decisions of the state textbook committee. That year, the Cynthiana chapter placed "good biographies of Lee and Jackson" in public schools and reported that its letter writing campaigns to the members of the state textbook committee had elicited "favorable answers . . . assuring . . . earnest cooperation."[79] Three decades into its existence, the Kentucky UDC continued to use its social authority to influence public policy and achieve their educational goals.

Publications

By 1900, Louisville's Albert Sidney Johnston UDC chapter was the third largest in the nation[80] and members of the Kentucky Division faithfully attended national conferences in large numbers. In fact, reporters estimated that Kentucky sent the largest delegation to the 1901

[78] Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky*, 17.
[79] Minutes of the Thirty-Second Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, October 16-18, 1928, pp. 38, 67, CWC, FHS.
[80] Minutes of the Fourth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, November 22-23, 1900, p. 11, CWC, FHS.

national meeting in Wilmington, North Carolina.[81] Members from Kentucky, particularly Sea and Woodbury, demonstrated intense dedication to the cause and remained active for many years. Sea helped forge white Kentuckians' Civil War memory, particularly in her essay, "A Brief Synoptical Review of Slavery in the United States," which argued that the vast majority of enslavers treated their enslaved people well. Sea initially read the essay before the Albert Sidney Johnston chapter, but she soon decided to disseminate it more broadly. The printed version of the work included a lengthy disclaimer in which Sea wrote that she did not wish to open a "question long since settled," but published the work "only in the interests of the truths of history."[82] The Kentucky UDC distributed the essay widely and it soon became nationally known. During a speech in Dallas, the UDC's historian general Mildred Rutherford encouraged Texas members to read the essay.[83] The wide distribution of Sea's essay, which depicted slavery in the South as benign compared to the slavery in the North in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, helped cement this element of Lost Cause memory for generations of white southerners in Kentucky and beyond. Woodbury remained in UDC leadership throughout her life, acting as president of the Albert Sidney Johnston Chapter from 1919 to 1921 and again from 1941 to 1943.[84] She also served as president of the Kentucky Division from 1911 to 1913, the historian general of the national organization between 1926 and 1928, and finally as the president general between 1935

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[81] Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky*, 162.
[82] Sophie Fox Sea, "A Brief Synoptical Review of Slavery in the United States," 1916, p. 1, UDCC, KHS.
[83] Mildred Lewis Rutherford, "The Civilization of the Old South: What Made It: What Destroyed It: What Has Replaced It," November 9, 1916, p. 22, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/5a/Address_delivered_by_Miss_Mildred_Lewis_Rutherford_..._historian_general_%28IA_addressdelivered02ruth%29.pdf (accessed January 3, 2023).
[84] "Albert Sidney Johnston Chapter" Constitution, 1960, p. 2, UDCC, KHS.

and 1937.[85]

Another member, Florence Barlow, furthered the UDC's missions by editing *The Lost Cause: A Confederate War Record*, out of Louisville. In fact, Kentucky's largest city became home to two pro-Confederate magazines: Barlow's journal and the *Southern Bivouac*, edited by Confederate veteran Basil Duke and Richard W. Knott.[86] *Southern Bivouac* served as an outlet for reminiscences of the war and other aspects of antebellum southern life and was written primarily by men. It nonetheless proved popular among women who sought to describe their experiences as wives, widows, sisters, and daughters on the home front. Women, in contrast, primarily produced *The Lost Cause*. Barlow, the daughter of a Confederate veteran, co-edited the journal with Henrietta Morgan Duke. The Albert Sidney Johnston chapter of the UDC published Barlow and Duke's magazine, making it one of the state division's main instruments for spreading Lost Cause mythology.[87]

Many issues of *The Lost Cause* ran advertisements for school textbooks published by the B. F. Johnson Publishing Company based in Richmond, Virginia, including Susan Pendleton Lee's pro-South textbooks. One advertisement stated that "in Lee's Histories the honor of the South is jealously guarded," adding "there's nothing but the truth in them." The advertisements claimed that all textbooks published by B.F. Johnson "honor the South; they bring her authors to the front and recognize her achievements and heroes."[88] In advertising pro-South textbooks in its foremost and widely circulated publication, the Kentucky Division of the UDC helped fulfill its

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[85] Minutes of the One Hundred and Tenth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, October 20, 2007, p. 6, KHS; Minutes of the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, October 19-21, 1926, p. 3, CWC, FHS; *History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy: 1894-1955*, (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Co., 1956), 233, FHS.
[86] Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky*, 89.
[87] Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky*, 162-63.
[88] "The B. F. Johnson Publishing Co.," *The Lost Cause: A Confederate War Record* (Louisville), vol. III, no. 11 (June 1990): 214, CWC, FHS.

educational mission.

The magazine provided news about the UDC Kentucky Division, national news relevant to the South, and reports from other UDC state divisions. News about UDC activities outside the Commonwealth published in *The Lost Cause* promoted interaction between UDC chapters across the South and helped forge a wider web of Confederate Daughters. The Louisville-based newspaper thus encouraged a sense of national unity among distant UDC members and helped tie Kentucky ideologically to the former Confederate states. In 1902, for example, *The Lost Cause* published a report by a member of the Texas Division, Kate Daffan, who inspected textbooks in her local schools and offered a list of books for use by students. Daffan also described her criteria for selecting and rejecting particular books. "When I recommend a text book," she explained, "I will eliminate any book that treats the civil war as a rebellion. It was no rebellion."[89] The publication of this report in *The Lost Cause* kept the journal's readership in Louisville and beyond informed of the organization's educational campaigns and helped promote the use of pro-southern textbooks in public schools throughout the South.

Over the next two decades, the UDC kept the Lost Cause alive and well in Kentucky. The membership of the organization remained virulently dedicated to their cause. In 1918, the Kentucky UDC successfully lobbied to hold the organization's twenty-fifth national convention in Louisville, though the meeting was postponed until the following year.[90] The decision to hold the annual meeting in Louisville, only the sixth time the national organization had met outside the former, reflected the strength of the Lost Cause memory in Kentucky. The conference, though held in a former Union state, attracted Daughters from all around the country.

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[89] "Text Book Report," *The Lost Cause*, vol. VII, no. 5 (December 1902): 73, CWC, FHS.
[90] Minutes of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Convention of the UDC, April 1-5, 1919, pp. 1-11, https://archive.org/details/MinutesOfTheAnnualConvention/page/n649/mode/2up (accessed January 3, 2023).

In a 1905 address to the Kate Morrison Breckinridge Chapter of the UDC in Danville, Lexington attorney John R. Allen espoused many of the essential tenets of the Lost Cause and placed the responsibility for upholding the memory of the Confederacy on the white women of the South. Praising the "lofty courage and noble enthusiasm"[91] of the UDC members, Allen described a paradoxically delicate yet independent and spirited southern white woman. He exalted their "tears," "grief," and "gentle hands," while simultaneously describing their brave smiles, strength, and heroism.[92] In Allen's account, southern white women fulfilled their feminine duties by acting as caretakers, both of their families and of Confederate memory—and particularly for the commemoration of the Confederate dead. Allen called on the UDC and all white southerners to keep the memory of their ancestors alive, imploring his audience to "rear monuments to their fame in every Southern hamlet; tell in burning works of eloquence and preserve in history and legend, the record of their brilliant deeds . . . recount lovingly to our children and our childrens' [sic] children how they fought and died for the right as God gave it them to see."[93] Allen's speech reveals how the Lost Cause mythology shaped the way white southerners remembered the Civil War decades later and highlights the UDC's focus on education as the primary tool for bolstering this memory. Through public memorization, faux-scholarly histories, and public education, the UDC produced and promulgated a pro-South narrative that influenced generations of white Americans, in both the South and the North. The UDC's work with children ensured that their racialized and romanticized memory of the Confederacy lasted far longer and spread far more broadly than would have otherwise been possible.

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[91] John R. Allen, "Address in Memory of the Confederate Dead," June 3, 1905, p. 1, Rare Pamphlet Collection, FHS.
[92] Allen, "Address in Memory of the Confederate Dead," 5-8.
[93] Ibid., 6-7.

In his conclusion, Allen highlighted the importance of sectional reconciliation in the decades after the war, noting that "the animosities and passions that arose out of the conflict are melting into more fraternal and kindly feeling."[94] Allen's listeners and future readers could readily see the battle for reconciliationist memory raging. Allen's speech, then, constituted part of a statewide and national campaign to spread the Lost Cause myth.

Essay Contests and Scholarships

The UDC's educational efforts also included sponsoring essay contests and scholarships. The essay contests centered on Confederate history and notable southern leaders and the UDC offered awards to those writers who best reflected Lost Cause principles. The judging criteria for the 1964 essay contest, for example, noted that "five points [will be] taken off for the use of term 'Civil War' unless being quoted."[95] The essay contest unambiguously promoted Lost Cause values among Kentucky schoolchildren, awarding those essays that defended and celebrated the racial mores and honor of the Confederate South. The contests began soon after the foundation of the Kentucky UDC. In 1904, for example, the Georgetown chapter advertised a prize for both schoolteachers and "the white children of the public schools of Scott county for the best original essay upon the 'Life, Character, and Work of Jefferson Davis.'"[96] The contests continued well into the twentieth century, with the Division offering in 1940 multiple cash prizes and awards of southern books for the best essays and best chapter historian's report.[97]

The Kentucky UDC endeavored to idealize the Confederacy and deify former

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[94] Ibid., 10.
[95] Minutes of the Sixty-Eighth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, October 7-9, 1964, p. 11, CWC, FHS.
[96] Minutes of the Eighth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, October 12-13, 1904, p. 94, CWC, FHS.
[97] Minutes of the Forty-Fourth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1940, p. 14, CWC, FHS.

Confederates in every public space they could reach, including institutions of higher education. The UDC named the scholarships it awarded after Confederate leaders and sympathizers, ensuring that award recipients never forgot who funded their studies. The division provided scholarships to northern schools such as Columbia University[98] and the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music, but also to Kentucky and southern schools such as the University of Kentucky, Georgetown College, and Transylvania College.[99] In fact, the Albert Sidney Johnston chapter donated money towards a painting of Jefferson Davis on display at Transylvania College, now Transylvania University, in 1964.[100] The scholarships did not directly shape the curriculum, but they enabled the Kentucky UDC to send pro-South and Lost Cause indoctrinated students to attend and shape the culture of those institutions. Scholarship recipients included essay award winners and the descendants of Confederate veterans and families. The Kentucky UDC also prioritized scholarships that enabled young people to attend teacher colleges and earn degrees in education. For example, in 1939 and 1945 the UDC granted tuition scholarships to two students to attend Murray State Teachers College in the southwest part of the state.[101] Sponsoring students at teacher colleges enabled the Kentucky UDC to promote the training of teachers who would continue to share the Lost Cause mythology with subsequent generations. In their education work, members of the UDC revised the state's history to reflect the values of the Lost Cause and then forged a variety of mechanisms to indoctrinate generations of white southerners in those racist and inaccurate ideals.

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[98] Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, 1909, p. 147, CWC, FHS.
[99] Minutes of the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, October 19-21, 1926, pp. 50-51, CWC, FHS.
[100] Minutes of the Sixty-Eighth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, October 7-9, 1964, p. 39, CWC, FHS.
[101] Charlotte Woodbury, "Education," in *History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy: 1894-1955,* (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Co., 1956), 256, FHS.

In addition to their efforts to influence educators, some Daughters became teachers themselves. Lucy Stuart Fitzhugh, daughter of Confederate officer Robert H. Fitzhugh, was both a UDC member and a Lexington school teacher. Fitzhugh graduated from the State College of Kentucky, now the University of Kentucky, in 1896, and quickly rose through the ranks of her profession. In 1897, she was appointed to the Board of Examiners for Fayette County Schools. Fitzhugh thereafter worked in northern schools but remained active in the Lexington chapter of the UDC, speaking and attending gatherings along with her father who regularly gave addresses at Kentucky UDC events on the character of Robert E. Lee.[102] Fitzhugh offers just one example of the many Kentucky UDC members who worked as schoolteachers. In the late nineteenth century, the southern states created and consolidated public school systems. As schools expanded, women became involved in this public sphere. According to historian Edward Ayers, "white women had constituted only about a quarter of teachers from the antebellum years through the 1870s, but their numbers doubled in the 1880s while the number of white men declined. Women accounted for the majority of white teachers by the late 1880s, and by 1900 the proportion of women in the South's schools was about the same as in the North."[103] The rise in the number of white women working in public schools coincided with the growth of the UDC. By 1900, women had become the primary educators of southern children at home and in the schools.

The women of the Kentucky UDC not only provided scholarships to institutions of higher education, but also to younger students. In 1907, the division announced a future tuition

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[102] Lucy Stuart Fitzhugh Scrapbook, Special Collections, FHS.
[103] Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction*, (1992; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 212.

scholarship to a school in Hindman, deep in Appalachian Kentucky.[104] By 1910, chapters across the state were raising money for the scholarship fund and the Albert Sidney Johnston chapter was working directly with the chairman of the school to fund the tuition of two young "proteges . . . whose grandfathers on both sides were Confederate soldiers."[105] Daughters believed their work in the mountain region of the state important because eastern Kentucky was a Union stronghold during and after the war. According to historian Anne Marshall, "because Appalachian Kentucky was almost always cast in opposition to the rest of the state . . . the supposed blanket Unionism of [the region] ultimately served only to reinforce the state's general Confederate identity."[106] The Kentucky UDC strove to educate white children in the Lost Cause myth in every corner of the Commonwealth.

Children of the Confederacy

Members of the Kentucky UDC established the first chapter of the Children of the Confederacy (CofC) in the state in 1901 in Louisville. Matilda Reynolds, a member of the Louisville UDC, organized the chapter, naming it after her father, Eli M. Bruce, who represented Kentucky in the first and second Confederate Congresses and helped finance the state's Confederate government during the war.[107] The organization grew quickly and at the 1902 annual convention of the Kentucky Division, Reynolds successfully suggested that the CofC become an independent but connected organization. After 1903, as a result, a CofC delegate attended the Kentucky

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[104] Minutes of the Eleventh Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, October 9-10, 1907, p. 14, CWC, FHS.
[105] Minutes of the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, 1910, p. 128, CWC, FHS.
106 Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky*, 112.
[107] "Eli Metcalfe Bruce," *Civil War Governors of Kentucky Digital Documentary Edition*, http://discovery.civilwargovernors.org/document/N00000846 (accessed February 18, 2023); Lowell H. Harrison, "George W. Johnson and Richard Hawes: The Governors of Confederate Kentucky," *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 79, no. 1 (1981): 20. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23379523.

Division's annual meeting and reported on its progress. A Bardstown chapter was formed in 1906 and reported on meeting activities which included essays, pro-southern songs, and question and answer sessions.[108] Another chapter described fundraising for their work and an event in which sixteen boys and girls dressed in red, white and the "beloved grey."[109] Reynolds and many Kentucky UDC women considered their work with children their most important task. Reynolds became a particularly strong advocate for the Children of the Confederacy and of the power of pro-South domestic environments, claiming work with children would chiefly "determine whether our cause shall be a lost one."[110] By 1937, the Children of the Confederacy had grown large enough to merit the creation of its own Kentucky Division. [111]

The Children of the Confederacy served an additional role as a pathway that enabled girls to join the UDC once they became adults. In 1909, the Lexington UDC chapter reported that five girls, formerly members of the CofC, joined their ranks.[112] This systematic method of cultivating UDC enrollment enabled the Kentucky Division's membership to grow and ensured that its work would endure through generations.

Public Libraries

The Kentucky UDC also campaigned to place pro-southern textbooks and materials in the state's public libraries. The UDC endeavored to fill public libraries with publications favorable to the Confederacy, ensuring the distribution of such materials to adults and children. These campaigns

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[108] Minutes of the Tenth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, October 3-4, 1906, p. 21, CWC, FHS.
[109] Minutes of the Tenth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, October 3-4, 1906, p. 22, CWC, FHS.
[110] Minutes of the Eleventh Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, October 9-10, 1907, p. 54, CWC, FHS.
[111] Minutes of the Forty-Third Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, October 17-19, 1939, p. 81, CWC, FHS.
[112] Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, 1909, pp. 145-46, CWC, FHS.

continued into the late twentieth century. Charlotte Woodbury's donations to the Louisville Free Public Library formed the basis of its Confederate Collection and by 1960 the Louisville-based Albert Sidney Johnston chapter had donated over six hundred books to the city's libraries.[113] Four years later, at the organization's sixty-eighth annual convention, the Kentucky Division reported that it had donated fifty-five books and two UDC magazines to public libraries.[114] The Albert Sidney Johnston chapter also frequently held their monthly meetings at the Louisville Free Public Library.[115]

Among the works of history that the Albert Sidney Johnston chapter donated to the Louisville Free Public Library was Walter Lynwood Fleming's thirteen-volume *The South in the Building of the Nation.* Fleming's survey, though on occasion mentioning the "Civil War," also employed the Lost Cause terminology the "War of Secession" to refer to the conflict, notably in a section that contained questions designed for readers to review the central conclusions of the text.[116] The section about Kentucky also displayed a clear pro-southern sentiment, noting of the Commonwealth that "her sympathies were with the South," and describing northern attempts to prevent secession as "coercing the sovereign states of the South into obedience to the Federal

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[113] "U.D.C. Collects Lest We Forget," *Courier-Journal*, December 4, 1960, http://echo.louisville.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/december-4-1960-page-82-216/docview/1866518861/se-2 (accessed January 18, 2023).
[114] Minutes of the Sixty-Eighth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, October 7-9, 1964, p. 27, CWC, FHS.
[115] "Club Notes," *Courier Journal*, Jan. 11, 1914, http://echo.louisville.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/club-notes/docview/1016766423/se-2 (accessed February 10, 2023); "Confederate Daughters Oppose Biased Histories," *Courier-Journal*, May 9, 1911, http://echo.louisville.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/confederate-daughters-oppose-biased-histories/docview/1017466702/se-2 (accessed February 10, 2023).
[116] Walter Lynwood Fleming, *The South in the Building of the Nation: A History Of The Southern States Designed to record the South's Part in the Making of the American Nation*, 13 vols. (Richmond, VA: The Southern Historical Publication Society, 1913), 1: 303, CWC, FHS.

government."[117] The text mischaracterized pro-Confederate activity in the state, claiming that "as evidence of respect for the neutrality of the state, those who wished to take sides with the South in the pending war went beyond the Southern border of Kentucky for organization."[118] Fleming neglected in this passage to mention the extensive efforts of some white Kentuckians within the state to secede and join the Confederacy. In true Lost Cause fashion, Fleming valorized Confederate veterans and argued that its history was "necessary to the vindication of the patriotic Kentuckians who gave their lives and fortunes to the cause of the South in the four years' struggle for its liberties."[119] Fleming's memorialization of Confederate veterans, along with his account of wartime Kentucky praised the South's fight for independence while ignoring slavery. His text also contained a strong Reconciliationist message, reflecting the convergence of the two memorial traditions. Fleming's textbook, donated to the library by the UDC, enabled children and the general public alike to absorb the Lost Cause memory.

Memorialization

The UDC remains best known for its monument campaigns. Indeed, seventy-two Confederate (and only two Union) memorials existed in Kentucky as of 1994[120], despite the fact that the state remained in the Union and the majority of Kentuckians who served in the war fought for the North. Kentucky UDC members also viewed such endeavors as part of their educational efforts. According to Cox, "the majority of monuments erected to the Confederacy were placed in public settings such as courthouse lawns or town squares, where, it was reasoned, they could be observed by children."[121] The Kentucky UDC also made sure to include children in its

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[117] Fleming, *The South in the Building of the Nation*, 1: 287-88, CWC, FHS.
[118] Ibid., 1: 290.
[119] Ibid., 1: 292.
[120] Marshall, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky*, 204-205.
[121] Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 2

monument unveilings. At many such ceremonies, thirteen children attended, representing the "thirteen" states of the Confederacy, including Kentucky and Missouri, neither of which seceded.[122] In Louisville, the Ladies Confederate Monument Association, many of whose members would soon join the Albert Sidney Johnston chapter of the UDC,[123] played a key role in erecting, on July 30, 1895, the Confederate monument that first stood at Third and Shipp Streets. As part of the unveiling ceremonies, the band from the nearby Industrial School of Reform played. [124] Involving children in monument ceremonies ensured that young Kentuckians actively engaged in celebrating the white supremacist narrative the monuments represented and that the Lost Cause myth endured. At sites around the Commonwealth where Confederate monuments remain, the Lost Cause narrative lives on in language that emphasizes white southerners' desire to protect their "culture" and "economy" from "northern interference," while deemphasizing the enslavement of Black people that undergirded the southern "way of life."

The role of Confederate monuments as tools of indoctrination throughout the South remains well documented. In 2020, Kentucky-born historian Patrick Lewis described in the *New York Times* his history education in the state's public schools, which included regular school-sponsored visits to the Jefferson Davis monument, erected in part by the Kentucky UDC,[125] every June 3, known as Confederate Memorial Day. The memorial stands in Fairview, the

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[122] Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 63.
[123] "U.D.C. Collects Lest We Forget," *Courier-Journal*, Dec. 4, 1960, http://echo.louisville.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/december-4-1960-page-82-216/docview/1866518861/se-2 (accessed January 18, 2023).
[124] "Great Day: Confederate Monument Will Be Unveiled at 4 this Afternoon. Mayor Will Receive the Shaft for the City. Legion to Take Part," *The Courier-Journal*, July 30, 1895, http://echo.louisville.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-newspapers/great-day/docview/1036828508/se-2 (accessed January 18, 2023).
[125] Edna Shewcraft Macon, *Memorials to the Blue and Gray: Commonwealth of Kentucky Civil War Monuments* (Owensboro, KY: McClanahan Publishing, 2011), 37.

birthplace of the president of the Confederacy, and Lewis's visits continued into the 1990s.[126] After earning his PhD in history from the University of Kentucky in 2012, Lewis, who presently works as Director of Research at the Filson Historical Society, has contributed to efforts to remove Confederate imagery at the site.

Confederate monuments valorized both Confederate soldiers and the institutions of white supremacy they fought to defend. Author Clint Smith describes the monuments as a product of the Jim Crow era, noting that "the social and political backlash to Reconstruction-era attempts to build an integrated society was the backdrop against which the first monuments arose. These monuments served as physical embodiments of the terror campaign directed at Black communities."[127] In short, the Confederate monuments erected in Kentucky and throughout the South served as both educational tools for Lost Cause advocates and as reminders of white supremacy in the postbellum South.

Epilogue

The UDC's efforts to spread the Lost Cause ideology in Kentucky was both highly successful and enduring. The myth persisted through the decades in large part because of the influence local UDC chapters exercised over education in the state. The Albert Sidney Johnston Chapter in Louisville remained active well past the organization's height in the first half of the twentieth century. In an essay presented to the chapter in 1974, member Helen Wathen discussed the "Governors of Kentucky during the War Between the States," a title that reflected the Lost Cause's false claim that the South fought the Civil War solely to defend constitutional principles. The body of the essay likewise defended the honor of the South, praising the efforts of

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[126] Ian Bateson, "Is There a Place for Jefferson Davis?," *New York Times*, October 11, 2020, http://echo.louisville.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/newspapers/october-11-2020-page-6-ar/docview/2459206746/se-2 (accessed February 1, 2023).
[127] Smith, *How the Word is Passed*, 128.

Confederates to convince their fellow Kentuckians to secede. Wathen attributed the sectional divide to the "strong sentiment . . . arising in the North against the slave-owners of the South. The defenders of the rights of slavery, and their warnings . . . to be let alone, helped to bring the country to a point where just a slight insult or blow might plunge it into conflict."[128] The paper portrayed white Kentuckians as sympathetic to the South, describing seceded states as "sister southern states."[129] Wathen's essay, in short, reflected the generations-long educational battle fought by the Kentucky UDC to shape the minds of southern children.

Since the mid-twentieth century, however, academic historians like Lewis have rejected the flawed Lost Cause interpretation of the Civil War and their efforts have helped reshape public narratives about the war. Since World War II and especially since the Civil Rights Movement, historians have led the charge to reject and revise the flawed Lost Cause interpretation of the Civil War era. Historian Kyle Ward, for example, asserts that "many current textbooks now incorporate a fairly sophisticated analysis of American slavery, in all of its variations and complexity" and that "by the end of the twentieth century there was no doubt that the KKK had done nothing to boast about."[130] Although the UDC's textbook campaigns had a lasting impact well into the twentieth century, modern historiography coupled with social movements have led to a more complex interpretation of the antebellum and postbellum South.

After an often contentious debate, for example, in 2016 the University of Louisville removed the Confederate monument on campus. The decision reflected the weakening appeal of the Lost Cause narrative for a growing number of Louisvillians who renounced the public

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[128] Helen Wathen, "Governors of Kentucky During the War Between the States" March 2, 1974, p. 2, General Book Collection, FHS.
[129] Wathen, "Governors of Kentucky" March 2, 1974, p. 3, FHS.
[130] Kyle Ward, *History in the Making: An Absorbing Look at How American History Has Changed in the Telling over the Last 200 Years* (New York: New Press: 2006), 172, 212.

imagery of the Confederacy. More recently, the *New York Times* has sponsored the *1619 Project* to promote a more historically accurate popular narrative and undermine the Lost Cause myth instilled by generations of the UDC's indoctrination campaigns.[131] The *1619 Project* seeks to teach the American public the harsh reality of slavery rather than the adulterated and romanticized version disseminated by southern white women in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Likewise, the months-long Black Lives Matter protests in Louisville that occurred in the wake of the 2020 police killing of medical worker Breonna Taylor have challenged the entrenched white supremacist ideology spread for generations by the UDC.[132]

But Confederate apologists, still influenced by the Lost Cause narrative and claiming they wished to preserve history have opposed and obstructed efforts to disseminate a more accurate and inclusive historical narrative. White Kentuckians opposed to the removal of the Confederate statue from the University of Louisville had the statue erected in Brandenburg, forty miles south of Louisville. The plaques that surround the site in Brandenburg read: "Northern abolition movements with a goal to end slavery threatened to undermine the entire southern economy and way of life. The desire to preserve their economy and culture free from northern interference, the south under pressure from the aristocratic plantation owners, seceded from the United States and formed the Confederate States of America." This interpretation of the war propagates a pro-South ideology and reflects the continuing influence of the UDC-promoted Lost Cause ideology. So powerful does the dogma remain in some circles that in June 2020, in the

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[131] "The 1619 Project Curriculum," *Pulitzer Center Education,* https://pulitzercenter.org/lesson-plan-grouping/1619-project-curriculum (accessed February 15, 2023).
[132] Tessa Duvall and Darcy Costello, "Timeline: 30 Days of Protests, Change, and Turmoil that Rocked Louisville," *Courier-Journal,* June 27, 2020, https://www.courier-journal.com/story/news/local/2020/06/27/30-days-breonna-taylor-david-mcatee-protests-rocked-louisville/3252422001/ (accessed March 26, 2023); "The Protests," *Louisville Magazine,* Vol. 71, No. 5 (2020), 17-69, https://www.louisville.com/black-people-have-been-fighting-two-pandemics-article (accessed March 26, 2023).

midst of nationwide Black Lives Matter demonstrations, armed protesters and Confederate apologists gathered around the Brandenburg monument to prevent vandalism.[133] These demonstrators, willing to place themselves in harm's way to protect a symbol first erected by the Kentucky UDC, represent the profound influence of the organization's generations-long effort to education white Kentuckians in the Lost Cause tradition. Some white Americans continue to argue against the removal of monuments and an educational curriculum that details the cruelty of slavery. The success of the *1619 Project* prompted former President Donald Trump to counter it in 2020 with the "1776 Commission" to "ensure patriotic education."[134]

Likewise, the battle to retain a Lost Cause education continues in Kentucky's and other states' legislatures. In a recent *New York Times* editorial, historian Henry Louis Gates describes the efforts of Florida Governor Ron DeSantis to block the teaching of an Advanced Placement course in African American Studies in Florida high schools as complicity in the Lost Cause myth, originally perpetuated by members of the UDC such as Mildred Lewis Rutherford. Gates concludes that "Rutherford wished for nothing less than the power to summon the apparatus of the state to impose her strictures on our country's narrative about the history of race and racism."[135] Through state governments, the tenets of the Lost Cause can be enforced by legislators wishing to deny the complex history of race and racism in the United States. In 2022, Kentucky Republican Senator Max Wise introduced Senate Bill 138, legislation that would

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[133] Sara Sidery, "Hundreds gather in Brandenburg, Kentucky, to protect Confederate Monument form potential vandalism," *WDRB*, June 12, 2020, https://www.wdrb.com/news/hundreds-gather-in-brandenburg-kentucky-to-protect-confederate-monument-from-potential-vandalism/article_66f0a248-ad15-11ea-b82f-33b35a7a6dde.html (accessed February 13, 2023).
[134] Donald J. Trump, "Executive Order 13958, Establishing the President's Advisory 1776 Commission," November 2, 2020, p. 2, https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/FR-2020-11-05/pdf/2020-24793.pdf (accessed February 15, 2023).
[135] Henry Louis Gates, "Who's Afraid of Black History?" *New York Times*, February 17, 2023, https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/17/opinion/desantis-florida-african-american-studies-black-history.html?searchResultPosition=1 (accessed February 18, 2023).

inhibit educators' ability to teach the impact of racism and slavery in the United States. The original text of the bill included language directly mirroring the Kentucky UDC, stating "that nothing in the bill shall be construed to restrict impartial historical instruction."[136] Senate Bill 138, later merged with Senate Bill 1, passed both chambers of Kentucky's General Assembly. The legislation "unintentionally opens teachers up to criminal charges for teaching history incorrectly."[137] Governor Andy Beshear vetoed the bill, but the legislature acted quickly to override the governor. Even today, white Kentuckians indoctrinated in the Lost Cause tradition continue to reflect the influence of Kentucky UDC education campaigns, particularly in their refusal to acknowledge the pervasive repercussions of slavery.

Currently, Kentucky statute KRS 2.110 recognizes January 19 as Robert E. Lee Day and June 3 as Confederate Memorial Day and Jefferson Davis Day.[138] Several lawmakers have unsuccessfully attempted to remove the holidays and add more inclusive commemorations, including replacing Columbus Day with Indigenous People's Day.[139] Most recently in February 2023, several Democratic representatives filed House Bill 211 to remove the Confederate holidays from state law.[140] These holidays, celebrated yearly by the Kentucky UDC have

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[136] "AN ACT relating to student instruction," SB 138, 2022 Kentucky General Assembly, https://apps.legislature.ky.gov/record/22rs/sb138.html (accessed February 1, 2023).
[137] Joe Sonka, Olivia Krauth, and Deborah Yetter, "Legislature speeds through overrides," *Courier Journal*, April 15, 2022, http://echo.louisville.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/newspapers/april-15-2022-page-1a/docview/2656827413/se-2 (accessed February 18, 2023).
[138] "Public Holidays," KRS 2.110, https://apps.legislature.ky.gov/law/statutes/statute.aspx?id=46 (accessed February 1, 2023).
[139] "AN ACT relating to public holidays," SB248, 2021 Kentucky General Assembly, https://apps.legislature.ky.gov/recorddocuments/bill/21RS/sb248/orig_bill.pdf (accessed February 13, 2023); "AN ACT relating to state holidays," HB133, 2022 Kentucky General Assembly, https://apps.legislature.ky.gov/recorddocuments/bill/22RS/hb133/bill.pdf (accessed February 13, 2023).
[140] "AN ACT relating to public holidays," HB211, 2023 Kentucky General Assembly, https://apps.legislature.ky.gov/record/23rs/hb211.html (accessed February 17, 2023).

persisted through the generations in part because of the organization's influence on public education.

The lasting impact of the UDC indoctrination campaign thus remains, but the organization itself has experienced a substantial decline. By 2007, the Kentucky Division consisted of only six chapters and the organization could claim only eight new members.[141] At its 2007 annual meeting, the division focused on gathering newspaper clippings and photos for scrapbooks and benevolent work that included donations and service to veterans' organizations and at Confederate gravesites.[142] Still, the current debate about how to interpret the history of the Civil War era originated in the actions of these elite white women who, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, passionately and successfully disseminated the flawed Lost Cause narrative and thereby exercised an outsized influence on how white Kentuckians remembered the Commonwealth's role in the Civil War. Elite white women from Kentucky joined the United Daughters of the Confederacy and created educational materials that reflected the Lost Cause myth. They used their social status to assume the responsibility of remembering and honoring the sacrifices of the Confederate dead and educating southern children about the reasons for those sacrifices. Their campaigns of indoctrination defended slavery and the Confederacy and shaped the memories and values of generations of white Kentuckians.

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[141] Minutes of the One Hundred and Tenth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, October 20, 2007, p. 22, KHS.

[142] Minutes of the One Hundred and Tenth Annual Convention of the Kentucky Division UDC, October 20, 2007, pp. 23-27, KHS.

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