

The Soldier, the Son, and the Social Scientist:  
Three Georgia Textbook Authors and the Lost Cause

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Old textbooks are, like the people who write and read them, products of their time and place. They are also, like today's textbooks, an individual, personal view of history. This article will look at three Georgia history textbooks from the late 19th and early 20th centuries and suggest that, while they reflect a common time and place, their perspectives were also shaped by the experiences of the different authors.<sup>1</sup> Specifically, an examination of these textbooks will show how the ideology of the Lost Cause, pervasive at the turn of the century, played out differently in the works of these the writers.

The Lost Cause was, in Gaines Foster's simple, direct phrase, a "southern interpretation" of the war, a re-telling of history that defended southern society, justified secession and the waging of war, and explained the Confederacy's loss on the battlefield.<sup>2</sup> The North won not because of greater tactics or leadership, but only because of its superior numbers and resources. The South's cause, though lost, had been noble and correct; God allowed the Confederacy to lose the war because, like a father who loves his children, He had to chastise His people, who had become morally lax. (An interesting idea: the very fact that the Confederates lost proved that God was on their side!)<sup>3</sup> Historian Alan T. Nolan identified the dozen or so most important "claims" of the Lost Cause. Prominent among them, in addition to the above, was that slavery

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had not been the cause of the war; that slaves had been happy, faithful, and well-treated; that secession was legal and justifiable; and that abolitionists were troublemakers. Furthermore, the Lost Cause myth turned Confederate soldiers into gallant knights, their leaders into saints, and their countrymen--planters, common whites, and even slaves--into unified supporters of the cause.<sup>4</sup>

The Lost Cause was important to Charles Henry Smith, author of one of the first post-war Georgia history textbooks and a veteran of the war for southern independence. Smith, born in Lawrenceville, Georgia, in 1826, was better known across the South as “Bill Arp,” a penname he took in April 1861. After the Confederate attack on Fort Sumter, when President Abraham Lincoln called on the loyal states to supply an army to put down the insurrection and ordered the rebels “to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within twenty days from this date,” Smith wrote a satiric response addressed to “Abe Linkhorn.” “We received your proklamation, and as you have put us on very short notis, a few of us boys have conkluded to write you, and ax for a little more time,” the letter said. “I tried my darndest yisterday to disperse and retire, but it was no go.” The letter, which he signed “Bill Arp,” was published in a local newspaper and then widely reprinted. Over the next decade, Smith wrote nearly two hundred other “Bill Arp” pieces for the southern press offering (usually) humorous looks at the “southern side” of the war and Reconstruction.<sup>5</sup>

In the summer of 1861, shortly after beginning his writing career as Bill Arp, Smith joined the Eighth Georgia Regiment and served as a staff officer to Colonel Francis Bartow and later General George Thomas Anderson in Virginia. During the peninsular campaign of 1862, Smith “saw more of the horrors of the war than ever before or after.”<sup>6</sup> He spent some time in a Virginia hospital with a fever, and he was home in Georgia on a medical discharge by late spring

of 1863. A year later, he evacuated with his family just in front of the Federal invasion of Northwest Georgia in May 1864.

Following the war and Reconstruction, Smith wrote a weekly “Bill Arp” column for the *Atlanta Constitution*. In his column, which appeared weekly from 1878 to 1903, Smith wrote about his family and friends, farming, and memories of his boyhood and youth. He frequently discussed the war and its aftermath--the bravery and destruction he saw on the battlefield, his family’s experiences as “runagees” (refugees who had to keep running from the “foul invader”), and the frustrations of Reconstruction. But Smith also wrote about contemporary issues, and here, too, his Confederate perspective and experiences shaped what he wrote as Bill Arp.

One of Smith’s major campaigns as a columnist was to protect the South’s honour against “northern histories ... that have already poisoned the minds of thousands of our young people.... What we most need in the south are historical books that will be standard with us and relate the truth about the south and secession and slavery and the war and reconstruction.” “The truth of history ought to be vindicated if it can be,” he wrote in 1885, and four years later, “The south lost all but her honor in the war, and that we must preserve.” He called on southerners to write their own histories, to “fortify” and “defend” “against the malignant and slanderous productions.”<sup>7</sup>

Other southerners shared Smith’s concerns. In the last years of the nineteenth century, the Lost Cause gained a new momentum with the organisation of several veterans-oriented groups aimed at protecting Confederate history against “the slanders, the misrepresentations, and the imputations” of the North. The United Confederate Veterans, founded in 1889, set up a History Committee, charged with “secur[ing] a true and reliable history of the late civil war.” The committee’s report, published in 1895, called for a “vindication of the southern people”; “The South intends ... that the truth of history shall be written by a sympathetic and friendly pen.”<sup>8</sup>

Two other groups, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC, founded in 1895) and the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV, founded in 1896), were quick to join the campaign. Georgia's Mildred Lewis Rutherford, Historian-General of the UDC, became the best-known proponent of the movement in the 1910s and 1920s, delivering lectures in antebellum clothing and writing books with titles such as *The Wrongs of History Righted*, *The South Must Have Her Rightful Place in History*, and *Measuring Rod to Test Textbooks*.<sup>9</sup>

In the spring of 1893, Smith announced that "I am now spending my leisure in writing a history of my state--a history for the young people--if they choose to read it. It is a labor of love with me, and my best ambition is to found it upon the truth.... My heart's desire is to hand down to our children, pure and unvarnished, the honor and integrity of our fathers." When he was asked, "Will your book be sectional?" he replied, "No, ... but it will be Georgian, and if that makes it southern I cannot help it."<sup>10</sup> Smith understood that he could not write a history of his state outside of a sectional (southern) perspective.

Smith's *School History of Georgia* was certainly southern, but the Lost Cause was especially evident in the section of "Historical Readings" that he added after the text proper and which, he said, should be "especially important to the young people whose fathers and grandfathers fought in that war--fought for something they believed to be right." "The African Slave Trade: Its Origin and Growth," the first reading, explained that "neither Georgia nor the South was responsible for slavery, nor for the traffic in slaves across the seas." Even after 1808, when the foreign slave trade was constitutionally ended, "the traffic went on unmolested" by traders from Rhode Island and Massachusetts.<sup>11</sup>

Slavery had been "a blessing to both races," Smith continued: a blessing to whites, who gained the labour to make the South prosperous, and "a blessing to the negro because it had

brought him from a savage state to semi-civilization, and had elevated his children and given them a chance to live as human beings and to worship God as Christians.” And slaves reciprocated, according to Smith, remaining loyal to their masters even during the Civil War. Smith elaborated on this point in the second historical reading, “The Condition of the Negro as a Slave.” “There was no happier race of people upon earth than the negroes of the South,” he wrote. “Their average condition was infinitely better than that of the poor who lived in the slums of the great cities of the North. They had all the necessaries of life and many of its comforts, and in the main were more independent and had less care, less responsibility than their masters.... The masters were almost universally kind.” The food supply was more than adequate, as was health care. Families were rarely divided. “The relation of master and slave was one of tenderness and humanity. Let these facts go down into history and our people be vindicated.”<sup>12</sup>

Smith offered prison statistics to show that, without the guidance of slavery, black crime after the Civil War increased. “The old negroes who were trained while in bondage by good masters, are not in the chain gang, and it is pitiful to hear them lament in sorrow over the sins of their children,” he wrote. An appendix to the textbook included the latest numbers from the state penitentiary. At the convict camp in Elbert county, there were “1940 convicts, of whom 194 are whites and 1710 are negroes.” Eighty-three percent of the black convicts were under the age of thirty and therefore “knew nothing of slavery,” while fewer than five per cent were over forty. “The old ante-bellum slaves are not convicts.”<sup>13</sup>

Smith’s discussion of slavery fits perfectly with the Lost Cause’s analysis of the institution: slavery had been, in its time, a good thing. In fact, he went even further, emphasising what he called “the alarming degeneracy of the negro” without the civilizing influence of

slavery.<sup>14</sup> Georgia's school children learned from Smith's textbook that they need feel no shame over the Old South's legacy.

Lawton Bryan Evans, our second textbook author, was born in southwest Georgia in 1862. His father, Clement A. Evans, at the time a colonel in the Thirty-First Georgia Regiment, rose to the rank of general before the war's end; afterwards, he was a Methodist minister, a leader of the United Confederate Veterans, and a spokesman for the Lost Cause. Lawton Evans grew up in a series of church parsonages and attended Augusta's Richmond Academy. A scholastically-inclined young man, he completed his college degree at Emory in 1880 (graduating as class valedictorian) and then his master's degree at the University of Georgia in 1881 at the age of eighteen. He returned to Augusta, taught eighth grade for a year, and in 1882 was elected superintendent of the Richmond County school system, a position he held until his death in 1934.<sup>15</sup> Over the years he wrote a dozen or so books, including textbooks on Georgia and American history and juvenile trade books, such as *America First: One Hundred Stories from Our Own History*; *Worth While Stories for Every Day*; *The Trail Blazers: Pioneers of the Northwest*; *Heroes of Israel*; *Heroes of Troy*; and *With Whip and Spur: Twelve Famous Rides in American History*.

Evans's first textbook, *The Student's History of Georgia*, was published in 1884, when he was twenty-two (and almost a decade before Charles Henry Smith's history). Like Smith, Evans was defensive when discussing the slave trade, emphasising the role of the North. "Massachusetts was the first State to encourage the slave trade," he said. "William Penn also introduced slaves into Pennsylvania, and other colonies in turn admitted them. But the Georgia trustees prohibited slavery in their earliest laws." Evans discussed slavery as a political issue, one

that caused conflict between North and South, but unlike Smith, said nothing on the institution itself in this textbook.<sup>16</sup>

Evans's most popular textbook, *A History of Georgia for Use in Schools*, was first published in 1898, fourteen years after the first, in response to the work of a school book commission that was investigating the possibility of adopting textbooks for all the public schools in the state. The commission initially decided not to require "uniformity," but reversed itself in 1903 and adopted Evans's text for the next five years.<sup>17</sup>

For this volume, Evans wrote a one-paragraph description of slavery as a benign institution:

The negroes belonging to the plantations lived in small houses, generally built in a row, and called the "negro quarters," or "the quarters." Being well treated, they were free from care, and were, therefore, happy, and devoted to their masters. After the day's labor they had their simple sports, such as dancing, playing the banjo, and 'possum hunting. They were fond of singing, even at their work. And at night, around the fire in "the quarters," or at their meeting houses, they would sing their melodies in rich, musical voices. The white children considered it a great privilege to play around "the quarters" and listen to the stories of "Brer Rabbit" and "Brer Fox" related by the old negroes."<sup>18</sup>

In a speech to the school superintendents of the National Teachers' Association in 1894, Evans said that slavery "fixed a horrible curse" on the South. "Slavery might have been a great misfortune to the poor African," Evans said, "but it was a greater misfortune to his master. From the very beginning it was most hurtful to the material and educational development of our Southern States."<sup>19</sup> This sentiment, which stands in marked contrast to Smith's statement that slavery was "a blessing to both races," did not find its way into the textbook, however; there, he briefly waxed nostalgic—about a time he had never known.

Our third textbook author, Robert Preston Brooks, was born in Milledgeville in 1881 and attended Georgia Military College and the University of Georgia. In 1903 he became Georgia's first Rhodes scholar, and four years later he was appointed as instructor to teach Georgia history at the University of Georgia. "I knew nothing whatever about Georgia and had to begin from scratch," Brooks remembered much later. "No textbook was available, so I set to work writing one."<sup>20</sup> Ulrich B. Phillips, who met Brooks earlier and who had himself become a scholar of Georgia history, told Brooks that his "appointment at Athens ... seems to be just what you have most wanted as an opportunity, and you have a fine chance to 'make good.'" Phillips offered Brooks advice on what secondary sources he might profitably consult, what primary sources he needed to examine, even what method he might use for taking notes.<sup>21</sup> In 1911 Brooks went to the University of Wisconsin, earning his doctorate a year later. He returned to Athens, where within two years he was named DeRenne Professor of Georgia History.

Brooks's *History of Georgia*, published in 1913, was placed on the state's approved school book list, and a slightly shortened ("simplified") version was adopted in 1918. Brooks later remembered that the book, "though it was far above the heads of the students," sold about 100,000 copies and earned him over \$6,000 in royalties. John Morris, reviewing the textbook in the *Atlanta Constitution*, said it would "appeal to a far wider circle of readers than the school children for whom it is written."<sup>22</sup>

By far the most interesting aspect of Brooks's book was his approach to slavery. In the chapter titled "Slavery: Economic and Social Aspects," Brooks notes that "the world is coming to understand now much better than formerly the true condition of the Southern slaves," and two pages later, he offers the reason for that new understanding: "The plantation records and letters of Georgia families, many of which have been collected and published, afford abundant evidence

of the great care and consideration exercised by slaveholders for their servants.”<sup>23</sup> Brooks cited U. B. Phillips’s *Plantation and Frontier Documents*, a collection published just before Brooks began work on his history of Georgia. Phillips later used these and other documents in his *American Negro Slavery* (1918) and *Life and Labor in the Old South* (1929); Brooks used them to justify his own discussion of the institution of slavery and of slaves themselves in his textbook.<sup>24</sup>

“The consensus of opinion among modern scientific students of history is that on the whole slaves were well treated,” Brooks wrote. “Their hours of labor were not as long as those of free laborers in the North, their food was quite sufficient to keep them in prime condition, their clothes and housing as adequate as those of any other laboring people.” “Coming to America as savages, members of a race which had never contributed anything to civilization, the enforced labor of two hundred years taught a considerable proportion of them habits of industry,” Brooks wrote. “That many thousands of them are now prosperous landowners, that tens of thousands are being trained in schools for lives of usefulness, while still others have gone forth into every sort of industrial work, are facts which can only be understood by reference to the training of slavery.” While slavery might have been (for Brooks) beneficial for the slaves, the picture was “less cheerful” when one looked at other aspects of the antebellum South. The concentration of so much wealth into slaves and land prevented the large-scale development of manufacturing, and since “the negro, like all stupid and ignorant people, was stubbornly opposed to new ideas,” improvements in agricultural technology and methods were difficult to implement.<sup>25</sup>

Brooks’s approach to scholarship shaped his views on slavery and race relations. Like his mentor U. B. Phillips--and unlike Charles Henry Smith and Lawton Evans--Brooks emphasised the use of primary sources and a social scientific approach to the evidence. In an article

published in *Political Science Quarterly* in 1911 (two years before the textbook), Brooks analysed labour patterns in some two dozen eastern piedmont counties in Georgia. In the northern counties, small farmers had worked side by side with their slaves in the field, “and one can fancy [the slaves] absorbing by imitation something of the master’s carefulness.” In the southern counties, where “great planters” used overseers and the gang system, slaves “learned nothing of economy, management or conservation of the soil.” Brooks could see this distinction continuing decades later: “Unless closely supervised, the negro will not work steadily.... The negro’s success seems to depend on the closeness of contact between him and an intelligent white guide.”<sup>26</sup>

Brooks continued this theme in his dissertation, which looked at the whole state. The practical aspect of Brooks’s work was that rental arrangements of farm land to African American farmers (which meant little white supervision) were not as good as sharecropping (which meant more supervision). Brooks provided hard statistics (census, department of agriculture reports, and the like) and anecdotal evidence (much of it gathered from written inquiries and interviews) to support this. One such story:

A Dougherty County planter rented to one Stewart for about ten consecutive years, during all of which time the renter was never out of debt. Losing patience, the planter refused to “carry” him longer, and induced him to work on shares, with the same land and mule. The darky was soon free of debt and saved enough to buy a new mule and a buggy. He then felt ready to set up again as a renter, and, the planter refusing to rent, he left the place. After two years he returned to his original employer, bankrupt, began again as a share tenant, and in the summer of 1911 was free of debt.<sup>27</sup>

Brooks’s conclusion, that African American farmers in the early twentieth century did better with white supervision, no doubt influenced and reinforced his understanding of the past: a half

century earlier, African Americans prospered only under the tutelage that slavery provided. Brooks used the methods of the social scientist to reach the Lost Cause position that slaves benefited from their involuntary role in the South's peculiar institution.

Just as the Lost Cause shaped the way textbook writers viewed slavery, it also influenced their portrayals of the Civil War and Reconstruction--and again, there were differences among the writers. In his *School History of Georgia*, Smith wrote that "there was a strong sentiment in the north that slavery should be abolished, and it became evident that the northern people were determined to carry out their views, at any cost, even to war and bloodshed.... The only thing [the southern states] could do was to withdraw or secede from the Union, in order to manage their own affairs under their own laws." Here Smith differs from the Lost Cause claims described by Alan Nolen, especially as exemplified by the UDC/SCV textbook campaign: Smith freely admitted the role of slavery in secession, while Mildred Lewis Rutherford and others insisted that the South should "reject a book that says the South fought to hold her slaves."<sup>28</sup>

Smith's account of the war itself reflected his own experiences. Sherman's March was as riling in 1893 as it had been almost three decades earlier. "The track of Sherman's troops was one broad trail of fire, plunder, robbery and destruction," he wrote in his textbook. "Nothing was left.... The rules of civilized warfare were utterly disregarded. Helpless women and children were shown no consideration.... He seized all the stock--horses, mules, cows, hogs, chickens, and everything that would support or feed the helpless women and children; he destroyed beautiful villages and homes, leaving nothing but crumbling walls and tottering chimneys; his foreign-born, mercenary soldiers insulted and robbed the helpless and feeble; they broke up the tombs and monuments to the dead in our cemeteries." This was also a frequent topic of his series of columns in the *Constitution*. In his last column, published just a couple weeks before his

death, Smith remembered that, when he and his fellow “runagees” left Rome in May 1864, they looked back and saw the “vandals” break into the cemetery, where monuments and tombstones “were broken into pieces and tumbled down the hill.”<sup>29</sup>

The third historical reading, “Why Georgia Withdrew from the Union,” is more a defense of the right of secession than a direct answer to the implied question of the title. “The zeal of the abolitionists was unrelenting,” and southerners “never conceived that they could not separate for cause, when the cause came.” Smith quoted Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Horace Greeley, and others in support of a state’s right to secede.<sup>30</sup>

At the end of the war, “peace was declared, but it was not the peace that a generous foe should give to a thoroughly conquered enemy.” As with his discussion of Sherman’s invasion of North Georgia, Smith was able to draw on his personal experience when writing about Reconstruction: “Citizens were arrested and imprisoned on the slightest provocation, and often without any cause whatever.” Smith, as mayor of Rome (1867-69), interceded with the local military commanders on behalf of several young men who were briefly jailed for putting on a play that involved the Confederate battle flag. Smith described the episode shortly after it occurred in one of his early Bill Arp letters, and then later in the pages of the *Constitution*.<sup>31</sup>

Smith was the only one of our three textbook authors to have lived through the war and its aftermath, and his discussion of the state’s history during this period shows a level of personal emotion missing in other textbooks. “The people were oppressed and made to feel that they were conquered and at the mercy of the conquerors,” he wrote. “Adventurers, ‘carpet baggers’ and malignant men came in droves, and by their meanness and petty exactions made the situation infinitely worse. Instead of trying to cultivate good will and to restore the confidence of the people in the United States government, the very opposite course was persistently followed, and

bitterness and hatred on both sides were the natural fruits.... The people were so galled and oppressed by these overbearing tyrants that to this day the 'Reconstruction Period' is regarded with almost as much horror as the war itself."<sup>32</sup>

In his *History of Georgia*, Lawton Evans included one or two sentences each from "some leading statesmen [Daniel Webster, Horace Greeley, and Salmon P. Chase] on the right of Southern States to secede," but he offered the quotations without further commentary and made little effort to justify Georgia's decision to exercise that right. Instead, he pointed out that the South did not need to fear that Lincoln's election would end southern slavery; the platform of the Republican party in 1860 "did not advocate the abolition of slavery in the States, and it even denounced John Brown's raid." Two paragraphs later, Evans repeated the point: "No party advocated the abolition of slavery in the States." South Carolina's secession "caused great excitement all over the South," including Georgia, "but there were many ... who looked upon the act of South Carolina with grave fears and with sad hearts," an acknowledgement that not all white Georgians supported secession.<sup>33</sup>

Evans's discussion of Sherman's march was mild, and he almost found a way to let Sherman off the hook, at least directly: "Thieves who followed the army, or belonged to its lowest elements, robbed houses not only of provisions, but of silverware and other valuables of all sorts that could be carried away." Evans wrote that many of the "carpet-baggers" were men from the North who came to Georgia after the war "to make their homes here and to take a part in building up the State," and he also noted that "Federal generals in control of the State did many acts of kindness to the people."<sup>34</sup>

In 1913, Evans's *History of Georgia*, with slight revision, was published as *First Lessons in Georgia History*, probably for adoption consideration by the state textbook commission for the

next five-year cycle. (The commission instead adopted Brooks's book, but listed Evans's as "supplementary.") Two additions in this version of the textbook are worth mentioning. One was the opening chapter on "The Study of State History," including reasons for doing so. The final reason: "Patriotism." "Patriotism is a love of country.... The story of the lives of our great men should make us love our country and our State so reverently that we shall do our duty as citizens, no matter what sacrifice it may involve."<sup>35</sup> A second addition was a paragraph on his father, who had died two years earlier. "While the terms of surrender were being considered," Evans wrote, "a brigade of Southern troops led by General Clement A. Evans, of Georgia, having received no orders to cease firing, and not knowing of the truce, made a final charge against the Federals.... General Evans's brigade fired the last shot in the last battle in Virginia." A picture of the general accompanies the text.<sup>36</sup>

These two additions show a paradox in Evans's life: The proud son of a Confederate general, he believed the promotion of national patriotism to be a responsibility of public education. To reconcile this apparent contradiction, we might look at Confederate Memorial Day (April 26) in 1875, when former General Clement Evans spoke at the dedication of the laying of the cornerstone for a Confederate monument in the cemetery in Augusta, Georgia. Lawton Evans was a boy of twelve at the time, but he surely grew up knowing (even if he did not hear) his father's words that day:

Let us do nothing to keep alive the passions of war. To study its lessons is prudence; to profit by its teachings is wisdom; but to stir up the old animosities is madness. The voice of this monument will not be for war but for peace. It will say to us--The Confederacy has expired. Its great life went out on the purple tide of blood that flowed from the hearts of its sons. We have buried it--we do not intend to exhume its remains. We were utterly defeated and we dismiss our resentments. Sadly we parted with the dear old cross of stars which we followed through many

a storm of shot and shell; but we take with the true hand of Southern honor the staff that holds the flag of Stars and Stripes.<sup>37</sup>

Lawton Evans taught a history that allowed Georgia children to both respect their ancestors and love their country. It was a mild version of the Lost Cause, but it was one of which his father would approve.

According to Robert Preston Brooks, the war came because of “a long contest” between North and South in which each section tried “to extend its labor system” to the western territories. “The people of the North, resenting slavery as morally wrong and denying the economic soundness of the institution,” tried to halt its spread, hence dooming it to “a natural death” in the South. For their part, southerners saw “free access to the West [as] a necessity,” because of the continued soil exhaustion in the South and the political need of maintaining equality in the Senate.<sup>38</sup>

The Republican party, “openly hostile to southern interests, especially slavery,” “sprang into existence in 1856.” (Brooks was off by two years.) Lincoln’s election in 1860--“the first time in the history of the Union that a section as such had elected a president on a programme of open enmity to another section”--led southerners to believe that their “interests and rights would receive no consideration.” Brooks pointed out that many northerners over the years had advocated states’ withdrawal from the Union; “secession was not, therefore, a southern invention,” and it was the South, rather than the North, that “very naturally retained the political views of the framers of the Constitution.” “The Civil War was not a war primarily for the preservation or the destruction of slavery,” Brooks said, though he later added that “slavery was at the bottom ... of the assertion of the right to secede, and to that extent was the cause of the war; but any other sectional conflict might have brought secession.” Ironically, Brooks, the only Ph.D. among the three textbook writers, was the most understated in his discussion of slavery as

a cause of the war and was, therefore, closest to what might be called “mainstream” Lost Cause thought, at least on this issue.<sup>39</sup>

Charles Henry Smith, in his history textbook as well as in his *Atlanta Constitution* column, defended the South for which he had fought and criticised those who would still attack it. To the end of his life, he never forgot the damage and suffering the war had caused--and, with the increase in black crime, continued to cause. For Smith, history was a way to vindicate the South. When he died, the *Confederate Veteran* praised his work and urged veterans to contribute to a memorial for Smith: “A worthy memorial to this faithful champion of right would of itself be a vindication of the great principles for which he so boldly contended.”<sup>40</sup> The memorial--a simple cross over Smith’s grave--says at the bottom, “from his Confederate Veteran friends.”

Smith was nearly forty years old when the war came to a close; Lawton Evans was two. Evan’s biggest connection to the Old South was his father, whom he revered and who had fought for the Confederacy. Evans accepted the Lost Cause’s rosy view of the Old South in the days of slavery, but he could not defend Georgia’s secession or speak (too) badly of Sherman and Reconstruction. In *The Student’s History of Georgia*, Evans’s discussion of the Civil War ended with a picture of two soldiers, Union and Confederate, shaking hands in front of a burned-out house over the caption, “United We Stand[,] Divided We Fall.”<sup>41</sup>

Robert Preston Brooks attributed much of what he saw in Georgia history to the inherent racial traits of African Americans. “The economic motive that urges men of other races to labor is weak in the negro race,” he wrote in his dissertation. “He feels no necessity for greater industry, and hence will not work unless encouraged to do so by the presence of some supervisor.”<sup>42</sup>

him to Washington City, and put him in Carroll prison. Here he was kept for a week, and was released by President Johnson.

23. When Governor Brown returned to Georgia, he found that General Wilson refused to allow him to act as governor, and being thus cut off from executive duty by Federal authority, he resigned his office. He then issued an address to the people, advising them to make the most of the situation, to acquiesce in the abolition of slavery, to cordially support the administration of President Johnson, and to reconstruct the State, and be restored to the Union as early as possible.



United We Stand Divided We Fall.

Figure 1.1 Lawton B. Evans, *The Student's History of Georgia: From the Earliest Discoveries and Settlements to the End of the Year 1883, Adapted for General Reading and the Use of Schools* (Macon, Georgia: J.W. Burke & Co., 1884), 298.

In the dissertation's preface, Brooks thanked "Professor U. B. Phillips ..., who not only lent me valuable unpublished material, but read and criticized the entire manuscript."<sup>43</sup> Phillips, whose collection of plantation documents informed Brooks's discussions of slavery, is now known as a historian who was guided as much by his belief in white superiority as he was by his generally careful and thorough research. Smith and Evans both had emotional attachments to the Lost Cause; Brooks did not--except that, like U. B. Phillips (born near LaGrange, Georgia, in

1877), he was a product of his time and place, and for all their reliance on historic documents, they could not change that.

Charles Henry Smith, Lawton Bryan Evans, and Robert Preston Brooks shared many perspectives on slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction, but their textbooks also reflected their individual backgrounds and, by extension, their different views of the Lost Cause. One author was a soldier who never forgot (and perhaps never forgave) the North; another was the son of a Confederate general, who after the war pushed for sectional reconciliation and national pride; the third, trained as an academic, brought a new emphasis on primary sources and social science methods and, in so doing, proved the pervasiveness and persistence of the Lost Cause mythology, even decades after the Civil War. As Charles Henry Smith wrote in a Bill Arp column, the Lost Cause is “a cause for which we are still proud, for it gets brighter and purer as the years roll on.”<sup>44</sup>

1. The history of history textbooks has become more specialised and sophisticated since the publication of Frances FitzGerald's *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979). See, for example, Joseph Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation: Conflicts over American History Textbooks from the Civil War to the Present* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003); Rachel Christine Duby, "The Myth of the Lost Cause and Tennessee Textbooks, 1889-2002" (M.A. thesis, East Tennessee State University, 2005); Rebecca Miller Davis, "The Three R's--Reading, 'Riting, and Race: The Evolution of Race in Mississippi History Textbooks, 1900-1995," *Journal Of Mississippi History* 72, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 1-45; and Carol Sheriff, "Virginia's Embattled Textbooks: Lessons (Learned and Not) from the Centennial Era," *Civil War History* 58, no. 1 (March 2012): 37-74.
2. Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, The Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 49.
3. Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980).
4. Alan T. Nolan, "The Anatomy of the Myth," in Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, eds., *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 15-19.
5. Charles Henry Smith, *Bill Arp's Peace Papers* (1873; reprint, with introduction by David B. Parker, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2009), 19, 20. Biographical information for Smith is from David B. Parker, *Alias Bill Arp: Charles Henry Smith and the South's "Goodly Heritage"* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991).
6. *Atlanta Constitution*, September 16, 1888.
7. *Atlanta Constitution*, March 15, 1903; Feb. 1, 1885; Nov. 10, 1889; May 17, 1891; Nov. 3, 1901.
8. Quoted in Fred Arthur Bailey, "The Textbooks of the 'Lost Cause': Censorship and the Creation of Southern State Histories," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 75 (Fall 1991): 512-13; *Confederate Veteran* 3 (June 1895): 164-65. Also see James M. McPherson, "Long-Legged Yankee Lies: The Southern Textbook Crusade," in Alice Fahs and Joan Waugh, eds., *The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture*, Civil War America (Chapel Hill: University of University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 64-78. Joseph Moreau implicitly suggests that northern book publishers unknowingly furthered the controversy by giving in to the demands of southern partisans. *Schoolbook Nation*, 50-91.
9. Sarah H. Case, "The Historical Ideology of Mildred Lewis Rutherford: A Confederate Historian's New South Creed," *Journal of Southern History* 68 (August 2002): 599-628; Fred Arthur Bailey, "Mildred Lewis Rutherford and the Patrician Cult of the New South," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 78 (Fall 1994): 509-35.
10. *Atlanta Constitution*, March 19, 1893.
11. Charles H. Smith (Bill Arp), *A School History of Georgia: Georgia as a Colony and a State, 1733-1893* (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1893), [iii], 121.
12. Smith, *School History*, 123-27. The opinions expressed here and elsewhere in this paper are the textbook writers', not mine.
13. Smith, *School History*, 127-28, 156-57. There were, of course, other possible explanations for the racial disparities in conviction and imprisonment rates; see, for example, Douglas Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II* (New York: Anchor Books, 2008). In his Bill Arp column, Smith wrote frequently of black crime and even took it a step further, blaming the lack of slavery's civilising influence for the increase in black assaults on white women. In fact, Smith became one of the South's most outspoken proponents of lynching during that horrible decade of the 1890s. See Parker, *Alias Bill Arp*, 122-30.
14. *Atlanta Constitution*, 1 August 1897.
15. For biographical information, see Helen Chapman, "The Contributions to Education of Lawton B. Evans" (M.S.Ed. thesis, University of Georgia, 1949); Creighton Peden, "A Pioneer Model: Lawton B. Evans," *Richmond County History* 9 (Summer 1997): 5-13; and Robert G. Stephens, Jr., "Evans, Lawton Bryan," in *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, ed. by Kenneth Coleman and Charles Stephen Gurr (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983), 1:296-97.

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16. Lawton B. Evans, *The Student's History of Georgia: From the Earliest Discoveries and Settlements to the End of the Year 1883, Adapted for General Reading and the Use of Schools* (Macon, GA: J.W. Burke & Co., 1884), 31.

17. *Atlanta Constitution*, 20 August 1897, 8 January 1904, 20 November 1908. A second edition was published in 1908, just in time for the second round of adoptions.

18. Lawton B. Evans, *A History of Georgia for Use in the Schools*, State History Series (New York: American Book Company, 1898), 189-90.

19. Lawton B. Evans, *The South and Its Problems: An Address Delivered ... Before the Department of Superintendence, National Teachers' Association, Richmond, Va., February 22d, 1894* (Augusta, GA: Chronicle Job Printing Company, 1894), 5. This speech is largely a Grady-like New South address, emphasising southern industrialization, sectional reconciliation, and the like. It ends, however, with Evans's solution to "the grave problem of the ultimate fate of the negro": the physical separation of the races, with African Americans removing themselves to Africa, Mexico, South America, or the western territories (12-15).

20. Biographical information from *Georgia Studies: Selected Writings of Robert Preston Brooks*, ed. Gregor Sebba (1952; rpt., Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1969), 1-23; and Robert Preston Brooks, *Under Seven Flags: An Autobiographical Sketch* (Athens, GA: n.p., 1957), 19 (quotation).

21. Ulrich B. Phillips to Preston Brooks, 25 March 1907, Ulrich B. Phillips Letters Collection, Hargrett Rare Books and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens. "My own custom," Phillips wrote, "is to use cards a little less than 3 x 5 inches & file them in cases with guide cards making them easily accessible. I enclose a specimen. You will observe a note of the subject on the top line, the reference on the second, indented, with full description of the source always, if rare, and then the substance of the item with which I am concerned."

22. *Atlanta Constitution*, November 28, 1913; *ibid.*, June 6, 1918; Brooks, *Under Seven Flags*, 19; *Atlanta Constitution*, November 16, 1913. Tom Watson, in a twenty-five page self-published review, criticised the book's vocabulary (too many big words, some of them used inappropriately), facts (the number of Native Americans in Georgia over time, the effect of cotton on soil depletion, the specifics of the Salzburgers' coming to Georgia), and organisation ("There ought to be a difference between a history and a catalogue of events"), but his biggest complaint was that the book had been forced upon Georgia schoolchildren by a legislative committee that had sold out to the "Northern Book Trust" (Brooks's textbook was published in Boston). Thos. E. Watson, *Brooks' History of Georgia: One of the Unfit Text-books Forced upon the Children by Supt. M. L. Brittain and the Northern Trust* (Thomson, GA: n.p., 1916), quotation on 25 and 14.

23. Robert Preston Brooks, *History of Georgia* (Boston: Atkinson, Mentzer & Company, 1913), 221, 223.

24. U. B. Phillips, *Plantation and Frontier Documents, 1649-1863: Illustrative of Industrial History in the Colonial & Ante-Bellum South* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1909).

25. Brooks, *History of Georgia*, 225, 234, 230, 236.

26. Brooks, "A Local Study of the Race Problem: Race Relations in the Eastern Piedmont Region of Georgia," *Political Science Quarterly* 26 no. 2 (June 1911), 200-01, 211-12. Explaining the inspiration for the study several decades later, Brooks described three eastern piedmont counties: Oglethorpe, which had a large black majority population; Clarke, just to the west, in which blacks and whites were about evenly split; and Jackson, just west of Clarke, which was mainly white. "Chancellor Barrow [University of Georgia Chancellor David C. Barrow, who suggested the study to Brooks] believed that the superiority of the Negroes in Jackson County derived from the fact that they were so outnumbered by the whites, and I came to hold the same opinion." Brooks, *Under Seven Flags*, 19.

27. Brooks, *The Agrarian Revolution in Georgia, 1865-1912* (1914; rpt., Westport, Conn.: Negro University Press, 1974), 65. The dissertation, accepted in 1912, was originally published as the Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, no. 639. For a discussion of the materials Brooks gathered, see W. Fitzhugh Brundage, "A Portrait of Southern Sharecropping: The 1911-1912 Georgia Plantation Survey of Robert Preston Brooks," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 77 (Summer 1993): 367-81.

28. Smith, *School History of Georgia*, 78; Mildred Lewis Rutherford, *A Measuring Rod to Test Text Books, and Reference Books in Schools, Colleges and Libraries* (N.p., n.d.), 5.

29. Smith, *School History*, 90; *Atlanta Constitution*, Aug. 9, 1903.

30. Smith, *School History*, 133-35.

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31. Smith, *School History*, 92, 93; *Bill Arp's Peace Papers*, 159; *Atlanta Constitution*, August 3, 1884.
  32. Smith, *School History*, 93.
  33. Evans, *History of Georgia*, 274, 267, 268. Clement Evans edited *Confederate Military History: A Library of Confederate States History* (Atlanta: Confederate Publishing Company, 1899), a 12-volume work "Written by Distinguished Men of the South." In the introductory essay, "Legal Justification of the South in Secession," J. L. M. Curry wrote: "If the act of secession cannot be justified the Southern people will be stigmatized as a brave and rash people deluded by bad men who attempted in an illegal and wicked manner to overthrow the Union" (I, 4).
  34. Evans, *History of Georgia*, 295, 307, 303.
  35. *Atlanta Constitution*, November 28, 1913; Lawton B. Evans, *First Lessons in Georgia History* (New York: American Book Company, 1913), 13.
  36. Evans, *First Lessons*, 296-97.
  37. *New York Times*, April 27, 1875.
  38. Brooks, *History of Georgia*, 237-38.
  39. Brooks, *History of Georgia*, 224, 251, 252-53, 254-55. Jonathan Bryant, commenting on an earlier version of this paper, pointed out the Brooks irony.
  40. *Confederate Veteran* 11 (Dec. 1903): 537.
  41. *New York Times*, April 27, 1875; Evans, *Student's History*, 298.
  42. Brooks, *Agrarian Revolution*, 62.
  43. Brooks, *Agrarian Revolution*, [7].
  44. *Atlanta Constitution*, April 29, 1900. The life spans of the textbooks discussed in this article varied. Evans's *First Lessons in Georgia History* was issued for the last time, as far as I can tell, in 1938, updated ("enlarged") by Ellis Merton Coulter.

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